

Appendix A: 80 verbal meanings in RSL

For every verb, its argument structure is described in terms of transitivity and the thematic roles of the arguments. Whenever possible, examples from the corpus are included (with a link); elicited examples are accompanied with the signer code (S1–S4). If no example is available in the corpus, a picture of the relevant verbal sign from the elicited data is included. If signers who participated in elicitation varied in their judgments it is reported. For glossing conventions, see the main text. Classifier handshapes in this document are represented by the handshape font¹ for the easier identification. Abbreviations used: S – subject, O and O2 – objects, SASS – size and shape specifier.

RAIN

No overt arguments possible (1, 2, 4).

- (1) RAIN
It rains. (S1)
- (2) EVENING, RAIN STRONG RAIN
In the evening, it rains strongly. <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/143/t/17270/d/20120>

DRY

Intransitive verb, S = Patient (3, 4). To introduce an agent or a cause, a structure with two predicates is used (5, 6).

- (3) CLOTHES DRY DONE
'The clothes are dry.' (S2)
- (4) RAIN NEG, GRASS DRY, CAN BURN
'When it does not rain, the grass is dry and can burn.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/233/t/1357210/d/1361700>
- (5) MOTHER CLOTHES HANG DRY
'The mother dried the clothes.' (S2)
- (6) /CLOTHES/, WIND BLOW DRY DONE
'The wind dried the clothes.' (S1)

BURN

Intransitive, S = Patient (4, 7). To introduce an agent or a cause, a structure with two predicates is used (8). The verb shows Single Argument Agreement (9). There exists a separate transitive predicate LIGHT.UP (S=agent, P=patient) which is not phonologically related to BURN (10).

- (7) /PAPER SASS/, BURN
'The paper burns.' (S4)
- (8) SUN SUN.SHINE, PAPER IX-A BURN
'The sun burned the paper.' (S3)
- (9) CLOTHES CL_{HL}(☞☞)-HANG-A BURN-A
'The clothes hanging there burn.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/174/t/162090/d/163840>
- (10) LIGHT.UP
[I] lighted [the firecracker] up. <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/60/t/22850/d/24580>

¹ The handshape fonts are created by CSLDS, CUHK: <http://www.cslds.org/v3/resources.php?id=1>.

SINK

Classifier predicate which can be intransitive² if it contains a whole-entity classifier, S=patient (11, 12), or transitive if it contains a handling, S=agent, O=patient (13). However, for some signers (S2-4) the classifier predicate with the  -handshape has lexicalized and can be used (intransitively) for objects that do not match the handshape (14).

- (11) BOAT CL_{WE}()-GO.DOWN
'The boat went down.' (S3)
- (12) IX-A GIRL CL_{WE}()-GO.DOWN
'The girl is drowning.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/147/t/2000/d/3980>
- (13) BOY POSS-A BOAT PLAY CL_{HL}()-GO.DOWN
'The boy drowned his toy boat.' (S2)
- (14) WATER IX-A, BRICK CL_{WE}()-GO.DOWN IMPOSSIBLE
'This brick does not drown in water.' (S2)

ROLL

Classifier predicate can be intransitive when a whole-entity classifier is used, S=patient (15), and transitive when a handling classifier is used, S=agent, P=patient (17). In addition, there is a non-classifier predicate ROLL which can only be used intransitively, S = patient (18, 19).

- (15) PEN CL_{WE}()-ROLL
'A pen rolls' (S2)
- (16) CAT CL_{WE}()-ROLL
'The cat [with a ball in his belly] rolls downhill.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/243/t/35200/d/36110>
- (17) BOY CL_{HL}()-ROLL BALL
'The boy rolls a boll' (S3)
- (18) BALL ROLL
'A boll rolls' (S1)
- (19) BALL ROLL
'The ball rolls' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/305/t/101620/d/102640>

HUNTER (nominal predicates)

HUNTER when used as a predicate is intransitive; no copula is used (20, 21).

- (20) FATHER MY HUNTER
'My father is a hunter' (S1)
- (21) MOTHER MY L-E-V
'My mother is a Leo (astrological sign)' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/167/t/41170/d/43500>

² All locative predicates, including classifier predicates, can potentially include the source and goal locative arguments, which are disregarded further.

HUNGRY

Intransitive predicate; no copula is used (22,23).

- (22) BABY HUNGRY
'The baby is hungry.' (S3)
- (23) IX_{WE.TWO} HUNGRY
'We (the two of us) are hungry.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/257/t/145000/d/145900>

SAD

Intransitive, S=experiencer (24, 25). To introduce a stimulus, preposition ABOUT or REASON must be used (26).

- (24) GIRL PERSON SAD
'The girl is sad.' (S2)
- (25) OWNER SAD
'The owner is sad.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/43/t/46100/d/47610>
- (26) GIRL SAD ABOUT BOY
'The girl is sad about a boy.' (S1)

DIE

Intransitive, S=patient (27, 28). The cause of death has to be introduced in a poly-predicative structure (29).

- (27) GRANDFATHER DIE
'The grandfather died.' (S4)
- (28) OLD TEACHER-PL WHOLE DIE-DISTR
'All the old teachers died.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/230/t/558469/d/559841>
- (29) DOG DIE, PU, OLD DONE
'The dog dies because it was old.' (S4)

COLD (feel cold)

Intransitive, S=experiencer (30, 31). Temperature is usually not an argument and is introduced after a prosodic break (32). It is also used to describe the temperature and not the feeling (32).

- (30) IX-1 COLD
'I'm cold.' (S3)
- (31) IX-A COLD
'They are cold.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/143/t/35485/d/36575>
- (32) STREET COLD / -20
'It's cold outside, -20 degrees.' (S3)

HURT (feel pain)

Intransitive, S=experiencer or body-part, (33, 36, 34);³ or transitive with body-part possessor ascension, S = experiencer, O = body part (35). A cause or agent has to be introduced by a separate predicate (36).

- (33) IX-1 HURT
'I feel pain.' (S3)
- (34) HAPPEN HURT BACK IX
'Sometimes my back hurts.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/17/t/13718/d/16922>
- (35) IX-1 BELLY MOVE HURT
'My belly hurts.' (S1)
- (36) HAND HURT. WHY? IX-A CUT
'My hand hurts because of a cut.' (S1)

SCREAM & SHOUT AT

Transitive agreeing verb, S=agent, O=addressee (37, 38); in addition, an indirect object expressing what is being screamed can be added (39). Agreement is only possible with the addressee; agreement with the subject or indirect object is not possible.

- (37) BOY SCREAM
'A boy screams.' (S2)
- (38) /GIRL IX-A/, BOY SCREAM-A
'A boy screams at the girl.' (S2)
- (39) SCREAM NAME
'She screamed his name.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/39/t/48000/d/49050>

LAUGH

Intransitive non-agreeing verb, S=agent/experiencer (40, 41).⁴ Adding a stimulus (42) or reason (43) requires a poly-predicative structure.

- (40) GIRL LAUGH
'A girl laughs.' (S3)
- (41) ALL LAUGH
'Everyone laughed.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/113/t/105040/d/105750>
- (42) ANECDOTE READ GIRL LAUGH
'The girl laughs at an anecdote.' (S3)
- (43) GIRL LAUGH WHY? SHY
'The girl laughs out of shyness.' (S1)

³ There is also a different sign HURT2 which seems to be used in the same contexts.

⁴ A potentially agreeing verb LAUGH2 also exists and might be transitive; we have not investigated it further in elicitation, and there are no examples in the corpus.

PLAY

Transitive non-agreeing verb, S=agent, O=patient, the game that is being played (44); the object is optional (45); Single Argument Agreement with the subject argument is possible (45). Often the game is expressed not as a nominal object, but as a separate predicate (46). Playing a musical instrument expressed by a different verb with incorporation (47), while playing sports can be expressed by the same or a different verb (48, 49).

- (44) GIRL DOLL PLAY
'A girl plays with a doll.' (S3)
- (45) SON PLAY-A
'The son is playing.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/190/t/48595/d/49463>
- (46) BOY SMALL CL_{HL}()-MOVE PLAY CL_{HL}()-MOVE
'A little boy is playing with toy cars.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/135/t/4390/d/7520>
- (47) BOY GUITAR.PLAY
'A boy is playing guitar.' (S1)
- (48) BOY GIRL PLAY TENNIS
'The boy and the girl are playing tennis.' (S2)
- (49) BOY GIRL IX-TWO PLAY.TENNIS
'The boy and the girl are playing tennis.' (S1)

LIVE

Transitive locative verb, S=agent/patient, O=location (50, 51).

- (50) IX-1 LIVE MOSCOW
'I live in Moscow' (S2)
- (51) MAN IX-A LIVE FIVE.STORY OLD FIVE.STORY
'The man lives in an old five-story building.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/224/t/37080/d/40300>

LEAVE

There is no verb for 'leave' in RSL (see below). The verb EXIT can be used to describe movement with a source but not goal; it is a non-agreeing verb, S=theme, O=source (52, 53). In other

- (52) BOY HOUSE EXIT
'The boy exits the house.' (S2)
- (53) IX-1 PART IX-1 EXIT
'So I left.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/230/t/850460/d/851840>

GO

The verb that is usually translated as LEAVE is probably better translated as 'go', but it appears to be non-deictic; it is a locative verb, S=theme, O=goal (54, 55), although O=source is also possible with some additional marking (56). In many contexts when the goal is not specified, the verb can be better translated as 'leave' (59). To overtly specify both goal and source a classifier predicate is used. LEAVE can be used in combination with another verb denoting the purpose of the movement (57, 58). The verb can be modified towards the location of the goal, or away from the source (59).

- (54) /BROTHER/ MOSCOW LEAVE
'My brother went to Moscow.' (S1)
- (55) PETERSBURG LEAVE
'We went to Saint-Petersburg.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/255/t/7097/d/8490>
- (56) BROTHER MOSCOW DONE LEAVE
'My brother left Moscow.' (S1)
- (57) FATHER LEAVE SMOKE
'The father went to smoke.' (S3)
- (58) LEAVE SLEEP
'They went to sleep.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/145/t/50500/d/52970>
- (59) LEAVE-A
Context: the narrator was telling the woman that he was deaf, she waived her hand and her, and then left. 'She left.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/198/t/862320/d/863080>

SING

Transitive verb with an optional object, S=agent, O=patient, a song, etc. (60, 61).

- (60) MAN SING FORMAL SING
'A man sings a hymn.' (S4)
- (61) BIRD SING
'The bird sings.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/315/t/21190/d/22030>

JUMP

A classifier predicate, can only be intransitive, S=agent/theme (62, 63). External causer can only be added in a separate clause (64). It is a classifier predicate, because the handshape depends on the class of the referent: e.g. a different classifier is used for animals (65). Importantly, the sign also contains finger movement (63): the fingers are bent in the initial and final position of the sign, but stretched in the middle position; it is thus plausible to analyze this movement as a part of the lexical description of this classifier predicate.

- (62) BOY CL_{WE}()-JUMP
'The boy jumped.' (S3)
- (63) MOTHER CL_{WE}()-JUMP
'Mother jumped.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/174/t/292180/d/293310>
- (64) /IX-1 CAT/ IX-1 IMP. IX-A TABLE-B A-CL_{WE}()-JUMP-B
'I made the cat jump on the table.' (S1)
- (65) CAT CL_{WE}()-JUMP
'The cat jumped.' (S1)

SIT & SIT-DOWN

This meaning can be expressed in at least two different ways. First, a classifier predicate with the 2b whole-entity classifier (or another classifier for animals) can be used to describe a person sitting somewhere (66, 67); it is not clear whether the meaning of sitting is even encoded. The most common way to describe this is the verb SIT, which formally can be analyzed as a body-part classifier predicate (68 - 70). However, this sign contains a lexicalized movement and sometimes orientation

which do not reflect real-life movement of legs of a person sitting down (or sitting), and thus the movement and orientation at least are lexicalized (69). Since this verb only applies to humans, the handshape does not change either. The verb is a locative verb, S=theme, O=location (68).

- (66) IX-1 CL_{WE}() - BE
 'I sit there.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/198/t/1296121/d/1296888>
- (67) IX-A CHILDREN TWO SON AND DAUGHTER GROUP TABLE SIT CL_{WE}() - BE.AROUND
 'The family with the children (two sons and a daughter) sits around the table.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/79/t/23000/d/27920>
- (68) IX-1 SIT (CL_{BP}() - SIT) CHAIR
 'I sit in a chair.' (S2)
- (69) MAN SIT
 'A man is sitting.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/77/t/3500/d/5210>
- (70) IX-A WAIT SIT
 'He waits there sitting.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/56/t/51422/d/53122>

RUN

There are at least two different verbs used to encode this meaning. One is a lexical verb RUN, intransitive, S=theme/agent, note that the source and goal are not normally encoded in the same clause (71, 72). In addition to that, a possible classifier predicate is used; S=theme/agent, locative arguments are also possible (73, 74); external cause can only be introduced in a separate clause. The handshape can be analyzed as a body-part classifier for legs (and a different classifier is used for instance for animals (75, 76)), and the sign referring to humans contains a hand-internal movement (bending and stretching the fingers, or alternatively a circular movement of the wrists (77)) and path movement describing the movement of the person (but this path movement is optional (78)). This means that this construction is not a body-part classifier, but a 'moving legs' classifier predicate type of construction. Note that the movement of the fingers is usually synchronized and thus does not reflect the real-life movement of the legs (although alternating movement is also possible (79)).

- (71) BOY RUN
 'A boy is running.' (S4)
- (72) IX-A RUN
 'He runs.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/137/t/11060/d/12820>
- (73) BOY HOUSE CL_{BP}() - RUN SHOP
 'The boy ran from the house to the shop.' (S1)
- (74) CL_{BP}() - RUN SWIMMING.POOL IX-A
 'They ran to the swimming pool.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/174/t/195490/d/197590>
- (75) DOG CL_{BP}() - RUN
 'A dog runs.' (S2)
- (76) CL_{BP}() - RUN
 '[The rabbit] runs.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/170/t/151910/d/152490>
- (77) CL_{BP}() - RUN
 'He ran away.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/149/t/34790/d/35490>
- (78) CL_{BP}() - RUN
 'We ran.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/228/t/31260/d/31730>
- (79) CAT CL_{BP}() - RUN
 'The cat runs quickly.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/253/t/58653/d/60003>

CLIMB

This meaning can be expressed in two different ways. One is a lexical verb CLAMBER that depicts the movement of the hands while climbing, locative verb, S=agent, O=location (80, 81). In addition, a possible classifier predicate with the 🖐️ handshape for people can be used. It is a locative predicate, S=agent, goal can be also specified (82). Importantly, this predicate may involve finger movement in addition to the path movement (83), so it is probably a ‘moving legs’ classifier predicate type. In addition, it is possible that path movement and orientation change within this predicate is lexicalized in many uses, because these parameters are often realized in the same way across different contexts and do not reflect the real-life movement (84).

- (80) IX-1 CLAMBER MOUNTAIN
‘I climbed a mountain.’ (S3)
- (81) CLAMBER
‘He clambers.’ <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/268/t/8903/d/9463>
- (82) CHAIR CAT CL_{WE}(🖐️)-CLIMB
‘The cat climbed on a chair.’ (S4)
- (83) CL_{WE}(🖐️)-CLIMB
‘He climbed over it.’ <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/350/t/18571/d/19061>
- (84) CL_{WE}(🖐️)-CLIMB WINDOW
‘He climbed onto the windowsill.’ <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/272/t/17951/d/20000>

COUGH

Intransitive verb, S=patient (85). No examples can be found in the corpus.

- (85) IX-1 COUGH
‘I cough.’ (S2)



BLINK

Intransitive verb, S=agent (86, 87), although some signers permit the eye to be a direct object (88). The meaning is both ‘to blink involuntarily’, and ‘to wink (at someone)’. There is also another verb WINK (89), which is transitive (O=addressee) according to some signers (90).

- (86) GIRL BLINK
‘The girl blinked.’ (S3)
- (87) BLINK
‘I blink.’ <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/356/t/529872/d/530442>

- (88) GIRL BLINK EYE ONE
'The girl blinked with one eye.' (S1)
- (89) WINK
'He winked at her.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/192/t/37120/d/37960>
- (90) GIRL IX-1 WINK
'The girl winked at me.' (S3)

SHAVE

Transitive agreeing/locative verb, S=agent, O=patient (91, 92). Single Argument Agreement: only the location of the shaved object is reflected in the verb (91). The verb can also show reflexive agreement to express the reflexive meaning 'to shave oneself' (93). The whole predicate might be analyzed as an instrumental classifier predicate, although it is not clear whether this handshape is productively used as a classifier in other signs.

- (91) BARBER^PERSON, MAN^PERSON-A SHAVE-A
'The barber shaved a man.' (S1)
- (92) FATHER POSS-1 IX-A [SHAVE-1]_{RS}
'My father shaved.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/178/t/340100/d/342000>
- (93) IX-1 SHAVE-1 DONE
'I shaved.' (S2)

DRESS

This meaning is expressed by at least two different predicates. One is a handling classifier predicate describing someone putting a piece of clothing on someone else or on themselves; S=agent, O=patient, O2=recipient (94, 95). The handshape depends on the type of clothing that is being put. The other is a lexical verb; it is generally used as intransitive reflexive verb (96). The lexicalized form can have the  (97) or  handshape; it contains reduplicated alternating movement, and is localized on the body of the signer. Although clearly originating as a classifier predicate, it has been lexicalized as shown by the alternating movement pattern not reflecting the synchronous movement of hands putting on a clothing item.

- (94) MOTHER /BOY IX-A/ COAT CL_{HL}()-PUT.ON-A
'The mother dresses the boy in a coat.' (S3)
- (95) MONKEY CL_{HL}()-PUT.ON-1 CLOTHES
'The monkey is dressed in clothes.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/382/t/17240/d/18573>
- (96) BOY DRESS
'The boy dressed.' (S3)
- (97) DRESS
'We dressed.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/228/t/31668/d/32268>

WASH

This is a locative/agreeing verb, which can probably be analyzed a classifier predicate; S=agent, O=patient; instrument is not normally expressed but reflected by the handshape (98). Single Argument Agreement: only the location of the shaved object is reflected in the verb (99); reflexive agreement is possible (100). For washing one's face, the -handshape is used which can be analyzed as a body-part classifier predicate (101). A different clearly lexicalized form of the predicate also

exists, where the active hand has the -shape, and the passive hand the -shape; lexicalization is shown by the fact that it can be used in a middle construction where the washed object is not specified (103), and also by the fact that it does not have to show locative agreement (102).

- (98) BOY IX-A, MOTHER WASH-A (=CL_{IN}()-WASH-A) DONE
 'The mother washed the boy.' (S2)
- (99) WINDOW-PL-A WASH-A (CL_{IN}()-WASH-A)
 'She washed the windows.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/79/t/14240/d/16800>
- (100) BOY WASH-1 (=CL_{IN}()-WASH-1) DONE
 'The boy washed.' (S1)
- (101) BOY WASH-1 (=CL_{BP}()-WASH-1)
 'The boy washed his face.' (S4)
- (102) DIRT WASH CLEAN EASY
 'It's easy to wash dirt off.' (S2)
- (103) WINDOW-A WASH_{NEUTRAL}
 'She washed the window.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/81/t/12575/d/15855>

EAT

There are at least two different ways to express this meaning. Firstly, RSL has a plain verb EAT; S=agent, O=patient (food) (104); the patient can be omitted in the unspecified object alternation (105, 106). FEED with an external causer is a different unrelated verb (107). Secondly, there is an instrumental classifier predicate, S=agent, O=patient (food), the instrument is not expressed but encoded by the handshape (108, 109).

- (104) IX-1 EAT A.LITTLE BREAD
 'I ate some bread.' (S4)
- (105) EAT PRTCL
 'I ate.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/198/t/1140850/d/1141750>
- (106) IX-1 EAT DONE READY
 'I ate.' (S4)
- (107) IX-A THINK FEED
 'It [the rabbit] thought they would feed it.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/170/t/33360/d/35300>
- (108) CL_{IN}()-EAT
 'I eat [the soup with a spoon].' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/356/t/185330/d/186300>
- (109) FOOD CL_{IN}()-EAT
 'We ate the food [with forks].' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/372/t/242010/d/243320>

HELP

Agreeing ditransitive verb, S=agent, O=patient, O2 (clausal complement) – activity that is being helped with (110, 111). Agreement is with the S and O arguments (112).

- (110) IX-1 MOTHER IX-A HELP-A FOOD COOK DONE
 'I helped my mother to cook the food.' (S2)
- (111) FATHER^MOTHER HELP CHRISTMAS.TREE CL:BRING HOME
 '[He] helped his parents to bring the Christmas tree home.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/153/t/11000/d/14635>
- (112) MOTHER SAME 3-HELP-1
 'My mother also helped me.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/299/t/207250/d/208490>

FOLLOW

Transitive verb, S=agent, O=patient (113, 114). This verb looks like a two-handed combination of whole-entity classifier predicates. However, there are several reasons to analyze it as at least partially lexicalized. Firstly, the  handshape is not regularly used in other classifier predicates. Secondly, the sign is always two-handed (but see below). Thirdly, it is not possible to change the handshape irrespective of the type of the referent (114). Fourthly, it can contain a circular movement of the active hand not reflective of any real-world movement of the referent. However, the verb still has locative uses where the trajectory of the movement follows the movement of the referents (116); moreover, the interpretation depends on the movement, so the translation 'to follow' is not always appropriate (115). In addition, the active hand of this sign can be used in combination with a classifier predicate on the passive hand (117).

- (113) IX-1 IX-2 FOLLOW
'I follow you.' (S3)
- (114) BULL FOLLOW IX-A BULL B-Y-K
'A bull follows her.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/39/t/53518/d/56000>
- (115) IX-1 A.BIT PST FOLLOW
'I was a bit ahead.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/262/t/28080/d/29990>
- (116) A-FOLLOW-B
'She follows him by moving to the right.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/192/t/70497/d/72430>
- (117) FOLLOW+CL_{WE}()-MOVE
'They follow the two of them.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/129/t/21450/d/22020>

MEET

Transitive verb, S=agent, O=patient (118, 119) but more often in a reciprocal alternation structure: S=agent+patient (120). This verb is similar to FOLLOW but it is more clearly a classifier predicate in many uses. On the one hand, the handshape can depend on the type of referents that meet (119), and for a group meeting another predicate GATHER should be used (122). On the other hand, the  handshape is also used when the object is clearly plural (123), so this form of the predicate is undergoing lexicalization. Not also that in (118, 119) the object follows the verb which is not common with classifier predicates in RSL.

- (118) IX-1 CL_{WE}()-MEET DONE FRIEND
'I met a friend.' (S1)
- (119) CL_{WE}()-MEET FRIEND OLD
'I met an old friend.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/53/t/10390/d/11730>
- (120) CROSSROAD, CAR CL_{WE}()-MEET
'Two cars met at the crossroad.' (S2)
- (121) O-L-YA IX-A GRANDMOTHER CL_{WE}()-MEET-A
'Olya and her grandmother met.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/368/t/73120/d/74820>
- (122) BIRD GATHER
'Birds gathered.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/43/t/21290/d/21930>
- (123) DEAF CL_{WE}()-MEET THREE PERSON CL_{WE}()-MEET
'I met three deaf people there.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/278/t/80010/d/82040>

HUG

Transitive verb, S=agent, O=patient (124), but more often used reciprocally (125). There are two different forms (126) which do not seem to differ in meaning or distribution, and can be used in combination.

- (124) IX-1 HUG SISTER IX-A HUG1
'I hugged my sister.' (S4)
- (125) FRIEND IX-2 HUG1
'The two friends hugged.' (S2)
- (126) IX-A HUSBAND WIFE TOGETHER SIT HUG1 HUG2
'The husband and wife sit together hugging each other.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/125/t/74770/d/78660>

SEARCH

Transitive verb, S=agent, O=patient (127), or O=location (128), but not both in the same clause. The location can be a place, or a person, as in 'search someone' (129). The verb can agree with the location object (129, 130), but not with the searched object. Another form with the 🖐-handshape exists specifically for the locative use (search somewhere or someone) (131).

- (127) /TOY/ IX-A SEARCH
'I am looking for a toy.' (S2)
- (128) IX-1 MONEY SEARCH
'I am looking for the money.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/230/t/984480/d/985590>
- (129) MAN PERSON IX-A, GUARD SEARCH-A
'The guard searched the man.' (S2)
- (130) SEARCH-A
'[The man] is searching [though the grass].'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/237/t/166070/d/166600>
- (131) SEARCH2
'I searched [throughout the flat].' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/214/t/121890/d/122850>

THINK

Transitive plain verb, S=agent/experiencer, clausal complement (what is being thought) (132, 133). A stimulus (as in 'think about someone') can also be present but only introduced by an adposition ABOUT (whether it belongs to Signed Russian is unclear; notice that it can undergo locative agreement with the object (134), and is often in postposition unlike the Russian preposition (135)).

- (132) BOY THINK NEED HOME
'The boy thinks: I need to go home.' (S2)
- (133) WOMAN FAT THINK, TRY IX-1 SAME DROWN TRY
'A fat woman thinks: I'll try to drown as well.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/147/t/18235/d/22735>
- (134) /GIRL PERSON-A ABOUT-A/ BOY THINK
'The boy thinks about the girl.' (S2)
- (135) BOY THINK GIRL ABOUT
'The boy thinks about a girl.' (S1)

KNOW

Transitive plain verb, S=agent/experiencer, O=patient/stimulus (136, 137); the object can also be a clausal complement (138, 139). The same sign is used to express the meaning 'know how' to describe skills (140); a different mouthing is used in such cases (namely, Russian *umet* 'know how' instead of *znat* 'know someone/something').

- (136) IX-1 IX-A PERSON KNOW
'I know this person' (S1)
- (137) FACTORY IX-A PLAIN KNOW
'Do you know the plain factory?' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/176/t/151800/d/153720>
- (138) EARTH ROUND IX-1 KNOW
'I know that the Earth is round.' (S3)
- (139) KNOW.NEG WHERE PLAIN CL_{WE}([Ⓢ])-GO WHERE
'[The dog] does not know where one should go in the plain.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/198/t/954380/d/956450>
- (140) CHESS MOVE, IX-1 KNOW
'I know how to play chess.' (S2)

LIKE

Transitive plain verb, S=experiencer, O=stimulus (141, 142), O can also be a clausal complement (143, 144), mostly non-finite (145).

- (141) BOY LIKE IX-A GIRL
'The boy likes the girl.' (S2)
- (142) CITY LIKE LIKE.NEG?
'Did you like the city or not?' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/230/t/120120/d/121290>
- (143) IX-1 LIKE IX-A NOW SUN
'I like that it is sunny now.' (S1)
- (144) CL_{WE}([Ⓢ])-STAND LIKE.NEG
'I do not like how the car is parked.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/280/t/52620/d/53330>
- (145) IX-1 LIKE INVENT
'I like to invent things.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/178/t/138580/d/139990>

FEAR

Transitive verb, S=experiencer, O=stimulus (146), O can be a clausal complement (147). There are different predicates that have a fear-related meaning: FEAR, AFRAID (used dynamically, 'get scared' (148)), AFRAID2 (same handshape as AFRAID, one-handed, slow movement, used without an object, to describe a psychological state (149)), and very likely some other predicates.

- (146) IX-1 DOG FEAR
'I fear dogs.' (S1)
- (147) V-O-R-O-N-Y [CROWS] SIT FEAR
'The crows are afraid to sit down.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/47/t/29745/d/31700>
- (148) WIFE OPPOSITE AFRAID THAT BEHIND BULL FOLLOW BULL B-Y-K AFRAID
'The wife in contrast is afraid that a bull follows him.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/39/t/51800/d/56990>
- (149) IX-1 AFRAID2
'I'm scared.' (S4)

FRIGHTEN

Transitive agreeing verb, S=agent, O=experiencer (150). Agreement is with the subject and the object (151). Interestingly, does not appear in the corpus, while FEAR in different realizations appears 42 times. There is some variation among signers whether an inanimate cause can be a subject of this verb (152), or only an animate agent, as in (150-151).

- (150) /CHILDREN/, CLOWN FRIGHTEN-DISTR
'A clown frightened the children.' (S2)
- (151) /DOG IX-A/, A-FRIGHTEN-1
'This dog scared me.' (S3)
- (152) /PICTURE IX-A/, A-FRIGHTEN-1
'This picture frightened me.' (S2, S3 – OK, S1, S4 – ungrammatical)



A-FRIGHTEN-1:

SMELL

There are two signs with this meaning. It seems that the most common sign SMELL is intransitive and the meaning is 'to emit a smell' (153, 154). According to the signers I consulted, if an experiencer is added, it is necessary to add the sign FEEL, which takes SMELL as a nominal complement (155). However, there is at least one example in the corpus where SMELL is used transitively (156). Another way to express the transitive semantics is to use the sign SMELL2 which describes a deliberate activity of smelling something (157). It has probably originated in a body-part classifier predicate describing the movement of the nose. The second predicate does not occur in the corpus.

- (153) /SOUP/ SMELL TASTY
'The soup smells tasty.' (S4)
- (154) SMELL WHAT?
'What smells here?' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/214/t/86870/d/88000>
- (155) IX-1 FEEL SMELL FLOWER POSS-A
'I feel the flower's smell.' (S1)
- (156) IX-1 SMELL
'I feel a smell.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/231/t/746260/d/747450>
- (157) IX-1 FLOWER SMELL2
'I smelt the flower.' (S3)



SMELL2:

LOOK AT & SEE

These meanings are expressed by the same verb LOOK in RSL. Transitive agreeing verb, S=agent, O=patient (158, 159), also a clausal complement can be the object (160). The object might be unspecified, e.g. in the meaning ‘to see well’ (161). Agreement is with the object, which might also be a location (‘to look somewhere’) (158, 160). Another form of the same verb or a related verb with palm oriented outwards SEE2 is also used in the meaning ‘to look at’, usually when the eye gaze is described in detail (163). It seems that this form cannot be used to describe eyesight, as in (161).

- (158) GIRL PERSON-A, BOY LOOK-A
‘The boy looks at the girl.’ (S2)
- (159) IX-1 WINDOW LOOK
‘I see a window.’ (S2)
- (160) IX-1 LOOK-A, SNAKE SASS1 SASS2 SASS1 PU
‘I look: the snake is this long and this thin.’
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/262/t/99660/d/104000>
- (161) BOY LOOK PERFECT
‘The boy has perfect eyesight.’ (S3)
- (162) WINDOW-A LOOK2-A
‘He looks through the window.’ <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/346/t/7856/d/8508>
- (163) IX-1 BABY LOOK-A
‘I carefully look at the baby.’ <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/278/t/254390/d/255870>

TALK

Transitive non-agreeing verb, S=agent, P=patient (164, 165); additionally O2 = what is being said, usually in the form of a clausal complement (166). In the corpus there are also a couple of examples of simple O2 (167), while during elicitation the signers claimed that the adposition ABOUT is necessary (168). The verb can also undergo unmarked reciprocal alternation (169), but, in addition, a different but related form TALK2 is used only reciprocally (170). This form could have been analyzed as reciprocal agreement of TALK, but TALK is non-agreeing. See also SAY.

- (164) GIRL TALK BOY IX-A
‘The girl talks to the boy.’ (S3)
- (165) WIFE TALK DONE
‘I talked to my wife.’ <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/34/t/37930/d/38730>
- (166) IX-A DOCTOR TALK BABY NEED WHAT DEVELOP
‘The doctor tells what the baby needs to develop.’
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/278/t/205630/d/208300>

- (167) IX-A TALK MAGAZINE
'We talked about magazines.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/255/t/119200/d/120760>
- (168) IX-A MOTHER TALK ABOUT MOVIE
'I talked to my mother about a movie.' (S3)
- (169) GIRL BOY TALK IX-TWO
'The girl and the boy talked.' (S1)
- (170) TALK2
'They talk to each other.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/125/t/15625/d/17275>

ASK FOR

Ditransitive verb, S=agent, O=addressee, O2 – Theme or clausal complement expressing what is being asked (171-173). In the corpus the O2 can only be a clausal complement, so simple objects as in (171) might be an instance of code-switching to Signed Russian. Clausal complements are often accompanied with role shift (172-173).

- (171) BOY ASK.FOR MOTHER BREAD
'The boy asked his mother for bread.' (S1)
- (172) BOY ASK.FOR MOTHER [CALL COOK SOUP]_{RS}
'The boy asks his mother: please make me some soup.' (S1)
- (173) DEAF FRIEND ASK.FOR [TOGETHER DRIVE]_{RS}
'I asked deaf friends to go ride there together.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/198/t/1016610/d/1019430>

TELL

Ditransitive agreeing verb, S=agent, O=addressee, O2 = what is being said (174, 175); O2 can be a clausal complement (176, 177). Agreement is with S and O (175, 177). Unspecified object is possible (178); O2 can also be introduced by the adposition ABOUT (179). It does not have the meaning 'to tell someone to do something' as the English counterpart; the verb SAY (see below) can be used with this meaning. TELL also has the meaning 'to explain' (177).

- (174) MOTHER TELL STORY SON IX-A
'The mother tells a story to the son.' (S3)
- (175) ASK.FOR 2-TELL-1 IX-1 FAIRYTALE
'Please tell me a fairytale.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/200/t/13590/d/15940>
- (176) MOTHER TELL YESTERDAY PST COLD
'The mother tells: it was cold yesterday.' (S1)
- (177) A-TELL-1 NEED BREATHE HOW
'He explained to me how to breathe.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/278/t/190270/d/192790>
- (178) MOTHER TELL
'The mother tells [a story].' (S2)
- (179) IX-1 TELL ABOUT 965
'I'll tell about 965.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/358/t/1420/d/3960>

SAY

Ditransitive agreeing verb, S=agent, O=addressee, O2 = what is being said (180, 181); O2 can be a clausal complement (182, 183). Agreement is with S and O (180). It can be used to introduce imperative speech (183) unlike TELL. It does not have the meaning 'to speak a language' or 'being able to speak' – other verbs are used in these functions (184, 185).

- (180) MOTHER SAY-1 SEVERAL WORD
'The mother said several words to me.'
- (181) SAY-A POLICE
'He told [it] to the police.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/125/t/61655/d/63000>
- (182) MOTHER SAY IX-A COLD
'The mother said she was cold.' (S3)
- (183) WOMAN SAY-A NEG KILL NEG
'The woman said to them: do not kill it [the dog].'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/220/t/232960/d/235800>
- (184) SPEAK ENGLISH QUALITY SPEAK
'He speaks English very well.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/282/t/139700/d/141970>
- (185) SPEAK2 MUST^NOT
'One does not have to be able to speak.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/107/t/118924/d/120000>

NAME

Non-agreeing transitive verb, S=theme, O=the name (186, 187). The causative meaning 'to name someone' is expressed by a different ditransitive agreeing verb NAME2: S=agent, O=receptient, O2=the name, agreement with the receptient (188, 189) or by the combination NAME GIVE probably borrowed from Russian (190).

- (186) IX-A NAME V-A-D-I-M
'My name is Vadim' (S2)
- (187) NAME F-E-D-Y-A
'Its [the cat's] name is Fedya.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/178/t/222050/d/223020>
- (188) MOTHER^FATHER IX-1 NAME2-1 IX-1 V-A-D-I-M PU
'My parents named me Vadim.' (S1)
- (189) IX-1 NAME2-A TOILET T-U-A-L-E-T NAME2-A
'I called it "The toilet".' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/237/t/9090/d/12090>
- (190) IX-A /MOTHER^FATHER/ GIVE-1 NAME V-A-D-I-M GIVE-1
'My parents named me Vadim.' (S4)

BUILD

Transitive verb, S=agent, O=patient (191). Single Argument Agreement with O is possible (192, 193).

- (191) MAN^PERSON HOUSE BUILD DONE
'The man built a house.' (S2)
- (192) NEW BUILD BUILDING
'They are building a new apartment building.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/224/t/43140/d/46060>
- (193) HOUSE-A BUILD-A
'He builds a house.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/214/t/20240/d/21570>

BREAK

Classifier predicate; whole-entity classifiers used for intransitive meaning, S=patient (194, 195) and handling classifiers used for transitive meanings, S=agent, O=patient (196). The Cause cannot be the subject of the handling classifier predicate; to express such meaning a second predicate has to be used together with a whole-entity classifier predicate (197). In addition, non-classifier predicates can be used to express this meaning, most prominently DAMAGE, which can be used intransitively, S=patient (198) or transitively S=agent, O=patient (199). Both the classifier predicate and DAMAGE can show Single Argument Agreement by location with the patient argument (201).

- (194) IX-A STICK CL_{WE}()-BREAK
'A stick broke.' (S4)
- (195) SOFA CL:SAW CL_{WE}()-BREAK
'The sofa was sawn and broke in halves.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/235/t/247699/d/250143>
- (196) /STICK/ IX-1 CL_{HL}()-BREAK
'I broke the stick.' (S4)
- (197) WIND.BLOW, TREE CL_{WE}(TREE)-FALL
'The wind broke the tree.' (S3)
- (198) SWING TREE DAMAGE
'The swings on the tree broke down.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/174/t/141000/d/142620>
- (199) IX-1 COMPUTER DAMAGE
'I broke the computer.' (S2)
- (200) TREE BRANCH-A, IX-1 CL_{HL}()-BREAK-A
'I broke a branch from the tree.' (S2)
- (201) COMPUTER IX-A DAMAGE-A
'The computer is broken.' (S1)

KILL

Non-agreeing transitive verb, S=agent, O=patient (202, 203). Instrument is not normally added as an argument, but in a serial verb construction by an additional predicate (typically a classifier predicate) (204). A classifier predicate expressing the manner of killing can also be used with or without the lexical verb KILL (205).

- (202) POLICE KILL CRIMINAL^PERSON
'A policeman killed a criminal.' (S3)
- (203) IX-1 KILL FUT.NEG DOG
'I will not kill the dog.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/220/t/245940/d/248430>
- (204) CRIMINAL KILL CL_{IN}()-STAB IX-A POLICE^MAN
'The criminal stabbed the policeman to death.' (S1)
- (205) BOY MOSQUITO CL_{BP}()-HIT
'The boy killed a mosquito.' (S1)

BEAT & HIT

Different classifier predicates can be used to express this meaning. A body-part classifier predicate CL_{BP}-HIT can be used to express hitting by hand: S=agent, P=patient (206); an instrument classifier predicate can be used to describe hitting by instruments S=agent, O=instrument, O2=patient/goal

(207,208); a two-handed construction with two whole-entity classifier predicates can be used to describe some object hitting another object (209). The body-part classifier predicate seems to be undergoing lexicalization, because it can be used to describe activity in general, as in (206), and also it is often used as a two-handed sign where the second hand does not represent the shape of the object that is being hit (210).

- (206) CHILDREN IX-1 CL_{BP}()-HIT NOT
'I do not hit children.' (S2)
- (207) IX-1 WALL IX-1 HAMMER CL_{IN}()-HIT
'I hit the wall with a hammer.' (S3)
- (208) GRANDMOTHER UMBRELLA CL_{IN}()-HIT
'The granny hits [the cat] with an umbrella.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/328/t/79510/d/81100>
- (209) TREE BRANCH GLASS CL_{WE}()-BE.LOCATED+ CL_{WE}()-HIT
'A tree branch hits the glass.' (S1)
- (210) AND FAT ANGRY, BEGIN HIT
'And the fat one got angry and started hitting him.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/85/t/23550/d/28530>

TOUCH

There is no lexical verb to express this meaning; it is (similarly to HIT & BEAT above) expressed by a variety of classifier predicate depending on what is touching what. The difference between TOUCH and HIT is only expressed by the (iconic) manner of movement. No examples in the corpus can be found where the meaning of 'touch' is unambiguously expressed.

CUT

This is a typical instrumental classifier predicate; S=agent, O=instrument, O2=patient (211, 212). The handshape depends on the instrument, but even for the same instrument (knife), different handshapes can be used: , , and  (211-214). What governs the choice between these handshapes is unclear.

- (211) MOTHER BREAD KNIFE CL_{IN}()-CUT
'The mother cuts the bread with a knife.' (S2)
- (212) BREAD SHELVES CL:TAKE CL_{IN}()-CUT
'The took the bread from the shelves and cut it.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/226/t/80200/d/83910>
- (213) MOTHER CL_{IN}()-CUT KNIFE CL_{IN}()-CUT BREAD
'The mother cuts the bread with a knife.' (S3)
- (214) IX-1 KNIFE WRONG CL_{IN}()-CUT
'I accidentally cut myself [with a knife].' (S1)

TAKE

Handling classifier predicate, S=agent, O=source, O2=theme (215), agreement from source to agent (or to the goal, but then the translation would not be 'to take', but to 'move'); source can be a person or a location (215, 216); the handshape can depend on the theme (215, 218). Some examples also contain handshape change that might be lexicalized as part of the meaning 'take' (216, 217). This latter form with upward palm orientation is also used to mean 'receive' which is a clear case of lexicalization (219).

- (215) SHELF IX-A, IX-1 BOOK A-CL_{HL}()-TAKE-1
'I took a book from the shelf.' (S2)
- (216) CL_{HL}()-GIVE RECEIPT, TAKE
'He gave him the receipt, and he took it from him.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/212/t/57452/d/58532>
- (217) TAKE CL_{WE}()-OPEN
'He took and opened [the book].'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/190/t/19300/d/21010>
- (218) A-CL_{HL}()-TAKE BOWLING
'[The cat] took a bowling ball.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/274/t/18650/d/20860>
- (219) IX-A DRIVING.LICENCE P-R-A-V-A RECEIVE DONE
'He received a driver's licence.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/53/t/17950/d/21930>

TEAR

A handling classifier predicate with hands moving in opposite directions is used to express this meaning; S=agent, O=patient (220, 221), handshape depends on the type of object being torn. In addition, if tearing is not symmetric a second object (what is being torn from) can be overt (222), and two classifier predicates can be used simultaneously (223). If the manner of tearing is not clear, the lexical verb DAMAGE is used instead (224).

- (220) /GIRL IX-A/ PAPER CL_{HL}()-TEAR
'The girl tears a paper.' (S1)
- (221) BEAUTIFUL FLOWER CL_{HL}()-TEAR
'[He tries to] gather some beautiful flowers [for his wife]'.
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/39/t/43025/d/44352>
- (222) /GIRL IX-A BOOK/ COVER CL_{HL}()-TEAR
'The girl tears a cover from the book.' (S1)
- (223) GIRL BOOK CL_{HL}()-TEAR+CL_{WE}()-BE
'The girl tears a cover from the book.' (S3)
- (224) GIRL DRESS DAMAGE
'The girl torn her dress.' (S2)

PEEL

There is no lexical verb with this meaning; a handling classifier predicate (in combination with a whole-entity classifier predicate for the object being peeled) is used; S=agent, O=source/patient (225). Alternatively, an instrumental classifier predicate (in combination with a whole-entity classifier predicate for the object being peeled) is used when peeling is done by an instrument; S=agent, O=source/patient (226). No examples were found in the corpus.

- (225) BOY MANDARIN CL_{HL}()-PEEL+CL_{WE}()-BE
'The boy peels a mandarin.' (S1)
- (226) BOY POTATO CL_{IN}()-PEEL+CL_{WE}()-BE DONE
'The boy peeled a potato.' (S2)



CL_{HL}(C)-PEEL+CL_{WE}(A)-BE:



CL_{IN}(b1)-PEEL+CL_{WE}(A)-BE:

HIDE

Lexical transitive verb, S=agent, O=patient, in addition, Single Argument Agreement with the O2= location where something is being hidden is possible (227, 228). The verb also participates in an unmarked reflexive alternation (229, 230). The shape of the verb resembles a classifier predicate, but the handshape does not change depending on the type of object, nor in the reflexive form.

- (227) GIRL DOLL BLANKET HIDE-A
'The girl hid the doll under a blanket.' (S2)
- (228) IX-A SON IX-B SOMETHING HIDE-A IX-A PRESENT HIDE DONE
'The son also hid the presents [under the Christmas tree].'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/151/t/34530/d/40030>
- (229) GIRL HIDE BOY SEARCH
'The girl hides, while the boy looks for her.' (S3)
- (230) IX-1 IX-TWO HIDE CALM
'We two hid calmly.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/208/t/72200/d/73490>

SHOW

Ditransitive non-agreeing verb; S=agent, O=theme, O2=addressee (231, 232). The verb is only used for the meaning ‘to show something’, not for ‘to show how to do something’. As the examples show, it is often used in combination with another verb, usually the classifier predicate CL-GIVE.

- (231) POLICE[^]PERSON, DRIVE CL_{HL}()-GIVE SHOW POSS-A LICENSE
‘The driver showed a policeman his license.’ (S2)
- (232) READY DOUGH CL_{HL}()-GIVE SHOW POSS.REFL MOTHER CL_{HL}()-GIVE
‘He shows the ready dough to his mother.’
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/202/t/47890/d/52340>

GIVE

In general, this verb is a ditransitive classifier predicate, S=agent, O=theme, O2=addressee, agreement from S to O2, the handshape depends on the O (233, 234). However, RSL also has a lexicalized form GIVE which is a ditransitive agreement verb (either with the  handshape (235) or with the  handshape (236)), but the handshape does not reflect the shape of the object, and can be used for giving of abstract objects, e.g. address. This lexical verb also has a negative form which also does not reflect the shape of the object (238, 239).

- (233) BOY BALL CL_{HL}()-GIVE-A GIRL IX-A
‘The boy gives a ball to the girl.’ (S1)
- (234) CL_{HL}()-GIVE-A
‘[The father] gave [the ball to the son].’
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/204/t/38990/d/39620>
- (235) BOY GIVE GIRL BALL
‘The boy gives a ball to the girl.’ (S3)
- (236) IX-A GOD BONE GIVE-A
‘He gave the dog the bone.’ <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/95/t/62530/d/65140>
- (237) 2-GIVE-1
‘Give me [your address].’ <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/37/t/59200/d/60250>
- (238) BOY BOOK GIVE.NEG-A GIRL OX-A
‘The boy did not give the girl a book.’ (S1)
- (239) IX-1 IX-TWO GIVE.NEG-A
‘We two did not give him [water].’ <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/368/t/123130/d/124850>

SEND

Ditransitive agreeing verb, S=agent, O=addressee/goal, O2=theme, agreement with O (240, 241). SEND can also be used when the Theme is animate in a causative meaning (242, 243). There are also a number of verbs that are used for sending certain types of objects, namely SEND.LETTER (244), SEND.EMAIL (245), and SEND.TELEGRAM (246). These should not be analysed as classifier predicates but as classifying verbs because the handshapes are not classifier handshapes and do not reflect properties of the argument that is being sent.

- (240) IX-1 MAIL MOTHER IX-A SEND-A DONE
'I sent my mother a letter.' (S1)
- (241) EXAM SEND-A
'I was sending the exams.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/176/t/260700/d/261650>
- (242) MOTHER IX-A SON SEND SHOP GO BREAD BUY
'The mother sent the son to the shop to by bread.' (S1)
- (243) IX-1 SEND-A IX-A
'You send me there.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/165/t/30860/d/32070>
- (244) NAME IX-1 SEND.LETTER
'I'll send you his name.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/37/t/62430/d/64540>
- (245) IX-1 SEND.EMAIL LETTER SEND.EMAIL
'I sent an email.' (S3)
- (246) IX-1 SEND.TELEGRAM
'I sent a telegram'. (S3)



SEND.EMAIL:



SEND.TELEGRAM:

CARRY & BRING

This is a classic handling classifier predicate, S=agent, O=theme, the goal and source can also be specified; the handshape depends on the type of the object being carried (247, 248). The form with the  handshape is probably undergoing lexicalization because it compatible with objects that do not match the handshape (249) or when the shape of the object is not specific (250).

- (247) IX-1 BOOK CL_{HL}()-CARRY MOTHER
'I brought my mother a book.' (S2)
- (248) CL_{HL}()-CARRY
'[The cat] carries [the suitcase and the cage].'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/247/t/52890/d/53820>
- (249) IX-1 CL_{HL}()-CARRY PILE CLOTHES DIFFERENT
'I brought a pile of clothes.' (S3)
- (250) SCHOOL CL_{HL}()-CARRY FOOD
'I brought food to school.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/25/t/40210/d/42000>

THROW

This meaning is typically expressed by a classifier-like predicate where the initial handshape depends on the type of object that is being thrown, but the final handshape is always an open hand; S=agent, O=theme, goal can also be specified (251, 252). In addition, there is a lexical locative verb THROW with a handshape that does not depend on the form of the object; S=agent, O=theme, O2=goal (253, 254). This lexical verb has an additional meaning of purposefully throwing something at someone or somewhere, not just away from the Agent.

- (251) BOY WINDOW BALL CL_{HL}()-THROW ROOM GO
'The boy threw the ball into the room.' (S4)
- (252) CL_{HL}()-THROW
'He threw [a firecracker].' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/60/t/24565/d/25265>
- (253) BOY BALL GIRL IX-A TRHOW
'The boy threw a ball at the girl.' (S1)
- (254) STONE THROW-A
'He threw a stone.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/218/t/167535/d/168995>

TIE

This meaning is expressed by handling classifier predicates where the hands describe the movement of the hands performing the tying motion and holding what is being tied; S=agent, O=theme, handshape depends on the theme (255-257). The whole predicate can be marked by Single Argument Agreement with the location at which the activity takes place (258).

- (255) BOY LACES CL_{HL}()-TIE
'A boy tied his laces.' (S2)
- (256) GIRL CL_{HL}()-TIE BOW
'The girl tied a bow [on her head].' (S3)
- (257) CL_{HL}()-TIE
'You tie [the string].' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/372/t/174600/d/175280>
- (258) LEG-A CL_{HL}()-A ZH-G-U-T[rope] CL_{HL}()-TIE
'I tied a rope on my leg.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/262/t/135407/d/137867>

PUT

This meaning is expressed by handling classifier predicates, in fact, the same predicates discussed under CARRY, and the meaning 'to put' arises when the goal is a specified (259, 260).

- (259) BOX, TOY DIFFERENT, BOY CL_{HL}()-PUT-alt
 'The boy put the toys in a box.' (S2)
- (260) CL_{HL}()-PUT-A
 'I put it in my mouth.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/366/t/264650/d/266200>

POUR

There are two different verbs related to this meaning. One is a ditransitive verb, S=agent, O2=theme, O=addressee/goal; agreement is with O (261, 262). Of course, a handling classifier predicate can also be used to describe a person pouring water from some container (263). The other is an intransitive locative verb which might be a classifier predicate, but this is unlikely because this handshape does not seem to be used in other classifier predicates; S=theme, location can also be specified (264, 265). In order to describe movement of large quantities of water, a whole-entity classifier predicate is used, which is also used to describe movement of masses of people or any other objects (266, 267).

- (261) IX-1 TEA POUR CUP
 'I poured tea into the cup.' (S2)
- (262) SON SMALL ALSO POUR-A
 'The small son also gave it water.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/91/t/55140/d/57350>
- (263) CL_{HL}()-POUR+ CL_{WE}()-BE
 'Pour from one glass to another.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/17/t/139320/d/140730>
- (264) TAP, WATER POUR2-down
 'Water pours from the tap.' (S2)
- (265) WATER POUR2-down
 'Water pours down (a pipe).' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/322/t/10643/d/11683>
- (266) STREET, WATER CL_{WE}()-MOVE
 'Water pours down the streets.' (S3)
- (267) WATER CL_{WE}()-MOVE QUICKLY ALSO QUICKLY CL_{WE}()-MOVE
 'The water moves very quickly.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/257/t/244720/d/248250>

COVER

There is no lexical verb expressing this meaning; various classifier predicates, and also size-and-shape specifiers (SASS) can be used to express that one object is in a spatial relation with another object that can be translated as covering. For instance, a handling classifier predicate can be used for the transitive 'cover' meaning, or a tracing SASS for an intransitive 'cover' meaning.

- (268) BLANKET CL_{HL}()-COVER
 'I covered myself with a blanket.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/188/t/251770/d/252930>
- (269) SASS:cloth-on-the-cage
 'The cage is covered with a cloth.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/378/t/43190/d/44650>

FILL

The verb FULL is non-causative transitive, S=patient (what is filled), O=theme (with what S is filled) (270, 271). Interestingly, the right hand of the lexical sign FULL can combine with a classifier predicate on the weak hand expressing the object that is full (272), this example also shows Single Argument Agreement with the Patient argument. To express the causative meaning 'someone fills something with something' a poly-predicative resultative construction must be used to introduce the agent

(273). The meaning can also be expressed indirectly by a classifier predicate expressing a level of some material within a container (274).

- (270) IX-A SUITCASE CLOTHES FULL
'The suitcase is full of clothes.' (S1)
- (271) BUCKET POOP PILE FULL
'There is a bucket full of poop.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/303/t/69705/d/72433>
- (272) POUR. FULL+CL_{WE}(☞)-BE NEG.
'Pour the glasses. Do not fill the glass.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/17/t/128720/d/130540>
- (273) BOY BASKET APPLE CL_{HL}(☞)-THROW-alt FULL (S1)
'The boy filled the basket with apples.'
- (274) BATH TUB WATER CL_{WE}(☞)-RISE
'The bathtub is full of water.' (S1)

LOAD

There is no lexical verb expressing this meaning. An approximation to the meaning can be expressed by a combination of a handling classifier predicate like CL:CARRY, CL:PUT or CL:THROW, and the sign FULL discussed above (275).

- (275) TRUCK, M-E-B-E-E-L[furniture] /WORKER/ CL_{HL}(☞->☞)-THROW FULL
'The workers loaded the truck with furniture.' (S2)

PUSH

There is no lexical verb expressing this meaning. Usually a handling classifier predicate is used, S=agent, O=theme, goal and source can be specified, and the classifier depends on the theme (276). Interestingly, a whole-entity classifier predicate can be used in the causative context as well (277).

- (276) IX-1 CART ENTER WALL CL_{HL}(☞☞)-PUSH
'I pushed the cart from the entrance to the wall.' (S1)
- (277) IX-1 CHAIR CL_{WE}(☞)-MOVE+WALL WALL CL_{WE}(☞)-MOVE+WALL
'I pushed the chair to the wall.' (S3)



CL_{WE}(☞)-MOVE+WALL:

DIG

There are two instrumental classifier predicates used to express this meaning, one with the whole-entity type classifier C (278), and one with a handling-type classifier SS (279, 280); there does not

seem to be a difference in argument structure between them. S=agent, O=instrument; in addition, location and result can also be present (278-280). If digging does not involve an instrument, a body-part classifier predicate is used (281).

- (278) GRANDPA CL_{IN}()-DIG EARTH DITCH
'The grandpa digs a ditch in the earth.' (S3)
- (279) GRANDPA CL_{IN}()-DIG
'The grandpa digs.' (S3)
- (280) IX-A HUSBAND CL_{WE}()-STAND-A IX-A SHOVEL PLACE CL_{IN}()-DIG
'The husband digs that place with a shovel.'
- (281) EARTH^PLACE, DOG CL_{BP}()-DIG
'A dog digs the earth.' (S2)



CL_{IN}()-DIG:



CL_{BP}()-DIG:

STEAL

There are several verbs that can be translated as STEAL with different valency properties. STEAL1 is a ditransitive agreeing verb, S=agent, O=patient (can also be a Location), O2=theme (what is being stolen); agreement with S and O (282, 283). STEAL2 is a transitive agreeing verb, S=agent, O=patient (can also be a Location), theme cannot be expressed; agreement with S and O (284, 285). STEAL3 is a plain transitive verb, S=agent, O=theme (286).

- (282) THIEF IX-A STEAL1-1 BIKE IX-B G-A-R-A-ZH[garage] IX-B
'A thief stole a bike from me that was in the garage.' (S1)
- (283) BIRD STEAL-A
'[The cat] wants to steal the bird [from there].'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/311/t/31820/d/32370>

- (284) THIEF STEAL2-1
'A thief robbed me.' (S1)
- (285) STEAL2-A IX-A
'[The cat] robbed [the monkey].' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/382/t/34760/d/35630>
- (286) BLANKET BED COVER SURFACE STEAL3
'We used to steal blankets.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/27/t/16260/d/18330>

WIPE

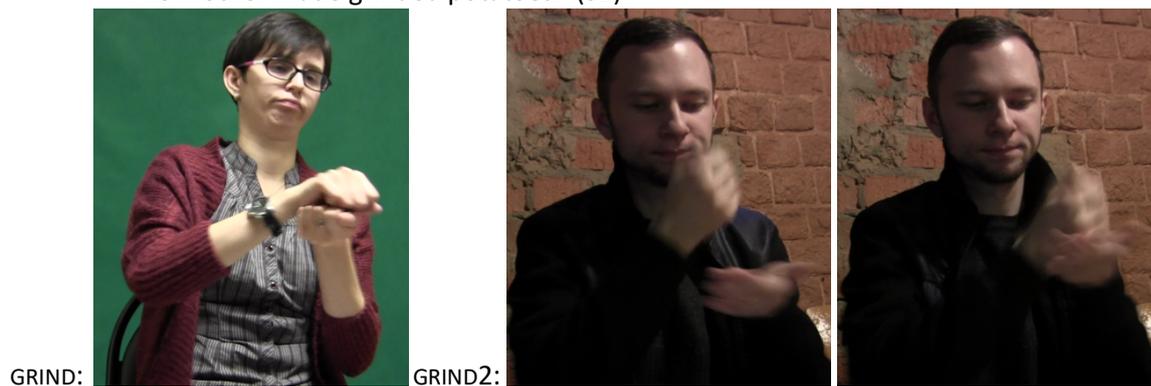
An instrumental classifier predicate is used to express this meaning, S=agent, O=patient, O2=location, the handshape depends on the instrument used for wiping, and the predicate shows Single Argument Agreement with O/O2 (it is impossible to say which because they necessarily are in the same location) (287, 288).

- (287) MAN IX-A GLASS IX-A DUST CL_{IN}()-WIPE-A
'A man wipes dust off the glass.' (S1)
- (288) CL_{IN}()-WIPE-A_{MOUTH}
'He wiped his mouth.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/170/t/17610/d/18830>

GRIND

This meaning is expressed in different ways depending on the object that is being grinded. One is a transitive plain verb used to express the meaning 'to grind coffee', S=agent, P=patient (289). Another is a transitive plain verb used to express the meaning of grinding or crushing in general, S=agent, P=patient (290). There are no examples of signs expressing this meaning in the corpus.

- (289) IX-1 COFFEE IX-1 GRIND POWDER
'I grinded coffee in a powder.' (S3)
- (290) MOTHER POTATO GRIND2 DONE
'The mother made grinded potatoes.' (S2)



HEAR

Plain transitive verb, S=experiencer, O=stimulus (can also be a clausal complement) (291-294). Unspecified object alternation is very common to express the meaning 'hear well/badly' (295). Interestingly, the meaning 'hearing (not deaf)' is derived from the verb SPEAK, not HEAR (297). Note that the verb is also used metaphorically in the meaning 'to receive information', not necessarily by

hearing it (294). In addition, there is a separate verb LISTEN to describe the activity of listening (296), although HEAR is also used with this meaning (292).

- (291) MUSIC IX-1 HEAR
'I heard music.' (S2)
- (292) HEAR MUSIC
'[The cat] listens to the music.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/241/t/16080/d/16640>
- (293) HEAR CL_{we}(☞)-COME-1
'The here that someone is coming.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/56/t/36427/d/37707>
- (294) HEAR IX-A L-V-TS NEW IX-A PROGRAM
'I heard that there at LVTS there is a new program.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/299/t/42460/d/45860>
- (295) HEAR GOOD
'He hears well.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/301/t/111854/d/112674>
- (296) GIRL IX-A, MAN LISTEN
'The man listens to a girl.' (S3)
- (297) SPEAK CLEAN
'She is hearing.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/176/t/324360/d/325030>

TEACH

Ditransitive agreeing verb, S=agent, O=patient, O2=theme, agreement with S and O (298, 299). The nominalization TEACHER usually has a different form (symmetric as opposed to the asymmetric verb) (300). The meaning 'to learn' is expressed by a different verb (301).

- (298) /IX-A MAN^PERSON/ TEACH CHILDREN ENGLISH
'This man teaches English to children.' (S4)
- (299) DOG TEACH-A DOG FIGHT TEACH-A
'He teaches the dog to fight.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/224/t/138989/d/141140>
- (300) TEACHER [WOW PRAISE PRAISE-A]_{RS}
'The teacher is like: wow, great, praises them.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/66/t/20640/d/23330>
- (301) EXTERNAL LEARN
'I do an extramural course.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/301/t/138169/d/139189>

COOK

Transitive verb, S=agent, O=patient (302, 303); unspecified object alternation is possible (304, 305).

- (302) MOTHER COOK SOUP
'The mother cooks soup.' (S1)
- (303) COOK P-I-Z-Z-A S-A-L-A-T DIFFERENT COOK
'She is cooking different food: pizza and salads.'
<http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/79/t/6000/d/9920>
- (304) MOTHER COOK
'The mother cooks.' (S3)
- (305) COOK
'She cooked some food.' <http://rsl.nstu.ru/data/view/id/81/t/7610/d/8880>

BOIL

This meaning can be expressed by two different verbs. BOIL1 is transitive, S=agent, P=patient (306), but it can also be used intransitively, S=patient (307). Interestingly, the cause cannot be the subject and has to be introduced by a separate predicate (308). BOIL2 is intransitive only according to three of the four signers, S=patient (309).

- (306) FATHER R-I-S BOIL1 DONE
'The father boiled/cooked the rice.' (S3)
- (307) WATER BOIL1
'The water boiled.' (S1)
- (308) FIRE BURN, WATER BOIL1
'The fire boiled the water.' (S1)
- (309) WATER BOIL2
'Water boils.' (S1)



BOIL1:



BOIL2: