

The expression of temporal 'still' in Russian  
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The still-utterance compares a state or activity at one point in time with another point in time.

The nature of the particle still and its counterparts in other languages has been analyzed in a number of studies (Hirtle 1977, Michaelis 1993, König 1981, van der Auwera 1993, Löbner 1999, Victorri & Fuchs 1992, Huumo 2001, Liu 2000). Russian eshche has been analyzed exhaustively in Boguslavskij 1996. However, those studies analyzed the nature of the particle and its polysemy. This study proposes to analyze different expressions with the same meaning, namely e\_\_e, vse e\_\_e (lit. continuous still), do six por (till now), and po-pre\_nemu (as before).

These four expressions differ not so much in their lexical meaning but in the way that they structure sequential propositions, which in turn allows the speaker to make a semantic and/or pragmatic choice.

For ex.

- (1) a. On e\_\_e spit. 'He is still asleep' means that he hasn't woken up yet. The comparison is with some subsequent point in time.  
b. On vse e\_\_e spit. 'He is still asleep' means that he is asleep just as at some previous point in time.

While in (1) it is the speaker's choice whether to compare the state at time t0 with the state at a preceding or following point in time, such a choice may not always exist. The reason may be logical: a) expectation of change is physically impossible:

- (2) \* On e\_\_e umer. 'He is still dead' (Michaelis)

b) expectation of change is socially unacceptable:

- (3) a. ?? On e\_\_e \_enat. 'He is still married.' vs.  
b. On e\_\_e ne \_enat 'He is still unmarried'

However, more commonly the lack of choice or the unacceptability of one of the quasi-synonyms is due to the nature of the predicates from the point of view of Vendler's 1967 classification, for ex. sleeping, strolling or being single have an exact moment when the activity in question or the state in question ends, while insisting does not:

- (4) a. \* On e\_\_e nastai vaet na svoem. 'He still insists upon his way.' vs.  
b. On vse e\_\_e nastai vaet na svoem. 'He still insists upon his way.'

Vse e\_\_e signals that the state or activity could have stopped but did not. It may mean that there are already some new features which warrant or create expectation of change.

Po-pre\_nemu signals continuance in cases where a) there is no social or pragmatic expectation of change:

- (5) Mikrobiologi \_eskaja promy \_lennost' po-pre\_nemu zanimaet central'noe



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