The Russian Deverbal Noun in *-ije* and the Expression of Abstract Events in Contemporary Standard Russian

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.   Outline

This dissertation considers a topic that is fundamentally meaning-based in nature, namely that we are interested in identifying how the expression of the event conceptualized as the name of the action, the process, or state it describes in Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR) is achieved. As this meaning of abstract event is frequently realized in a variety of ways in Russian, morphological explanations will likely prove relevant, but insufficient in providing an answer. Furthermore, it will prove useful here to distinguish between the *meaning* and *message*. Per the Columbia School, a *meaning* is that which is attached to a specific signal (i.e. word) and is a purely linguistic unit, while a *message* is a notion unencoded.[1] The investigation is therefore undertaken with the purpose of clarifying the status of such a message in CSR. It is expected that such a clarification could be beneficial to the greater institution of Russian and foreign language study, especially as concerns pedagogical approaches in languages where the meaning *abstract event* can be largely encapsulated by a single form, not the least of which is English via the so-called gerund.[2]

It is further thought that some information regarding the historical development of the expression of this concept in Russian as well as comparison with its expression in other Slavic languages will provide a more comprehensive view of the issue, although such information is considered in no way necessary to a synchronic understanding of the problem. While the topic is on the one hand abstract in that it inherently posits that there exists a message that can approximately be termed *event as name, process, or state*, it is not without more concrete

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[1] Huffman, 33-34; this distinction is drawn at the suggest of my committee member, Ellen Contini-Morava.

[2] It should be noted that the author is a native speaker of English and it is his perspective as such that prompted the initial investigation into the topic.

manifestations, as this message-category is commonly given expression in many of the commonly studied and spoken western languages, as in Spanish (*trabajar*), French (*(de) travailler*) via the infinitive, and in German (*(das) Arbeiten*) via a neuter noun made from the infinitive, all of which mean approximately *working* and share many syntactic features and function as: subject: *trabajar aquí es difícil - working here is difficult*, direct object: *j'aime travailler ici - I love working here,* prepositional object: *ich habe mich an das Arbeiten hier gewöhnt - I've gotten used to working here* etc. Whether or not abstract event expression can be said to be universal or tendency among the languages of the world is beyond the scope of this study, but such message expression is by no means exceptional. The complicating factor that is the impetus of the present investigation (and the basis of perhaps the majority of those studies that constitute the body of the field of linguistics) is that *different* languages use *different* means to express what we assume to be the same, or at least very similar, messages.

A brief outline of the organizational approach I have taken is as follows:

- Chapter 1 will provide an overview of the problematic status of what has at least historically been the Russian deverbal substantive – the noun in -*ije*.[3] Here we will compile a variety of sources, from the works of respected linguists to less formal,

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[3] The term *substantive* is in many ways preferable to *noun* as the less ambiguous, as Matthews tells us that the former is defined as "an older term for a noun. Originally 'noun substantive', from Latin *nomen substantivum* (roughly 'independent noun') as opposed to *nomen adiectivum* 'noun adjective' (roughly 'dependent noun')" (361), by which can be seen the potential ambiguity of the term *noun*. Nonetheless, the common synonymous use of noun will not be avoided. Jespersen, in *The Philosophy of Grammar* (1924), happens to take the following approach: "I shall use the word *noun* (Lat. *nomen*) for the larger class of which substantives and adjectives are subdivisions" (1965, p.72) but in his *Essentials of English Grammar* (1933) he does the opposite: "Many grammarians use the term *noun* for this class; but *substantive* seems preferable" (1965, p.66). Furthermore, I have attempted to observe a terminological distinction such that *verbal noun* be used only in relation to forms related to the regular conjugation paradigm of a given language, while *deverbal noun* be used in the sense of a derivational morpheme not part of the regular conjugation paradigm. As it will my position that the Russian form in -*ije* is *deverbal* (this understanding is reflected in the Russian: отглагольное существительное) and the English form in -*ing* is *verbal*, both terms will be used with some frequency. Where both such terms need be referred to collectively, *verbal noun* (*nomina actionis*) will be used (as the unmarked term). A final point is that many Russian grammars in English use the term *verbal noun* to refer to Russian nouns in -*ije*. I find this use inappropriate and contributing to the larger unwarranted equivalation of -*ing* with -*ije*.

anecdotal insights in order to show that the one constant surrounding this form is its ambiguous position in the modern language: some grammarians include it with verb conjugation, others with nouns, a third group in both sections, a fourth in neither etc. The ambiguity of the place of this form in the larger Russian linguistic system is apparently further corroborated by the rise in occurrence of borrowings into Russian from English of gerunds (verbal substantives in *-ing*) as well as the particularly curious instances of attaching this foreign morpheme *-ing* directly to Russian words.

- Chapter 2 will describe the relatively unproblematic state of affairs as it stands in Common Standard English (CSE), especially as concerns the English gerund.[4] In other words, very little of what is described in chapter two will be seen to be applicable in Chapter 3 – the situations are quite different, which, again, provided the primary motivation for this investigation.

- Chapter 3 will detail the complicating factors for positing the existence of a form comparable to the English gerund in Russian. That is, Chapter 1 provided evidence for how the situation in Russian is problematic for a speaker of a language like English and Chapter 3 seeks to determine why this is so.

- Chapter 4, the bulk of the dissertation, will feature two analyses: 1) a comparative analysis of the grammatical expression of a series of messages (primarily through grammatical relations) in the two languages focusing on points of relative convergence and divergence, 2) a comparative analysis of literary translations across three languages (Russian, English, German) to see to what degree verbal nouns (or other grammatical

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[4] While there is no equivalent regulating body for Common Standard English as there is for Common Standard Russian (i.e. *РАН – Российская академия наук*, the Russian Academy of Sciences), I will seek to take a similar approach to both languages, that is one that is indicative of descriptive rather than prescriptive language study.

structures in Russian expressing a similar meaning) are seen by translators to correspond to one another.

- Chapter 5 features a survey of native Russian speakers as to their linguistic preferences in the expression of such meanings. The development of the survey, all of its questions and results are discussed in this chapter.

- Chapter 6 will analyze the complicated nature of so-called *то, что* constructions that I have renamed as *то-subordinates* to more accurately comprise all such constructions, rather than just those featuring the conjunction *что*.[5] Their relevance to the investigation will become clear in Chapter 4, as they too, it will be seen, contribute to the expression of abstract events. This will conclude the synchronic analysis of the primary question of the dissertation. The remaining chapter will provide predominantly, though not exclusively, tangential information that very well may prove relevant in answering related questions.

- Chapter 7 offers a brief comparison of the situation as it stands in other Slavic languages. As Russian is an East Slavic language, representatives of both the West and South Slavic branches will be used for comparison in order to determine the degree to which Russian is anomalous (or not) in Slavic and to provide linguistic perspective that may further yield insight into typological studies of how the presence/lack thereof of such a single form affects the larger linguistic system.

- Chapter 8 will bring the discussion to a close and summarize its findings as well as propose answers to tangential questions.

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[5] In addition to leaving out many of the possible subordinating conjunctions used together with the dummy то, the traditional means of referring to such construction as *то, что* ignores (as do most textbooks and reference grammars) the fact that *что* can be the conjunction of a noun clause (in which case it is unstressed and undergoes reduction: [štə]) or a relative pronoun (in which case it is stressed [što]).

2.   Overview of the Problem

2.1.   Word Formation, Use, and Classification of Nouns in -*ije*[6]

The status of what is traditionally referred to as the Russian deverbal substantive, i.e.

nouns with the suffix -*ije* derived from verbs, is in question. While Townsend (1975) claims that

such forms are "readily created by Russian speakers,"[7] many such forms are not found in the

dictionary and are never included in the conjugation paradigms of verbs.[8] This then begs the

question as to their status in the modern language. However, the question is not a new one.

Meillet in *le Slave commun* (1965) discusses the form as it is reconstructed for Common Slavic,

the unity of which is thought to have existed until the early parts of the second millennium, both

as a verbal and nominal construction. While other derived verb forms in CSR such as

imperfectives of certain verbs, especially such iterative (*многократные глаголы*) imperfectives

as *хаживать* (*to tend to walk about*) or *говаривать* (*to tend to say*) or the vast majority of

verbal adjectives and adverbs commonly referred to as participles (*причастия*) and gerunds

(*деепричастия*) respectively, similarly may or may not be found in the dictionary, their status,

when formed, as verbs, adjectives, or adverbs, is nonetheless, never in question. The same cannot

be said for the deverbal substantive, as the type of noun it forms is not predictable: "the meaning

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[6] The suffix -*ije*, in addition to the *nomen actionis* formed other nouns, such as concrete place/time names: *заречье* (*land beyond the river*), *бездорожье* (*time of year when dirt roads are unusable due to their muddy state*) and compound abstract forms: *слабодушие* (*lack of willpower, forthrightness*), *бесправие* (*state of affairs such that individuals are deprived of their rights*). Nevertheless, I chose to refer to the suffix in this manner, as I deemed it preferable to citing the two consonants to which it is attached to form verbal nouns, *t* and *n*. Furthermore, I chose to cite it with the vowel preceding *jot*, despite the fact that the Old Russian reflex did not vocalize what was a front *jer*. This is reflected in the spelling -*ье*. Old Church Slavonic did vocalize these so-called tense jets and it is that spelling of -*иe* which became dominant in CSR.

[7] Townsend, 155

[8] The process of their dissociation from the verb paradigm apparently took place in the 19th century per Vinogradov: "В XIX в. развитие словообразования имен действия на -*ние, -ение, -тие* происходит под воздействием общей для всех отглагольных имен тенденции к снижению степени их глагольности. Проявляется в самом общем виде стремление к сокращению продуктивности модели" (In the XIX century the development of the formation of nouns of action in -*ние, -ение, -тие* takes place under the force of the general tendency for all verbal nouns towards the lowering of the degree of their verbalness. There is manifested a most general movement towards the reduction of the productivity of the model) Виноградов, 89

of the verbal noun in **-и-ё** is usually the name of the action, process, or state denoted by the

verbal stem (here an English word in *-ing* often corresponds) and/or the result or product of the

action (in which case another English word is often used)."[9] The key part of this statement is the

unpredictability – *usually…and/or* – of the meaning. This becomes more apparent as Townsend

then goes on to note the problematic nature of their formation, stating that "for all their

abundance," such forms "are very rarely formed from at least two verbal types (**О** stems [these

are in reality consonant stems extended through *pleophony* (*полногласие*) - AM], **НУ** stems) and

are not formed from a great number of other verbs as well."[10] He eventually concedes that "for

practical purposes it is best to state that one cannot assume formation of such a noun from a

given stem." In fact, Pchelintseva (2016) estimates that only one in six verbs in Russian forms a

deverbal substantive.[11]

English speakers do not face the same ambiguity when deriving the *-ing* form indicating a

given action, process, or state, which creates a potential for difficulties for native speakers of

English (or any other language the conjugational paradigm of which includes such a form)

learning Russian.[12] Offord and Gogolitsyna (2005) indirectly point out just this problem in their

section on "Translation of English forms ending in *-ing*", as sometimes the English gerund is

rendered with an *-ije* form, other times with an infinitive.[13] Although his presentation is not

careful to distinguish the various types of nouns (and other parts of speech for that matter) the

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[9] Townsend, 156

[10] Townsend, 155

[11] Compared to one in three in Ukrainian and such forms being a regular feature of Polish verbs (Пчелинцева (2016), 16)

[12] While such a verbal substantive in English is generally called the *gerund*, in Russian language study a gerund typically refers to the verbal adverb, *деепричастие*, in *-я* or *-в(ши(сь))*. All further reference to a (de)verbal substantive in either language is to be understood as referring to the noun formed from the verb yielding the meaning "the name of the action, process or state" to use Townsend's terminology. The term gerund, nonetheless, will be used to refer to the English verbal noun, as is typical.

[13] Offord and Gogolitsyna, 160

English -*ing* can express (a topic we will discuss later), the single form in English juxtaposed to the multitude of morphological and syntactic forms in Russian is enough to make clear the problem inherent in stating that both languages possess a verbal substantive.

A presentation of the type that has the potential to be misleading is found in Bogojavlensky's *Russian Review Grammar* (1981), where the author states that "Neuter 'Verbal Nouns' express *the process of an action*; this corresponds to the gerund ending '–ing' in English" after which several examples are included accompanied by a note: "These 'verbal nouns' are mostly formed from the infinitive of the imperfective aspect of the verb."[14] This kind of oversimplification may prove functional in a limited number of instances, but, as the present investigation will show, is in fact a false analogy that will often yield 1) unlikely syntactic constructions if not 2) non-existing forms and 3) ungrammatical constructions by the student. The first can be seen in translating the sentence *After looking for our dog, we returned home*, which, using the author's suggestion that the following are equivalent "иска́ние - *(the) searching*", one might render the sentence in the following manner: *После искания нашей собаки, мы вернулись домой*. While the sentence is grammatical, the student is likely to hear the frustrating and unhelpful response that it does not sound very Russian (*звучит не очень по-русски*) and be corrected to using *после поисков* or a *после того, как* construction instead (the latter of which would traditionally be referred to as a *то, что* construction, despite it clearly being *то, как*). The second might occur when the student attempts to translate *I try to avoid spending too much money on the weekends* with a deverbal noun **трачение* from the imperfective *тратить*, only to find out that such a noun does not exist and that if they want to express the abstract concept of *spending*, there simply exists a separate noun that must be

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[14] Bogojavlensky, 209

memorized, *трата*, the definition of which does indeed contain the two elements that we will

later see are essential to a Russian word's being at least nominally equivalent to an English

gerund: 1) it occurs only in the singular (*только ед.* as the dictionary will state) and 2) is defined

as the action according to the verb (*действие по глаг.*). The third instance might occur when a

form in *-ije* does indeed exist, but it does not satisfythe above two criteria. Such a sentence as

After asking questions, we proceeded to the discussion portion of the conference is a case in

point. An ungrammatical rendering would be: *После задания вопросов, мы перешли к

дискуссионной части конференции.* The student here will find that *задание* is in fact only a

concrete noun, what one may call a *substantive nominalization* (*nomen acti*), restricted to the

meaning of *assignment, task*, and not the abstract meaning, also referred to as *action

nominalization* (*nomen actionis*).[15] Thus, such blanket statements equating nouns in *-ije* with the

English gerund and similarly applying the term *verbal noun* to the former when it applies only to

the latter are overt misrepresentations to be avoided at all levels of description and instruction. It

is one of my primary goals in writing this dissertation to demonstrate and make this point clear

and, in so doing, reduce confusion in the classroom.

An additional factor to consider is terminology. Though seemingly obvious, Cruise

(1993) makes an important observation in noting that the deverbal noun in Russian has no

special name, as all the other parts of speech do.[16] The term *отглагольное существительное*

(*deverbal substantive*) does not exclusively refer to nouns in *-ije*. This is in fact the very first

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[15] It should be noted that, while Ushakov (1974) only lists the concrete definition, Wiktionary does cite a secondary definition of "setting (*of parameters, etc., as a process*)" with установка as a synonym; the terms *substantive* and *action nominalization* come from Nilsson (1972), 10

[16] Cruise, 154; though providing a very brief overview and offering few solutions to this problem, does make the student aware of the issue; several of her remarks are worth noting, such as that "there is no gerund or verbal noun in Russian. The gerund is most often translated by an infinitive," but that it "also may be translated by a noun...but [it is] unlike a gerund in that it is not freely formed from any verb and is not called by a special name in Russian"; compare to Macedonian, another Slavic language, where the verbal substantive is regular part of the conjugation and is called the *глаголска именка*.

thing Pchelintseva (2016) points out in chapter one of her book *От глагола к имени:*

аспектуальность в русских, украинских и польских именах действия (*From Verb to Noun:*

Aspect in Russian, Ukrainian and Polish nouns of action): "термины отглагольное имя, имя

действия трактуются в лингвистической литературе различно...отглагольные имена в

славянских языках не всегда актуализируют значение процессуальности, у них могут

развиваться предметные значения."[17] The other terms for verbal forms, *причастие*, the verbal

adjective, and *деепричастие*, the verbal adverb, do not exhibit such ambiguity. Further evidence

for the unpredictable nature of these forms is found in the dictionary where nouns in *-ije* abound.

If they were as predictable as is often claimed, there would be no need to define them.

Conversely, truly predictable forms, again, like the verbal adverbs and adjectives, are only found

in the dictionary when they are no longer felt to be a part of the verb conjugation and, therefore,

require definition.[18]

     Indeed, at every turn one finds ambiguity. Some grammars list the form as an abstract

noun suffix, likely the more appropriate synchronic categorization as we will see. This is the

approach Townsend takes, while Wade calls them "verbal nouns," but discusses them in his

section on the noun and, furthermore, does not unite them as nouns in *-ije*, but rather lists

separate suffixes depending on the verb they are derived from, such that he presents verbal nouns

in *-anie, -enie, -ovenie, -tie* etc. While Wade makes no claims to be providing a morphological

analysis of CSR, the presentation here is nonetheless noteworthy for its division of forms. In

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[17] "The terms deverbal noun, noun of action are interpreted in linguistics literature in various ways...verbal nouns in the Slavic languages do not always actualize the meaning of process, they may develop concrete meanings." Пчелинцева (2016), 26

[18] This may occur when the verb is no longer in use, as is the case with *предыдущий*, clearly originally a present active participle, the verbal source of which (**предойти/предыдти*) no longer exists, or when the verb is still in use, but a particular form of its conjugation has become semantically specialized, as with *следующий*, the meaning *тот, кто/то, что следует* (that which follows) needs not be defined, as it can be derived from the modern infinitive *следовать*, but its nonverbal, now purely adjectival meaning of *next* (*in line*), not inherently verbal in meaning, has to be included.

other grammars one encounters a section entitled "verbal noun" typically following the past passive participle and reflecting a historical/morphological approach to organization rather than a synchronic one. This is the presentation provided by de Bray (1969) and Entwistle and Morison (1964).[19] Dictionaries are also not devoid of contradictions, as some include particular forms, even those that are archaic, while others fail to include those that native speakers profess to exist. The more resources one consults, the more muddled the situation becomes.

2.2. *-инговые существительные* (-ing nouns) and their Status[20]

Yet further evidence for this problematic status of the deverbal substantive in Russian is seen in the growing number of *инговые существительные* (-ing nouns) in the language. While such borrowed words as *тренинг* have been included in dictionaries since at least the 1970s, the prominence of such *инговые существительные*, as *кастинг, буллинг, фишинг,* just to list a few of the 214 Wikipedia lists under "русские слова с суффиксом -инг", is constantly on the rise.[21] Compare this number to the approximately 20 entries in Zalizanjak's 1977 *Грамматический словарь русского языка* (*Grammatical Dictionary of the Russian Language*) and the increasing importance of the form is immediately apparent. Comrie, Stone and Polinsky in 1996[22] noted the increasing prominence of *-инг* in CSR in the conclusion to their book, in which they attempted to note current trends in the language:

> In word-formation, a new suffix, which happens to be an English borrowing, is becoming very frequent: -инг (from -ing)...Though the ending -нк is not typical for Russian, numerous borrowings from English retain the suffix -инг in Russian and have become declinable, which is a sign of adaptation, cf. договор селинга 'selling contract'...It still

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[19] de Bray, p.59, Entwistle and Morison, p. 220

[20] While I have chosen to refer to Russian deverbal nouns in Roman italics *-ije*, the borrowed suffix *-инг* I have left in cyrillic so as not to confuse it with the gerund forming suffix in English, represented throughout as *-ing*.

[21] ru.wiktionary.org/wiki/Категория:Русские_слова_с_суффиксом_-инг

[22] We should note that the 1978 edition of the book *The Russian Language Since the Revolution* makes no mention of the suffix, despite it already being present in Zaliznjak's 1977 grammar

remains to be seen whether -инг will undergo the same assimilation as -изм, which in the second half of the twentieth century began occurring with Russian stems[23]

Three years later, Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999) also discussed the suffix, but were careful to qualify any seeming prominence the form possessed:

> although -инг is not a Russian suffix in the true sense of the word, since it appears exclusively in loans from English and shows no sign of affixation to native Russian roots (an exception may be сбербáнкинг 'savings banking'..., references to '-ing forms' ("-инговые формы"...) imply that it can be interpreted as a bound morpheme…there were about 180 forms in -инг, by comparison with only 22 in Ushakov's dictionary (1935-40).[24]

In the quarter century that has passed, it does indeed seem as though not only has the prominence of *-инг* in the language only increased, but at least one qualitative jump has also taken place.

While the majority of such words continue to be straightforward borrowings, some have the added factor of expressing a primary meaning in the borrowing language, which was a secondary, lesser or even only tangentially related meaning in the language-originator.[25] Such is the case with *фишинг*, which in Russian is not a synonym for *рыболовля* (i.e. *fish-catching*), but rather the homophonous *phishing*. Comrie et. al. cite the 1923 borrowing of *дансинг*, even more peculiar for its meaning of 'dance-hall'.[26] However of real significance are the forms such as the more recent *улучшайзинг* (*bettering, improvement*)[27] or *партизанинг* (*being a partisan, supporting*),[28] which present a further development in which a foreign grammatical morpheme

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[23] Comrie, Stone, Polinsky, 312; note that, to the best of my knowledge, the spelling *-нк* in the quote is made to represent the pronunciation typical in Russian, not the spelling, which is always *-инг.*

[24] Ryazanova-Clarke, Wade, 222-223

[25] This third instance, where the word takes on a new, but obviously related meaning is referred to by Comrie et. al. as semantic concretization (195); this type of concretization from a borrowing is exemplified in the usage of *дансинг* cited below.

[26] Comrie, Stone, Polinsky, 193

[27] Кронгауз, 217; the word, meaning *improvement*, is made from the imperfective infinitive *улучшать* (*to improve*)

[28] Пчелинцева (2014), 14; this form, which I myself have never heard, is apparently built not from a verbal stem, but from the noun stem *партизан* (*a partisan, guerilla fighter*) to which *-инг* has been added to yield the apparent meaning of *acting as a partisan/guerilla fighter*, indicating an understanding of the abstract event expression function of the suffix, even when added to words not initially expressing an event.

(two, in fact, in the former: -*ize* and -*ing*) has been borrowed and suffixed to a Russian stem, precisely what Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade point to as a critical restraint on the adoption of the form in the way that suffixes like -*изм* have been adopted..[29] This is further evidence yet for the unclear status of the morpheme -*ije*, as, if this form was indeed fully productive, there would seem to be little reason for speakers to borrow a foreign morpheme identical in meaning, especially considering the relatively rare situation morphological borrowing presents.[30]

Because this increasing occurrence of -*инг* in Russian is a phenomenon taking place in the present and some passage of time will be required to determine whether it is a passing fad or truly an attempt by native speakers to fill what is felt to be a morphological (and perhaps therefore semantic) gap, we will consider the reflections of a few native speakers on the subject. The contemporary Russian linguist Maksim Krongauz devotes a section of his 2017 book, *Русский язык на грани нервного срыва* (*The Russian Language on the Brink of a Nervous Breakdown*), to this very word, *улучшайзинг*, which he introduces as a "смешное слово, этакое слово-пародия на то, что происходит в русском языке."[31] Surprisingly, however, he steers the discussion entirely in the direction of form, discussing how words with such suffixes are spelled and devoting little to no attention to their function, which is the truly peculiar aspect of this phenomenon, because, as we noted above, the application of a foreign suffix to a native root would imply the productivity of such a suffix. While it may appear to be a somewhat ridiculous, singular neologism, the 86,300 results it yields when searched in Google would suggest the

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[29] If we continue with Comrie *et al.*'s parallel with -*изм*, this is equivalent to the initially rejected *большевизм*; *большевичество* eventually lost out to the form with the borrowed morpheme (Comrie *et al.*, 139).

[30] Assuming -*ije* remains a divisible meaning unit in the minds of native speakers, something Wade's presentation seems to dispute.

[31] "A funny word, a sort of parody word for what is happening in the Russian language." Кронгауз, р. 217

opposite.[32] Pchelintseva, in her 2016 book, *От глагола к имени*, noted Krongauz's book chapter as well and conducted a similar search for *улучшайзинг* in the Russian search engine Yandex, which yielded 4,000 results; I conducted a similar Yandex search in Spring 2022 which yielded 18,000 results. Krangauz's own search in 2007 yielded 2,000 results. The increasing popularity of this word (and perhaps also its suffix) is obvious.

Further internet evidence for the increasing prevalence of nouns in *-инг* in Russian can be found on YouTube. Virginia Bēowulf is the name of a popular (with over 375,000 subscribers as of January 2023) YouTube channel in Russian predominantly about English. In a video published Sept. 7, 2021 titled "ЧТО НА САМОМ ДЕЛЕ ОЗНАЧАЕТ -ING" (*What in Fact -ING Means*), the video's author, Arno Tali, discusses various aspects of the English gerund, from its proper pronunciation (standard American English pronounces [iŋ], the velar nasal /ŋ/ being absent in the Russian phonemic inventory, however it is undoubtedly alloponically present in the typical Russian spelling pronunciation [iŋk], with final consonant devoicing) to meaning and historical information. This is not the significant part, however, in terms of the present discussion, but rather some of his commentary as a native speaker and the existence of the video itself that are worth our attention. At the start of the video, the author recalls seeing a Soviet-era poster in Uzbek that read "Пушкин ватанимизнинг фуруридир" and that the final string of letters on the second word, namely *-инг/-ing* caught his eye, as he wondered, had *-инг* not made its way into Uzbek as well? The answer is no (at least in this instance), but what is significant is the rather overt admission that *-инг* is a common feature of CSR.[33] His further comments, though

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[32]For a further idea of the relative significance of this number, consider alternatively the yields of supposedly theoretically existing deverbal substantives of common verbs like *давание* (36,000), *бегание* (118,000), *считание* (15,500)

[33] The Uzbek suffix here is apparently not *-инг*, but *-нинг*, which indicates the possessor, so that the poster reads approximately "Pushkin (is) our country's pride"

anecdotal in a sense, will be immediately confirmed by anyone who has interacted with the current form of the language in the past several years. Talking about the suffix, he says "это уже давно, по сути, и русский народный суффикс, и я даже не про газла́йтинг с бу́ллингом, и не про менспре́динг. Ладно, если вы сейчас думаете, что «я уже точно не из этих,» то я вас уверяю, у вас в своей речи «инги» тоже найдутся. Пусть будет са́йдинг с мо́лдингом. Ну, либо спа́рринг."[34] Such examples not only point to the apparent common occurrence of such forms in the language, but also their ability to be inflected for gender, number and case, as seen in the masculine, singular, instrumental ending *-ом* in "с бу́ллингом". The rest of the video concerns the various grammatical functions *-ing* serves in English. While two of the forms mentioned (*сайдинг - siding, молдинг - molding*) are strictly speaking not gerunds, being of the more concrete type we will discuss in Chapter 2, these observations only confirm the growing influence of *-инг* in Russian.

Similar confirmation can be found on Russia's popular late-night talk show *Вечерний Ургант* (*Evening Urgant*),[35] on which the show's host, Ivan Urgant, opens each evening's program with a monologue recounting the latest national and international news stories. In a broadcast from Feb. 9, 2021, Urgant talks about a new project from the Moscow transit authorities: *социальный карпулинг* (*social carpooling*). After describing what was meant by *карпулинг*, he notes that "слово, честно говоря, иностранное. В русской глубинке...нас сейчас вообще не поймут. Есть же исконное русское слово, красивое: подбросинг."[36] The

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[34] "This, in essence, has already for a long time been a folk Russian suffix, and I'm not even (talking) about gaslighting with bullying, and not about manspreading. Ok, if you are thinking right now that "I am definitely not one of those people," then I assure you, *ing*s in your speech will also turn up. Let's say siding with molding. Or, well, sparring." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LpAI12Y7lrA, 0:45

[35] During the writing of this dissertation, Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24, 2022; as a result, Urgant's show is no longer on the air.

[36] "The word, if we're being honest, is foreign. In the Russian backwoods...we won't be understood right now. There is, after all, the primordial Russian word, a beautiful one: *podbrosing*." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cHtl_OIiHeE&list=WL&index=6, 1:38

latter is yet another instance of a Russian word, here the colloquial usage of the verb *подбрасывать/подбросить*, literally meaning *to toss*, but used to mean *to give a ride/lift*, suffixed with the foreign *-инг*. The humorous effect is in the latently understood contrast between Western-looking, fashionable Moscow where such *инговые существительные* abound and the non-metropolitan Russia, where the meaning of such words is likely to be as foreign as their origin. In light of what Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade said in 1999, these examples become especially intriguing: "Unlike English forms in 'ing', the Russian forms have no verbal associations. With motivation supplied by context rather than a verbal underlay, the potential for -инг to be adopted as a genuine suffix is seriously inhibited."[37] It is true, a few, largely humorous i.e. stylistically marked forms cannot be presented as signs of a linguistic revolution. However, it would seem to be a mistake to ignore the ability of native speakers to use it in word formation with native roots and dismiss the phenomenon as a fad limited to a small demographic in a single city.

Further evidence that this is a trend not limited to marginal societal groups is evident in the fact that Russian linguists themselves have begun to notice the preponderance of the form. Djakov and Skvoretskaja wrote about the growing influence of *-инг* in Russian in their 2013 paper "Суффикс –инг завоевывает свои позиции в русском словообразовании" (*The Suffix -ing is Conquering its Position in Russian Word Formation*). Even ten years ago, in 2013, the suffix was the most frequently encountered of all the affixes borrowed from English into Russian, accounting for 1,500 of the 12,600 borrowings from English the authors analyzed.[38] The article contains what will likely be a surprisingly long and variegated list of words in *-инг*

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[37] Ryazanova-Clarke, Wade, 225

[38] Other affixes from English being actively borrowed to varying degrees include (citations are slang forms) *-able* (*майгодбл* - an especially interesting formulation the authors cite consisting only of English morphemes), *-er* (*электричкер*), *-ment* (*дрожемент*), *-tion* (*мусейшн*) etc.

(both borrowed and newly created) even for many Slavists and argues that the case for *-инг* as a "словообразовательная единица, выделяющаяся в имени существительном мужского рода, которое обозначает действие по глаголу, названному мотивирующим словом" is a strong one.[39] While the article serves an important purpose in the fixation of these new creations as they appear, it does not approach the issue in terms of the larger system of the language and what the motivating factors for this borrowing might be. The same can be said of the rather bizarre musings on the future of *-инг* forms in Russian by Viktor Grigorjev. While the talk given at a 2005 Russian Academy of Sciences conference is titled "*СВЕТЛОЕ БУДУЩЕЕ "ИНГОВЫХ ФОРМ" в русском поэтическом языке*,"[40] the content is a wide-ranging collection of speculations on the potential uses of such a suffix in Russian should it become fully productive. Here again the larger linguistic impetus for the use of the suffix is either unnoticed or ignored. It seems clear to me that the rise in such borrowings is directly related to the problematic nature of the suffix *-ije* in Russian.

2.3.   Summary

We have seen thus far that the general presentation of the status of Russian nouns in *-ije* in terms of the systematic organization of the language is far from being either uniform or clear. This is because, as will be shown, the suffix *-ije*, if productive, is not predictable in application or in meaning, resulting in a situation in which, knowing the verb, one cannot confidently predict what the noun which refers to the event described by the verb will look like. To test this hypothesis one need not be a linguist – a reliable dictionary will provide the answer. If we take, for example, the verb *лежать* and attempt to form a noun in *-ije* we find that Ushakov cites

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[39] "word-forming unit, observed in nouns of masculine gender, which means the action according to the verb named by the motivating word" (Djakov and Skvoretskaja, 183)

[40] "The Bright Future of ING Forms" in Russian Poetic Language

лежание and, more importantly, defines it as the *состояние по глаг. лежать* (state according to the verb *to lie*). This would seem to argue in favor of the predictability of the meaning yielded by the suffix. On the other hand the verb *ладить*, while being of a similar semantic nature to *лежать*, as in its primary meaning it describes a state (i.e. being in harmony, *быть в ладу*) similarly with no clear perfective form, it is unclear what the noun describing this state would be, as **лаждение* (formed after the model *судить → суждение*) does not exist. Nor is the situation any clearer for such verbs as *валить* or *садить*: the dictionary cites no **валение* (formed after the model of *солить → соление*) nor **саждение*. Then there are such verbs as *лгать to lie*, which also would appear to have no such noun describing the action, though this role is largely (if not entirely) fulfilled by the noun *ложь*. Consider again the verb *улучшать* and its processual *улучшайзинг* to complete the confused state of things. These are merely a handful of examples selected more or less at random provided here to illustrate that 1) *-ije* is in no way the universal suffix for making abstract nouns from verbs that many present it to be and 2) the creation of such nouns is unpredictable not only in terms of what the form will look like and its meaning, but whether or not it even exists. This is all apart from the fact that, even when available, Russian speakers tend not to use nouns in *-ije* with anywhere near the frequency of the gerund in English. We will return to a more detailed analysis of this aspect of the problem in Chapter 3. The charts below provide an approximate visual summary of the problem to be investigated.[41]

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[41] "Other nouns" in English are those such as *disarmament* which do in fact represent a process related to the verb *disarm*, but which will not be discussed due to 1) the fact that their existence does not negate that of the gerund (here *disarming*) and 2) they are neither great in number nor predictable in formation.

English Abstract Event Expression

- -ing
- infinitive
- other nouns
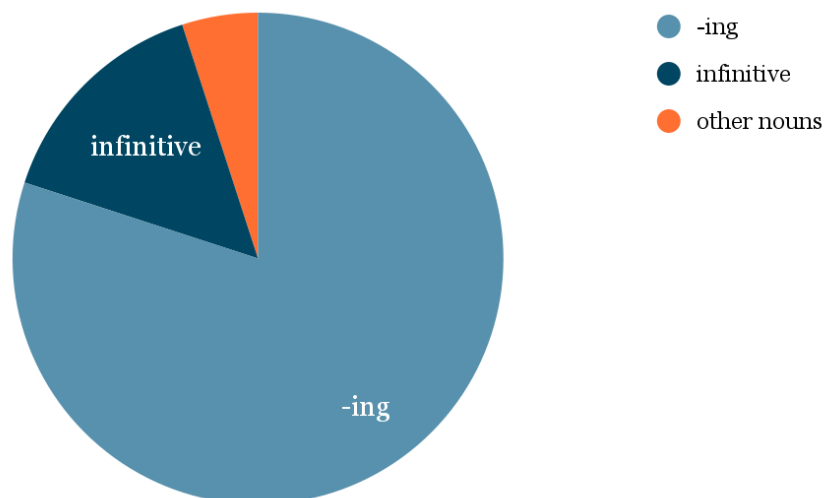
Russian Abstract Event Expression
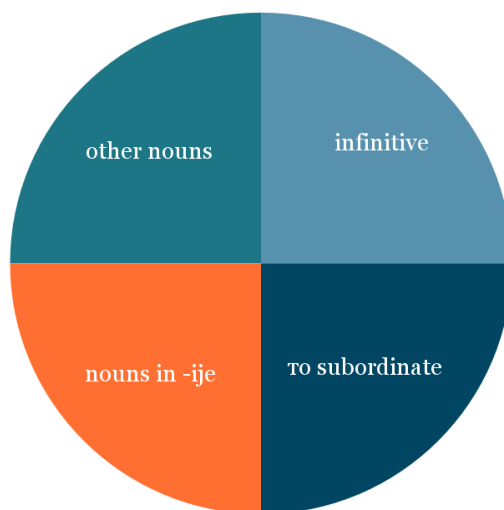
While not exact in their proportions,[42] these charts are intended to provide some sense of 1) the

degree to which such expression in English is dominated by a single form (probably even more

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[42] The graphics are primarily meant to provide a visual aid in conceptualizing the nature of the difference between Russian and English in abstract event expression. That the English chart is in broad strokes an approximate, if not exact description, I think, will find confirmation in the functional analysis of the gerund in Chapter 2. That the Russian chart is similarly broadly representative is most evident in the data presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The reader may wish to return to these illustrations after reading the relevant chapters.

so than the chart depicts), 2) the relatively numerous means Russian possesses[43] and their

variety, and 3) the obvious difficulty in translating from one language to the other. This

incongruence is one of the focal points of the investigation.

3.   Methodology and Matters Beyond the Scope of Investigation

3.1.   Approach

As has already been stated, my goal here is to determine the manner in which CSR

expresses actions conceptualized in the abstract; that is, we will be dealing exclusively in

observable phenomena, or, in generative terminology, in surface structure. The fact that both

Russian, English and many other languages do in fact allow for abstract event expression is one

of the primes to this investigation. The discussion of nominalization[44] in terms of generation

from deep structure and underlying forms and the debate between the *transformationalist* and

lexicalist positions seen in the works of Lees (1960) and Chomsky (1965, 1970) and countless

others are topics that are beyond the scope of this investigation.[45] It is true that evident in the title

of the dissertation is the assumption of the primacy of the action over its abstraction (i.e. the

finite forms of *run* being primary to the abstracting *running*, not necessarily morphologically, but

in meaning), but the degree to which other languages may derive concrete action meanings from

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[43] *other nouns* includes both nouns with a zero suffix, the suffix *-ka* (to be discussed in the Chapter 3) and those in -*инг*.

[44] In terms of meaning, this investigation is dealing with nominalization so much as it be understood as abstraction, as we will not be bound by morphological or syntactic concerns – all means, at least *a priori*, being deemed viable, should they express the *message* being investigated i.e. an action, process, or state conceptualized outside of its actual unfolding in time. The degree to which the term *nominalization* overlaps with this meaning will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

[45] In short, the argument concerns whether or not action nouns are stored in the mind as nouns (lexicalist position) or whether they are the result of a transformation from an entire sentence (transformationalist position).

a more primal abstract action (i.e. the reverse of English) and which of these processes is more prominent in language, while a topic of great interest, will not be discussed.[46]

As I try to demonstrate in the following chapters, there has been no comprehensive analysis of abstract event expression in CSR and, therefore, before any further analysis or theory application may take place, we must first establish the facts. However, some discussion of transformational derivation will occur in the following two chapters as the scope of the analysis is more precisely defined. While such a detailed, generative analysis of abstract event expression is apparently lacking for CSR, Nilsson (1972) has conducted one for nouns in *-ije* in Old Russian. We will return to further considerations and questions regarding abstract event expression in the concluding chapter, where the findings of the present study will be summarized. Furthermore, we will also attempt to more broadly suggest the nature of the implications of these conclusions for our understanding of the motivating mechanisms of abstract event expression in CSR and, therefore, those of other languages, primarily English. In other words, the question is why it is that English so readily and succinctly expresses events abstractly, whereas languages like Russian prefer the expression of finitely encapsulated actions. What motivates these differences in typological structure?

At the risk of being too cautious and contending too little, I have decided to stay largely within the confines of what may be termed *traditional grammar*. The terms and concepts used in the following discussion hardly go beyond parts of speech and semantic categories and should, therefore, be accessible to a wide readership. The only exceptions to this seem to me to be the brief discussion of distinctive features as applied to semantic categories and markedness,

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[46] In Russian, and perhaps many or all languages, it seems that if there is one part of speech that can claim diachronic primacy to all others, it would in fact be the noun and not the verb. This was one of the pet topics of Potebnya.

particularly as a +/ø relationship (further discussion in Chapter 2). Even then, I make every effort

for transparency in my thought processes and my application of concepts.

The reason for what may be perceived to be a sort of conservatism in approach primarily

rests in the fact that generative grammar, particularly in Chomsky's *universal grammar* (UG), in

addition to originating primarily through the study of a single language – English – seems to me

to be predicated on the *assumption* that there exists a likely metaphorically named, but

nonetheless aptly termed *language organ*, significantly autonomous from what may be more

generally termed human behavior, at least in its nascent form in the newborn child.[47] Everything

else that has occurred in the seemingly ever broadening and transforming field of generative

linguistic analysis appears to me to be secondary to this assumption of the existence of the

autonomous language organ. The result is that the processes involved in the subsequent theories

of language need not reflect any other part of human behavior once the practitioners of

generative analysis have taken for granted, consciously or otherwise, that there exists just such a

language faculty.

Despite obvious differences, there seem to be ways in which the descriptivist school of

Bloomfieldian linguistics and that of Chomskyan UG are in fact similar. First and foremost,

among these similarities is an unsatisfactory, in my estimation, treatment of meaning.

Bloomfieldian linguistics excluded meaning on the basis of our inability to observe and

empirically define it. Chomskyan linguistics includes meaning, but places it in the *language*

organ – also, as of yet, an unknown. In other words, the crucial difference is that Bloomfield

(1933) limited the scope of study to only that part of language that could be physically observed,

stating that "we have defined the *meaning* of a linguistic form as the situation in which the

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[47] Cook and Newson, 46

speaker utters it and the response which it calls forth in the hearer." Bloomfield himself

recognized the shortcomings of such an approach, but, unwilling to make untestable

assumptions, he saw this as unavoidable: "the statement of meaning is therefore the weak point

in language-study and will remain so until human knowledge advances very far beyond its

present state."[48] Chomskyan linguistics, rather than exclude the mental aspect of language, has

focused entirely on it, and, while the statement is overly general, has attempted to describe these

mental processes without having any true proof of their validity. In other words, Bloomfield

deemed meaning unknowable, while Chomsky deemed it knowable, but *assumed* its

organization. The Russian linguist Vladimir Zvegintsev noted this similarity to Bloomfieldian

linguistics in stating,

> в конечном счете, сводится всё к тем же описательным процедурам и ставит своей
> целью дать описание абстрактной структуры лингвистической компетенции — в
> идее, но не в исполнении взаимодействующей с другими видами психологического
> поведения человека[49]

As Davis (1973) described the study of language, there are two approaches, "language-as-

knowledge, as a property of the nervous system, and language-as-behavior, as activity of human

beings in an environment."[50] Bloomfield confined himself to the latter, Chomsky to the former,

but while Bloomfield was limited by what could be observed, Chomsky was not. Of course, his

theory is by no means nonsense, but its vision of the mental organization of how language is

organized remains untestable. The result is that so long as the theory is integrated, does not

contradict itself, and does indeed produce the correct result, i.e. a form recognized as belonging

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[48] Bloomfield, 22-23

[49] "at the end of the day, everything comes down to the same descriptive procedures and it places as its goal
providing a description of an abstract structure of linguistic competence — in conception, but not in execution co-
interacting with other types of the psychological behavior of humanity" (Звегенцев cited in Алптав, 45)

[50] Davis, 90

to the competence of a speaker of the given language, any organizational structure has validity, so long as it meets the rather vague notion of *simplicity*.[51]

What strikes me as most problematic with universal grammar is the current impossibility of testing the hypothesis of the existence of such a language organ, i.e. of testing whether or not such an organization and set of organizational principles and procedures are actually at work. It is true, we can test whether the systems proposed by generative analyses of individual languages produce the correct results, but we have no way of knowing how the brain is coming to those results. It may very well be that UG will one day be proven to be correct, but until that day comes, I think it important to remember what the assumptions are that are being made in taking this approach to linguistic analysis. It is easy to be impressed and, indeed, intimidated by the analyses and accompanying terminology provided under UG, but it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the complexity of analysis by itself is no argument. One may make one's way from point A to point B through a dazzling series of flips and somersaults, but one may also simply walk the stretch in standard fashion no less effectively.

We would also do well to keep in mind that a hypothesis is by definition *testable*. UG, therefore, as I see it, is as of yet an assumption, not a hypothesis. This might seem an unfair assessment for a means of linguistic assessment that is so empirically strict, so completely systematically integrated and explanationally powerful to the point of often leaving no anomalies or exceptions unintegrated.[52] Indeed, it is difficult not to wonder at the ingenious nature of the

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[51] On the one hand, the generativist notion of simplicity is clearly defined: that description which entails the fewest rules, while explaining the most information is the simplest. In reality, however, one must often first accept layers of abstract, non-occurring data (see, for example, x-bar theory in syntax, lexical phonology in phonology) before the resultant *simple* solution can be provided. The extreme reliance on non-occurring data, in my own view, significantly problematizes the purported simplicity of the resulting analysis.

[52] The drive for exceptionless systems is particularly evident in so-called *extrametricality*, according to which underlying syllables are added or removed from a given construction so as to produce, for example, the desired stress pattern at the surface (see Roca and Johnson (1999), 323; additionally note that in this three-page introduction

observations and the solutions provided to seemingly unexplainable phenomena, but all of this

has no bearing on the nature of the initial assumption.[53] Those who accept this initial assumption

and work within its framework are engaged in what Kuhn calls *normal science* and describes as

"the activity in which most scientists inevitably spend almost all their time, [which] is predicated

on the assumption that the scientific community knows what the world is like."[54] We can also

state that acceptance of this assumption need not lead to stasis, but most often is accompanied by

an internal dynamism. We have seen this in the steady development of Chomskyan theory, from

its early *transformationalist approach*, to *government and binding* and now its latest *minimalism*

instantiation. While there is clearly room for change within the theory, questioning whether or

not this is not all too abstract is questioning the fundamental assumption of the theory. This,

generally, is not accepted. Moreover, "much of the success of the enterprise derives from the

community's willingness to defend that assumption, if necessary at considerable cost."[55] This

need to validate their assumption is most evident in the word choice of generative authors, who

leave not a page (sometimes not a paragraph) without assuring the reader that their solution is not

only *simple*, but exceedingly *natural*.[56] The cost of this kind of approach is that the scientific

community continues to pursue a notion based on an assumption that may turn out to be invalid.

This indeed is a disturbing notion to someone whose life's work is predicated on that assumption

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to the topic, the words *simply, commonly, common sense, obviously,* and *clearly* are all used to apparently counterbalance the high degree of abstraction).

[53] The fact that this is indeed an assumption, not a hypothesis, seems to be the primary source of most of the vitriol from both sides of the aisle, as, entering into this debate, one is taking a stance akin to the adoption of a religion. Religions, too, offer explanations for all that happens in life, as UG does for language.

[54] Kuhn, 5

[55] *Ibid*

[56] As an example, in Kenstowicz and Rubach's 1987 paper *The Phonology of Syllabic Nuclei in Slovak* published in the journal *Language*, in 30 pages of text, the authors use the words *simple* and *simply* 18 times and the word *natural* 9 times. The paper itself contains 33 pages of text, but the first three recount past approaches to the problem and contain 0 instances of the words *simple, simply* or *natural*. This manner of assurance by the authors, at least in my own case, elicits more doubt, however, than belief. I invite the reader to conduct their own such analyses.

being true. It seems to me, then, that much of this can be avoided if we take a sober account of what we know and what we do not; when we are arguing about assumptions and when about matters stemming from those assumptions; and, importantly for this analysis, when we are arguing about the content of the analysis and when about the means of analysis. The last point is made especially pertinently by Comrie, in warning that

> reliance on overly abstract approaches to linguistic description substantially increases the possibility that what will be compared are not languages but linguists' conceptions (or misconceptions) of languages…adoption a priori of a particular explanation (especially a largely untestable one such as innateness) serves only to blind the linguist to the possibility of alternative explanations[57]

One could, it seems to me, aptly apply Kuhn's conception of the *paradigm* to the now already decades long dominance of generative analyses.[58] Whatever one calls it, of utmost importance, however, remains separating hypothesis from assumption and recognizing that labeling a theory as 'outdated' is not a legitimate point of criticism.[59] Kuhn reminds us that "out-of-date theories are not in principle unscientific because they have been discarded."[60] Chomsky himself, after all, bemoaned that the work of Humboldt and Panini were too little studied.[61]

I bring up the latter point, because attempts indeed have been made to avoid grand assumptions and rather than claim that language is a domain unto itself, attempt to find those observable points of overlap between language and every other aspect of human behavior, as Pike did in his 1967 *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*; in other words, to make an attempt to integrate what Davis described as *language-as-knowledge* and *language-as-behavior*. Pike reasoned that "the activity of man constitutes a

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[57] Comrie (1989), x
[58] Kuhn, 23
[59] Rubach, ix
[60] Kuhn, 2-3
[61] Chomsky (1965), v

structural whole, in such a way that it cannot be subdivided into neat 'parts' or 'levels' or 'compartments' with language in a behavioral compartment insulated in character, content, and organization from other behavior."[62] Greenberg (2005) too, in his attempt to describe the universal traits of language, stated that "such invariants would serve to specify in a precise manner the notion of 'human nature' whether in language or in other aspects of human behavior…the search for universals, therefore, coincides on this view with the search for laws of human nature."[63] Whether one agrees with Pike's *emic-etic analysis* or Greenberg's scale of tendencies and true universals is one matter, but they do not ask the reader to make a priori assumptions on the existence of a language organ capable of infinite abstraction. Which theory is closer to reality we may never know, but we should know from the start what primes are taken as faith when comparing the merits of various analyses. Pike's analysis did not initiate a Kuhnian *paradigm shift* in the manner that Chomskian UG did. That is all we can say at present.

In addition to many of the terms and concepts of traditional grammatical analysis, Wierzbicka's (1988) notion of *ethno-grammar* applies aptly to what I have attempted here. She described an ethno-grammarian approach to linguistic analysis as one in which

> we can reveal areas of special elaboration, areas that a given language seems to be particularly 'interested in' and which it seems to regard as particularly important. Just as the lexicon of a language may be particularly rich in the area of cultivation and consumption of rice, or in the area of kinship, the grammar of a language may be particularly elaborated in the area of deliberate causation, or in the area of voluntary, uninhibited emotions, or again in the area of kinship.[64]

Or in the area of event abstraction, I would add. It seems clear that this is the case in English, as the essential role the gerund plays in the language and the large amount of literature devoted to

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[62] Pike, 26

[63] Greenberg, 9

[64] Wierzbicka, 13

its analysis would indicate. In this light, I have tried not only to describe how CSR expresses

abstract events, but also *to what degree* this type of message is something the language is, to use

Wierzbicka's terminology, "interested in".

What I have tried to make clear here are the reasons I had for taking the approach that I

have. It is my goal to clarify the way in which abstraction is achieved in the overt realm of

language expression in CSR. I have further attempted to point out some of the potential pitfalls

in adopting a generative analysis of the data presented here. Finally, I would be remiss to

overlook the irony present in my criticism of the extreme abstractness of generative theory in the

introduction to a discussion of the importance of abstraction in language! Abstraction in some

form or another, after all, is taken to be a semantic prime to human language, and indeed, one of

its defining factors.[65] I am not by any means, therefore, reluctant to admit the importance of

abstraction in language, but the extreme abstraction and organizational system seen as largely

autonomous from other aspects of human culture which are the hallmark of UG do not seem to

me to be tenable, at least as of yet.

3.2.   Methodology

The data provided and analyzed in this and following chapters comes from a variety of

sources. First and foremost, these are scholarly publications, grammars, and textbooks. A second

resource has been my intuition as a native speaker of English and my intimate knowledge of

Russian, having not only spoken and taught it for several years, but also having spent several

years living on both Russia's east and west coast. That being said, every Russian sentence has

been confirmed with at least one, but generally multiple native speakers as to its acceptability.

Additionally, there is a native speaker of Russian, Anna Borovskaya-Ellis, serving on my

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[65] Hudson, 10

committee. The help of native speaker friends and colleagues has been a very important third source of material. Because I am dealing with a topic that is not easily conveyable in CSR, some or maybe even many of the formulations provided might not be equally acceptable to all native speakers. However, such an eventuality must be seen as in some degree inevitable when dealing with a cultural phenomenon, such as language, that is not homogenous from speaker to speaker (hence the term *idiolect*). Nowhere is this more evident than in Chapter 5 where native speakers often expressed entirely opposed views as to the acceptability of various formulations. The survey conducted provided a fourth source of data. A fifth source of data was internet searches, primarily in the form of Google searches, as one means to determine the frequency with which various formulations occurred in the language. The sixth and final source of data was literary translations. While each of these sources has both its strong and weak points, which are addressed more thoroughly as they are cited in the body of the dissertation, it is hoped by having a varied source bank, the shortcomings present in any one type of source materials will be if not erased, then somewhat ameliorated by the diversity of approach.

A final matter I would like to address is why I have chosen to include discussions of English at all when the dissertation is first and foremost an analysis of Russian. The reasons are many. The first reason is that it was through English, specifically the teaching of Russian to predominantly native speakers of English, that the topic for the dissertation originally arose. I noticed that matters of abstract event expression were largely absent from textbooks and syllabi, with the unsurprising result that students were making mistakes both not knowing why or how to correct the errors. Thus, in inception the topic was very much a one-way analysis of English into Russian. However, as my interests and expertise were primarily in the second of the two languages and I wanted to investigate more than merely *how to translate -ing nouns into*

Russian, I decided to conduct an analysis of the function that is fulfilled primarily (but not exclusively) in English by nouns in *-ing*: abstract event expression.

The second reason for using English is what has just been stated: of the languages I am familiar with, English provides a special situation in possessing a *single form* (nouns in *-ing*) utilized in the majority of cases to express abstract events. This high degree of identity between the message and form provided a convenient point of reference that I found preferable to analyzing Russian in isolation. A third reason was noting the conspicuous number of *-инг* borrowings in Russian, their increasing number, and even the at least occasional tendency for the suffix to be attached to Russian roots. The fourth and final reason, which has already been stated, is that I am a native speaker of English. This is particularly important because I am dealing in matters of meaning and my knowledge of Russian as an L2 speaker will never be that of English as an L1 speaker. I could be much more sure that I first correctly identified abstract meaning in English, before comparing the means with which Russian conveyed a similar message. As should be clear from above, attempting an analysis of forms in *-ije* without a point of comparison would have been hindered most immediately by the dearth and unclear nature of the material on the form.

Using English as a starting point has meant that, while my primary goal has been to say something about Russian and how it expresses events conceived of abstractly, there have been at least two other byproducts of the analysis. The first is that, particularly in the first three chapters, the reader may get the impression that this is primarily a contrastive analysis. While I certainly acknowledge this aspect of my analysis for its great practical potential in language instruction and beyond, I am confident, however, that the remaining chapters will be convincing enough that this is not the principal goal of the dissertation, that being how abstract events are expressed in

CSR. The second is a result of the first in that such a contrastive analysis is particularly useful in the classroom and so many teaching materials (predominantly textbooks) have been included in the body of the analysis. Because 1) I myself am a teacher of Russian and the topic arose in teaching, 2) I find the most exciting part of scholarly investigation to be its pragmatic application, and 3) it strikes me as a highly likely that my readership will also find or have found themselves on one side or the other of the teaching/learning of Russian, I did not shy away from including discussions of these materials, even when they could not, strictly speaking, be seen as scholarly analyses. In the end, I recognize the importance of contrast as central to all meaning in human culture and so welcomed the opportunity to enrich my analysis of Russian by having at least one point of comparison in the form of English.

Chapter 2 - The English Gerund and Abstract Event Representation in CSE

1.   Overview

    1.1.   Formal Questions and Part of Speech

The verbal substantive in English is a form which is the part of the conjugation of all verbs generated by suffixing the infinitive with *-ing* and is commonly referred to as the *gerund*.[66] In addition to creating the gerund, however, *-ing* additionally generates verbal adjectives and adverbs in English, which are commonly known collectively as the *participle* and further plays an important role in expressing the progressive aspect in compound verb phrases. As depicted below, it is only the first of these meanings/functions (i.e. that of the gerund) that is of present relevance:

Relevance	Designation	Example
✓	verbal noun	*I enjoy <u>walking</u> the dog.*
x	verbal adjective	*I purchased a new <u>walking</u> stick today.*
x	verbal adverb	<u>*Walking*</u> *home yesterday I saw a friend.*
x	progressive	*I am <u>walking</u> home right now.*

The fact that verbal adjectives in English can very often be shown to be the same (or very similar) to the gerund (*walking stick* with a verbal adjective as equivalent to *a stick for walking* with a verbal noun) is a property primarily of English syntax. As such instances of *-ing* as observed in *walking stick* function adjectivally, they will not be included in the analysis.

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[66] Excepting several auxiliary verbs like *may, might, can, should* etc. which do not form gerunds. While for the purposes of my discussion here I will not discuss alternative interpretations holding that shared forms of the verbal adjective, adverb, and noun say something about their shared meaning, the arguments are important. After all, it would not seem coincidental that the word *good* in *the good of the nation*, *a good job*, and the nonstandard, but common *?I'm doing good, thank you* share much of the versatility of forms in *-ing*. However, such digressions would take us too far afield, so that I will confine myself to acknowledging the possibility and validity of other interpretations.

Additionally, because this is not an investigation into form, but function, any morphophonemic changes (and all the more so their spelling) in the stem that might occur to accommodate this suffix are presently taken to be irrelevant.

1.2. The English Gerund and its Meaning

In its broadest sense, the verbal substantive denotes *the act of* or *the process of* the verb from which it has been formed.[67] In his 1964 *Essentials of English Grammar* Otto Jespersen describes the gerund as a

> "nexus-substantive[68]…[that]...can be formed in the same way, through the addition of -*ing*—from any verb (with the exception of *may, shall* and a few other auxiliaries of the same type). And then it has taken over certain syntactic characteristics of the verb which are not found in other nexus-substantives: it may therefore be termed a hybrid between these two word-classes, and as such has become an extremely supple means of combining and subordinating ideas[69]

Jespersen's evaluation of the form as "extremely supple" bears emphasis, as the two-word classes the English gerund unites, verb and noun, are the two primary parts of speech from which sentences in English (and in the majority of languages, if not all) are formed. As Matthews (1997) states, "nouns and verbs have been seen since antiquity as two 'principal' parts of speech, without which a sentence could not be complete."[70] It should come as no surprise that the ability to merge these two macro-elements of syntax is of (at least potential) great consequence for the grammatical organization of any natural language.

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[67] While it may be argued that a similar function is fulfilled by nouns in -*tion*, their limited systematic productivity (*create > creation* but *eat > *eation*) and semantic relation to the verb is less predictable than that of -*ing*, sometimes generating nouns of a concrete nature (*nomina acti*), evidenced most simply by the presence of an indefinite article (*an election*), sometimes one of abstraction, most simply evidenced by the inability to use an indefinite article with or pluralize the form (*consumption*). It is this unpredictable nature that led me to not include them in the present analysis.

[68] This is the term Jespersen used to refer to a noun (substantive) of predication (nexus)

[69] Jespersen (1964), 320

[70] Matthews (1997), 248; while the parts of speech and their definitions are highly disputed (especially in regards to universals), the present perhaps somewhat simplistic terminology is used in an attempt to see the forest for the trees and not provide all-encompassing definitions, but rather highly functional ones, which it is thought *event* and *participant (whether concrete or abstract)* to be.

Huddleston (1984), in his treatment of the form, notes that this hybrid relationship of part-verb, part-noun is not equally stable across all such verbal nouns. In some instances, the verbal nature of the form is more or less prominent in comparison to its nominal function. The key to distinguishing the predominance of one or the other, he claims, is in syntagmatic relations, or how the form relates *horizontally* in space or *sequentially* in time to the other members of the clause. Forms that take a nominal object (*She likes writing letters*), are modified adverbially (*He was accused of driving dangerously*), are auxiliaries (*She regretted having told him the truth*), or are part of the predicate complement (*She disapproved of his being so extravagant*) are said to function more verbally and are therefore, in his conceptualization, not properly termed gerunds. Those that function nominally, and truly are gerunds, are modified by articles or adjectives (*He was accused of dangerous driving*), or prepositional phrases (*The hunting of wild animals for sport should be banned*). In some instances, the potential for ambiguity in differentiating the two arises due to a lack of syntagmatic counterparts. *I like singing*, he states, can be either, as it has the potential to be a noun according to the criteria stated above (*I like good singing, the singing of songs* etc.) or a verb (*I like singing loudly, singing songs* etc.).[71] Harman and House (1950) in this regard also use syntagmatic relations, but in their absence revert to an introspective, semantic analysis, stating that sentences like "*Singing is a good developer of the lungs*, are generally regarded as mere nouns, not gerunds. Where the noun in *-ing* represents a general act rather than an individual one, and particularly where it is unmodified and takes no object, it is best not to call it a gerund."[72] While these distinctions are important, for the purpose of the present discussion what is most important is the capacity of this form to *function as a noun*

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[71] Huddleston, 313-314
[72] Harman and House, 233-234

grammatically, regardless of whether its *meaning* is more verbal or more nominal. More will be said on this below.

1.3.   Functional Analysis Model and Criteria

As a basis for the analysis of the functional use of the verbal substantive in English we will use the eight Harman and House have identified.[73] The first use they describe is that of 1) **subject**: *His accepting too much for his services was the cause of his downfall.* The second is as 2) **predicate nominative**: *Kingsley's favorite occupation was helping lame dogs over stiles.* Next is given that of 3) **explanatory modifier**: *Bless me! This is pleasant, riding on a trail.* The fourth is 4) **object complement**: *The children enjoyed feeding the bears* not to be confused with the 5) **objective complement**: *I call that taking candy from babies.* The gerund also appears as the 6) **principal term of a prepositional phrase**: *He makes his living by grinding scissors.* Before continuing, it bears discussing the explanatory note included by the authors regarding the word *living* in the above sentence as well as some extrapolation to Russian.

The authors point out the importance of not confusing form and function. While *living* in the example given does indeed end in -*ing* and is formed from a verb, as all gerunds in English are, it is not a gerund, because it does not describe the process of or the act of the verb *to live* from which it was derived. As is suggested, however, one may use a sort of litmus test of form to determine function: "The test of pluralizing in many cases brings out its noun character, as in *writings* and *shavings*, *writings* being the equivalent of books or manuscripts, and *shavings* meaning strips of wood or metal".[74] This is the method we will use in determining whether an -

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[73] These examples were chosen as they provided the broadest interpretation of usage that conforms with the further criteria cited below. Curme (1965) cites five uses, because he combines all of the objects differentiated here; Huddleston (1984) cites nine sentences, but not all are unique and some he is reluctant to classify as gerunds, as already discussed; Jespersen (1964) cites perhaps the most uses, but he is not careful to define them clearly.

[74] Harman and House, 233

ing be included as a gerund in the present analysis. As noted by Townsend in the introduction, we face the same problem when confronted with a form in *-ije* in Russian, as there is a potential for it to indicate the result of the action rather than the process. This point will be addressed more thoroughly later, but it may be stated now that a similar exclusion of plural forms will be helpful. It also should be kept in mind that Jespersen noted precisely this sixth use of *object of a preposition* as being "very important" as will become particularly evident when we look more closely at Russian.

The final two uses provided are 7) **adverbial objective**: *The book is worth reading aloud*, and finally as a 8) **compound gerund**: *He was congratulated on having been honored by his neighbors and having attained his chief ambition.* In addition to these eight functions, I have provided a ninth means of abstract event expression that in English is limited to the infinitive. I have termed this function to be that of a post-positive adnominal modifier and it will be described in greater detail below. As Russian presents no such predictable form on which a similar analysis could be conducted, in Chapter 4 we will conduct a comparison of the expression of the above-described meanings in Russian, endeavoring to observe the highest degree of grammatical integrity possible throughout. However, let us first consider the function of the gerund further, as it is not the only means available in English of expressing the action conveyed as a process.

2. Gerund vs. Infinitive as Direct Object/Verbal Complement

Returning to the fourth use provided above of *gerund as the direct object of a transitive verb*, one might propose an even simpler example, such as *I like running*. Compare this with the sentence *I like to run* and, in my experience, even an insightful native speaker of English will struggle to put their finger on what, if any, is the difference between the two. The seeming

interchangeability with preservation of a similar message of gerund and infinitive demands further analysis, as semantically synonymous grammatical structures are not the rule, but rather the exception. One would therefore expect that where replacement is grammatically permitted, some semantic difference will result. Bolinger asks just this question of "whether two things different in form can ever be the same in meaning" in his paper "Entailment and the meaning of structures" (1968). He concludes decisively, that "a difference in syntactic form always spells a difference in meaning."[75]

If this is not the case, and we are witness to a meaning duplicated in form, one would then expect one form or the other to be, or be in the process of becoming, the more dominant and the other eventually ceasing to be accepted as grammatical. Jespersen (1964) comments on this grammatical overlap, stating that "as the spheres of utility of the infinitive and the gerund are about the same, it is not to be wondered at that there is a good deal of overlapping," further noting the example of the type provided above, stating "in some constructions, in which *to* has more or less the meaning of direction towards an aim, either the infinitive or the gerund may be used." In other instances, the replacement of one term by the other seems to result in a slightly different message, but Jespersen modifies the sentences he uses in comparison such that they are not truly minimal for the gerund/infinitive comparison. He does this in providing the following examples with parenthetical explanations:

A1. I remember seeing him (past happening).

A2. You must remember to call on him (future act).

B1. I hate lying (the vice in general).

B2. I hate to lie (myself, in this particular case).

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[75] Bolinger, 121, 127

C1. I don't like smoking (I object to the habit; cp. with the substantive: I don't like tobacco-smoke).

C2. I should like to smoke now. (thus always after *I should like, would you like?*)[76]

D1. In his distress he tried praying, but that did not ease his mind (made an attempt with praying).

D2. In his distress he tried to pray, but he could not concentrate on it (made an attempt at praying).[77]

Examples A and C seem to indicate that using one or the other form does yield a difference in message. However the exact difference at the very least cannot obviously be generalized to a single difference, as in examples A the difference, per Jespersen's parenthetical citations, seems to be one of tense and in examples C one of generality/particularity. In C1 Jespersen uses paradigmatic substitution of the gerund for a concrete noun to further support his claim that the gerund lends itself to greater abstraction or impersonalization than the noun. These observations are complicated, however, by the fact (already stated) that the examples are not minimal, as in both examples the second variant that uses the infinitive also includes an auxiliary verb. However, all four of the variants can be made minimal. Let us examine whether such minimal oppositions, once created 1) fit into the patterns of relationship already proposed (tense, particularity/generality), 2) whether new relationships arise, or, most importantly, 3) whether or not all of these relationships can be explained in terms of a single factor i.e. we will attempt a feature analysis to unite these surface messages via an invariant underlying meaning-bearing feature. As Jespersen is pre-structuralist in its historical movement sense, it is unclear whether or

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[76] While he oddly provides no parenthetical explanation for examples C here, in the fourth of his eight volume *A Modern English Grammar* (Copenhagen, 1940, p.193) he provides the exact same examples, but with explanations. I have included them here.
[77] Jespersen (1964), 346-7

not he was unconcerned with providing a more comprehensive explanation for the differences in

meaning yielded by these substitutions, or if he simply determined the matter to be primarily one

of selectional properties (some verbs allow a nominal and/or verbal complement, some do not)

and only secondarily dependent on the part of speech of the complement. He does, however, in

another work, *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (1905), come close to such a

feature (the term being anachronistic in its application here) analysis in stating that

> a noun does not admit of any indication of *time*…similarly the ing had originally,
> and to a great extent still has, no reference to time: 'on account of his coming'
> may be equal to 'because he comes' or 'because he came' or 'because he will
> come' according to the connexion in which it occurs. 'I intend seeing the king'
> refers to the future, 'I remember seeing the king' to the past, or rather the ing as
> such implies neither of these tenses.[78]

It seems a fair interpretation of the above that Jespersen holds the gerund to be devoid of

the category of tense i.e. it has no tense marker. It may appear that this is solely due to the

isolated, fragmentary, and decontextualized nature of the statement. However, were we to place

the prepositional phrase into a tense-marked finite clause, the ambiguity as to its tense remains:

we are all upset on account of his coming could mean that said individual has already arrived

(past), is entering now (present) or will arrive tomorrow (future), all despite the clearly present

tense marked finite verb phrase *are upset.* I have not been able to recreate a similarly tense-

ambiguous statement with the infinitive. Utterances such as *we are upset to go* are distinctly non-

past. While it would be difficult to state that the infinitive expresses tense, because it has no

tense-marked morphology, there does seem to be either a tense dependency or relative tense

marker inherent in the infinitive or some other factor affecting tense secondarily. Bolinger (1968)

comes to different, but seemingly compatible conclusions, in noting the *potential* quality of the

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[78] Jespersen (1924), 199

infinitive, while the gerund presents a *reified* i.e. more concrete, instantiated version of the action.

While Jespersen's observation about tense is doubtlessly true, it is incapable of explaining the difference in meaning between examples B1 and B2 see above. It would appear that Bollinger's explanation is more insightful. However, it should be kept in mind that his primary task in that article was to contest the early generative notion that so-called *surface forms* were of less consequence than their underlying *deep structure*. Bollinger contended that surface forms are in no way accidental and are always indicative of a message distinction. In doing so, he chose English complement structure as a means of exemplifying his point and posited distinctive meanings for the infinitive and the gerund as verbal complements. Wierzbicka (1988) notes his contribution, but, I think, points to an apt limitation in his criteria. She states that "in every concrete case he considers, he is able to come up with a suggestive and illuminating explanation for the contrast [in message]. It must be said, however, that his explanations are offered on a somewhat *ad hoc* basis."[79] She continues to state that she finds the explanation to be "not rigorous enough to be fully verifiable". I am not sure what exactly is meant by "not rigorous enough", but I agree that there is a somewhat *ad hoc* nature to the argument, as how does this explanation fit into the larger verbal and/or linguistic system of English? Where else are reification and potentiality relevant in the system, or is this an isolated incidence? If there is a systematic explanation, it was not stated. If the latter, then it would seem that a more systematically relevant explanation be sought. I have attempted such an explanation below.

If we truly wish to understand the difference in the two forms, we must minimize the variables being examined. Such minimal sentences include:

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[79] Wierzbicka (1988), 25

A2a. You must remember to call on him.

A2b. You must remember calling on him.

C1a. I don't like smoking.

C1b. I don't like to smoke.

C2a. I should like to smoke.

C2b. I should like smoking.

The examples in A2 are once again noteworthy for the apparent tense distinction (A2a. – future/non-past, A2b. – past), despite the fact that the only overt indicator of tense, the verb phrase *must remember* is identically conjugated for the non-past in both examples. However, while the sentences are morphologically minimal, there are two potentially complicating and/or interfering factors that should be considered: the modal *must*, which we will return to shortly, and the semantics of the verb *remember*, while A2b (where a nominal complement is present) inherently involves recovering past information that is in the past relative to the point of orientation of the speaker, while, in A2a (where an infinitival complement is present) involves recovering past information that is in the past relative to a time point in the future. Therefore it is likely a combination of the inherent semantics resulting from the verb and type of complement in combination with the inherent feature of the verbal noun or infinitive that account for the varying messages resultant here. Thus these examples seem not to be truly minimal.

Examples C2a and C2b provide a similar problem as the primary verb in both examples is a modal. Because, as Huddleston (1984) states, "the semantics of the modal auxiliaries is a highly complex matter," and this is not a discussion of modality, we will not consider such examples that rely entirely on modals any further at present.[80] Examples C1a and C1b provide

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[80] Huddleston, 165

what is as close to a both grammatically and semantically minimal pair as I have been able to construct with the critical concomitant distinction that the messages between the two do differ. We will now examine this pair, positing a set of features that distinguish the two terms we are analyzing (the verbal noun and the infinitive), and then testing the legitimacy of these features on further such examples.

The explanations provided by Jespersen for the difference in meaning between B1 (*I hate lying*) and B2 (*I hate to lie*), in my opinion, can just as well be applied to the differences between C1a (*I don't like smoking*) and C1b (*I don't like to smoke*). This difference might be defined for the moment as *particularity*: the infinitive can express an individual, particular character of the action that the gerund cannot. In terms of a structural feature analysis, however, such explanations are devoid of system. Where does particularity fit into the larger scheme of English? The same problem was pointed out above concerning Bollinger's terms of potentiality and reification. In order to provide the distinctive feature that is relevant here, several grammatical categories will be used, some of them perhaps newly devised for the present analysis.

The first category proposed is that of *finitude*.[81] We will understand it in the present analysis to mean the capacity for the form to express at least gender, number and tense. Marked forms in this category possess the feature [+ finite], while unmarked forms do not; that is, while usually meaning nonfinite, in fact they possess no marking and are contextually free to appear in both nonfinite and finite situations. Here the infinitive and the three verbal forms (morphologically all in *-ing*) – the verbal noun, adjective, and adverb – are united in not possessing a marking, while all other inflected forms of the verb possess the feature [+ finite].

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[81] The proposal for using such a category was suggested by my advisor, Mark Elson.

Within the former group not possessing this feature, we will further posit the relevance of the category of *taxis*. As defined by Jakobson (1984), "TAXIS characterizes the narrated event in relation to another narrated event and without reference to the speech event."[82] As the verbal adjective and adverb are inherently subordinate in creating adjectival and adverbial clauses respectively, they possess the feature [+ dependent], while the verbal noun and infinitive do not inherently subordinate and so exhibit its absence. These dependent terms will now be divided in terms of the category of aspect. Forsyth (1970) paraphrases Vinogradov in stating that a "perfective verb expresses an internal limit set to the action–it may be the *point* of completion or of beginning, or may refer to performance within a given time [emphasis added]."[83] The distinction posited, thus, is that the infinitive possesses the feature [+ perfective] in its reference to a point in time at which the named action takes place, while the verbal noun makes no such inherent reference. The word *inherent* here is emphasized, as the gerund may make reference to a point when context demands it, so that if we return once more to A2a (*You must remember to call on him*) and A2b (*You must remember calling on him*), where the gerund in the latter *does* seem to refer to a specific point in the past, this is a result of the semantic context provided by the verb as discussed above. The context may even be made more explicit, so that the sentence reads *You must remember calling on him yesterday at five in the afternoon*. If we recall that a markedness relationship in Jakobsonian terms states that the marked member possessing the feature (here the infinitive) possesses the so-called *Hauptbedeutung* (or primary meaning), the unmarked member (here the verbal noun) says nothing about it.[84] In other words, context

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[82] Jakobson (1984), 46
[83] Forsyth, 2-3
[84] Jakobson (1984), 1

provided, the gerund *may* reference a point, but the infinitive *must always* reference a point. A visualization of the posited category/feature hierarchy is provided below:

Finitude

Ø
infinitive
verbal noun
verbal adjective
verbal adverb

[+ finite]
all inflected
verb forms

Taxis

Ø
infinitive
verbal noun

[+ dependent]
verbal adjective
verbal adverb

Aspect

Ø
verbal noun

[+ perfective]
infinitive
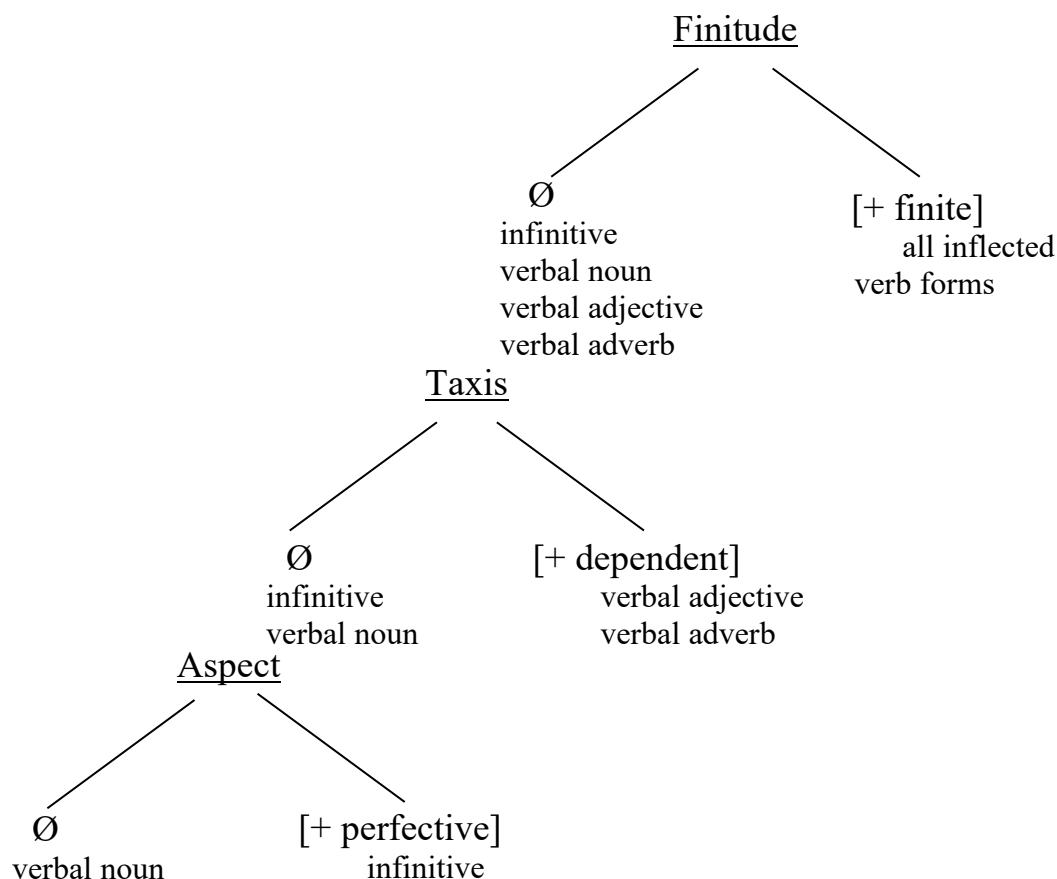
In Palmer's *A Linguistic Study of the English Verb* we find further confirmation of the above analysis, only presented once again in non-systematic terms similar to those seen in Jespersen and Bollinger. The author comments on the sentence *I hate doing this* by stating that it

> "would normally be used *not to refer to a specific action* but to suggest that I often do it. There is, however, no complete clear-cut contrast here; both structures may be used for either purpose. We may note for instance:
>
> *I hate telling you this but …*
>
> and *I hate to swim in the sea.*
>
> But there is a greater likelihood of structure 2 *where there is a reference to a specific action* in the future [emphasis added].[85]

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[85] Palmer, 165

While Palmer hesitates to make any definitive statements, preferring to state the difference in terms of likelihood, these likelihoods align exactly with the features proposed above, as the gerund is "normally used not to refer to a specific action" i.e. names the action in general, abstractly, the infinitive is more common "where there is a reference to a specific action." We also see here a similar reference to a time element as suggested in Jespersen, but this is again likely a result of the context and the non-past form of the primary verb; that is, because the infinitive refers to a specific action and the verb (*hate* in the example provided by Palmer) is in the non-past tense, the action referred to (here *swim*) can not be happening at the present time and must, therefore, occur in the future. Curme (1965) too provides a very similar interpretation, noting that the gerund has "descriptive force, representing the resultant activity as proceeding steadily. When it is desired to state a bare result, the infinitive is used."[86] This "bare result" correlates well with the above "point" of focus resultant from the feature [+ perfective]. Let us now further test this explanation in a context where just such a dilemma is commonly discussed.

In TESL circles, verbs such as the one used in C1a and C1b, *like*, are often referred to as *expressive verbs*, and include such additional verbs as *hate, love, prefer* etc. They are singled out by English instructors for their selectional properties, as they all permit both a verbal noun and an infinitive as their complement. As they are both grammatical, this creates an obvious problem for learners of English as a second language. Various internet resources will cite the predominance of using one or the other complement in American vs. British English while simultaneously providing semantic explanations. See the following chart from Cambridge Dictionary's website:

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[86] Curme, 278

I like making jam. He likes telling jokes. They don't like sitting for too long.	emphasis on the experience/action
We have a lot of fruit in the garden. I like to make jam every year. I prefer to sort out a problem as soon as I can. If you prefer not to go camping there are youth hostels nearby.	a habit or preference

The -ing form is more common than the to-infinitive form after hate and love:
I hate decorating. I'd rather pay a professional to do it.[87]

It should first be noted that the explanations of meaning provided in the right hand column could be replaced by the aspectual-point terms proposed above, so that the first row would feature the definition *need not make reference to a specific point*, which allows for emphasizing the action in general, while the second row would be defined as *inherently refers to a point*, or, series of points i.e. habituality. The footnote might also be explained in these terms, as stronger emotions such as *hate* and *love* are emotionally marked in relation to *(do not/dis-) like* and are, therefore, perhaps less likely to be used together with the marked term of the gerund/infinitive opposition and produce an overly marked construction. However, the sentence *I would hate to be him right now* is standard and in agreement with the features provided, whereas *I would hate being him right now* is significantly less likely, in my own estimation, due to the overt reference to point. We might also reconsider the example provided by Palmer of *I hate to swim in the sea*. It would seem to me that *I hate swimming in the sea* is a much more likely construction, while, if one

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[87]https://dictionary.cambridge.org/ru/грамматика/british-grammar/hate-like-love-and-prefer

wanted to express reference to a future action, as Palmer purports *I hate to swim in the sea* does, one would be much more likely to include an auxiliary and periphrastically reference the future as done above: *I would hate to swim in the sea tomorrow with all those storms rolling in*.

While these are complicated issues that, among other things, often rely on the intuition and introspection of a native speaker, it can now be seen that the original problem of the meaning associated with the paradigmatic relationship of *running* and *to run* as the complement of the verb phrase *I like* can be neatly described by affirming that there is indeed a difference in message, and that this difference can be explicated by feature theory, and in this case, ultimately, by the category of aspect and the feature [+ perfective]. Moreover, this seems to me to be a more systematically viable explanation than Jespersen's or Bollinger's, as verbal aspect is a widely recognized category overtly expressed in several verbs.[88] Furthermore, there are productive constructions of the type *have/take/give a + infinitive* that are distinctly perfective.[89] There is, therefore, good reason to believe that aspect may be playing a decisive role here as well.

While it is true that the infinitive, in its capacity to represent the action abstractly, is not limited to the position of the direct object or verbal complement and can also be the subject of the sentence, such constructions can hardly be said to constitute a significant position in the language, as they often have the air of an archaic aphorism: *to learn is to live.* As I consider them to be marginal if not impossible in neutral CSE, I will not consider their significance here. However, the infinitive can occur in such constructions as *his intention to go* and its bare form in *I watched him play the violin*. The first example, which will be discussed further in Chapter 4, where I refer to this usage of the infinitive as a post-posed adnominal modifier, can be

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[88] Wierzbicka (1988), p.77-97 includes a detailed discussion of the relationship between aspectual verbs like *stop, cease, begin, start* etc. and their complements.

[89] We will return to a discussion of these in Chapter 4.

juxtaposed (though not minimally) with a gerund in *his intention of going*. The second example

in which a bare infinitive can be used as the complement of a verb of perception can be

minimally juxtaposed to the same construction with a gerund: *I watched him playing the violin*.

In both comparisons it seems to me that the infinitives, whether bare or otherwise, necessarily

conceptualize the activity as a complete whole ([+ perfective]), and while the gerund can

contextually do the same, it generally focuses on the action itself, its internal unfolding. While

this explanation in terms of the feature [+ perfective] needs further analysis to determine the

extent of its explanatory capacity, I think it representative of a more systematic approach to the

problem.

    3.   Summary

As it stands, Contemporary Standard English possesses in the gerund a comprehensive

form for expressing the idea of action as name, process, or state. The limits on its formation only

affect the modal verbs and its competition with other forms is only relevant when functioning as

the direct object or verbal complement. However, even here, where both the infinitive and

gerund are often possible, it is the gerund that is less restricted by selectional restrictions and is

the unmarked member of the relationship. If we are then to see the diachrony in the present

synchrony, one would presume that in the future the gerund will expand its occurrence in this

position at the cost of the infinitive (as appears to have happened in the position of subject),

should the significance of the perfective aspect here not be strengthened, or the infinitive acquire

a new, more significant feature. We will now move on to our examination of the situation in

CSR.

Chapter 3 - The Russian Deverbal Substantive in *-ije*

1.   Overview

Before proceeding to discuss the rendering of the provided examples from the previous chapter from English into Russian, we must make some further remarks about some of the peculiarities of the situation in Russian. As we mentioned previously, particularly in regard to English, the verbal substantive presents a hybrid form of nominal and verbal features. It is particularly the latter component that may give pause when dealing with Russian, as the fundamental category of aspect that is present in nearly every verb is one that is generally reflected morphologically. If we are to entertain the notion that the Russian deverbal substantive is consistently formed, or at least hypothetically can be formed from some verbs, then determining the degree to which the aspectual division formally obtains here is essential. I will take the position that, unlike the English gerund, the Russian deverbal noun has far fewer verbal characteristics and is best understood as an unsystematically derived form and not a part of verb conjugation.

2.   Meaning and Nouns in *-ije*

The general inability of the perfective aspect in Russian to be used to describe an action in progress would seem sufficient reason to conclude that the deverbal substantive of the type with which we are concerned here, that which denotes the action as name, process or state, would be formed exclusively from imperfective verbs.[90] Similarly, it would seem reasonable to suggest that the capacity of the perfective aspect to indicate the result of the action would appear to lend itself more readily to the expression of deverbal nouns of a concrete nature. Recall the division made here in English by way of the pluralization test: pluralized *buildings* is a concrete

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[90] Borras and Christian, 117

result of the action *to build*, while the singular-only (*singularia tantum*) *building* at least has the potential to indicate the process of the verb. This difference might be assumed to be indicated by the aspectually inflected structure of the verb. As Khokhlacheva (1969) expresses it, "считается, что образованные от основ сов. вида существительные выражают законченное действие, образованные от основ несов. вида – незаконченное, длительное, краткое т. е. что в именах находят отражение перфективные и имперфективные значения производящих глаголов."[91] The question we, therefore, seek to answer is whether the noun pairs of the type *строение* and *построение* from the aspectual pair *строить/построить* mirror this division and, if so, how consistently such a division holds throughout the language. Khokhlacheva expresses the commonly held notion that imperfective stems are more conducive to the sort of abstract noun with which we are dealing here, but asks the question whether such verbal categories are important (or even supportable (*приемлемо*)) in such nominal forms. Before attempting to answer this question, however, it should be noted that the occurrence of a form in -*ije* is not enough for it to be classified as a deverbal noun of the type we are interested in. Just as a rather simple pluralizing test was used with -*ing* forms in English, we will use a similar test here. As in English, the noun must occur in the singular only, but the added criteria of a dictionary citation reading *действие по глаг.* (*action according to the verb…*) must be met for a form to be relevant. Sometimes a single word may possess both potentialities:

Relevance	Designation	Example
✓	deverbal noun (abstract)	*Решение этого вопроса заняло много времени.*
x	deverbal noun (concrete)	*Он постоянно принимает такие невзвешенные решения.*

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[91] "It is considered that nouns formed from perfective stems express a finished action, those formed from imperfective stems – an unfinished, enduring, short [action] that is, that in the nouns perfective and imperfective meanings of the deriving verbs find reflection" (Хохлачева, 50).

3.   Background

Pchelintseva has dealt rather extensively with this question of the "гибридная натура" of the deverbal substantive in CSR. She is a native speaker of Russian working in Ukraine, who confirms what we have already stated, that "эта категория слов в русском языке не является регулярной формой и по сравнению с производящими глаголами семантически и функционально ограничена."[92] However, this is not the point that seems to concern the bulk of her work, so much as the question of how the remaining operative forms function in the language. It, therefore, bears repeating that what we observe today is not a clearly regulated system with a predictable paradigm, but only perhaps remnants of such a system, so-called linguistic junk that is in the process of being repurposed, even if in a very similar way to its original function.

Pchelintseva's most relevant claim for the present discussion is that the Russian deverbal substantive loses almost all of its verbal material in derivation: "при транспозиции русского глагола в имя утрачиваются глагольные категории времени, вида, залога и т. д."[93] Comrie (1980) provides a similar affirmation, stating that "many typically verbal categories – aspect, tense, voice, negation – have no systematic expression in the verbal noun."[94] Furthermore, transitive verbs lose their transitivity, i.e. now take an object in the genitive (GEN), not the accusative (ACC): *завоевать кубок* (ACC) → *завоевание кубка* (GEN). Launer (1974) makes the same observation, noting further that if the verb takes both direct and indirect objects, the

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[92] This category of words in the Russian language is not a regular form and in comparison with their deriving verbs is semantically and formally restricted. (*Аспектуальные признаки* (2016), 109)

[93] Upon the transposing of the Russian verb into a noun the verbal categories of tense, aspect, voice etc. are lost (*Ibid*)

[94] Comrie (1980), 213

deverbal substantive does retain the latter: *преподавать язык иностранцам* (ACC, DAT) →

преподавание языка иностранцам (GEN, DAT).[95] While he makes no further comment, we

might propose here that the ACC is not permitted in Russian, because the deverbal form is not

felt to be sufficiently verbal. As Jakobson (1984) states, "the accusative always indicates that

some action to some extent affects, is directed at, or is manifested on, the stated entity."[96] So

while the accusative direct object implies action, the same cannot be said of the dative, as one

need look no further than such uses as *мне холодно* (*to me it is cold*) to see that the dative need

not imply action.

The English here differs in its retention of transitivity (*winning the championship*), the

use of a so-called genitive object[97] being possible, but generally additionally requires a definite

article or possessive adjective (*the winning of the championship*). As Jespersen (1964) pointed

out long ago, "the most usual construction, however, is for the gerund to take an object without

of."[98] Curme (1965) emphasizes the "strong passive force" of the gerund with a genitive object,[99]

while Huddleston (1984), not treating all gerunds equally, as previously discussed, classifies the

forms with an object and no preposition as being more verbal gerunds, those with a complement

in the form of a prepositional phrase as more nominal.[100] What need be noted here is the

potential for an accusative object in English, a potential the Russian form lacks. The retention of

this verbal quality of transitivity is supported by the gerund's presence in the paradigm of

English verb conjugation. The lack of this verbal category in the Russian equivalent is similarly

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[95] Launer, 70

[96] Jakobson (*General Meanings*), 66

[97] English no longer has overt nominal case inflection; it is tradition, however, in many of these grammars to refer to post-posed prepositional *of* and apostrophe *s* complements as genitives and prepositionless post-posed nominal complements as accusative objects, despite the clear anachronistic nature of the terms in CSE.

[98] Jespersen (1964), 323

[99] Curme, 123

[100] Huddleston, 313

supported by its absence in Russian conjugation. Though by no means proof of the absence of a true deverbal substantive in Russian, Jakobson's latent non-recognition of the category in *Shifters* does provide yet further support for this notion.[101]As already stated, however, the most significant category that dominates the Russian verbal system is aspect, and so there is perhaps no better place to look in order to answer the question of whether these forms in *-ije* are still verbal in nature, or whether they have become semantically detached from the verbal system entirely and have taken up a more idiosyncratic role in the language.

4.   Aspectual Pairs and Nouns in *-ije*

The first thing that becomes apparent when analyzing the deverbal substantives of aspectual pairs in CSR is that they cannot be everywhere consistently formed. Leaving their meanings aside, we do find aspectual pairs the likes of *понимать/понять*[102] represented in the forms *понимание/понятие*. However, as Pchelintseva observes, "утрачены регулярные «видовые» пары (разукрашивать → разукрашивание, но разукрасить → ?, завоевать → завоевание, но завоевывать → ?)."[103] Here it can be seen that these forms cannot be consistently made in order to reflect the category of aspect. What then do such pairs of the *понимание/понятие* type tell us? Pchelintseva's findings here are particularly informative in this regard.

Comparing the use of 250 pairs of deverbal substantives formed from verbal aspectual pairs using the National Corpus of the Russian Language (*Национальный корпус русского языка (НКРЯ)*), a large online database of Russian usage in Modern Russian (early XIX century

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[101] "All verbal categories are dealt with except participles, a hybrid class which grammatically pertains both to the verb and to the adjective" (Jakobson (1984), 48). No mention is made of a deverbal substantive as a hybrid of verb and noun.

[102] Aspectual pairs will consistently be presented in the order of impf./pf.

[103] "Such regular aspectual pairs as...are lost" (*Роль имперфективных* (2015), 15); Ушаков (1974) does not even list *разукрашивание*, while Викисловарь lists both it and even завоёвывание

– present), she discovered that, while there was a tendency for imperfective deverbal

substantives to be used in contexts that emphasize the process of the action and for perfective

deverbal substantives to be used where the emphasis is on the outcome of the action, two

additional important observations are relevant: 1) these are tendencies not presenting an

overwhelmingly clear division 2) one form of the pair was consistently more variable in its usage

than the other.[104] It is clear then that aspect in these forms has been significantly weakened (if

present at all) relative to its prominence in the verbal system. However, as some difference in the

usage can be seen in these tendencies, one might expect that as it is the imperfective which is the

unmarked member of the opposition, *it* would be the form that shows the greater semantic range,

being able to encompass both process as well as result meanings. However, Pchelintseva's

findings indicate the opposite:

> сохранение глагольного имперфективного суффикса в отглагольных именах
> действия в сочетании со значением самого глагола безусловно способствует
> усилению аспектуальной семантики длительности и снижает вероятность их
> употребления в контекстах с выраженной перфективной семантикой
> завершенности, результативности действия. В то же время отсутствие
> имперфективного суффикса в именах действия, образованных от парных глаголов
> СВ, в большинстве случаев не препятствует их употреблению в имперфективных
> контекстах — такие отглагольные существительные демонстрируют большую
> аспектуальную универсальность в речи.[105]

An example of this is *изучение ← изучить*, which corresponds both to *a study* (*изучение этого*

вопроса показало, что…/a study of this question showed that…) and *studying* (*изучение*

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[104] It is a commonly, though not universally accepted notion that aspect in Russian is a +/ø markedness relationship (Forsyth 1970 p.6) and the positively termed definitions provided for each member of the opposition here are used simply for convenience. More discussion of this is available above in section 2.2.

[105] The conservation of the deverbal imperfective suffix in deverbal nouns of action in combination with the meaning of the verb itself unconditionally facilitates the strengthening of the aspectual meaning of duration and reduces the likelihood of their use in contexts with an expressed perfective meaning of completion, result of the action. At the same time the absence of the imperfective suffix in nouns of action formed from perfective pair in the majority of cases does not hinder their use in imperfective contexts – such deverbal substantives demonstrate a greater aspectual universality in speech (*Роль имперфективных* (2015), 18)

иностранного языка занимает много времени/studying a foreign language takes a lot of time).[106] What might at first appear to be an instance of markedness reversal likely will find its answer elsewhere, as we have stated above that the Russian noun expresses a weakened (if not absent) reflection of the category of aspect. One possible explanation for this broader semantic field of the deverbal substantive of the perfective verb may lie in the fact that presently, the highly productive secondary imperfective suffix in *-iva* is also anomalous in its high compatibility with the suffix *-ije*.[107] This is significant because *-iva* is the only verbal suffix marked for aspect (here, imperfective). If this marker is to some degree retained after derivation, it would make the partner of the aspectual pair (i.e. the noun formed from the perfective verb) the unmarked member. However, it is likely that historical developments have also played a role in yielding the present state of things.

To summarize the conclusions drawn thus far, one matter is that it can be stated that the deverbal substantive cannot be consistently formed from both verbs of an aspectual pair. Pchelintseva has found that only 15% of verbs can make deverbal substantives from both verbs of the aspectual pair, but even then their aspectual status is unclear, with only 8% displaying an observable aspectual difference. By observable aspectual difference is meant that both derived forms continue to refer to the name of the action, but one retains imperfective characteristics in focusing on the internal space of the action, while the other focuses on a specific point of the action: its initiation, completion, result etc. An example that seems to retain these aspectual differences is *сравнивание/сравнение* (from the verb *сравнить – compare*). A second is that in those instances in which both forms are found, the noun formed from the perfective verb is more

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[106] Example taken from Dickey (237) citing Dulewiczowa
[107] Schupbach, 46

universal in usage.[108] Beyond formal-aspectual considerations, however, in her paper

"Аспектуальная характеристика отглагольных имен действия в русском, украинском и

польском языках" (*Aspectual Characteristics of deverbal nouns of action in the Russian,

Ukrainian and Polish Languages*) Pchelintseva has further analyzed the formation and use of

such deverbal substantives in terms of the aspectual categories of iteration (*кратность*),

duration (*длительность*), intensivity (*интенсивность*), phasality (*фазовость*) i.e. denoting

the beginning, middle, or end of an event, attenuation (*лимитативность*), perfectivity

(*перфективность*) as well distinctions between action (*действие/акциональность*), state

(*состояние/статальность*) and relativity (*отношение/реляционность*).[109] Her findings

indicate that such aspectual categories are relevant in a Russian speaker's ability and/or

likelihood to form deverbal substantives. We will not look in great detail at the results of her

analysis, pointing out primarily those semantic categories that restrict nominalization, as such

instances again confirm the tenuous status of the deverbal substantive. Those interested in a more

detailed semantic description of such constructions should consult the paper directly.[110]

5.   Aspectual Categories in Nouns in *-ije*

The first category Pchelintseva examines is intensivity, defined as a quantitative marker

on a scale of attenuation at the low end (*подкрашивать → подкрашивание*) and

strengthened/intense actions at the high end (*наголодаться → ∅* [form absent]). Both examples

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[108] *Аспектуальная характеристика* (2015), 390; in fact, in the example just provided: *сравнение* from perfective *сравнить* is defined as being the action according to both perfective *сравнить* and imperfective *сравнивать*, whereas many dictionaries do not even list *сравнивание*, as it must be inferred from the verb. Those that do, however, cite the meaning as the action according to only imperfective *сравнивать*. Presumably the aspectually marked suffix *-iva-* is responsible for its more restricted meaning.

[109] Here, it is important to note, she is examining all deverbal nouns, not just those in *-ije*, nevertheless, it is assumed that as the particular type of deverbal substantive we are dealing with here is a subclass of the broader category of deverbal nouns in general, the findings presented in the paper will prove relevant to our discussion as well.

[110] Such analyses of aspectual categories in Russian scholarship constitute a significant number. An overview of all the various analyses conducted is present in Pchelintseva's 2016 book cited in the bibliography.

feature characteristically representative affixes, with *pod-* commonly attenuating and *na--sja* indicating the fullness, or excessive extent of the action. Her findings are such that the greater the intensive nature of the action, the less likely the formation of a deverbal noun. Nominalization, in other words, is incompatible with high intensity events. The second category of iteration is also quantitative, opposing single actions (*однократность*) with repeated actions (*многократность*). The former are not discussed, while the latter are further subdivided into different groups. Pchelintseva finds that, while the majority of these categories do permit deverbal substantives, such subtypes, those of the distributional-summary category (*дистрибутивно-суммарные глаголы*) with the prefixes *пере-* and *по-* yielding meanings of totality of the coverage of the action (*перепробовать все лекарства – to try all the medicines*, *понажимать на все кнопки – to press all the buttons* etc.) do not permit deverbal substantives of the type we are interested in here, nor do those prefixed with *на-* indicating a large yield (*накосить травы – to cut/harvest a good amount of grass, наделать кучу ошибок – to make a lot of mistakes*), what Pchelintseva calls cumulative verbs (*кумулятивные глаголы*). The third category examined is that of duration and, as above, some subclasses do permit nominalization, however many do not. Among those that do not are verbs which delimit the temporal range of the verb via the prefixes *по-, при-, про-, вз-*, and *пере-* (*посидеть – to sit for some amount of time, перекусить – to have a nibble of, a small snack* etc.) and those that express stative, finish-oriented or extraordinarily long actions (*стативные, финально-отрицательные и сверхнормативно-длительные действия*): *доплакаться* (*to bring oneself to a certain state by crying*) → ∅, *долежаться* (*to bring oneself to a certain state by crying*) → ∅, *провопить* (*to howl out for some duraction*) → ∅, *прозвенеть* (*to resound/ring out for some duration*)→ ∅. Fourth is the category of phasality within which she first examines inchoatives (*начинательное*

значение), which she further subdivides into those that indicate a period of initiation (*эволютивный*) and those with a point of initiation (*неэволютивный*). The former permit nominalization (*зажигать* (*to light on fire*) → *зажигание*), the latter largely do not (*запрыгать* (*to begin to jump*)→ ∅). Those that indicate the initiation of the action via the prefix *no-*, as is particularly relevant for the so-called verbs of motion, admit no nominalization (*побежать* (*to being to run*) → ∅, *поскакать* (*to begin to gallop/hop*) → ∅). A similar division is seen in finite verbs (*финитные глаголы*) i.e. those which indicate the conclusion of an action, as they too can be subdivided into those expressing the process of ending and permitting nominalization (*отцветать* (*to finish blooming*) → *отцветание*; *допевать* (*to finish singing*) → *допевание*) and those expressing the end of the action as a point incapable of subdivision, which do not permit nominalization (*отзвучать* (*to finish resounding, fall silent*) → ∅). The fifth and final category of attenuation is subdivided into the categories of resultative limit (*результативный предел*), quantitative-temporal limit (*количественно-временной предел*) and semulfactives (*одноактный предел*). The first type freely forms deverbal substantives, the second type does not, at least not of the type we are concerned with here, while the third category is that accredited to M. A. Shelyakin and is said to comprise those groups that we have seen to not readily permit nominalization. In other words, the paper sums up prior approaches to the problem of how aspect models can account for the reality of derivational processes and proposes the presence of a single semantic category as being a fundamental determiner of the possibility of nominalization – or, in this instance, of its impossibility. She finds further support for such a conclusion in Stephen Dickey's work on comparative Slavic aspect, which also deserves discussion. Let us turn now to Dickey's analysis and the proposed single underlying factor that unites the above limiting factors.

6.   Aspect in East and West Slavic

In *Parameters of Slavic Aspect* Stephen Dickey takes a comparative look at the formation of deverbal substantives of the type with which we are here concerned – those describing the action or the process of the verb in *-ije* – a topic we will return to in Chapter 7.[111] However, what presently concerns us is the explanation he offers for the clearly differing tendencies for verbs in East Slavic languages to form these verbal substantives as opposed to the Western group. His explanation lies in the supposedly inherently differing nature of the category of aspect as it operates in the East Slavic group as opposed to the West. Providing an explanation for this observation is clearly important, but it does not directly affect the outcome of the current investigation, which is primarily concerned with how events are expressed as a process, action, state etc. Dickey's analysis is concerned with why verbal substantives of the *-ije* type differ in their productivity amongst Slavic languages.

Dickey describes his approach and primary hypothesis in stating:

Utilizing principles of Cognitive Grammar, a theory of aspect is constructed which can account for these differences [in aspectual use amongst the various Slavic languages]. It is argued that there is a subtle yet crucial difference between the semantics of aspect in the two groups. In particular, the meaning of the western pv aspect is totality, the meaning commonly ascribed to the pv in all of Slavic. On the other hand, aspect in the east is in fact a verbal definiteness category, and the meaning of the eastern pv aspect is temporal definiteness.[112]

In other words, he is positing that the dominating feature of the perfective aspect in East Slavic is that of temporal definiteness and it is this trait that inhibits the verbal aspectual pair being consistently converted into a nominal pairing. He proceeds to claim that the imperfective verbs of all Slavic languages are dominated by the feature of temporal indefiniteness, which is largely

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[111] Dickey, 236
[112] Dickey, 5

compatible with nominalization (hence the already discussed high productivity of such formations from verbs in *-iva*).

Temporal definiteness, he argues, is incompatible with nominalization, while temporal indefiniteness is not. The reason provided for this difference we find in Chapter 8 of his book, which focuses on the verbal noun. In Dickey's work, nouns in general are defined as being *time stable* or *temporally indefinite*, whereas verbs are inherently defined in time, are dependent on it, and, therefore, are *time unstable*. He exemplifies this by considering the verb *explode*, which "designates a process in time" and the noun *explosion*, which "construes the phases of the process designated by the verb atemporally…Thus a verbal noun construes a process as an entity."[113] East Slavic aspect, he continues, is defined by its temporal definiteness, which would make it (in the terminology of the author) *time unstable* or *temporally definite*. Thus the inability of the perfective aspect, the marked member of the opposition, to be reflected in nominalization (even when morphologically represented) due to this semantic incompatibility has caused the breakdown in the system, removed these nouns from the conjugation paradigm and left the remaining forms in *-ije* in a complicated state with many idiosyncrasies.[114] This is a compelling argument that has been described here in only the broadest and briefest of terms.

As with all matters of meaning (for we are here dealing with the *meaning* of aspect), proving the veracity of one hypothesis or another is not an easy task. However, should this explanation prove operable, one must ask, how, if at all, it explicates Pchelintseva's findings about the broader semantic coverage of the deverbal substantive from the perfective verb when

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[113] Dickey, 235

[114] West Slavic perfective aspect is not defined by a temporal semantic feature, but rather a spatial one, totality, which in no way conflicts with the time stability feature of nouns.

such forms are made from both verbs of the aspectual pair.[115] This would only seem to further confirm the possibility of the explanation provided above for the markedness of *-iva*: because deverbal nouns in *-ije*, according to Dickey, cannot express the verb's semantic marker of temporal definiteness, when added to the already morphologically unmarked perfective stem, they additionally become semantically unmarked due to the incompatibility of East Slavic's temporally definite aspect of verbs and the temporally indefinite aspect of nouns. The result is a word unmarked for aspectual meaning and form, making them compatible with both process- and result-type meanings. With forms in *-iva*, on the other hand, the resulting word still possesses an overt formal aspectual marker, which presumably is what restricts its use in comparison with those derived from morphologically unmarked forms.

7. Questions of Usage

The next question is when these forms, idiosyncratic as they may be in their creation, are used and why. This will likely prove the most challenging question to answer satisfactorily, as even if the differences in their formation have been shown to be a product of the semanto-aspectual makeup, this still does not tell us *when* they are used in general. We are not, in other words, so much interested in what inclines a Russian speaker to say *Мы все ждем его выздоровления* (*we are all waiting for his healing,* where the noun is derived from the perfective verb *выздороветь*) rather than *Мы все ждем его выздоравливания* (*ibid,* where the noun is derived from the imperfective verb *выздоравливать*), but rather what inclines them to say *Мы все ждем его выздоровления* rather than *Мы все ждем (того), когда он выздоровеет* (*We*

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[115] Despite the fact that Ukraine appears to have a more productive deverbal (if not verbal) noun, it does still seem to be fundamentally constrained by the temporal definiteness marker. Dickey notes that Uk perfective deverbals also display wider semantic application than imperfective counterparts (where such morphological pairs exist): "It is evident…that [Uk] pv verbal nouns may occur in both v and impv contexts, but impv verbal nouns cannot occur in pv contexts." (Dickey, 250)

are all waiting for when he will heal) or vice versa. We will begin with Pchelinsteva's assessment of the situation before proceeding to my own in the sections to follow.

In a 2014 article on the "appropriateness of the use of deverbal substantives in (contemporary standard) Russian",[116] Pchelintseva asks a question the exact opposite of the primary impetus of this dissertation: "для чего языку понадобились такие гибриды? Почему говорящий, имея в распоряжении понятный глагол с понятными категориальными значениями, в определенных ситуациях отдает предпочтение отглагольному имени действия — образованию с более размытой семантикой?"[117] As noted by Jespersen previously, the hybrid nature of the English gerund is what invests it with its peculiar value. He particularly emphasized the form's ability to be used as the object of a preposition as one of great importance. The value of this form becomes apparent when compared with a language where it is lacking, as in Russian. However, as we know languages to be finely integrated systems, what may be an integral part of one language, may seem an aberration in another: "Почему мы часто говорим…«из-за опоздания» вместо «из-за того, что опоздал»? Чем так привлекательна транспозиция? Ведь эта форма выражения мысли часто оказывается более громоздкой и требует дополнительных когнитивных усилий."[118] It just so happens that in describing the apparently unwieldy nature of the deverbal substantive in Russian, one of the author's examples involved its use as the object of the preposition: *из-за опоздания* (*because of being late*).

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[116] The full title reads: О выщипе цветов и выдерге травы или спор об уместности употребления в русском языке отглагольных имен (On the pinching off of flowers and the pulling up of grass or the argument about the appropriateness of the use in the Russian language of deverbal substantives)

[117] For what reason has the language come to need such hybrids? Why does the speaker, in possession of an understandable verb with understandable categorical meanings, in certain situations prefer the deverbal substantive – a form with a more blurred meaning? (Пчелинцева (2019), 9)

[118] Why do we often say "because of being late" instead of "because of [the fact] that I was late"? In what way is this transposition attractive? After all, this form of expression often turns out to be more unwieldy and requires additional cognitive strain. (*Ibid*)

It is curious (at least from the author's point of view as an English speaker) that the structure involving only two words is interpreted as more cumbersome than that involving four, two of which (*того* and *что* in this instance) carry no lexical content and are used solely to satisfy the condition that prepositions everywhere in Russian require case.[119] Pchelintseva is by no means alone in this preference for finite verbal expression. For the early 20th century Russian linguist, Alexandr Peshkovski, the question of nominal or verbal predication was clearly an emotional one, decrying that the verb "всякий раз дает более простое, более ясное и более сильное выражение. Отглагольное существительное всегда оказывается худосочным потугом на книжность, результатом стремления «образованность свою показать»…чем-то запутанным, бледным, вялым."[120] While it is difficult to grant much scientific weight to the rest of his article, Peshkovskij's inveighing tone underlies the bookish nature of such forms for Russian speakers already a century ago. The subjectively cumbersome nature of such forms may well, therefore, be not a matter of grammar, but one of register, as Offord and Gogolitsyna (2005) state, associating a "predilection for verbal nouns, especially with the suffix -ние" with scientific/academic style and/or official/business style.[121] The Russian linguist Vinokur even goes so far as to call their use in the literary language a *стилистический дефект* (*stylistic defect*) and thus, in Vinogradov's conceptualization "специальные же сферы языка создают свои собственные условия для функционирования этих имен в качестве терминов."[122]

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[119] In colloquial speech this rule is occasionally broken, as in *от нечего делать* (i.e. *от **того, что** нечего делать*) (*because (of the fact that) there is nothing to do*) though apparently not with all prepositions. It is also unclear to what degree such examples are simply elliptical or whether such a distinction is really important. A question of this type is included in the survey, the findings of which are presented in Chapter 5.

[120] every time gives a more simple, more clear and more strong expression. The deverbal noun always turns out to be a thin, vain attempt at bookishness, the result of a drive to "show one's own education", something confused, pale, limp (Пешковский, 142)

[121] Offord and Gogolitsyna, 49, 52

[122] "special spheres of the language create their own conditions for the functioning of these nouns in the capacity of specialized terms" Виноградов, 100; Vinokur cited here as well.

I have found, if anecdotal, confirmation of this in the speech of the contemporary literary critic Galina Yuzefovich in her podcast *Книжный базар* where her rather frequent usage of forms in *-ije* is supported by the nature of the podcast (literary criticism). She shows an obvious linguistic awareness and penchant for otherwise marked constructions (ex. the use of the non-occurring infinitive *мочь* 'to be able') and the frequent usage of theoretically underlain terms (*маркирован(ность)* being one of her favorites) etc. A similarly significant example can be observed in Garry Kasparov's 2023 interview with the popular Russian YouTube journalist Yuri Dud'. While discussing machine learning, Kasparov searches for a way of expressing the abstract concept of *thinking* and reluctantly chooses the form "думания", putting it in air quotes and qualifying the usage in stating "назовем в кавычках" (*in quotes let's say*).[123] Such marked usage of the abstract forms in *-ije* of such seemingly mundane concepts as *speaking* and *thinking* further support the notion that, if abstract events are regularly expressed in CSR, there must be other means for doing so.

This association of deverbal nouns in *-ije* with particular styles is not so much an explanation, however, as it is further confirmation that the deverbal substantive is a stylistically marked form, whose prominence cannot be said to be a feature of CSR. What is most remarkable, however, is that Jespersen (1923) describes the exact same situation as the one Pchelinsteva just did, but comes to the opposite conclusion for English from that which she drew for Russian: "the ing has clearly become a most valuable means of expressing tersely and neatly relations that must else have been indicated by *clumsy dependent clauses* [emphasis added]."[124] If we assume that the reasons for these opposing views are not anomalies and *do* represent the relative bias for and against this form in English and Russian respectively, then we are faced

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[123] Каспаров, 18:30
[124] Jespersen (1923), 201

with the question as to why this is so. Even if we leave aside social/psychological/cultural[125] explanations and focus on the language as a fully autonomous, enclosed system, the potential explanations remain so numerous that it cannot be the task of the present analysis to thoroughly investigate the issue. One possible explanation, however, will be offered here briefly and returned to in the conclusion, perhaps not even so much as a highly probable resolution to the problem in its details, but at the very least one that is exemplary of the type of solution that should be sought: a systemic one.

8.   Why English and Russian Differ in Relation to Verbal Nouns

In his book on the Linguistic Circle of Prague, Josef Vachek devotes special attention to what would later prove to be an important contribution to syntactic theory made by the circle's founder, Vilém Mathesius, known as functional sentence perspective.[126] A specialist in English syntax, Mathesius begins his analysis with a single surface-level incongruence between, in this case, Czech and English, and proceeds to seek an underlying reason for this apparent discord. The pertinent passage warrants I believe citation in its entirety:

> ModE almost completely lacks subjectless sentences denoting physical or psychical feelings both pleasant and unpleasant, while in Czech and other Slavic languages such subjectless sentences are abundant. English regularly expresses these feelings by two-member sentences containing the subject as well as the predicate–see, for instance, *I like it, I am sorry, I am cold, I am warm*. In Czech, corresponding sentences are formed on the pattern (non-existent in ModE) **me likes, *me is sorrow*, **me is cold*, **me is warm* (*Líbí se mi*, *Je mi líto*, *Je mi zima*, *Je mi teplo*), i.e., by means of a subjectless clause employing the *dativus commodi* (or, *incommodi*). The most interesting point here, however, is that the same pattern as is found in Czech used to be common in Old English (cf. *mē līciað, mē is ceadle*, etc.) and that this pattern only gradually ceded to the pattern now prevailing in ModE (in Chaucer we can still find, even if as an archaism, constructions like *me lyketh*). It appears, thus, that the change of pattern may have been

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[125] The artificial exclusion of these factors for the time being is suggested to determine first whether or not the answer to this question might lie somewhere in the structure of the language itself. However, the possibility that these factors do indeed play a role in this difference between the two languages is seen as a very real one.

[126] Here and the following - Vachek, 88-93; the original Czech *funkční větná perspektiva* is commonly referred to as *topic-comment structure*, or *theme-rheme analysis* in English, *актуальное членение предложения* in Russian etc.

due to the abandonment by the subject of the function of agent (which is still upheld in Czech) and to the acquisition by it of the thematic function as its principal task.

While one can never assume identity between any two Slavic languages, it does seem here that "Czech" could be replaced by "Russian" while maintaining the conceptual integrity of the author's primary point. If it is true that the Russian grammatical subject has a stronger agency marking than that of the English subject, one might draw an otherwise seemingly counterintuitive conclusion: the relatively frequent absence of a grammatical subject in Russian (as compared to English) is a sign of the subject's semantic importance.[127]

As we noted above, the capacity of the verbal noun to imply a subject without naming one overtly is what provides it with the "strongly passive force" that Huddleston (1984) notes. Pchelinsteva makes a similar observation for the Russian deverbal noun, referring to this effect as "замалчивание участников ситуации."[128] Because of this purported weakened sense of agency in the English subject, the absence of an overt subject in the verbal noun as compared to an entire clause is not so acutely felt as is the absence of the overt subject in the Russian deverbal noun. That is, Russian has specialized a number of constructions to be subjectless (cf. footnote 126) and conveying finite, agentive acts passively may be felt to be a sort of miscategorization by the speaker.[129] This is but one possible meaning-based[130] hypothesis as to why, as

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[127] A large number of constructions in Russian do not allow a nominative subject: impersonals in predicate adverbs: *холодно* (*it's cold*) impersonals in *-ся*: *хочется спать* (*I feel like sleeping*); so-called natural phenomena in the third person singular inanimate of verbs: *темнеет* (*it's getting dark*); passives in the third person plural: *меня зовут Миша* (*I'm called Misha*); infinitival sentences with modal meaning: *мне его не понять* (*I can't understand him*), modals with an infinitive (+ dative): *нам не привыкать* (*we don't have to get accustomed* i.e. *we're experienced in this matter*), infinitival predictions: *не быть войне* (*there will be no war*) etc.

[128] "silencing of participants of the situation" Пчелинцева (2016), 47

[129] It has been pointed out to me by my committee member, Ellen Contini-Morava, that the explanation may be in the deverbal noun in Russian being a derivational rather than inflectional category. I am certainly arguing that it be treated as such, but I also am curious as to whether there might not be some broader typological differences between the languages that also play a role here.

[130] As with the feature analysis conducted above, a meaning-based, invariant explanation attempts to provide a single factor (i.e. feature) that explicates the apparent disparate usages (i.e. functions) of a given form. The majority

Pchelintseva states, "носители русского языка воспринимают формы на -*ние* как книжные, «слишком литературные», тяжелые и неподходящие для ситуации живого эмоционального общения, языковой игры, [и] поэтому стремятся уйти от них."[131] While it is thought that the result – the language we see today – should be explained primarily in terms of meaning within the bounds of the language, the factors that led to such a state, be they historical, societal, political etc., may very well have played a role.

9.   Summary

Having discussed some of the primary issues that will arise when converting English sentences into Russian, particularly in relation to aspect, we will now examine the possible Russian constructions that most precisely approximate the meaning of the English original without significantly modifying the grammar. After doing so we will then consider the similarities and differences between the two languages in this regard and attempt to draw some larger conclusions from this material.

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of the analyses one encounters on this topic are in-depth, and often extremely perceptive, analyses and/or descriptions of all the variegated usages of these nouns without an attempt to provide a single motivating force for the apparent surface variety.

[131] native speakers of Russian interpret forms in -*nije* as bookish, "too literary", heavy and inappropriate for living, emotional conversation situations, word play, [and] therefore strive to avoid them. (Пчелинцева (2016), 52)

Chapter 4 - Comparison and Analysis

This chapter will use a variety of comparative methods to determine whether the predominantly theoretical conclusions drawn from the previous chapters coincide with more concrete usage data. The first comparison involves attempting to render English sentences that demonstrate the maximal functional breadth of the English gerund into grammatically acceptable Russian variants. All such Russian sentences have been confirmed as grammatical by at least one native speaker of Russian. Issues of register, style or any other factors that might affect the actual likelihood of such sentences being produced will be dealt with in Chapter 5. The second comparison will involve textual analyses of prose translated from English to Russian, Russian to English, and German to both Russian and English. A third language, German, was introduced here as a sort of neutral control group. Of course, it is much closer to English structurally than to Russian, but the wide availability of translations and my own linguistic abilities were further factors considered. Special attention will be paid to the number of abstract verbal nouns in *-ing*, *-ije*, and *-en* (in German) in each text and their relative correspondence in the translated works. The third and final analysis will consist of a survey of Russian native speakers, in which respondents choose from a variety of sentences both with and without forms in *-ije* indicating acceptability and preference where possible. In summation, Part I will set the grammatical boundaries of *-ije* by describing its potential usage, while parts two and three will reflect more contextualized usage.

1. Functional Comparison and Analysis[132]

    1. **As the Subject:** *His accepting too much for his services was the cause of his downfall.*

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[132] I remind the reader that the exemplary sentences for the first eight functions are all taken from Harman and House (1950).

The use of the gerund as subject of the sentence in English and the example provided will be immediately complicated by an attempt to provide a similar construction in Russian. However, it is a well-known fact that the Russian infinitive can be used as the subject of the sentence: *Принимать излишнюю награду за проделанную им работу было причиной его падения* (*Accepting excessive payment for the work done by him was the cause of his downfall*).[133] Timofeev in his article on infinitival clauses in Russian refers to this usage as "nominative independent infinitive": "Независимый инфинитив, употребленный в качестве подлежащего, можно было бы назвать номинативным независимым инфинитивом, учитывая при этом преобладание в его семантике назывного (номинативного) значения."[134] As the English gerund demands a singular verb form in the predicate, so too does the Russian infinitive. However, the Russian is complicated by the necessity of indicating gender in the past tense of the predicate. As is typical in such situations in Russian, forms that must indicate grammatical gender (adjectives, verbs and their derivatives etc.) in the absence of a case-bearing form to provide this information, default to a neuter singular form, as apparent in many substantivized adjectives (*самое главное* – *the main/most important thing*) and subjectless constructions (*меня тошнило* – *I felt sick*, *мне хотелось* – *I felt like/wanted*).[135]

These factors are not what complicates the rendering of the sample sentence, however, as the primary complication arises as a result of the presence of the modifier attributed to the gerund: *his accepting*. The Russian infinitive, like the English, does not permit a modifier.[136] *Его*

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[133] Wade, 126

[134] "One could call an independent infinitive used as the subject the nominative independent infinitive, at the same time considering in its semantics a predominance of the naming (nominative) meaning." (Тимофеев, 261)

[135] It is important to note here that the Russian infinitive is not a neuter singular form – it does not possess the categories of gender or number, but is rather a "zero form" (Jakobson (1984), 4); the singular and neuter agreement one must conclude are the result of markedness relations: the singular is unmarked for number and the neuter is unmarked as non-feminine and marked as non-animate per Jakobson. (*Ibid*, 141)

[136] However the question of why it cannot is a good one, because, as we just saw, when the subject of a sentence is the infinitive, the verb is conjugated for singular neuter, categories which a modifier likewise indicate; perhaps,

принятие излишней награды за проделанную им работу было причиной его падения may be acceptable, but the citation of the form *принятие* as *книжное официальное* (*bookish, official*) makes the likelihood of the use of such a construction in everyday parlance suspect.[137] Even more questionable would be the rendering *Его принимание излишней награды за проделанную им работу было причиной его падения* though it too is found in the dictionary. Precisely these questions of which construction a Russian speaker is more likely to use in CSR will be the object of our analysis in future sections. Of course, one can further insert a nominative subject and convert the gerund phrase into a verb phrase (and consequently dependent clause) in saying *Сам факт, что он принял излишнюю награду за проделанную им работу было причиной его падения*, but this is too much of a paraphrase to be considered at present.

2. **As the Predicate Nominative:** *Kingsley's favorite occupation was helping lame dogs over stiles.*

Just as the Russian infinitive can serve as the subject of the sentence, so too may it be the primary constituent of the predicate. *Любимое занятие Кингсли было помогать собакам-калекам [прыгать] через перелазы.* However, the analysis of such a sentence in terms of grammatical relations is potentially ambiguous. As Borras and Christian (1971) point out, "it is often difficult to choose between the nominative and instrumental case to translate a predicative noun after the verb *to be*…"[138] While it is true that *subject-verb-object* (SVO) is the standard

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then, it is the necessity to additionally indicate case in the modifier that prevents such a combination; here too, we must remark, that should such a modification be possible, one would expect it to be in the nominative case, the unmarked case form (Jakobson (1984), 68). One then is forced to draw the conclusion that while the infinitive can function as the subject of the sentence in Russian, this does not mean that it becomes a noun in such instances as the impossibility of *его принимать (*his accepting*) elucidates. To what degree this usage is influenced by the historical providence of the infinitive (it being a verbal noun in PIE - Schenker (145)) is another question entirely. Furthermore, there are several linguists who hold that even in Slavic the infinitive was still a nominal element with a simplified declension, such that -*tь* was the nominative and -*ti* the oblique cases (Horálek, 265-6).

[137] ru.wiktionary.org/wiki/принятие; Ушаков, vol. II, 828; note also the use of the noun derived from the perfective verb in the processual (i.e. imperfective) sense.

[138] Borras and Christian, 14

word order for CSR, it is by no means non-standard for the order to be reversed and reorganized any number of ways, so that there is nothing grammatically inhibiting one from claiming that in fact it is the VP with the head *помогать* that is the subject, the verb in the predicate agreeing with it as discussed in the previous example and the NP *любимое дело* appearing as part of the predicate in the nominative case. This ambiguity is due to the fact that the otherwise supposed subject – the NP – is a neuter form. If we look at a sentence with a non-neuter subject, however, this ambiguity evaporates: *Это была его идея играть концерт в этом зале*. The NP *его идея* is clearly the subject here, as evidenced by the agreement in gender and number with the verb, while the VP *была играть концерт* is the predicate.[139] In such a way we can confirm the infinitive's capacity to function not only as subject, but also as predicate. As there are no deverbal nouns in *-ije* derived from the aspectual pair помогать/помочь, no other variants appear possible for this sentence.[140] While *помощь* is defined as "*действие по глаг.* помочь-помогать", we are not concerned with such non-systematic meanings/relations here.

3. **As an Explanatory Modifier:** *Bless me! This is pleasant, riding on a trail.*

This usage, equally well described as an appositive, does not appear to present much complication in Russian, as, once again, the infinitive's *naming of the action* function allows it to function nominally to the extent that no oblique case is required by the grammar. *Боже мой! Это (так) приятно, кататься по тропе*. The dictionary does include *катанье* as "*действие по глаг.* катать *и* кататься", however the likelihood of such a form being used in an appositive

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[139] Russian identificatory constructions (*это + nominative/clause*) never allow the demonstrative pronoun to be the subject. In fact, it in many ways functions as a particle, such as when it can be attached to an otherwise independent clause without any further modifications: *я ему сказал* (*I told him*) vs. *это я ему сказал* (*I'm the one who told him*). Note the need for a separate clause in English.

[140] Apart from the overtly archaic *поможение*

is suspect. One might suppose that this is due to the significant degree of nominalization (i.e. dissociation from the verb) these forms have undergone.

4. **As Direct Object/Object Complement:** *The children enjoyed feeding the bears.*

In the three prior examples dealt with here, the Russian infinitive has proven to be a relatively malleable form in performing the functions that the gerund does in English. All of these instances, however, have been united in that oblique cases were not involved. In the instance of the direct object, the accusative case is required. However, in Russian, as in all Indo-European languages, there is no morphological distinction between the nominative and accusative of neuter nouns.[141] Because the infinitive, while it does not become entirely nominal (as evidenced by its inability to take a modifier), is able to function as a subject and agrees with the verb as though it were a neuter singular noun, it is not surprising that it can also function as the direct object, where no morphological change would be required, were the verb capable of nominal inflection.

This particular example provided by Harman and House (1950) is interesting in Russian as the verb for *to enjoy* i.e. *наслаждаться* is not transitive and requires an instrumental complement. In such instances, the non-nominal status of the infinitive is clear as **Дети наслаждались кормить медведей* is clearly ungrammatical. However, if we replace the verb with a transitive verb of comparable meaning such as *любить* (*love*), then the infinitive once again is possible: *Дети любили кормить медведей*. The noun *кормление* does exist, which would permit the formulation *Дети наслаждались кормлением медведей*. If we put questions of style aside for the time being, this particular rendering is notable for the impossibility of the Russian form in -*ije* to take a direct object, as previously noted. While it so happens that the

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[141] Lyons, 293

genitive plural is morphologically identical to the accusative plural due to the animacy of the noun, the form here is in the genitive plural, making it more precisely the translation of the sentence *The children enjoyed the feeding of the bears*. This point could be unambiguously made by a parallel structure with an inanimate noun, such as *Дети наслаждались чтением книг* (*The children enjoyed the reading of the books*), where *книг* is the genitive plural only. It seems that both the Russian and its English translation in this case are equally unlikely stylistically, though both are grammatically acceptable.

A separate question is to what degree the proposed feature distinction between gerundial and infinitival direct objects in English is approximated respectively by imperfective and perfective infinitival direct objects. If we compare the two Russian sentences *Я люблю хорошо есть* and *Я люблю хорошо поесть* we have identical sentences, but for the aspect of the infinitives. As Forsyth states, "the imperfective infinitive is also characteristic of sentences in which the type of action is presented in an abstract, generalised manner with no reference to specific circumstance for its actual performance."[142] One could substitute "the English gerund" for "the [Russian] imperfective infinitive" with little to no modification and the statement would hold true for the grammatical relation of direct object. We might then propose *I love eating well* to be a highly faithful translation of *Я люблю хорошо есть*. The perfective infinitive, on the other hand, "presents the action as a singularised totality…the meaning of the perfective infinitive is specific and related to concrete circumstances."[143] If the aspectual features proposed in Chapter 2 for the English gerund and infinitive were identical to those defining the Russian imperfective and perfective infinitives, the translation *I love to eat well*, we could say, best equates that of the Russian *Я люблю хорошо поесть*. However, as a rule in English, overt

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[142] Forsyth, 285
[143] *Ibid*, 288-9

perfective aspect can only be achieved through paraphrasis. Some of the most clearly perfective

(in terms of the Russian definition of the concept) verbal forms in English are compound

constructions consisting of delexicalized verbs the likes of *have, take, give* etc. and a bare

infinitive. While *I like to eat well* is more perfective than *I like eating well*, in that it points to a

single instance, whether iterated in time or not, *I like to have a bite (to eat)* is overtly perfective.

In other words, because the aspectual relation imperfective/perfective as present in Russian is not

an overt feature of the English verbal system, the difference in message Russian achieves by

differing the aspect of the infinitive as direct object can only be approximated by purely verbal

forms in English. If one wishes to capture the overt perfective message of perfective infinitive

direct objects, one must resort to paraphrastic constructions of the type described above. This

means of expressing Russian perfectives in general with delexicalized verbs with objects in

English is especially productive with Russian infinitives circumscribed in time via the prefix *no-*,

so-called *delimitatives*[144]: *могу тебя побить* (*I can give you a beating*); *попробуй*! (*give it a go,*

have a try!); *посмотри!* (*take a look!*); *люблю вечером в море покупаться* (*I love having a*

swim in the sea in the evening); *не побоялся и пришёл* (*he didn't take fright and came*) etc. It is

not surprising that Wierzbicka (1982), a native Polish speaker, noticed the overt aspectual

marking present in such constructions: "One clear semantic difference between simple-verb and

have a V constructions is aspectual:the periphrastic construction presents the action (or the

process) as limited in time."[145] As Wierzbicka also points out, it should be noted that in English

this type of periphrastic construction is generally typical of a more colloquial register, while the

Russian perfective infinitive construction does not seem to be overtly stylistically marked.

5. **As Objective Complement:** *I call that taking candy from babies.*

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[144] Dickey and Hutcheson, 23
[145] Wierzbicka (1982), 757

While the example here may not seem to be of much significance, this is an impression created largely by its lexical content. One can just easily present a more every day, non-idiomatic example: *You call that teaching a lesson?* The Russian verb required here is *называть/назвать*, which takes a direct object in the accusative and the second predicate takes the instrumental, although colloquially, the latter is often left in the nominative, particularly where proper nouns are concerned.[146] The latter allowance is likely what permits the formulation: *Я это называю забрать конфетку у ребёнка*. The verb *забирать/забрать* does not form a noun in *-ije*, so no other variant is possible here without changing the verb or significantly altering the sentence's grammatical structure. The second example provided is different in that the verb here, *преподавать/преподать*, forms a rather commonly used noun in *-ije*, *преподавание*, so that both *Ты это называешь преподаванием урока?* and *Ты это называешь преподавать урок?* are possible.

From the sentences examined thus far, the role of the infinitive in Russian is perhaps broader than one might expect. Not only can it (at least sometimes) stand in for a noun in the nominative, but even for one in the accusative. If what has been observed were stated formally, it could be said the infinitive functions nominally where 1) there is no other word in attributive position 2) a neuter noun would have nominative/accusative case morphology i.e. no oblique inflection. The extent to which this observation is true and its significance (if any) will be borne out in further analysis. It would appear significant, however, that answering the question of how the Russian infinitive is used is not a question reference grammars generally seek to answer, despite their general organization in terms of parts of speech.

6. **As Principal Term of a Prepositional Phrase:** *He makes his living by grinding scissors.*

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[146] Second predicate is Comrie's terminology as in Comrie (1974); Wade describes it as "predicate to the object of transitive verbs which denote appointment, naming, considering" (127)

This is undoubtedly the most striking difference between English and Russian syntax with which we will be dealing. First of all, however, it should be stated that the fact that many prepositions in English can take entire clauses as their objects (*after we ate dinner*, *before he went to bed, I thought about how to get there* etc.) is a marked difference from Russian, where all prepositions require objects with case, as stated above. As a clause cannot be inflected for case, prepositional phrases such as **после мы поужинали*, ** перед он пошел спать* or **я думал о как туда попасть* are impossible in Russian. While in this kind of usage such temporal prepositions (*before, after*) in English will generally be referred to as conjunctions, the primary status of these forms as prepositions would not seem to be in question.[147] The Russian *после* presents an interesting case, as it is listed in the dictionary primarily as an adverb (*наречие*) and only secondarily as a preposition (*предлог*). If it were interpreted in the former light, the above *после мы поужинали* (afterwards we ate) is acceptable, but its meaning is entirely different from the meaning of the preposition/conjunction in *after we ate dinner*.[148] Wade (2011) notes four such prepositions that can also function conjunctionally in English (*before, after, until, since*), pointing out that the same does not apply to their Russian equivalents (*до, после, до, с*).[149] While significant, this difference only applies to a small group of prepositions in English. The vast majority are like those in Russian in that they demand a nominal object, which brings us back to the importance of the English gerund.

The ability to nominalize clauses in English goes hand-in-hand with the prominence of prepositions in syntax. One might even speculate that the prominence of word order and prepositions in defining grammatical roles in English, compared to that of case in Russian, might

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[147] See Curme p.178 where he refers to "clause of time", for example.
[148] One wonders to what extent the adverbial status of *после* is not really just an elliptical construction the likes of *после (этого)*.
[149] Wade, 498

be directly related to the relative prominence of the English gerund. It will be noted, in fact, that the English gerund rose to prominence as the language lost much of its case inflection over the period that witnessed the transition of Old English into the Modern version we speak today. Regardless, the synchronic difference is clear: where English can reformulate the clause and combine the two elements *because of* and *they interceded* into *because of their interceding*, Russian cannot. *Из-за* and *он вступился/заступился* cannot be so reformulated without 1) the use of an abstract noun that may or (as in this case) may not be in *-ije* or 2) inserting the dummy word *то* to fulfill the case requirement manifested by the preposition. Discussion of what are commonly referred to as "*то, что* constructions,"[150] but what I will refer to as *то-subordinates*, whether the *то* is present (*Она говорила о том, что никого там не было*) or not (*Она говорила, что никого там не было*)[151] or relative clauses, again, whether *то* is explicitly expressed (*Он рассказывал о том, чтó ему нравится*) or not (*Он рассказывал, чтó ему нравится*),[152] will be taken up more thoroughly in Chapter 6. As has already been observed by Pchelintseva, such constructions are often felt to be the more natural expression of the process of the action in CSR, particularly, but not exclusively, as the object of a preposition. Let us return to the topic at hand.

In the example we began with here, *He makes his living by grinding scissors,* we have a situation where the meaning expressed in English by a preposition i.e. that of *means*, *manner* etc., does not require a preposition in Russian, as such a meaning is expressed by the instrumental case alone. In effect, such a sentence presents a similar dilemma as that observed in

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[150] Launer, 82

[151] Discussion will further include whether or not the inclusion of то has any effect on the meaning.

[152] Noun clauses in Russian will have a subordinating conjunction, here the unstressed *что*, while relative clauses feature a relative pronoun, here the stressed *чтó*, but in principle any of the so-called question words, whether pronominal (*что, кто*), adjectival (*какой, чей*), or adverbial (*где, куда*) can act as a relative pronoun, despite the inability of such adverbial forms to express any pronominal inflection.

the English use of a gerund as an objective complement. There, however, a colloquial

substitution of the nominative for the instrumental provided a simple solution. There is no such

case-substitution possible here. The Russian verb for *to grind* in the present context is

(от)шлифовать and while Ushakov lists no *шлифование*, Викисловарь does, making possible,

though unlikely, the rendering *Он зарабатывает (себе) на жизнь/хлеб шлифованием*

ножниц. Any other rendering would require the dummy *то*, to be discussed in the coming

chapter in its own right.

7. **Gerund as Adverbial Objective:** *This book is worth reading aloud.*

This is a rather peculiar (to English it seems) example for a number of reasons, the first

being that while Harman and House (1950) define *worth* as an adverb, Curme (1965) states that

"*worth* is the only adjective that takes an accusative object"[153] and Jespersen (1964) simply states

that "a gerund is very frequent after *worth*", adding that such a construction yields a passive

message.[154] Whether this is an adjective or adverb for the purposes of the present discussion need

not be determined, as neither are case-governing forms (verbal adverbs and adjectives aside) in

Russian. Translating such a sentence into Russian will, however, as a matter of fact require an

oblique case, which is, as we have seen, when the most common means of expressing the name

or process of the action in Russian, namely via the infinitive, cannot be implemented. For this

reason, we will consider the example, despite it otherwise presenting a situation essentially

nonexistent in Russian.

To express the meaning of *worth* found in the present example, Russian uses the verb

стоить which governs the genitive case, therefore nullifying the possibility of the infinitive in

Russian in place of the English gerund. As we have proceeded before, the next solution to be

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[153] Curme (42)
[154] Jespersen (1940), 91, 113

considered is that of a noun in *-ije*. Such a form from the verb *читать* (**читание*) is neither found in the dictionary nor cited by Wikipedia. There is, however, the word *чтение*, which is cited as being the action according to the verb читать, though its derivational origin is the now-archaic *честь*.[155] Nonetheless, there would then seem to be nothing grammatically preventing the formulation *?Эта книга стоит чтения вслух*, although the native speakers consulted rejected or accepted with hesitation such a sentence. There is also the form *прочтение* from the perfective *прочесть*, which, when used to render the original English as *Эта книга стоит прочтения вслух* was considered acceptable by all native speakers consulted. This, it may be recalled, yet again reflects the general tendency described by Pchelintseva for the noun formed from the perfective verb to be unmarked in terms of aspect when both *de*imperfective as well as *de*perfective forms exist. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether one is likely to hear any such variants in CSR, as a то-subordinate construction tends to be implemented in such instances where an oblique case is required.

There is also the possibility for an infinitival complement, such that the sentence is rendered: *Эту книгу стоит прочесть*. The differences in meaning rendered by infinitives differing in aspect alone here is not considered pertinent. This is perhaps the most likely rendering of such a sentence, as it is more than common for *стоить* to take an infinitival complement in CSR. However, we have now even further strayed from the original, as *эту книгу* is now the object of a subjectless construction: *it is worth reading this book.*

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[155] In the survey conducted by Dickey (2000) in chapter 8, native speakers of Russian provided the forms *čtenie* and *pročtenie* as a set of derived deverbal nouns. While the verb *прочесть* may still cooccur to some degree alongside the more common *прочитать*, the verb *честь* in the meaning of *читать* cannot be supported in CSR. The forms are erroneously assigned to *читать/прочитать* because of their semantics; however, the purpose of both his and my own analysis concerns both semantics and morphological derivation.

8. **Compound Gerund:** *He was congratulated on having been honored by his neighbors and having attained his chief ambition.*

The numerous and at times cumbersome English compound verbal constructions (often referred to as "tenses", though in reality reflecting a complex mixture of tense and aspect) very apparently differ from the relatively few compound forms remaining in the Russian verbal system (namely the passive voice with a short form past passive participle in the past and future tenses: *дом был построен*; *дом будет построен* and the compound imperfective future: *они будут строить дом*). In the present example we are dealing with two (of the same) instances of a present perfect construction being nominalized by a gerund (assuming a transformational interpretation), converting *he has been honored* and *he has attained his chief ambition* into *(his) having been honored* and *(his) having attained his chief ambition* respectively. While, as Comrie explains, it is recognized that the use of a past passive participle in the present tense (i.e. without an expressed form of *быть*) yields a passive perfect meaning, such that *дом построен* would be comparable to *the/a house has been built*, such an unambiguous expression of perfectivity is only apparently possible in the passive voice and present tense.[156] In the English original we are here dealing both with a passive and an active construction respectively. However, both constructions present the same problem in Russian, as the nominalization that takes place in English does so via the auxiliary *have*, an equivalent of which is completely absent in Russian. If the deverbal forms consistently did reflect the aspectual division inherent in the finite verb forms, then such forms would presumably approximate the nominalized perfective constructions we are dealing with here. Even then, though, there would remain the issue of differentiating passive from active voice.

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[156] Comrie (1976), 54; he does seem to imply that a past passive perfect can be formed periphrastically, as in *дом построен в прошлом году*, but this could hardly be construed so as to influence the present argument.

Let us consider the first compound gerund in this regard: *He was congratulated on having been honored by his neighbors*. If we take the verb *почтить* to be of comparable meaning to the verb *honor*, the deverbal noun would be *почтение*, homophonous and perhaps largely synonymous with that of the verb *почесть*. This issue aside, one might present the following renderings: *?Его поздравили с почтением его соседями* or *?Он был поздравлен с почтением своими соседями*. These formulations are problematic for several reasons. Firstly, the noun *почтение* is no longer cited in dictionaries as deverbal. It has solidified as a noun meaning deep respect (*глубокое уважение*). Secondly, even were this not the case, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether the second *его* in the first rendering is a possessive/genitive modifier reflecting an implicit subject, as in *он почтил* or an accusative direct object, as in *его почтили*, or whether it is simply a possessive modifier of *соседями*. The inclusion of the agent in the instrumental eliminates the former possibility in the present instance, but in the absence of the instrumental the ambiguity would technically remain. In such a case, perhaps word order would take over the neutralized case function in this instance, yielding the interpretation of it being a possessive modifier of *соседями*.[157] A third issue is the inability to use the reflexive possessive adjective, *свой*, in the first rendering, as *его поздравили* in the predicate is a subjectless construction and the meaning of *свой* is bound with that of the nominative subject. The result is that the use of *его* to modify *соседями* is unclear as to whom it is referring to – the same *его* as the direct object in the predicate, or a different, third person. To avoid the first issue, which is clearly the most significant here, we will use the verb (*по*)*чествовать*, as in **Его поздравили с чествованием его соседями* or **Он был поздравлен с чествованием своими соседями*. Neither Ushakov nor Викисловарь cite

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[157] Much like Jakobson's example of *мать любит дочь*, in which the normally free word order takes on the ability to make a difference in meaning where case morphologically fails (Jakobson (*General Meanings*), 63).

почествование, though both cite *чествование*. The main issue now, however, is that the perfect and passive meanings from the English are lost completely, so that even if such constructions are marginally permissible, the meaning will necessarily be different from that of the English.

The second clause, *and having attained his chief ambition*, is a nominalized present perfect active construction that might be translated as *и с достижением его/своей главной цели*. Here we do not have the issue of expressing a passive, but it is unclear to what extent the perfect meaning is contained in the form *достижение*.

9. **Post-posed Adnominal Modifier**

I have encountered at least one more instance of how abstract events can function in the sentence both in English and in Russian. It is the only function I am aware of in which the gerund can never replace the infinitive in English and is in that way unique compared to the above eight functions. This usage was discovered through the translation analysis presented below and so I will refer to an example taken from the analysis of the translation of *A Tale of Two Cities*. It should be noted that it was not initially the English original that gave pause, but the Russian translation. The fragment and its translation look as follows:

7. with the mutinous intent of **taking [6]** it back to Blackheath	7. с явным намерением <u>отвезти</u> ее обратно в Блэкхиз

While in the English we indeed have a gerund as the object of a preposition, the Russian looks quite different. Here we find the infinitive seemingly modifying the noun, *намерение*, answering the question *какое намерение*. However *why* an infinitive can answer a question that most often will elicit an adjective or, in any case, modify a noun in any way is less straightforward. While

one may wish to see the construction as a transformation of *я намериваюсь отвезти…* (*I intend to take away…*), this would 1) fly in the face of the notion that forms in *-ije* are not part of CSR verb conjugation, and more importantly 2) would do nothing to explain such instances as *мне неохота отвезти…* (*I don't want to take away…*) for which no equivalent finite verb form exists, and 3) imply that nouns in Russian can in fact take accusative objects, although all evidence points to the opposite. The common denominator between these two examples (*мне неохота отвезти*, *с намерением отвезти*) might appear to be that both verbs and nouns of desire permit infinitival complements/objects. In reality the situation is more complicated, as can be seen in *его способность играть на гитаре* (*his ability to play the guitar*). Here we have a noun that does not fit in the above-proposed semantic class. As it turns out, the defining factor seems neither to be purely semantic or syntactic, but rather one of both grammatical roles and semantics. *Играть на гитаре* in the previous phrase modifies and defines *его способность*. Words that can modify nouns without formal agreement are referred to as *несогласованные определения* (*unagreed modifiers*) in Russian grammatical terminology: "Несогласованные определения, выраженные инфинитивом, служат для раскрытия содержания предмета, обозначенного часто отвлеченным именем существительным."[158] The infinitive in *с намерением отвезти*, therefore, is apparently acting much as a genitive of attribution would, i.e. as an adnominal modifier. Furthermore, as noted, the nouns that do permit such modification have all (thus far at least) been *отвлеченные имена существительные* (abstract nouns): *намерение, способность, неохота* etc.[159] However, not all such examples feature such nouns,

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[158] Валгина, 114

[159] It has been pointed out that these are not simply abstract nouns, but nouns morphologically related to verbs that permit an infinitival complement. The problem with such an interpretation is that the supposed verbal expressions would feature copular short form adjectives, *я намерен уйти* (*I am determined to go*) and *она способна играть* (*she is able to play*) as well as finite verbs, here with the loss of the prefix from *охота*: *я не хочу играть* (*I don't want to play*), complicating the relationship between the forms. There must be some deeper underlying semantic markers-categories motivating these selectional properties.

as examples like *власти дали приказ не оказывать сопротивление* (*the government gave the order not to resist*) show.

Russian is not alone here, because while English can use a prepositional phrase and a gerund, as in *with the intent of taking*, it too can use the infinitive. Here we have a situation reminiscent of the discussion in Chapter 2, in that again we see that English uses both *of + gerund* (*with the intention of taking*) as well as an infinitive (*his ability to play*),[160] both post-posed, whereas Russian has recourse only to the infinitive (*с намерением уйти; способность играть*). While the Russian infinitive's apparent ability to modify is surprising for its lack of morphological markers, we have already seen it function nominally several times before (despite its lack of nominal morphology). The difference here, however, is its apparent use where an oblique case would normally be required.

Comrie *et al.* note the increasingly analytical nature of nouns and perhaps this usage of the infinitive is part of that trend, the post-nominal position becoming one marked for modification. "The most distinctive feature of grammatical change in the twentieth century has been the growth of analyticity—the increasing tendency for the grammatical meaning of words to be expressed by their context rather than their form…An obvious aspect of this tendency is the growth of indeclinability among nouns."[161] Most consequential, however, for the matter at hand is the apparent conflict between morphology and function. While the infinitive in its meaning presents the action uninflected and (at least potentially) in the abstract, its function here is one of modification.[162] Therefore, based on the previous evidence of the CSR infinitive behaving

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[160] Some nouns in English seem to have stricter sectional restrictions, only allowing an infinitival or gerundial post-posed modifier, while those which allow both (*his idea to go to the store* and *his idea of going to the store*), it is assumed, will have the same feature markings that motivate the selection of the infinitive or gerund as discussed in Chapter 2.

[161] Comrie, Stone, Polinsky 117

[162] Otherwise we must recognize a more verbal character in these nouns.

nominally, I will argue that here we are dealing with a post-posed adnominal noun (which would otherwise be in the genitive) rather than an infinitive acting in the role of an uninflected adjective or as an accusative complement. While it is true that undeclined adjectives do occur, they predominantly (if not entirely) consist of foreign borrowings: *час пик, стиль модерн, картошка фри* etc.[163] While this does indeed add to the list of how events conceptualized abstractly can function in a sentence — in the form of the infinitive (both in English and in Russian) they can function as post-posed adnominal modifiers — the means are still the same: the infinitive in Russian, both the infinitive and gerund in English.

This anticipates another similar issue that arose through the textual analysis below. Prepositional phrases with gerundial objects in English are often translated into Russian with present and past verbal nouns. This is not surprising, as prepositional phrases often function adverbially both in CSE and CSR. I would like to nonetheless maintain that the two — English prepositional phrases and Russian verbal adverbs — cannot be said to be equivalent. That is, stating that the formulations of the type presented in the following example are equivalent is not a tenable position. The difference lies in the fact that a prepositional phrase with a gerund is not a predication. It is not a clause, but rather a phrase, and one that deals in *things* not *events*. The verbal adverb is a predication and therefore is centered around an event. Let us examine just such an example from the same text:

6. families were publicly cautioned not to go out of town without **removing [6]** their furniture to upholsterers' warehouses for security	6. власти советовали семейным людям не выезжать из города, не <u>сдав</u> предварительно свое домашнее имущество в мебельные склады

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[163] Comrie, Stone, Polinsky 133; we might further note these also being post-posed, whether as a result of foreign (in this case French) syntax, or that being a marked modificatory position in Russian, one cannot be sure without further investigation.

Note that *removing* may be replaced with a noun phrase the likes of *all of their belongings* without affecting the integrity of the syntax. *Не сдав*, on the other hand, can only be replaced by another clause (*если они еще не сдали…*). Furthermore, English too can create a verbal adverb (using a perfect to achieve the relatively prior tense meaning the so-called past verbal adverb in Russian yields): *having not first removed*. The English in its original, therefore, features a level of verbal abstraction that Russian conjugation does not permit and so an identity of function cannot be said to entail an identity of meaning. Once again we see here the predilection for English to deal in things and Russian to deal in events.

If there is one conclusion to be drawn from the above, it is that the Russian deverbal substantives in *-ije* are not the equivalent of the English gerund. Their formation is sporadic and their meaning is inexact in relation to the verbs they are derived from. Although they can at times provide the *action conceptualized as entity* definition we are interested in, the morphology alone is not the deciding factor in whether or not this will be so. The infinitive too can perform several of the functions of the gerund and, in that regard, is much more predictable a means for abstraction. It is true, there remain large gaps where it is syntactically and morphologically limited, such as the object of a preposition and in nominalizing perfect constructions. Nevertheless, while forms in *-ije* may be less restricted syntactically, the infinitive is more flexible than its part of speech classification would lead one to believe. This is because

> the basic function of the infinitive appears to be to name the type of action in general, without reference to any specific reality—i.e., from the grammatical point of view, without the expression of person, number, or tense. The analogy between the infinitive and the nominative form of the nouns as the 'neutral', 'dictionary' form has often been drawn, and in traditional grammars the infinitive is frequently called a 'verbal noun'. This term implies the dual function which is indeed characteristic of the infinitive—its ability to act in sentences either as a verb or as a noun. The grammatical category which *is* expressed by the infinitive in Russian is aspect. It is naturally the imperfective

> infinitive which serves to give the most completely abstract denotation of a type of action, and which can be immediately equated with a noun.[164]

We find a similar description in Horálek (1962) on comparative syntax in Slavic, noting that it "se někdy funkčně sbližuje se slovesným substantivem nebo adjektivy (participii) a adverbii, jindy zase s určitými tvary slovesnými. Infinitiv bývá někdy rovnoprávnou náhradou substantiva, které vyjadřuje děj nebo stav (např. čes. *chůze ho unavovalo // chodit ho unavovalo*)."[165] The infinitive's lack of grammatical categories apart from aspect is what provides it with its plasticity. Particularly versatile is the imperfective infinitive, because it is the unmarked member of the aspectual pair, meaning it need not indicate even aspect. It is this minimal amount of grammatical information that permits it to be used virtually anywhere a neuter noun in a direct case might. It is no surprise that even such forms as *не хочу ничего делать кроме спать* (*I don't want to do anything except sleep*) are common in colloquial CSR. This syntactic spread of the infinitive to be used where oblique cases are traditionally required is likely the result of a combination of several factors: 1) the unmarked nature of imperfective infinitives, 2) ellipsis[166] of the type in *я боюсь выступать перед своими коллегами* (*I'm afraid of presenting in front of my colleagues*) where the pronominal dummy *того* and conjunction *чтобы* are frequently omitted (cf. *я боюсь того, чтобы выступать перед своими коллегами*), 3) the increasingly analytical nature of the language as a whole, and 4) the influence of foreign languages, most prominently of which is English at present, which may or may not be connected to the previous point. It will be interesting to see to what degree the infinitive, the foreign syntax of English and

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[164] Forsyth, 283

[165] "sometimes functionally approaches the verbal noun or adjective (participle) and adverb, elsewhere with finite verb forms. The infinitive is also at times an equal substitute for a noun, which expresses an action or state (e.g. Cz. *the walk tired him // walking tired him*)." (Horálek, 265); note that the same structures hold true in Russian: *прогулка его утомляла* and *гулять его утомляло*.

[166] Whether or not this is truly elliptical or if there is a difference in meaning between the constructions with and without то and a subordinating conjunction will be discussed in Chapter 6.

the suffix *-инг* further their expansion and productivity respectively in the coming decades.

While it would seem that the stylistically marked *-ije* representing so many fully nominalized

forms in the language already would prohibit its resurgence as a means of abstract event

expression, one can never be sure what factors will prove most prominent in the long run.

Schupbach (1984), however, sees any future resurgence as a most unlikely eventuality. In his

section entitled "The Decline of *-nie* in the 20th Century" he notes that the last morphological

domain in which such nouns remain entirely productive and predictable are the so-called

secondary imperfectives in *-iva*. Even here, though, the situation is unsure:

> As long as its competitors cannot convey this [abstract] meaning, *-nie* will retain a level
> of productivity in these styles at least, and in so doing will probably continue to support
> the neuter. But the emergence on a regular basis of verb government with, for example *-ka*, as in *kritika kogo kem*, might be sufficient to seal the fate of the model and the gender
> with it.[167]

As is apparent, Schupbach not only questions the continued longevity of nouns in *-ije*, but the

entirety of the neuter gender along with them. His reasoning is that the neuter is the least

numerous of the three genders with a very few suffixes constituting the vast majority of the

occurrence of the gender and its distinct declension is limited to the nominative and accusative

(which are one and the same in this case). While a compelling conjecture, it seems unlikely that

this will occur within the lifetime of anyone now living, as the denominal abstract-noun forming

suffix *-stvo* remains productive and, even were we to suppose that *-ka* or *-инг* or some other

means were to cause the obsolescence of nouns in *-ije*, they still remain a large part of the

lexicon. As it stands, however, gaps (from the point of view of English) do remain in abstract

event expression if one considers forms in *-ije* and the infinitive alone. We might therefore

expect that the so-called *то, что* constructions at least theoretically fill in these gaps and,

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[167] Schupbach, 46

therefore, play a significant role in the greater syntactic system of Russian and its expression of abstract events. However, because this is a deceptively complicated topic, we will cover it in the Chapter 6 devoted entirely to what I will call rather то-*subordinates*.

There is yet a fourth way of expressing events in the abstract. As noted above, some verbs permit derived nouns with a *zero* morpheme or the suffix *-к(а)* that provide just such a meaning. The former is an older and less productive means than the latter.[168] These are such nouns as *бег* (from *бегать*), *разлив* (from *разливать*), *переделка* (from *переделать*), *побелка* (from *побелить*) etc. Though less numerous in occurrence than those nouns with the suffix *-ije*, the overall picture is much the same, as one cannot be sure a) whether such a form exists and b) what it will mean, should it exist. As with forms in *-ije*, many nouns with such a *zero* morpheme or one in *-к(а)* will be concrete in nature, and not abstract event conceptualizations. One of the two, or perhaps the foreign *-инг,* would, therefore, need to undergo grammaticalization if they are truly to supplant nouns in *-ije*. A more likely outcome would seem to be the continued distribution of abstraction to the various derivational suffixes already discussed, i.e. the infinitive, and other paraphrastic and syntactic means such as то-subordinates. All of these trends seem to align well with the already noted increasingly analytical nature of the language.

2. Textual Comparison

We will now analyze the translations of abstract actions from English into Russian, from Russian into English and from a third language, German, into both. As explained before, a third language was chosen as a sort of control group.[169] For each of these comparisons, three texts were chosen, more or less evenly spaced in time from the beginning of the 19th century to the

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[168] Schupbach, 45

[169] The many shortcomings of translational analysis will be addressed following the analysis. While there are many, the method is not without its advantages as well. There is also a strong precedent for translational analysis as a legitimate means of study in linguistic scholarship.

present. This was done to see whether there seem to be any obvious diachronic tendencies in the recent past in regard to abstract event representation.

The bracketed numbers occurring next to verbal nouns refer to which of the above eight functions any given form is fulfilling.[170] Other means of conveying abstract actions have been underlined. This includes Russian verbal adverbs, which, while not abstract, are consistently used to translate prepositional phrases functioning adverbially (as discussed previously) in English in which a verbal noun is present (ex. *We left after eating dinner*; cf. *поужинав, мы ушли*).

2.1.   English to Russian

The first texts analyzed were Charles Dickens' 1859 *A Tale of Two Cities*[171] and its Russian translation, *Повесть о двух городах*. The translator, Elizaveta Beketova, was a contemporary of Dickens.[172] The first eleven instances of English gerunds in the body of the novel are compared with their renderings in Russian. Verbal nouns are cited in bold. Other forms of interest in the translations will be underlined. It should further be noted that no such *-ije* forms in the same amount of text were identified in the Russian translation.

1. some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its **being [8]** received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only	1. самые горластые его представители уже и тогда требовали, чтобы о нем — будь то в хорошем или в дурном смысле — говорили не иначе, как в превосходной степени

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[170] Because this section is primarily an analysis in how verbal nouns are dealt with, the ninth function will not be discussed, as it has been addressed separately above.

[171] All primary sources for this analysis may be found in the bibliography.

[172] I was unable to determine the exact date of the translation.

2. a prophetic private in the Life Guards had heralded the sublime appearance by **announcing [6]** that arrangements were made for the **swallowing [6]** up of London and Westminster	2. некоему рядовому лейб-гвардии, наделенному пророческим даром, было видение, что в оный знаменательный день твердь земная разверзнется и поглотит Лондон с Вестминстером
3. even the Cock-lane ghost had been laid only a round dozen of years, after **rapping [6]** out its messages	3. да и коклейнский призрак угомонился всего лишь каких-нибудь двенадцать лет, не больше, <u>после того как</u> он…простучал все, что ему было положено
4. she entertained herself, besides, with such humane achievements as **sentencing [6]** a youth to have his hands cut off	4. она, кроме того, изощрялась в высокочеловеколюбивых подвигах; так, например, одного подростка приговорили к следующей позорной казни: ему отрубили обе руки
5. In England, there was scarcely an amount of order and protection to justify much national **boasting [4]**	5. Англия гордилась своим порядком и благоденствием, но на самом деле похвастаться было нечем
6. families were publicly cautioned not to go out of town without **removing [6]** their furniture to upholsterers' warehouses for security	6. власти советовали семейным людям не выезжать из города, не <u>сдав</u> предварительно свое домашнее имущество в мебельные склады
7. with the mutinous intent of **taking [6]** it back to Blackheath	7. с явным намерением <u>отвезти</u> ее обратно в Блэкхиз
8. in those days, travellers were very shy of **being [6]** confidential on a short notice	8. те времена путешественники избегали <u>вступать</u> в разговоры с незнакомыми людьми
9. he would have put himself in a fair way of **getting [6/8]** shot instantly as a highwayman	9. его, вероятно, тут же пристрелили бы, как разбойника

10. even the emphatic leader pricked up his ears and looked back, without **contradicting [6]**	10. и даже красноречивая коренная, повернув голову и насторожив уши, смотрела назад, не <u>вступая</u> ни в какие пререкания

Of the eleven English examples, the overwhelming majority (82%) feature a gerund as the object of a preposition – one of them (9) being a compound gerund. The Russian renderings are largely grammatically altered to such an extent that no comparison can really be made. However, we might note that sentence 3 is translated with a то-subordinate construction, 6 and 10 are rendered with past and present verbal adverbs respectively (i.e. *сдав* and *вступая*) and 7 and 8 use infinitives. While sentence 8 features an infinitive as the direct object, number 7 is more interesting and was discussed extensively above. Returning to the primary matter, however, the utter lack of deverbal nouns of the type we are dealing with here in the Russian translation appears too overt to be accidental. Our sample size, in any event, is as of yet too modest to draw any far-reaching conclusions.

The second text moves us forward in time to John Steinbeck's 1939 *The Grapes of Wrath*. The Russian version, *Гроздья гнева*, is the 1986 translation by Natal'ja Volžyna. As before, the first eleven examples of a verbal noun in the original English are cited alongside their translations. Not only is Steinbeck chronologically distant from Dickens, but stylistically his prose possesses none of the propriety of Dickens'. Whether it is Steinbeck's more straightforward narration, less prone to the use of abstract nouns or some other factor, we will not here speculate, but it is worth noting that such *-ing* forms in Steinbeck occur with far less frequency than they did in Dickens.

1. the dust was long in **settling [6]** back again	1. пыль долго стояла в воздухе, прежде чем снова <u>осесть</u> на землю

2. the waitress, without **looking [6]**, reached behind her and shut it off	2. официантка, не <u>глядя</u>, протянула назад руку и выключила его
3. then he put on the cap, and by **pulling [6]** started the future ruin of the visor	3. человек…снова надел ее и потянул за козырек, тем самым положив начало его гибели
4. she was trying to see it in a mirror behind the counter without **letting [6]** the truck driver know	4. она пыталась разглядеть его в зеркале, висевшем над стойкой, но так, чтобы шофер ничего не заметил
5. his face was red and his blue eyes long and slitted from **having [6/8]** squinted always at sharp light	5. лицо у него было красное, глаза голубые и узкие, как щелочки, от привычки щуриться на ярком свету
6. with each **opening [6]** of his mouth his tongue could be seen flipping the gum over	6. каждый раз, как он открывал рот, между губами у него виднелся язык, гоняющий с места на место резиновую жвачку
7. why, I'm thinkin' of **takin'[6]** one of them correspondence school courses. Mechanical **engineering [6]**	7. хочу <u>поступить</u> на заочные курсы. Изучу механику
8. Joad waved his hand without **looking [6]** around	8. Джоуд, не <u>оборачиваясь</u>, помахал рукой
9. now the **going [1]** was easy	9. теперь <u>идти</u> было легче
10. when Joad heard the truck get under way, gear climbing up to gear and the ground throbbing under the rubber **beating [6]** of the tires	10. услышав, что грузовик тронулся с места и, набирая скорость, покатил по шоссе, глухо откликавшемуся на шлепки резиновых шин, Джоуд

What stands out here, again, is the preponderance of the verbal noun as the object of a preposition: this time in ten of the eleven examples. Sentence 9 provides us with the first instance of the gerund as subject and sentence 5, as with Dickens, includes a compound gerund. The translations present a similar picture as before, as three times an infinitive is used (numbers 1 *осесть*, 7 *поступить*, 9 *идти*) and two present verbal adverbs are used (2 - *глядя* and 8 - *оборачиваясь*). The infinitive appears as the primary member of the predicate in a dependent

clause with the conjunction *прежде чем* in 1,[173] as the direct object in 7 and as the subject in 9.

The main point of concern, however, is the total lack of deverbal nouns in *-ije*, as, here again, we

see further proof that any kind of equation of the verbal noun in the two languages is not

supported by usage. The growing impression is a general preference for verbal predication in

Russian compared to relatively greater focus on nouns in English sentence structure. Unlike the

previous comparison, the Russian text here does feature abstract *-ije* forms in the pages that were

considered (up to the beginning of the fourth chapter) - they total four: *шуршание,*

ожесточение, жужжание, передвижение. None of them, however, were translations of

English gerunds.

Before proceeding with an analysis of Russian texts translated into English we will look

at a third text, Chuck Palahniuk's 1996 *Fight Club* and its Russian translation by Ilya

Kormil'tsev from 2009, *Бойцовский клуб*.

1. this isn't about love as in **caring [6]**	1. тут речь не о любви, как о пристрастии
2. **crying [1]** is right at hand in the smothering dark	2. это то, что надо — <u>плакать</u> в окутывающей тебя темноте
3. this is as close as I've been to **sleeping [6]** in almost a week	3. это что-то вроде того, как если бы я проспал неделю кряду[174]
4. the only woman here at **Remaining [1]** Men Together, the testicular cancer support group	4. единственная женщина здесь, в «Останемся мужчинами вместе», в группе психологической поддержки для больных раком яичек
5. worse than that, I can't cry with her **watching [6]**	5. и что еще хуже — я не могу плакать, когда она пялится

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[173] In subordinate structures dislocated in time where the implied subject is that of the main clause, infinitives rather than finite forms are often preferred. The same can be said of English, only the gerund is used where Russian has the infinitive. cf. *Прежде чем танцевать/мы танцевали, мы сходили в ресторан…* and *Before dancing/we danced, we went to a restaurant…*

[174] Here and in other places there are objectively incorrect translations of the original, however, locating 'the best' translation is an objective that is simply beyond the scope of the present dissertation. The only criterion used in selecting translations here and elsewhere was that the publisher be well known.

6. this should be my favorite part, **being [3/8]** held and **crying [3]**	6. это, наверное, было мое любимое занятие — <u>плакать</u> в объятьях
7. see the cancer patients **getting [5]** by	7. увидеть сборище больных раком
8. all this **dying [1]** had started with Chloe being a little tired	8. весь путь **умирания [4]** начался для Клоуи с небольшой усталости
9. **screwing [1]** passed the time	9. «трахнет» — это уже устарело
10. Chloe talked us through **opening [6]** each door	10. Клоуи рассказывала, как мы открываем каждую из них

Palahniuk's prose provides us with several instances of the gerund as the subject of the sentence, two of which are particularly noteworthy. Sentence 2 features a translation of the gerund *crying* with the infinitive *плакать*, as discussed in the functional analysis portion of the chapter, but of greater significance is sentence 8, as this presents the *single* instance in the thirty examples so far examined, where a gerund is translated with a noun in *-ije*: *умирание* for *dying*. This yet again provides further confirmation that comparing the use of English gerunds to Russian nouns in *-ije* is extremely misleading. Sentences 6 and 7 also provide the first examples of a gerund acting as an explanatory modifier and an object complement, respectively. Perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, however, in addition to the instance already enumerated, there are a further nine abstract *-ije* forms in as many pages: *расширение*, *понимание*, *мычание*, *владение*, *применение*, *выживание*, *недосыпание*, *страдание*, and *лечение.* The only explanation we will offer here is that, the original text being highly stylized prose, the translator made a similar attempt to use marked language, one of the features of which happened to be this noun in *-ije*. Despite this preponderance, the significant point remains that only once has the usage coincided thus far. We will now perform a similar three-part analysis, though now in the opposite direction: from Russian to English.

2.2.   Russian to English

The first text analyzed here is the 1887[175] Maude translation of Leo Tolstoy's 1859

Family Happiness (*Семейное счастье*). As was stated in the previous chapter, a simple

analytical approach has been used here that requires that 1) the dictionary define the form as

действие по глаголу… (*action according to the verb…*) and that 2) the form in *-ije* only occur in

the singular for it to qualify as an abstracted action of the type with which we are concerned. As

with English, pluralization of the form disqualifies it from consideration.

1. вот вторую зиму даром, в **уединении*** **[6]**, убиваю в деревне	1. I was wasting a second winter in the solitude of the country
2. я жила не так, как в начале зимы, а занималась и Соней, и музыкой, и **чтением [4]**	2. I read and played the piano and gave lessons to Sonya
3. я усиливалась исполнять только по **сознанию*** **[6]** долга	3. I forced myself to go through from a sense of duty
4. и я с старательным **смирением*** **[6]** старалась отвечать на их поклоны	4. I returned their bows with studied humility
5. еще слаще бы было для меня **раскаяние*** **[1]**	5. my repentance would be all the sweeter
6. те глубины чувства и мысли, которые я находила в его **учении [6]**	6. the depths of thought and feeling I found in **studying [6]** it
7. новая жизнь **осуществления*** **[6]**[176] моих надежд	7. is a new world, that will realize my hopes
8. не было этого строгого труда, **исполнения*** **[1]** долга	8. there was none of that hard work, performance of duty
9. в **подавлении*** **[6]** этого чувства	9. in the task of **overcoming [6]** these feelings
10. как будто совестясь признаваться перед толпою в **обладании [6]** мною	10. as if ashamed to confess his ownership of me in public

* Forms thus marked are defined in the dictionary as the action according to both members of the aspectual pair

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[175] I was not able to confirm with absolute certainty the accuracy of this translation date.

[176] As the original functional analysis did not take into account Russian case, attributive genitives in Russian will be equated to post-nominal *of* attribution in English.

This analysis presented several complications. There are many forms the exact status of which is difficult to determine. Words such as *желание, положение, удивление, состояние, раскаяние, существование* etc. are undoubtedly now what I have referred to as concretized nouns; i.e. those expressing a single act or state no longer associated (at least derivationally) with the verb. Nevertheless, several of these were included, as had they not been, it is unlikely that ten forms of the kind sought would have been found in the entire text. This includes examples 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10. In other words, only examples 2 and 6, the only forms derived from imperfective verbs (with the exception of 10), present a clear abstraction of the verb. It is no surprise, then, that number 6 is only one of two examples where the form was translated with an English gerund. It should also be noted that seven of the ten items are derived (or at least theoretically would be derived) from perfective verbs, confirming what we noted in the previous chapter: forms in *-ije* derived from perfective verbs are no longer aspectually marked. This allows them to be used both in a resultative sense (i.e. perfective) as well as processual (i.e. imperfective), as noted in the chart's footnote. It should be further kept in mind, however, that the majority of such forms are translated simply as nouns: *solitude* (*уединение*), *sense* (*сознание*), *humility* (*смирение*), *repentance* (*раскаяние*), *performance* (*исполнение*). Number 7 (*осуществление*) is translated as if it were a participle, though the general rendering would be *realization*, and while number 9 does include a gerund, *overcoming* for *подавление*, the more literal translation in the present context would be *suppression* (or perhaps *suppressing*), another noun. This is pointed out in support of nouns in *-ije* not being considered in any significant way analogous to the English gerund, but rather in support of their status as unpredictable derived nouns.[177] A final point to be

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[177] As discussed in detail in the previous chapter, when this suffix is used is dependent on a complicated set of morphological, aspectual, syntactic and semantic qualities at least. Further discussion as to why I have chosen to label them as largely unproductive can be found in the final chapter.

made is that almost the entire novella (over 200 pages in its original publication) was utilized in order to identify these ten forms.

The second text analyzed is Mikhail Bulgakov's 1940 *Master and Margarita* (*Мастер и Маргарита*) in translation by Pevear and Volokhonsky.

1. председатель **правления [6]** одной из крупнейших московских литературных ассоциаций	1. chairman of the board of one of the major Moscow literary associations
2. **сличение* [1]** их не может не вызвать изумления	2. a comparison of them cannot but cause amazement
3. и вот ваше **управление* [1]** закончилось	3. and so your **governing [1]** is over
4. на крышке его при **открывании [6]**	4. as it was opened
5. в **предъявлении* [6]** документов нет надобности	5. there was no need to show papers
6. губы его шевелились чуть-чуть при **произнесении* [6]** слов	6. only his lips moved slightly as he pronounced the words
7. при **отправлении* [6]** на Лысую Гору	7. as they were transported to Bald Mountain
8. при **прибытии* [6]** на нее войти в верхнее оцепление	8. on arrival was to join the upper cordon
9. острым слухом уловил прокуратор…низкое **ворчание [4]**	9. the procurator's sharp ear caught…a low rumble
10. И в **исправлении* [6]** этой ошибки римская власть, конечно, заинтересована	10. and this error Roman authority is, of course, interested in **correcting [6]**

Once again, the majority of the Russian forms (70%) here are made from perfective verbs whose status as abstract rather than concrete nominalizations is open to debate. Two of the ten forms were rendered with English gerunds (3 and 4), bringing the present correspondence rate from translations in either direction to 5/53 or 9%. There was one instance (number 5) in which the Russian form was expressed with an infinitive in English. This text is also noteworthy for the

stylistically marked prepositional phrases *в/при* + noun in *-ije*.[178] Such constructions would be replaced with infinitival or clausal constructions in neutral speech: *не надо предъявлять/показывать документы* instead of *в предъявлении документов нет надобности*; *губы его шевелились чуть-чуть, когда он произносил слова* instead of *губы его шевелились чуть-чуть при произнесении слов*; *римская власть хочет, конечно, исправлять эту ошибку* instead of *в исправлении этой ошибки римская власть, конечно, заинтересована* etc.

The third text analyzed is Sergej Dovlatov's 1986 The Suitcase (*Чемодан*) in the 1990 translation of Antonina W. Bouis.

1. великому **учению** [6][179] — жить	1. Long live the great **teaching** [1]
2. всерьез планировал **ограбление*** [4] ювелирного магазина	2. I seriously planned **holding** [4] up a jewelry store
3. за мирное **урегулирование** Суэцкого кризиса! За **присоединение*** [4] Эльзаса и Лотарингии	3. to the peaceful resolution of the Suez crisis! To the annexation of Lotharingia
4. **Вручение*** [1] почетных грамот и наград	4. **Handing** [1] out of certificates and awards
5. вынудило затаить **дыхание** [4]	5. made me gasp
6. три статьи широкого общественно-политического **звучания** [6]	6. three articles with broad socio-political resonance
7. давай интеллигента, либо сферу **обслуживания** [6]	7. give me an intellectual or someone from the service sector
8. Ленин и **здравоохранение** [1]	8. Lenin and health
9 . приберечь их для медицинского **обследования** [6]	9. save it for the medical examination

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[178] Offord and Gogolitsyna (2005), p.49, cite such constructions as emblematic of academic/scientific writing.

[179] This singular instance of a Russian deverbal in the dative (here in an impersonal) will here be treated like the attributive genitive as it too would require the preposition *to* in English in a literal translation: *It is to the great teaching to live.*

| 10. оттуда донеслось **гудение** [1] | 10. a hum followed by a slight click |

Here we find the greatest preponderance of *-ije* to *-ing* correspondence, as three of the ten examples exhibit. This brings the total correspondence to 8/64 or 13%. While these sample sizes and their status as confined to a single literary genre (prose fiction) preclude the results from being construed as representative in absolute terms, the trend of a low correspondence rate is clear. Perhaps most significant, however, is the consideration of a further factor that skews the data gathered. If we analyze the English-to-Russian data, it is even more striking: 1/33 or 3%. The converse Russian-to-English data with a 7/31 correspondence, or 23%, is a result of the selection process. Whereas the English-to-Russian data were collected in a matter of pages, the Russian-to-English examples could only be gathered after examinations of entire chapters (sometimes close to the entire work). There is also the great difficulty of determining the status of the *-ije* form in Russian. My concerns in this matter have already been expressed and it is likely that, had a more stringent analytical technique been applied to the Russian-to-English examples, even fewer truly verbal nouns would have been found in the Russian texts. Furthermore, if such truly verbal nouns are found in Russian, they can doubtlessly be rendered by *-ing* in English, as evidenced by the relatively high correspondence rate of the Russian-to-English analysis. However, the reverse is not true, as was shown initially in the part I of the chapter, the functional analysis, and here in the low correspondence rate in the English-to-Russian analysis. It is also significant that second only to no abstract correspondence was the use of the infinitive. It is becoming ever clearer then that it is the infinitive that is one of, if not the most, dominant means of abstract event expression in CSR.

We will now move to part II, section C, where German verbal nouns (neuter nouns made from the infinitive) will be analyzed as they are translated into both Russian and English. The

expected result will be that the English correspondence rate with translations in *-ing* will be significantly higher than those of Russian in *-ije*. A similar selection of works spanning the past two centuries will be presented.

2.3.   German to Russian and English

The first text analyzed will be Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's 1795 *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (G: *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* R: *Годы учения Вильгельма Мейстера*). The English translation is that of Thomas Carlyle and the Russian that of Natalja Kasatkina.[180]

1. Mit welchem **Entzücken [6]** sprech ich zum erstenmal diese Worte aus	1. With what rapture do I now, for the first time, speak the word	1. С каким упоением[181] впервые произношу я эти слова
2. allein nicht wie sonst zum **Hin-** und **Widerlaufen [6]**	2. not, as formerly, <u>to</u> let us <u>pass</u> and <u>repass</u>	2. не для того, чтобы можно было, как обычно, <u>бегать</u> взад-вперед
3. so war zum zweiten Male die Wollust des **Aufmerkens [6]** und **Forschens [6]** groß	3. I enjoyed on this second occasion the pleasure of **examining [6]** and **scrutinizing [6]**	3. то во второй превыше всего меня увлекло **наблюдение [1]** и **познавание [1]**
4. hörte inwendig am **Klappern [6]**	4. heard, by the **rattling [6]** within	4. по стуку изнутри услышал
5. man mit **Aufräumen [6]** beschäftigt sei	5. the people were packing up some articles	5. там заняты приборкой
6. Ich verlor mich in tiefes **Nachdenken [6]**	6. I sank into deep meditation	6. я погрузился в глубокие размышления
7. der von so wenigem **Zuhören [6]** so mancherlei habe behalten können	7. that had retained so much from only two recitations	7. который столько запомнил из того, что слышал считанные разы
8. wo es an ein **Totstechen [1]** ging	8. where the **cutting** and **stabbing [1]** lay	8. где дело доходит до смертоубийств

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[180] Both translation dates are unknown, though the Russian version accessed was published in 1978.

[181] While the verb *упоить* from which the present form is clearly historically derived does still exist, no dictionary cites *упоение* as being "the action according to the verb…" and so the word is now completely nominalized and synonymous with other nouns like *восторг* (*delight, rapture*).

9. **Arbeiten [1]**, bei denen die Bedienten im Hause	9. undertakings in which such of the servants…of the house	9. к таким трудам были привлечены сведущие в портняжестве слуги
10. erlangten mehr Geschmeidigkeit im **Sprechen** und **Betragen [6]**	10. and acquired more dexterity in speech and gesture	10. мы приобрели больше сноровки в речах и манерах

Perhaps the most striking feature of the German text here is the almost exclusive use of the verbal noun as the object of a preposition; only two instances (numbers 8 and 9) diverge from this trend and are both the subject of the clause. The English translations do not feature a very high rendering correspondence, with only ⅓ (4 out of 12) of the examples translated with a gerund, though still higher than that of the Russian translation, where ⅙ (2of the 12) German forms are rendered with deverbal nouns in *-ije*. Even this, however, is likely high for CSR, as such forms were of a greater frequency in the 18th and 19th century: "в языке XVIII – начала XIX в. образование существительных [отглагольных] и употребление их в речи…было более свободным по сравнению с языком второй половины XIX в. и современным."[182] Whether or not there have been similar or differing trends in German and English I cannot say. One can also not know to what degree the translator was consciously stylizing their translation, to what degree grammatical veracity was observed, and other similar questions. Rather than speculate on these questions, however, let us move to the next text.

The second work we will consider is Thomas Mann's 1901 *Buddenbrooks* (G: *Buddenbrooks* R: *Будденброки*) in the 1909 English translation by John E. Woods and in Russian by Natalia Man.[183]

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[182] "in the language of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century the formation of deverbal nouns and their use in speech was more free in comparison with the language of the second half of the 19th century and the modern language" (Хохлачёва, 74)

[183] Translation date unknown, a 2011 publication accessed.

1. **Essen** und **Trinken[4]**, Haus und Hof	1. meat and drink, hearth and home	1. пищу и **питье [4]**, дом и двор
2. in sein helles, verkniffenes **Kichern [6]**	2. a high, pinched giggle	2. хихикнул
3. daß Christian **Schreiben**, **Rechnen** und **Singen [4]** gehabt hatte	3. Christian had had lessons in **writing**, arithmetic, and **singing [6]**	3. последними уроками были чистописание, арифметика и **пение [1]**
4. Heute abend vielleicht, vorm **Zubettegehen [6]**	4. this evening, perhaps, right before bed	4. может быть, позднее вечером, когда все разойдутся…
5. Ich bin baff, aber ich verschlucke mein **Lachen [4]**	5. I am dumbfounded, but I managed to choke back my laughter	5. чуть не прыснул, но овладел собою
6. Lebrecht Kröger übernahm das **Tranchieren [4]**	6. Lebrecht Kröger took charge of the **carving [6]**	6. резать ветчину вызвался Лебрехт Крегер
7. und ihrem ferneren **Wachsen**, **Blühen** und **Gedeihen [6]**[184]	7. that it might <u>grow</u>, <u>blossom</u>, and <u>flourish</u>	7. за ее дальнейший рост и **процветание [6]**
8. nach einigem **Leiden [6]**	8. after he had suffered	8. после недолгой болезни
9. im entschlossenen **Ergreifen [6]** des Vorteils	9 . when it came to **seizing [6]** the advantage	9. превосходил его решительностью действий
10. das dritte Zimmer des Zwischengeschosses zum **Schlafen [6]** benutzten	10. down to the mezzanine, and for the time being his father and mother were sleeping in the third room	10. устроили себе спальню в третьей комнате антресолей

Here it would seem that the Russian translation made a greater attempt at grammatical accuracy

than that of the English, even utilizing one of the few remaining purely Russian deverbal

nouns[185] in CSR. The German use is largely split between prepositional and direct objects, with

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[184] A similar problem arises here as with the genitive of attribution in Russian: dative indirect objects will be treated as the equivalent of the prepositional phrase *to…* in English.

[185] Deverbal nouns in Russian are primarily OCS in form, ending in -*ue* and, in the rare occasion that the stress falls on the final syllable, one will hear the vowel [e], not reflecting the Russian sound change of [e] to [o] which took place in absolute final position (among others) (see Kiparsky p.112, Kuznetzov and Borkovskij p.128 etc.), such as

seven instances of each and a single instance of a verbal noun used as an indirect object. All four of the English gerunds were prepositional objects, while only one of the Russian deverbals functioned as such (number 7), the remaining two being subject (number 3) and direct object (number 1). Nevertheless, we again do not see the expected disparateness between English and Russian that the grammatical status of each language would suggest. We will move now to the final text of our analysis and see whether this trend continues.

The third German text analyzed will be Herta Müller's 1994 *The Land of Green Plums* (G: *Herztier* R: *Сердце-зверь*) translated into English by Michael Hofmann in 1996 and into Russian by Galina Vladimirovna Snezhynskaja in 2010.

1. vom **Sitzen [6]** waren meine Beine eingeschlafen	1. My legs had fallen asleep from **sitting [6]**	1. у меня затекли ноги
2. das Heu war vom **Sitzen [6]** zusammengepreßt	2. the hay was flattened from **being [6/8]** sat on	2. сено сплющилось
3. gesungen im **Stehen [6]**	3. sung while standing	3. [form not translated]
4. als wären die Finger zum **Wegwerfen [6]**	4. as if she meant <u>to throw</u> them away	4. как будто ей надо их выбросить
5. beim **Regen [6]**, bleibt etwas auf der Zunge liegen	5. as she speaks, something gets stuck her tongue	5. говорит, а на языке что-то вертится
6. Äste im **Wachsen [6]** jedes Jahr diese große Verspätung hatten	6. branches took a long time before **blooming [6]**	6. ветки каждый год сильно отставали в росте
7. im **Kreischen [6]** der Schienen	7. To the **squealing [6]** of the rails	7. от скрежета рельсов
8. er sah sich im **Liegen [6]** die rötlichen Wolken an	8. as he lay, he would look up at the reddish clouds	8. Лежал-полеживал и смотрел на рыжие облака

in *житиé* (*life* usually referring to the literary biographies of the lives of saints) and *бытиé* (*existence* in its philosophical sense), both of which have *Russified* variants that did undergo the sound change, are differentiated in spelling, and generally express a more every day, non-abstract meaning; these even make an oft-hyphenated saying: *житьё-бытьё*, or the *everyday life/existence*. *Питьё* also has a doublet in *питиé*, which is simply an archaic variant of the former.

| 9. dies ist zum **Sterben [6]** | 9. this will kill me | 9. это чтобы <u>умереть</u> |
| 10. wir zum **Essen [6]** nur Löffel bekommen | 10. given only spoons <u>to eat</u> with | 10. нам дают только ложки |

Only in this third three-way analysis do we see results more in line with those expected on the basis of the first two sets of analyses: of the 10 German verbal nouns, 4 were rendered with gerunds in English and none were translated with deverbals in -*ije* in Russian. The final ratio then for the three way comparison of German:English:Russian is 38:13:5. In terms of percentages, English used gerunds 34% of the time and Russian 13%. If we further recall that the English to Russian correlation was 3% and the Russian to English correspondence 23%, we can make an attempt to draw some tentative conclusions. However, it bears stating the obvious limitations of such an analysis: 1) translations vary greatly amongst themselves, even those of a single text, and, while controlling for this variation (if even possible) would undoubtedly produce interesting results, it is beyond the scope of the present analysis 2) using such a small number of texts placed an increased value on i) the selection of each translator ii) their translation of each item; the analyzed texts would have to be greatly increased in number to control for this inflated item value and 3) we have only considered a single genre: prose fiction; a much greater variety of genres would be needed to make any conclusive statements. Nonetheless, there do seem to be apparent trends. They are enumerated below.

2.4.   Summary

Of the 37 Russian deverbals presented, 14 are the object of a preposition (predominantly *в* and *при*), 10 are subjects, 7 are direct objects, 5 are attributive genitives and 1 is a dative in an impersonal construction. Of the 38 German gerunds, 29 are prepositional objects, 7 direct objects, and 2 are subjects. Of the 57 English gerunds, 37 are prepositional objects, 10 are

subjects, 5 are compound gerunds, 2 are direct objects, 2 explanatory modifiers, and 1 is an objective complement. In agreement with Jespersen's assessment of the use of the gerund as the object of a preposition as very important is the data: 61% of deverbal nouns in all three languages acted in just such a role. English showed the greatest variety in its use of the gerund; however, it also contained the largest sample size. The German gerund was most restricted, being used primarily as the object of a preposition (76% of usage). The Russian data, as noted before, is likely inflated in terms of the number of actual deverbal nouns. As the criteria for what qualifies was merely that one of the dictionary entries for the given words be *the action according to the verb…*, many of these words are likely not deverbal, but rather simply nouns existing in their own right, such as is the case with many deverbal adjectives in Russian: *бывший* can be the past active participle of *быть*, meaning *he who was*, however, one predominantly encounters it simply as a substantivized adjective meaning *ex-, former*. In this latter meaning, the word is only a participle in form and is not part of the verbal paradigm. Such examples abound in Russian. The same is likely true for many (if not the majority) of the Russian items included. These results are all more or less within the realm of what was expected in the light of what has already been said.[186] Two results, however, are of particular interest for what it would seem to say about a Russian speaker's inclination to express events abstractly.

The first is that the infinitive in Russian turned out to be a very important means of abstract event expression, as predicted by the functional analysis. The second is that, proceeding from the functional analysis that began the chapter, I expected that то-subordinate constructions

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[186] Pchelintseva notes a similar translation analysis conducted by Fyodorova, analyzing the translation of Polish verbal nouns to Russian and found a much higher correspondence of 47.4% (Пчелинцева, *От глагола к имени*, 13) However, considering the significantly closer genealogical/spacial/cultural relations of Polish and Russian, a correspondence of only one half further supports our claim that the Russian deverbal noun is not a highly productive, nor highly utilized feature of the language.

would play a more significant role in signifying abstract events in Russian. The data from the above translation analysis, however, did not provide confirmation of this expectation, as only a single instance of such constructions occurred. As has been stated before, one must be hesitant to draw far-reaching conclusions from such limited (in scope and in genre) analyses, but one might also speculate that in instances where the structure of English and Russian permit abstraction, Russian simply does not make use of such a means, but rather opts for either full nominalization of the event or, more likely, its verbal representation in a separate clause. As stated before, one might sum this up as English's propensity for centering its focus on *things* and Russian on *events*. Mathesius noted (particularly in comparison to Czech) the "predilection of English for nominal expression of verbal action, owing to its tendency to conceive action as a mere fact."[187] Comrie *et al.* note an opposing trend for Russian. While they are specifically talking about the grammatical role of object, it seems likely that the tendency is not restricted to this role. They describe an "increasing tendency to avoid nominal objects governed by a number of nouns, most of them abstract; such nominal complements are replaced by infinitival objects or clausal objects introduced by a conjunction."[188] However, rather than further speculate on the incongruencies of forms in our analyses, we will approach the issue not from the absence of these то-subordinates, but from their presence. Chapter 6 will treat these complicated constructions in detail. Let us now move on to the survey and the analysis of its results.

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[187] Mathesius, 105
[188] Comrie, Stone, Polinsky, 152

Chapter 5 – Survey Regarding Abstract Event Expression: Results and Analysis

A survey[189] of 10 multiple choice questions was created to assess in which grammatical/syntactic roles Russian speakers today are apt to use a deverbal noun in *-ije* and to what degree infinitival constructions and/or то-subordinate structures were or were not preferred. The survey was completed by 115 respondents, all of whom confirmed their first language to be Russian. Two respondents failed to state their hometowns, two are from Ukraine (Priluki, Odessa), one from Belarus (Minsk), one from Uzbekistan (Tashkent), and the remainder from Russia. While this latter group spanned the entire expanse of the country, from north-eastern Magadan and the capital of the Far East Vladivostok, to the Siberian cities Chita, Novosibirsk and Krasnoyarsk, north-central Norilsk and southwest Kazan, Ulyanovsk, Saratov and Rostov on Don, the majority of respondents were from the two capitals Moscow (17%) and St. Petersburg (23%). The age distribution is shown in the graph below:

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[189] I developed the sentences used in the survey, but they were finalized only after much consultation with two native speakers. The questions were presented in the order they are discussed here. The survey was created via Google Forms and distributed online over the course of the month of July 2022 as the ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine has made any possible on-site surveying temporarily impossible. I distributed the survey 1) amongst my own contacts and 2) through my own social networks. In both instances I asked that the survey be further distributed to acquaintances, particularly those older than myself and my acquaintances to help ameliorate the age bias that I knew would otherwise result. The bias remained, but to a lesser degree than it might have been.

Сколько Вам лет?

115 responses
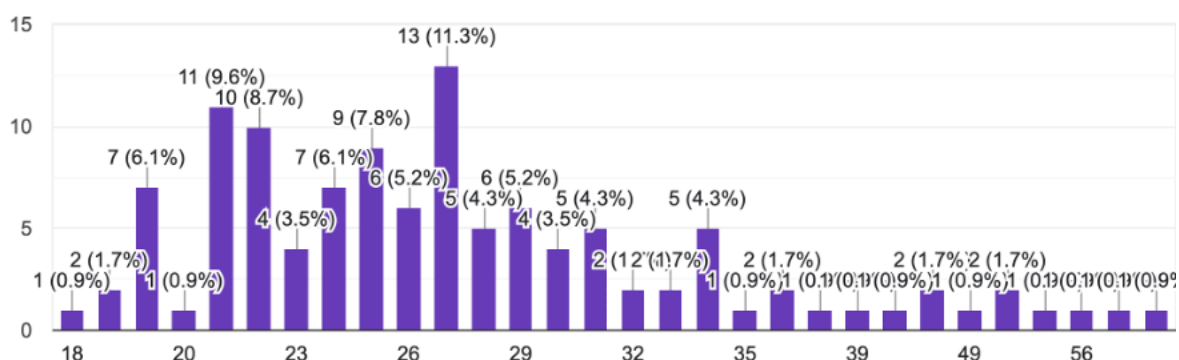
As can be seen, the results are heavily skewed in favor of a younger demographic, with the average respondent age being 28.[190] In order to minimize any further age-bias in the results, any significant pattern in responses according to the criteria of age will be noted for each question. There was no such skewed distribution in the gender category, as 56 males responded and 55 females, with only 4 respondents choosing the option not to indicate their gender. The distribution can be observed in the graph below:

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[190] This is one of the unfortunate side-effects of conducting the survey virtually: the majority of my contacts are younger. Conducting the survey on the ground in Russia would undoubtedly have achieved a more equal age distribution. However, there are also significant advantages to virtual surveying, as respondents were located all over the Russian Federation and beyond. There is the further factor (that should not be underestimated) of the reluctance of people to divulge any personal information on the streets, which would appear to be at a relative high in light of the significant degree of internal repression within the country at present.

Укажите Ваш пол.
115 responses

Legend:
- Мужской
- Женский
- Не уточню

47.8%
48.7%
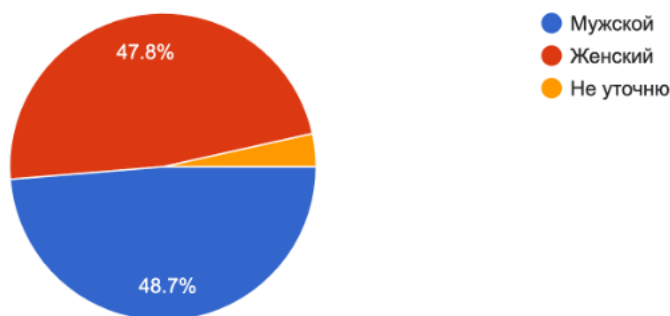
In the first nine questions (the final question was qualitatively different and will be treated separately in the following chapter), the respondent was confronted with anywhere from two to four sentences expressing the same message, but each doing so with slightly varying grammatical constructions. The respondent was asked to evaluate each of the sentences intuitively, not basing their decisions on rules or prescriptive norms to the best of their ability. The possible responses to each sentence were: i. *звучит естественно* (*sounds natural*) ii. *допустимо* (*permissible*) iii. *недпоустимо* (*impermissible*). The forms in *-ije* included in the survey were selected according to the following criteria: 1) the forms were cited in the dictionary and, as before, the entry included the definition *действие по глаг…* (*action according to the verb…*) and 2) this definition was not preceded by a different definition i.e. it was the primary entry. These criteria are important as they were chosen with the aim of avoiding false positives, in which a sentence would be selected as sounding natural or permissible, because the word was one commonly used in other grammatical contexts (as a concrete noun, as with *исключение* meaning *exception* rather than *excluding*). This approach, of course, could lead to the opposite effect of such sentences being marked as impermissible due solely to the low frequency in

occurrence of the deverbal noun. However, were the nouns in *-ije* part of the conjugation

paradigm, their frequency would be irrelevant. The questions and their respective responses will

now be analyzed individually. They are organized and labeled in accordance with grammatical

relations as in the functional analysis above.

1. **Subject of the Sentence (Part I)**

Sentence 1 featured a simple present copula sentence with an infinitival subject. It was largely

accepted as sounding natural or permissible:

Играть на скрипке – дело сложное.
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

42.6%

54.8%
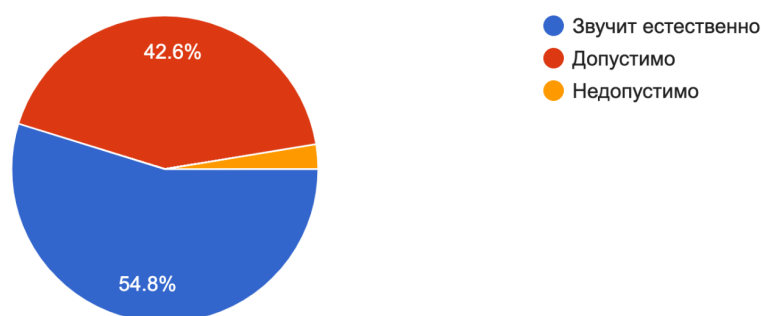
This is precisely as expected per the preceding functional analysis.

Sentence 2 used the *-ije* form of the verb, which is not cited in most contemporary

dictionaries (apart from *Викисловарь*), rather than the infinitive. I would like to repeat that, were

these forms truly part of the verbal paradigm, this would be irrelevant. The results demonstrated

the highly questionable nature of such a formulation:

Играние на скрипке − дело сложное.
115 responses
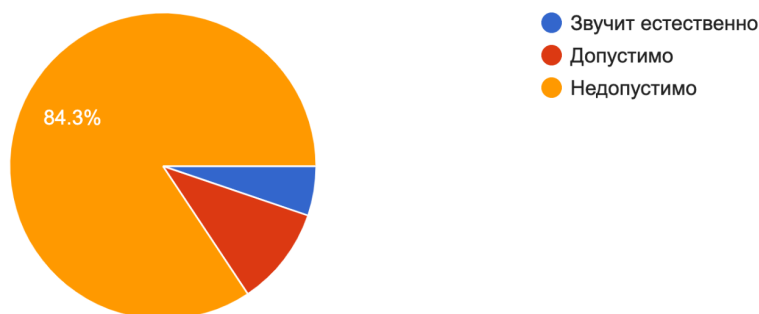
This too is in line with our present argumentation. What is perhaps more interesting, however, is the apparent relatively recent normal usage of the word, as cited by Evgenij Vojtik in his book on the development of language surrounding sports in Russia:

> …в 1790е гг. в «Словаре Академии Российской» делаются первые попытки толкования, что такое «игра»…игра – это играние во что-либо…В данном словаре дается объяснение и слову «играние» – *действие играющего или играющих*…играние на скрипке, играние дитя[191]

As can be seen, exactly this type of example is cited in the not-so-distant past. One does wonder, however, at the 6 respondents who evaluated the sentence as sounding natural. As their average age was 22 years old and it is precisely the younger generations that are typically in greater contact with foreign languages, the most prominent of which being English encountered online, it could very well be that this is the result of the influence of foreign syntax.

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[191] in the 1990 in the *Dictionary of the Russian Academy* the first attempts are made at explaining what is "play"...play is playing something…In this dictionary there is given the explanation to the word "playing" - *action of the player or players*…playing on the violin, the playing of the child (Войтик, 45).

Sentence 3 contains a bare-stem noun of the type mentioned in Chapter 3. Such nouns often create abstract nouns of the type we are interested in (see also *крик* but not **кричание*), but the degree of their productivity would appear entirely unpredictable.

Игра на скрипке − дело сложное.
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо
- Зчувит естественно

24.3%

72.2%
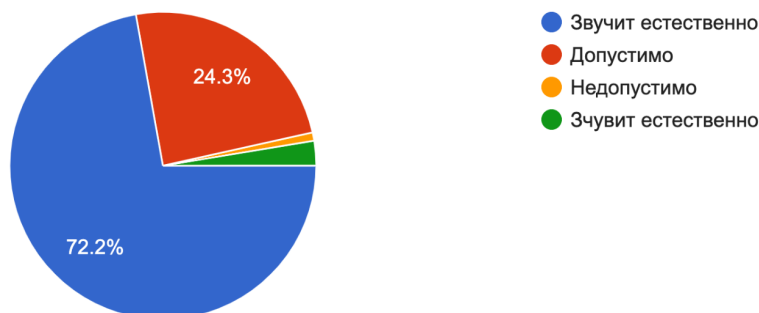
Interestingly, this form was preferred not only over *играние*, but also over the more predictable infinitive *играть*. I would like to again here emphasize the challenge *-ing* forms present for L2 Russian instruction with English speakers. However, even if it is not always the most preferred form of expression, one might propose, based on this data, advising the learner to use an infinitive to express abstract actions when they are the subject of the sentence, as this will be a highly productive means of producing sentences of general syntactic acceptability.

2. Subject of the Sentence (Part II)

Here we have a similar question to the previous one, but in this instance a verb was chosen that has produced nouns in *-ije* for each aspectual partner. Sentence 1 featured the noun *принятие* (from perfective *принять*) as the subject modified by the possessive adjective *его*. This latter factor precluded the use of an infinitive in this instance, otherwise widely used as the subject of the sentence as seen above.

Его принятие этого подарка меня удивило.
115 responses

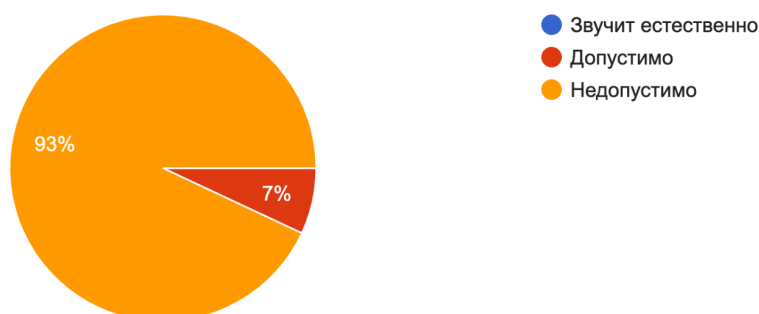- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

53.9%

41.7%
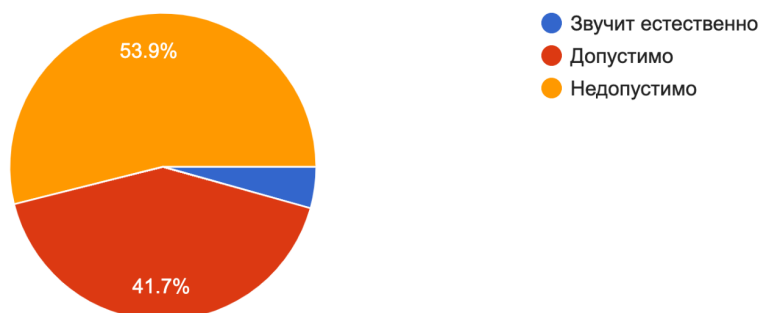
The sentence was largely rejected as unacceptable, although not by a large margin: 54% against

to 46% for its acceptability. There was no strong correlation according to age.

Sentence 2 was structurally identical except for the fact that the noun used was originally

derived from an imperfective verb (*принимание* being from the perfective *принимать*):

Его принимание этого подарка меня удивило.
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

93%

7%

Despite the fact that both nouns are cited as the action according to the meaning of their

respective verb forms, sentence 2 was nearly completely rejected. Here we see further supporting

evidence for the claim in the preceding chapter that when aspectual doublets in *-ije* exist, it will

be the perfective member that has broader semantic range and tends to encapsulate the notion of

abstract action. However, even still, such sentences with abstract *-ije* nouns as their subjects would appear to be largely marginal in neutral registers of CSR. This is evidenced by the somewhat grammatically altered, but much more accepted variant in sentence 3:

Сам факт, что он принял этот подарок, меня удивил.
115 responses

- ● Звучит естественно
- ● Допустимо
- ● Недопустимо

11.3%

87.8%
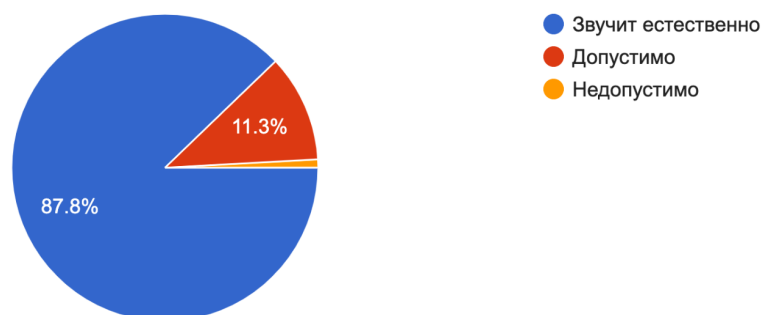
Sentence 3 reformulates the subject as a noun clause (of the content type to be discussed in the following chapter) modifying the stand-in subject *сам факт* (*the very fact*). While, importantly, the English gerund does predictably permit such sentences as *His accepting the gift really surprised me*, a more natural formulation, to my ear, would emulate the Russian: *The fact that he accepted the gift really surprised me*.

3. Predicate Nominative

Our third question examines the expression of an abstract action as the predicate of a copula sentence. In the first sentence it is an infinitive with a nominal complement acting as the predicate.

Ее любимое занятие было смотреть телевизор.
115 responses

● Звучит естественно
● Допустимо
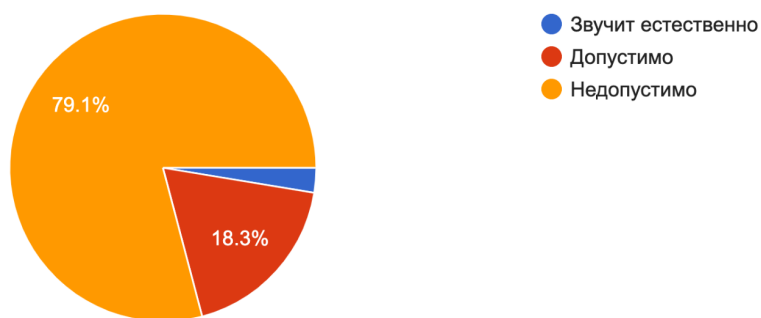● Недопустимо

47.8%
9.6%
42.6%
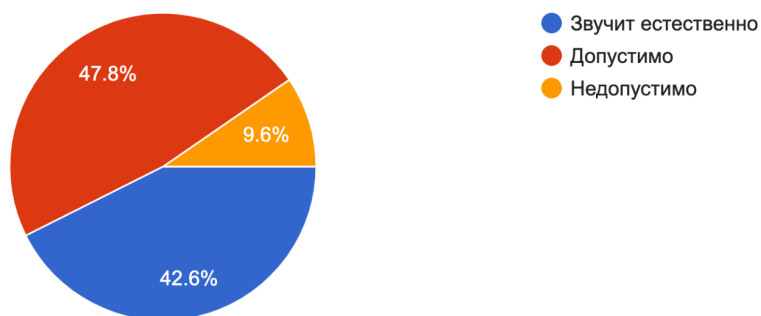
While such a formulation was widely accepted, there was no correlation between age and/or

hometown for those who rejected it as impermissible.

The second sentence replaced the infinitive with a noun in *-ije*:

Ее любимое занятие было смотрение телевизора.
115 responses

● Звучит естественно
● Допустимо
● Недопустимо

79.1%
18.3%

We see a similar reaction to this form as we did to *играние* as the nominative subject in the first

question. We might note here that, once again, there does exist the zero suffix abstract noun

просмотр. Despite the fact that it is clearly derived from the perfective, it is defined as *action according to the verbs просматривать, просмотреть*.[192]

4. Explanatory Modifier

The fourth question examined the, if infrequent, nonetheless interesting instance of an abstract action being used to modify a preceding clause. The example we examined in the functional analysis was *This is pleasant, riding on a trail!* The first sentence featured an infinitive as modifier:

Как же это приятно, гулять ночью по городу.
115 responses

● Звучит естественно
● Допустимо
● Недопустимо

94.8%
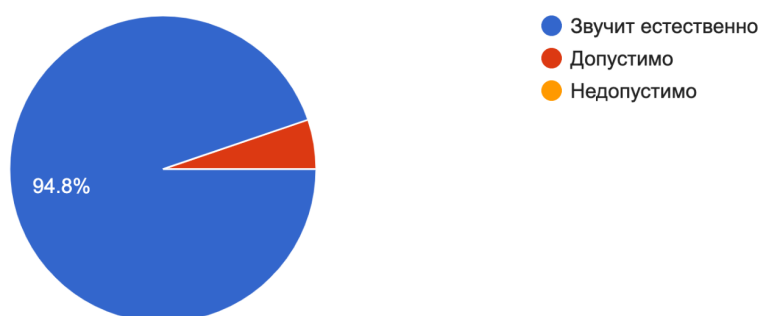
 This was the second most agreed upon example in terms of it sounding natural. While not a particularly frequently occurring sentence type, it does provide further support for the infinitive being the most versatile and predictable word form unit in expressing abstract events.

Sentence 2 replaced the infinitive with a noun in *-ije*, which was largely rejected:

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[192] In hindsight, an example such as *Его любимое занятие был просмотр телевизора* would have been interesting to include.

Как же это приятно, ночное гуляние по городу.
115 responses
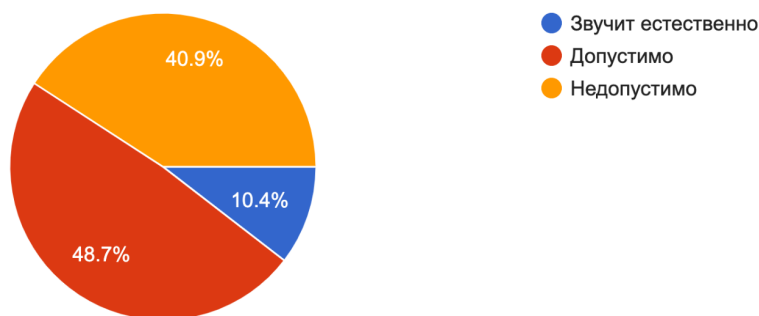
Again here we encounter a significant (41%) percentage of respondents' outright rejection of the formulation alongside 10% finding it natural. Here the average age of those accepting the formulation as natural coincided with the average age of respondents as a whole, 28. Furthermore, those who rejected the sentence were also on average 28. If nothing else, then, such results show the enigmatic nature of such forms: their widely recognized existence, but sparse occurrence in unmarked CSR.

5. Direct Object

The fifth question examined the role of direct object. Verbs take a direct object in Russian if they govern the accusative case directly and do not feature the suffix *-ся*. We already noted the infinitive's ability to function as a nominative subject, but here we see it in a role typically marked by the accusative. This was the most agreed upon sentence of the survey.
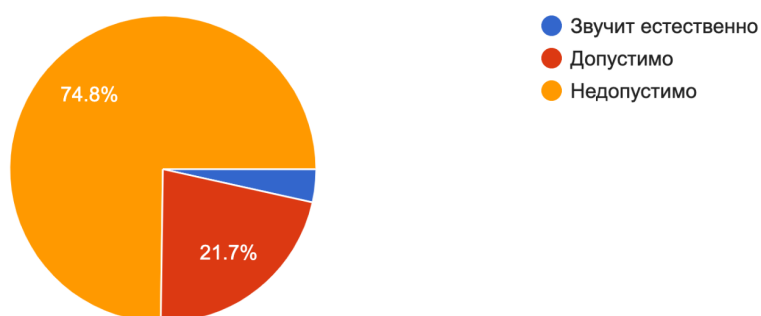
Дети любят кормить животных.
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

96.5%
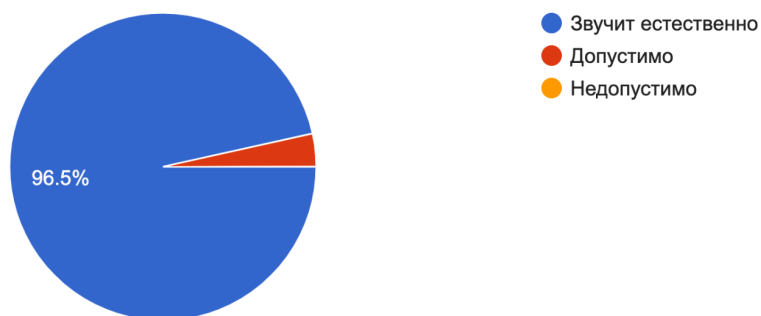
The second sentence replaced the infinitive with a verbal noun in *-ije* and was rejected by 75% of respondents, despite featuring a case-bearing form.

Дети любят кормление животных.
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

74.8%

21.7%

What is most interesting about this sentence is that Google searches of the strings *кормление животных* and *кормить животных* yielded 268,000 and 267,000 hits respectively, suggesting that the former is even slightly more common! Whether it is the role of direct object or the high style of the *-ije* form that motivates its rejection in the current survey one cannot say, however.

6. Objective Complement

Objective complements occur in so-called double accusative constructions in which a verb governs two complements, neither of which is an indirect object. In English these are generally considered to be verbs such as *consider* or *think*, which are, however, problematic for the ability to insert/delete *to be*: *I considered him (to be) crazy*; *I thought him (to be) a lunatic* etc. Verbs such as *call*, however, feature no such ambiguity, as the insertion of *to be* is not possible: *I call that a good time!* Russian, interestingly, does not differentiate between the two, though the second object goes in the instrumental: *я считал его безумным* (*I considered him crazy*), *я это называю хорошим времяпрепровождением!* We may note, however, that in recent decades a noted increase in analyticity is observable in the second object of the verbs *звать*, *называть/назвать*, particularly in relation to proper nouns.[193] Namely, there is an all but solidified trend to leave the second object in the nominative: *меня зовут Александр, но все здесь меня называют Саша* (*my name is Alexander but everyone here calls me Sasha*). Our sixth question considers just such a situation:

Ты это называешь "вести урок"?!
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

81.7%
17.4%

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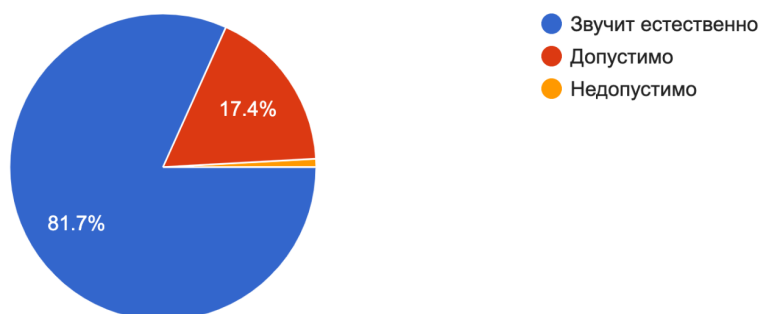
[193] Comrie et al., 265

What not so long ago would have been impossible for the strict selectional restrictions of the verb taking the instrumental case is now not only possible, but widely approved of as natural. We can again see the infinitive's ability to function nominally in instances where the direct cases may be used. What is perhaps more striking, however, is that the above formulation was preferred to one in which a noun capable of morphologically expressing the instrumental is present:

Ты это называешь ведением урока?!
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

38.3%

11.3%

50.4%
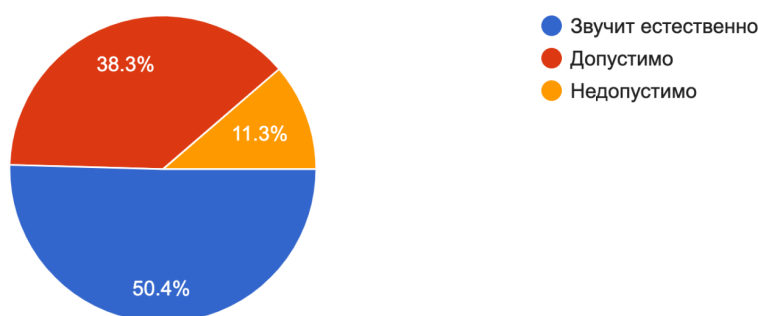
While these results are in a way surprising, when we specify that the noun is one in *-ije*, they are actually in line with our expectations. Indeed, grammatical roles aside, a Google search of the string "*ведение урока*" produces approximately 69,000 results, while that of "*вести урок*" produced 490,000.[194]

7. Principal Term of a Prepositional Phrase (Part I)

As stated before, the role of object of a preposition is fulfilled in Russian in a much different way than it is in languages where the action can succinctly be conceptualized by a verbal noun or infinitive. It is indeed here that Russian manifests this difficulty in a host of empty forms I refer

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[194] Such results are not supposed to be taken to be absolute in their proportions. However, this is a fairly exact comparison, as *ведение* could be either the nominative or accusative case of the noun, the only two grammatical roles that the infinitive overlaps with.

to as то-subordinates to be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. In short, however, they are clauses modifying the dummy word *то* (nominally, the distal demonstrative pronoun). Part I examines various verbal, nominal and то-subordinate structures in conjunction with the preposition *после* (*after*). Part II will do much the same, but features a different preposition, *кроме* (*apart from, except for*), and an additional question, gauging something I myself have heard on a number of occasions, that is, the use of an infinitive as the object of the preposition *кроме*.

In the first question in Part I of the seventh question of the survey the object of the preposition is a noun in -*ije*, *бегание* from the verb *бегать* (*to run*) which, together with the preposition, functions adverbially describing the action in the main clause: *он почувствовал себя уставшим* (*he felt himself tired* i.e. *he was tired*):

После бегания он почувствовал себя уставшим.
115 responses

- ● Звучит естественно
- ● Допустимо
- ● Недопустимо

80.9%

16.5%
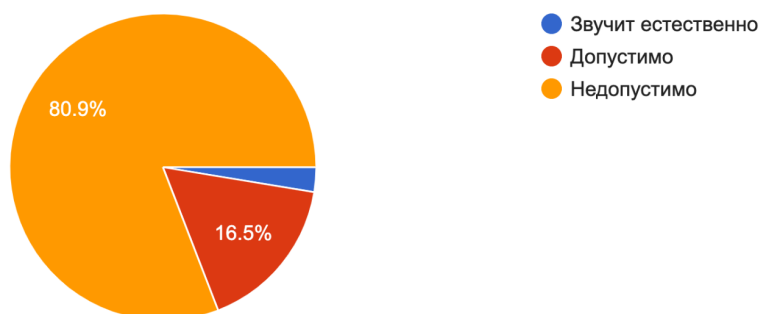
This formulation was widely rejected despite the word *бегание* being common enough to produce 60,000 hits in a Google search, thus yielding a perfectly grammatical sentence by the rules of grammar.

The second question replaced the noun with a то-subordinate featuring a noun clause: *после того, как он побегал*, where *того* is the lexically empty dummy in the genitive case and

the subordinating conjunction *как* is the expected form with prepositions of time (further discussion of this in the following chapter):

После того, как он побегал, он почувствовал себя уставшим.
115 responses
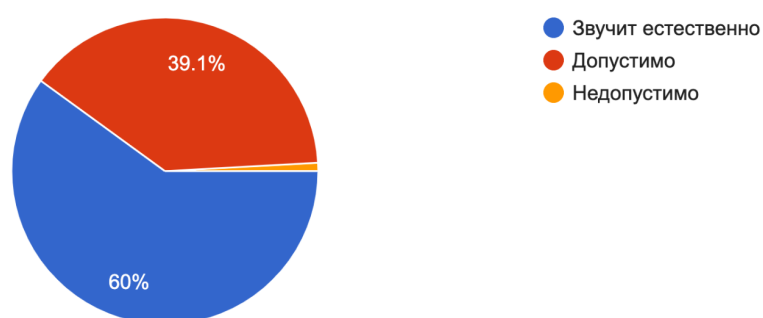
This construction was much preferred to the previous. It may be argued that this is not an entirely fair comparison, as *бегание* derives from an imperfective verb, while in the second question a perfective was used and that it is really the aspect that is preferred rather than the subordinate construction itself.

The third question would seem to dispel the aforementioned concerns, however, as here an abstract noun with a zero morpheme *бег* was used as the object of the preposition:

После бега он почувствовал себя уставшим.
115 responses
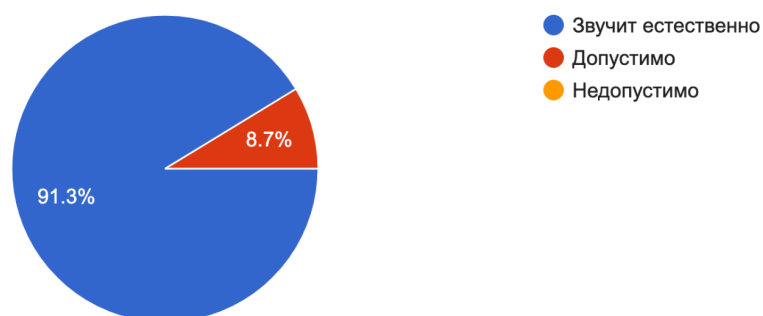
This in fact turned out to be the most preferred of the three constructions, pointing once again to the idiosyncratic nature of event abstraction in CSR, as there would seem to be nothing either semantically or morphologically peculiar to *бегать* that permits such a formulation, but which blocks a similar derivation in verbs such as *делать* (*do, *дел, делание*), *ползать* (*crawl, *полз, ползание*) etc.[195]

8. Principal Term of a Prepositional Phrase (Part II)

As in question 7, here again we examine the expression of events as the object of a preposition. Here the preposition *кроме* was chosen, as it is one that I have personally heard used with an infinitival complement. Question 8 additionally considers a purely abstract event i.e. one that has not nor necessarily ever will take place. Question 7 considered a past event now conceptualized abstractly. Such semantic factors would also seem to play a role in the means of expression preferred by native speakers.

The first question presented an infinitive as the object of the preposition. We recall that the rules of Russian grammar forbid such a construction, as an infinitive is a non-case bearing unit and all prepositions require a case-bearing unit.

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[195] Historically speaking, it is often the other way around, as many such verbs with abstract nouns in a zero morpheme were derived from the noun either directly or indirectly, through another verb derived from the noun. However, we assume that such information cannot be known to a speaker of CSR and, as such, is irrelevant in the present discussion.

Кроме бегать, он еще и любил плавать.

115 responses

- Звучит естествнно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

86.1%

9.6%
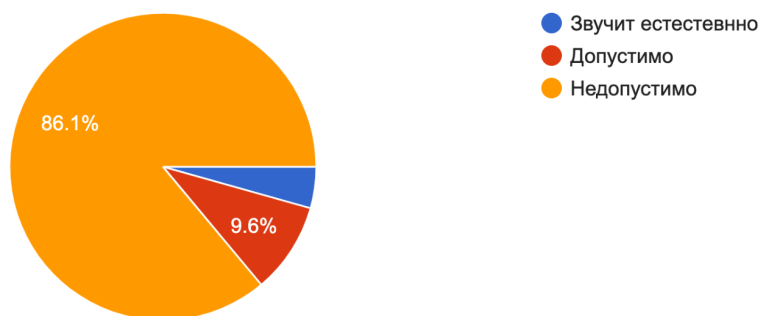
The results are largely in agreement with the grammar. The average age of the five respondents who considered the formulation natural was low even for this survey: 23.

The second question presented a то-subordinate in *чтобы*, to be discussed more in the following chapter, but which is in fact more a phrase than a clause. This proved one of the more enigmatic questions in terms of its responses, as there was nearly an equal three-way division:

Кроме того, чтобы бегать, он еще и любил плавать.

115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

31.3%

40.9%

27.8%
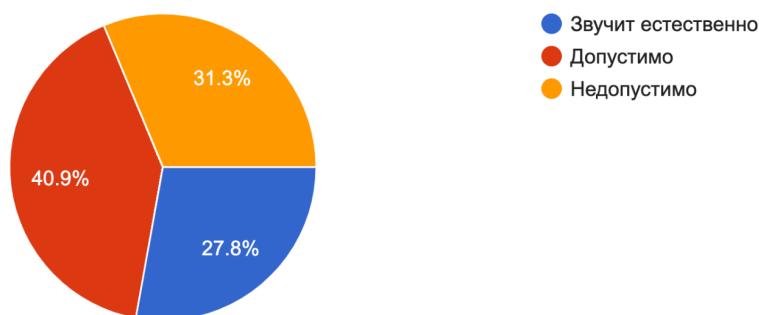
We take such significant disagreement amongst native speakers to again be the sign of the current instability of abstract even expression.

The third question again offered a noun in *-ije*. Knowing now the results of question 7, this question could likely have been omitted in retrospect. Nevertheless, it did find some modicum of approval:
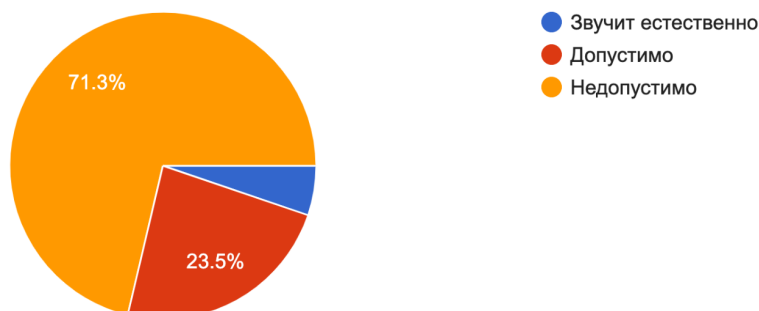
Кроме бегания, он еще и любил плавать.
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

The final question utilized the noun with a zero morpheme and was yet again the overwhelmingly preferred variant.

Кроме бега, он еще и любил плавать.
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо
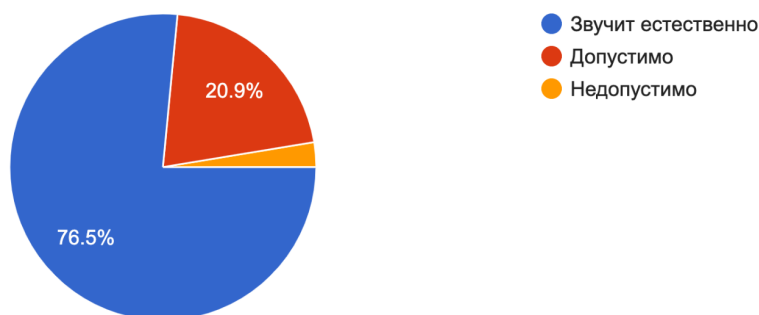
We may note however that its assessment as natural sounding was 15% lower than in question 7. While this may be attributable to perhaps general awkwardness of this latter formulation, it may also be significant that here we see a semantic parallel (as one understands from the sentence that

он любил бегать и плавать) not given parallel morphological expression. In other words, the acceptability of **он любил бег и плавать* seems highly suspect.

9. Object in the Genitive

The final question of the survey to be considered here concerns the verb *стоить* (*to be worth ,to cost*), while to some degree, this question did not test any radically different expression of abstract events. It is true that *стоить* governs the genitive and grammatically, therefore, presents a similar set of circumstances as those present in the previous two questions with prepositions governing the genitive. We may consider, then, whether or not the governing word play a role, i.e. whether preposition or verb. There is also the matter of the genitive government not being absolute, but rather reminiscent of the instrumental government of *звать*, as numerical values are never expressed in the genitive in my experience: *рубашка стоит пятьсот рублей* and not *?рубашка стоит пятисот рублей*. We also here examine the acceptability of the commonly occurring noun in *-ije чтение* as well as a similar form derived from the perfective partner of *читать,* i.e. *прочитать*, that is the noun *прочтение*.[196]

The first question presented a formulation of the type *nominative subject + finite verb + genitive object* in which the verb has the meaning of *worth undertaking, a good choice* rather than *having a monetary value of*. While this is a seemingly simple instantiation of the selectional properties of the verb, in fact the verb is most frequently encountered in the following construction: *infinitival subject with or without a complement + finite verb*. In this latter formulation there is also the ability to *personalize* the otherwise impersonal construction by

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[196] Recall from above that *читать/прочитать* do not allow forms in *-ije* morphologically, as this role has been assumed by *чтение/прочтение*, themselves morphologically deriving from the largely archaic (in the meaning of *read*) *честь/прочесть*, though the latter is still met with some frequency.

including an experiencer. The verb again features its non-monetary interpretation. The first two questions feature the former construction, the third the latter, and the fourth a sort of hybrid.

The responses to the first question are as follows:

Эта книга стоит чтения вслух.
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

39.1%
34.8%
26.1%
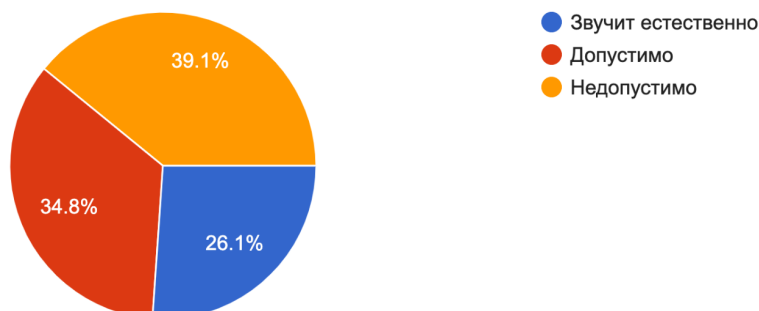
Here the mixed results are not particularly surprising when we consider that, while grammatical, the full realization of SVO is primarily limited to asking for and stating monetary values of things. There is also the question of the ability of the noun in *-ije* to express this verbal, processual meaning.

The second question is the same as the first, but replaces *чтение* with *прочтение*:

Эта книга стоит прочтения вслух.
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

33.9%
16.5%
49.6%
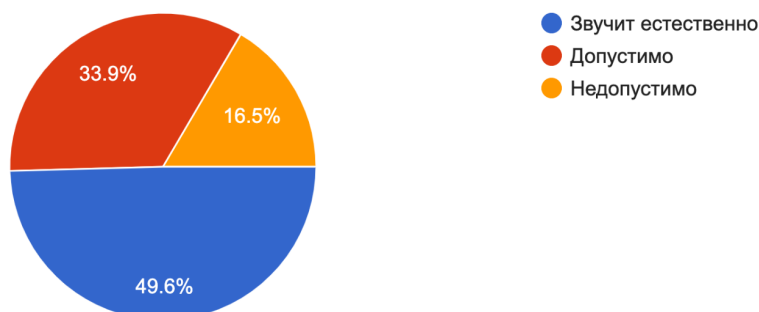
Here we find further confirmation of the noun in *-ije* derived from a perfective verb is not only more flexible in its meaning, it is more likely to express a processual meaning, as the adverb *вслух* (*outloud*) necessitates. The not insignificant number of rejections of such a formulation can likely be attributed to the reason provided for the previous question.

The third question is in the form of an impersonal with an imperfective infinitive in the form of SV as described above:

Эту книгу стоит читать вслух.
115 responses

- Звучит естественно
- Допустимо
- Недопустимо

87.8%
11.3%
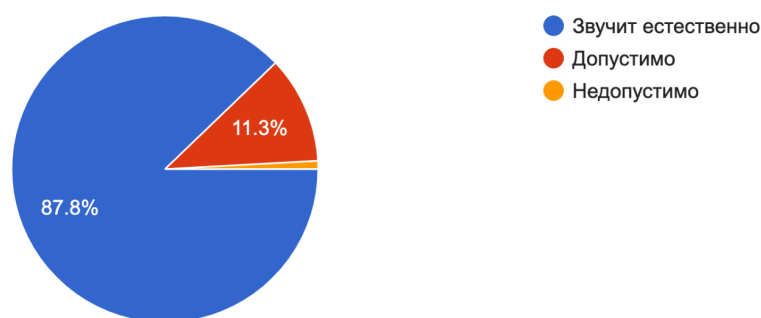
This formulation was the most widely accepted of them all.

The final question returned to the structure of the second, but rather than a nominal object in the genitive, utilized a perfective infinitival object and a dummy *то*:

Эта книга стоит того, чтобы прочитать ее вслух.
115 responses

The high degree of approval of such a formulation would seem to provide further evidence of the general preference for verbal forms over nouns in *-ije*.

3.1.   Summary

This concludes the fifth chapter which, in conjunction with the fourth chapter, presents the primary analysis of the dissertation. In drawing conclusions, several distinctions must be kept in mind. One, howe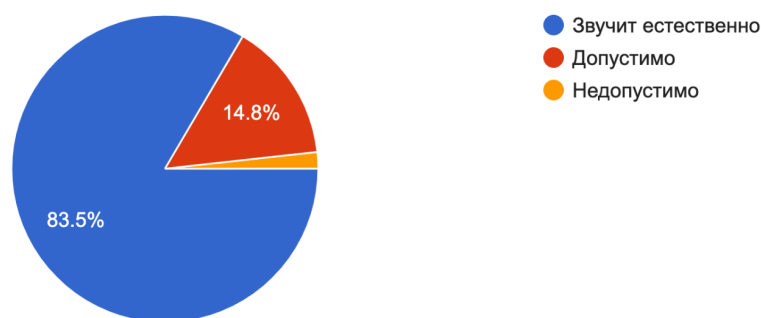ver, stands out as being of particular importance: what grammatically can be said and what in reality is said need not overlap. Nouns in *-ije* present a form of great grammatical potential and yet it is often a verbal form (infinitival or finite), much more grammatically constrained, that is preferred. Because a grammatical analysis will, therefore, be insufficient, the answer to why this is so must lie in the realm of the historical development of the language, the particular semantics of various forms, cultural factors and stylistics. Some discussion of why we observe this preference for verbal forms has already been proposed in Chapter 3 (cf. Why English and Russian Differ). We will leave further discussion of the matter for the remaining chapters and the conclusion.

We now move to the issue of the already much alluded to то-subordinates and what their role, if any, in expressing abstract events in CSR is.

Chapter 6 – то-Subordinates and Abstract Noun Clauses

1. Overview

The previous two chapters focused on the systematic ways through which CSR expresses

events conceptualized as abstractions. These means were primarily the infinitive, which is

syntactically limited, and various deverbal forms (primarily in -*ije*), which are morphologically,

semantically and stylistically limited. The former, while being morphologically and semantically

predictable, is primarily limited to the non-oblique cases, while the latter, not limited

syntactically, is highly unpredictable in terms of its formation (whether or not a deverbal in -*ije*, -

k, or some other suffix exists), semantics (whether the suffix will yield the interpretation of

process, result, state etc.) and generally recognized to be a feature of scientific prose not

appropriate in everyday speech. A third means, however, was avoided due to its internal

opaqueness. This third means, namely the so-called *то, что construction*, will be discussed

here.

Consider the following sentences: *his coming arriving late upset me*; *I thought about*

them walking down there by themselves; *before giving up, I tried one more time* etc. All of these

examples include abstract actions in the form of English gerunds. The two methods discussed

thus far that are commonly used for event abstraction are nouns in -*ije*, which are problematic for

their unsystematic formulation and meaning and the infinitive, which is problematic for its

syntactic limitations. In fact, in none of these sentences could the infinitive be used in Russian.[197]

While -*ije* forms (or zero nouns) may be possible, we might ask whether there is not some more

systematic way of conveying in CSR these very everyday sentences in CSE. Indeed, there is: *то,*

что он поздно приехал меня расстроило; я думал о том, как они идут туда сами; перед

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[197] In the first the gerund features a modifier (infinitives can be modified by possessive adjectives and in the second and third the gerunds are objects of prepositions (*about, before*).

тем как сдаться, я еще раз попробовал. What unites all of these sentences in Russian is that they use то-subordinates. The remainder of the chapter will be dedicated to determining exactly what these structures are, how they work and how exactly, as these examples exemplify, they contribute to event abstraction.

2.   Terms

We will begin with the term used to refer to the phenomenon. Just like so many other terms, a name once applied can give the illusion of comprehension — what has been given a name is known and need not be further questioned. However, again as happens with so many names, the name falls short of accurately describing the phenomenon in question. The commonly used name *то, что construction* is no exception. It is problematic for at least two reasons. The first is that, as the title of this chapter is meant to indicate, the subordinating conjunction following the dummy *то* is not limited to *что*, but depending on the type of clause following, can in fact be any of the so-called question words (at least in the case of a following relative clause) or replaced altogether by the question forming particle *ли*. This chapter, therefore, has been titled *то-subordinates* in an attempt to account more fully for all of these possibilities. The second issue is that textbooks and reference grammars alike are careless in their description of the clause types these constructions entail, if they do not avoid their discussion entirely, relying on similarities with English where possible and ignoring specific discussion of the differences. Without clarifying what exact factors are at work here and how they find expression in CSR, the student is left without any indicator of why different conjunctions are used and what is achieved by this varying usage.

Several more syntactic concepts will be needed in the following analysis and a brief discussion of their meaning here will be of benefit. First of all, we are dealing here with various

dependent clause types. I take a clause to be a predication with both a subject and finite verb (or word with the force of such a verb). The subject may be simply implied. A dependent clause, then, is one which cannot under normal circumstances stand alone. One type of dependent clause to be discussed is the *relative or adjectival clause*: such clauses modify a single nominal form, which is commonly referred to as the clause's antecedent. Furthermore, such clauses feature a relative pronoun, that stands in place of the antecedent in the relative clause. Compare the following: *I see the blue house* and *I see the house that is blue* (*я вижу синий дом* and *я вижу дом, который синий*). The latter features a dependent clause (underlined) acting in the manner that resembles the semantic role of an adjective i.e. a relative clause that characterizes the noun head. However, some relative clauses do not formally co-occur with an antecedent, or do so via the dummy *то.* I will refer to such relative clauses as *headless relatives*, as they are lacking a clearly referenced head, or antecedent. Compare the following: *I know the place where you live* and *do you know where I live?* (*я знаю место, где ты живешь* and *ты знаешь, где я живу?*). All of the relative clauses have been underlined. The first in each of the languages features an overt antecedent (*place/место*), but the second example in each language does not and, in that regard, is referred to as a headless relative. A second type of dependent clause to be discussed is the noun clause. Whereas the relative clause describes the noun, the entirety of the noun clause stands in place of a noun. Compare: *I know this story* and *I know that it happened* (*я знаю эту историю* and *я знаю, что это случилось*). In both instances a dependent clause without a relative pronoun (underlined) can stand in place of a noun, and in so doing, functions nominally.

3. Existing Presentations

In Wade's section entitled "Subordinating Conjunctions", he first uses the translation method, stating that "**что** should *not* be omitted in such contexts, cf. English: 'I think (that) he's

out' and Russian Я думаю, **что** его нет дома" before citing several noun clauses in Russian, where the subordinating conjunction would be the unstressed *что*. Below this he includes a note: "**То, как; то, где; то когда́** etc. are also possible with some verbs e.g. **зависеть**: э́то зави́сит **от того́, что** он скажет/**где** он живёт/**как** он себя чувствует/**когда** он кончит."[198] Here he is clearly talking about relative clauses in which the relative pronoun is always stressed, though he makes no attempt to visually differentiate the unstressed subordinating conjunction *что* and the stressed relative pronoun *что*. If the reader has elsewhere learned the difference between a noun and adjectival clause, then this presentation will leave them with the idea that whether one uses one of the clauses or the other is a function of the selectional properties of the verb. While it is true that selectional properties can play a role here, if we consider the sentences below, only the first is acceptable. Compare:

1. Это зависит от того, что́ он скажет (headless relative)[199]

2. ?Это зависит от того, что он скажет "да" (noun clause)

The selectional properties disqualifying the second sentence are likely a result of the verb's semantics: *dependence on* in CSR requires that some potential variation be possible, as in the first sentence where we do not know what he will say. The second sentence allows only one outcome (*his saying yes*) and so is not acceptable.[200] We may, however, use a noun clause, but it must contain the question particle *ли*:

3. Это зависит от того, скажет ли он да (или нет) (noun clause)

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[198] Wade, 490

[199] To my knowledge, this is the only standard unambiguous interpretation of this sentence, as *сказать* normally requires an expressed object, such that interpreting it as a noun clause with an implied direct object would not seem standard to me. The only such instance of *сказать* without an object seems to be the so-called keyword responses/confirmations that are standard in Russian: -Ты ему это сказал? -Сказал. (*Did you tell him? I did.*)

[200] English interestingly does not appear to exhibit such a restriction, *It depends on his/him saying yes*, being an acceptable formulation

Nevertheless, in many cases, if not most, the selectional properties allow any of the above three types. Such is the case with the verb *знать*:

4. Я не знал, чтó он скажет (headless relative)

5. Я не знал, что он скажет да (noun clause)

6. Я не знал, скажет ли он да (или нет) (noun clause)

Therefore, the motivating factors are two-fold: on the one hand there is the matter of selectional properties, but for most verbs both clause types will be possible. On the other hand, choosing one clause type over the other is purely a semantic distinction: if one wishes to emphasize the clause in its entirety, a noun clause will be needed; if, rather, one is emphasizing one aspect of the clause (the *what - что, who - кто, how - как* etc.), a headless relative will be implemented.

Offord similarly makes no distinction between clause types following the dummy *то* and limits himself to a discussion of register, as several prepositions/set phrases will often feature a noun or headless relative as their complement.[201] Timberlake does indeed refer to "headless то", but does not go into any detail about such clauses differing from noun clauses in any way.[202]

The second year textbook *V puti* is slightly better in this regard, as the topic is introduced as "Complex sentences with dependent clauses introduced by TO". The first thing we notice is that the authors have seemingly recognized the deficiencies in the traditional *то, что* name and opted for a less laconic, but more accurately descriptive title for the section. While here too we find the translation method and no discussion of noun or relative/adjectival clauses, the writers are careful to distinguish unstressed from stressed *что*. Once again, however, the verb *зависеть*

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[201] Offord, 377; issues of register will be more thoroughly discussed in the following chapter.

[202] Timberlake, 238; he does state, however, on p.209 that "Russian does not have "headless relatives", but provides no explanation of how he defines the term or why he does not wish to apply it to Russian clauses; the present discussion does recognize their existence in Russian according to the definition provided at this chapter's outset.

is used (here it is given a separate section) with an array of complements but lacking any explanation.

Всё зави́сит **от пого́ды.**	*It all depends on the weather.*
Это **зави́сит от того́, что́** они́ ска́жут.	*It depends on what they have to say.*
Всё **бу́дет зави́сеть от того́, как** (*sic!*) вы сдади́те экза́мен.	*It will depend on how you do on the final.*
На́ше реше́ние **зави́сит от того́, захотя́т ли** они́ помо́чь	*Our decision depends on whether or not they'd be willing to help.*[203]

Sentences 1, 2, 3, and 4 feature respectively as complements 1) a noun 2) a headless relative 3) a headless relative (the *как* should be stressed) and 4) a noun clause featuring the question particle *ли*. However, the student is provided only with a translation, not an explanation. On the next page the authors suggest a syntactic distinction in dividing the use of such pronouns as *до, перед,* and *после* as either "prepositions" or "conjunctions".[204] Whether or not such a distinction is warranted must be determined by syntacticians. Regardless, the fact remains that grammatically there is not a clear distinction, because regardless of whether these words are used prepositionally or conjunctionally, they have case requirements that must be met. In other words, they govern case and when they feature a nominal complement, the nominal form appears in the appropriate case. However, when they feature something other than a case bearing form as a

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[203] Kagan, Miller, Kudyma, 181-2

[204] The student here is instructed to take care to distinguish conjunction from preposition, but is not told how to do so. Offord, makes a similar distinction, but provides a note on p.375 on how one might make such a distinction. Adverbial usage of such forms is not considered here.

complement, such as a clause (i.e. a noun clause), the dummy *то* is inserted and declined to provide a case marker.

A further complication arises, however, when the student discovers that with these forms in particular, the preferred subordinating conjunction is not the unstressed *что* as before, but rather the unstressed *как*. This fact is left unaddressed and the student's confusion is further compounded when they inevitably encounter such sentences as *После того, что он мне это сказал…* where unstressed *что* has been used rather than the more regular *как*.[205] While slightly more informative than Wade, the reliance on the translation method and the failure to use any sort of universal grammar concepts (adjectival/relative clause, noun clause) in the explanation provide the student with little opportunity to truly grasp *why* certain constructions are permitted in some instances and not others – an understanding that breeds true *creative* communicative competence – and leaves them to mimic mindlessly, an approach that is bound to fail.

The third year textbook *Panorama* also points out the existence of such constructions but does not provide any real explanation for their form and/or use. Rather, in their review of each of the cases, the student is instructed to "use the words то, что, кото́рый in the [given case] case to construct complex sentences with subordinate clauses…"[206] Such a pattern is reproduced for the genitive (p.180), accusative (203), dative (228-9), and instrumental (254) cases. In each of these instances noun and adjectival clauses are both present in the examples but are in no way distinguished. This is all the more strange when one considers that many of the dummy words and relative pronouns provided in the example sentences have their stress indicated, but where it

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[205] What, if any, is the difference in meaning when switching between unstressed *что* and *как* as noun clause in subordinate conjunctions will be addressed below when we undertake a more in-depth analysis of noun clauses
[206] Rifkin, Dengub, Nazarova, 154

is of true import (in distinguishing the subordinating conjunction from the relative pronoun),

both instances of *что* are left unstressed. The second year companion to *Live from Russian*,

entitled *Welcome Back!* offers even less explanation as the student is simply instructed to

"читайте и анализируйте" (*read and analyze*) sentences featuring dummy то-subordinates.[207]

We should point out that while the authors were clearly careful in this presentation to use only

noun clauses in their examples, they did not draw the reader's attention to this fact in any way.

Such explanation-deficient presentations as those described above were not always the

rule for Russian textbooks. It is with the onset of the trendsetting *communicative method* and the

methodological emphasis on using *task-based learning* to intuit grammar through inductive

means rather than encounter overt explanations that informative grammatical presentations have

been pushed to the margins or out of textbooks altogether. The latter have been replaced by

various activities meant to simulate experiences one might have while living abroad and using

the language in an everyday manner. The student's understanding of the mechanisms at work is

left in the hands of a sort of osmosis, whereby the student hears these forms so much that they

are able to subconsciously abstract the grammar at work and then implement it in their own

speech. This shift in focus has been evident in the explanations provided above which

themselves range between minimal to entirely absent. The fact that this was not always the case

is most easily seen by opening a textbook from a few decades ago. To examine this particular

issue of то-subordinates Townsend's 1970 *Continuing with Russian* has been taken as typically

representative of presentations that antedate the current trend of communicative pedagogy.

While it should be noted that, in my judgment, Townsend's presentation is also at times

wanting in clarity and organization, the content provided and the manner in which it is organized

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[207] Dolgova, Martin, 349

are indicative of a college course that aims to foresee the particular problems that the student whose L1 is English is likely to encounter. In fact, his is the most in-depth discussion of these constructions I found in any synchronic textbook or reference grammar. These are, in other words, observations that not any native speaker of Russian is equipped to make (nor native speakers of any other language of course). The vast majority of the formulaic presentations presented earlier provide little to no analysis and hardly offer any more insight than your average native speaker might. With the overwhelming opportunity to interact with native speakers at little, if any cost that the internet now offers to everyone, university courses and their textbooks must offer something that the internet is less likely to be able to. It seems to me that a competent analysis and presentation of the language is the best way to ensure that the students who receive a university-level education are at a significant advantage to those who simply study online. Let us examine what just such a presentation may entail.

Townsend introduces the topic as "Equational (то́, что́) constructions'" (beginning in Lesson III and concluding in Lesson IV). What sets Townsend's presentation apart is that not only does he distinguish between noun and relative clauses (although he is not careful to define them as such), he in fact proposes a further third distinction as of yet undiscussed. The resulting division is as follows: 1) relative clauses with a dummy antecedent (what I have referred to above as *headless relatives*) ex. *Мы говорили о том, кто пришел* (*We talked about who came*), (p.172-3), 2) noun clauses that function appositively modifying the dummy *то* ex. *Мы говорили о том, что встреча удалась* (*We talked about how the meeting was a success*), and 3) noun clauses that are reported questions ex. *Никто не был уверен в том, кто пришел* (*No one was sure who had arrived*). The author purports headless relatives, which he describes as being "fact-oriented," be distinguished from embedded questions, what he calls the "interrogative type", by

the degree of stress on *что*, the former being less stressed than the latter. He provides three examples of supposed minimal sentences in Russian that differ only in stress. For two such sentences he provides varying English glosses that are intended to illustrate the variant meanings. I believe that my identification of the glosses as either a headless relative [HR] or an embedded question [EQ] is in line with his own stance, but as he did not label them, I cannot be entirely sure.

1. Мы спорили о том, кто пришел.	[EQ] We argued about which one came. *Or:* [HR] We argued about the one who came.[208]
2. Я интересуюсь тем, что вы читаете.	[EQ] I'm interested in what it is you're reading (in the *fact* of what it is). [HR] I'm interested in what you're reading (in the actual material).[209]
3. Я помню, что он сказал (то, interr)	I remember what he said.

The first sentence most clearly demonstrates the inherent semantic ambiguity in these constructions, though it does seem that many of them can be interpreted as embedded questions or as headless relatives. If we take the first sentence, it is unclear whether 1) we know who arrived and we are arguing about them (HR) or 2) we do not know who arrived, and we are arguing about their possible identity (EQ). This is clearly conveyed in the glossing. It should be noted that in the more standard English translation of *We argued about who came* there exists the exact same ambiguity of interpretation. The glossing in the second sentence I found less insightful and did my best with the absence of labels in the original. However, there do seem to be two interpretations possible: 1) in which we know what the person is reading and we are

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[208] My committee member Anna Borovskaya-Ellis pointed out to me that this could also be interpreted as referring to a group of people.

[209] We might note that this sentence could also be interpreted as featuring a noun clause with the unstressed subordinating conjunction, yielding the meaning *I am interested in that fact that you are reading* (i.e. *as opposed to not reading/doing something else*)

interested in it and 2) where we do not know and we are interested in knowing what they are

reading. The third sentence, in which Townsend identifies as an embedded question,

semantically cannot possibly be so: remembering and not knowing what was said are

semantically incompatible.[210] The author's claim that the inherent ambiguity in sentences one

and two can be distinguished by stress seems unlikely, as this would necessitate a three way

stress distinction in *что*: unstressed as a subordinate conjunction, stressed as a headless relative,

and some degree of increased stress as an embedded question.[211] It would also obviously limit

the distinction to the spoken language.[212]

In order to come to a better understanding of whether or not the degree of stress in such

headless relative clauses does indeed play a role in distinguishing embedded questions from

statements, a question addressing the matter was included in the survey, whose results were

analyzed in the previous chapter. Because the form in which the question was presented was

problematic in that it asked native speakers with no linguistic training to assess their own speech,

significantly increasing the possibility of bias, it would not be wise to consider the results it

produced as definitive. It is nonetheless hoped that these results support one answer over another

and provide impetus for further, more nuanced investigations into the topic.

Question 10 of the survey and the results are as follows:

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[210] Launer (86) too notes the potential ambiguity of such subordinates as to their status as embedded question or headless relatives, but he grants the embedded question interpretation the status of default (83). This will cause problems when the main clause consists of a predication that semantically precludes the possibility of an embedded question interpretation, such as *Я знаю…* or as in the sentences provided by Townsend *Я помню…*. For this reason it would seem more prudent to assume that such sentences are by default headless relatives and only markedly embedded questions.

[211] One could alternatively argue that the same two-way phonological stress is present and that an embedded questions is distinguished through shifted sentence stress.

[212] The same point regarding ambiguity can be made, however, in simply distinguishing noun and relative clauses. Historically there has been a tendency to use the grave accent on чтò when there is a relative clause and the potential for its confusion with a noun clause. The fact that this usage does not seem to be strictly observed and provides no way of overtly indicating a noun clause points to the fact that , as with so many other theoretically potential ambiguities, context very often precludes confusion.

Можно интерпретировать следующее предложение двояко: Мы спорили о том, кто пришел. Первая интерпретация: мы знаем кто пришел, и мы о нем спорим. Вторая интерпретация: мы не знаем кто пришел, и спорим о том, кто это может быть. Вопрос стоит в том, различается ли сила ударения/громкости на слове "кто" в зависимости от интерпретации?

114 responses

● Когда "Мы спорили о том, кто пришел" = Первая интерпретация: мы знаем кто пришел, и мы о нем спорим, то у...
● Когда "Мы спорили о том, кто пришел" = Вторая интерпретация: мы не знаем кто пришел, и спорим о том, кто это...
● Ударение не меняется в зависимости от интерпретации.
● Затрудняюсь сказать.
● Не понимаю вопрос.

It asks: "May one interpret the following sentence in two ways: We argued about who arrived. The first interpretation: we know who arrived and we are arguing about them. The second interpretation: we do not know who arrived and we are arguing about who it might be. The question is whether the force of the stress/volume on the word "who" is dependent on the interpretation?" The response indicated in red affirmed a stronger force on the EQ interpretation in agreement with Townsend's proposal. It received the most votes, but not overwhelmingly so. The response in blue indicated a stronger force on the HR interpretation, directly contradicting what Townsend proposed. While receiving only 14% of the responses, it is still surprising that so many respondents seemed to hear a directly opposing stress pattern. This, of course, could very well be a result of their misunderstanding the question to begin with, as 8% admitted to, indeed, either "finding it difficult to say" (*затрудняюсь сказать* – indicated in green) or not understanding the question (*не понимаю вопрос* – indicated in purple). 33.3% (indicated in orange) claimed to not distinguish the two interpretations in stress.

There is the possibility that I have misinterpreted Townsend. His explanations appear to me at times inexact – perhaps as a result of this being a textbook for students. Irrespective of such issues, however, no other modern textbook approaches the depth of his analysis and presentation. What is intended to be a more comprehensive, though necessarily brief analysis is offered below. While a considerable amount of space has been committed to то-subordinates in general, such a step was necessary in order to clarify which of these subordinate clauses have the capacity to express abstract events.

3. Analysis

As we have stated above, what have commonly been referred to by a single name, "*то, что* constructions*", represent what are in fact a variety of clause types. Consider the following sentences:

7. *То, что он это сказал, меня огорчило.* (*The fact that he said that distressed me.*)

8. *То, что он сказал, меня огорчило.* (*What he said distressed me.*)

9. *То, как он это сказал, меня огорчило.* (*How he said it distressed me.*)

Each of these sentences can be united in that they feature a dummy as the grammatical subject of the sentence. However, what is semantically the cause of the distress differs in each example as a function of the clause type in the то-subordinate. Sentence 7, semantically, features a clause (*он это сказал*) as the cause, while 8 and 9, again semantically, feature a noun (*что*) and an adverb (*как*) as the cause, respectively. In other words, it is *the fact that he said it* that upset me in sentence A, in B is *what* he said upset me and in C it is *how* he said it. Stated another way yet, sentence A features a noun clause, while B and C feature relative clauses. It is clear then that the term *relative clause* is insufficiently precise for the present discussion. However, we will return

to this below. One can further complicate the situation by inverting the word order, at which

point the dummy *то* may be dropped:[213]

      10. *Меня огорчило (то), что он это сказал.*

      11. *Меня огорчило (то), что он сказал.*

      12. *Меня огорчило (то), как он это сказал.*

There are, then, two important categories that must be considered to analyze these constructions:

their grammar and their semantics. Furthermore, it can be seen that we must first subdivide these

dummy subordinates into two broad categories: noun and relative clauses. It is recognized that

further subdivisions may prove necessary. We will first analyze relative clauses, as they will not

turn out to be pertinent in the primary goal of our investigation – to determine how abstract

events are signified.

    3.1.   Relative Clauses

    A typical definition of a relative clause (*придаточное предложение*) can be found in

Launer: "it is clear that a relative clause functions adjectivally: it modifies an NP and answers the

question "Which [one]?". While there is nothing wrong with such a definition, it does little to

explain what exactly such a clause can look like. We will take a closer look in this regard. Thus,

a relative pronoun combines the syntactic functions of a pronoun and an adjective. In Russian,

the relative word even has adjectival endings: кото́рый/кото́рая/кото́рое/кото́рые."[214] Such a

definition, however, fails to explain sentences 8/11 and even more so 9/12 above, in which no

adjectival relative pronoun is present. As was mentioned above, the term *relative clause* would

seem to fail to point out that the relative pronoun need not itself be an adjective. In order to be

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[213] It does appear that sentences 8 and 9 can drop the то in initial position when highly colloquial; sentence A does not appear to conform here
[214] Launer, 88

more precise in our discussion here, it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between semantics and syntax, as *syntactically* sentences 8/11 and 9/12 are similar in not being adjectives, they differ semantically, 8/11 answering the question *что*, 9/12 the question *как*. In this sense, Matthews' less syntactically dependent definition of a relative clause is better suited: "a clause which modifies the head of a noun phrase and typically includes a pronoun or other element whose reference is linked to it."[215] Such a definition, though more semantically inclusive than Launer's, simultaneously runs the risk of being overly syntactically vague. Valgina (1973) similarly favors a semantic definition in stating that "эта присубстантивная отнесенность и определяет основные функции определительных частей: они содержат характеристику предмета или раскрывают его признак",[216] although she does proceed to define the syntactic elements of such constructions in some detail, for example noting that the role of relative pronoun may be fulfilled not only by the question words *который, какой, кой* (устар.)*, чей, что, где, куда, откуда, когда*, but also by several conjunctions: *чтобы, как словно, как будто, как, если бы*. The relative applicability of these words as pronouns is defined in terms of both syntax (*какой* is used "обычно при наличии указательных слов в главной [части предложения]"[217]) and semantics ("союзные слова *где, куда, откуда* возможны только при именах существительных заключающих в себе пространственное значение"[218]).

Matthews' and Valgina's definitions work particularly well when the relative clause modifies a clearly defined antecedent. However, what happens when the antecedent is undefined or entirely absent? Such a formulation of the question, however, supposes the unlikely instance

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[215] Matthews, 316

[216] "such relativity in the presence of a substantival antecedent circumscribes the primary functions of these defining parts: they contain the characteristics of the object or bring to light its quality" (Валгина, 304).

[217] "usually in the presence of demonstrative words in the main clause" (Валгина, 307).

[218] "The conjoining words *где, куда, откуда* are possible only with nouns containing a spatial meaning" (Валгина, 308).

where the speaker first conceptualizes an empty form (absent antecedent) and then seeks to

define it via a clause. The reality is surely the opposite, as it is first the clause (particularly one

aspect of it apart from the action itself, usually a pronoun or adverb) that is conceptualized and,

due to the grammatical and syntactic properties of CSR, an empty form (here, the dummy *mo*) is

inserted. It is precisely such instances that I am referring to as *headless relatives*.[219] However, as

we have already seen, the dummy is not always present; more precisely, it is often deleted. The

scale according to which the dummy may be deleted is apparently twofold: 1) deletion is more

common where the dummy fulfills the role of subject or direct object[220] or, stated differently,

deletion is more common when the dummy is in the nom. and acc. cases, particularly when the

latter is not the object of a pronoun and 2) deletion is more common for some verbs than for

others, all other things being equal. Let us exemplify:

Dummy то deletion in relation to case and grammatical role:

Case of Dummy	Example	Deletion of то
Nominative/Subject	Меня интересует (то), что он делает. *What he is doing interests me.*	Likely
Genitive	Она всегда добивается того, что хочет. *She always strives for what she wants.*	Unlikely to Impossible[221]
Dative	Мы радуемся тому, что он делает. *We are glad about what he is doing.*	Unlikely to Impossible
Accusative/Direct Object	Я видел (то), что он делает. *I saw what he was doing.*	Likely

[219] Huddleston calls them *fused relative constructions* (402) while Jespersen, perhaps overly influenced by the word forms themselves, sees them simply as reported questions, calling them "interrogative clauses" (*Essentials*, 351). A newer analysis by Nelson calls them "nominal relative clauses" (140).

[220] Note the overlap of the significance of these grammatical roles with the use of an infinitive nominally/abstractly, as discussed in the Chapter 4. The tendency for these roles to be places where otherwise constant grammatical restrictions do not obtain is indicative of an analytical, rather than the synthetic type language that Russian is generally classified as. This seems to be yet another instance of the increasing analyticity discussed by Comrie et al. cited above.

[221] Such a formulation was chosen where some native speakers rejected the dropping of то and some saw it as unlikely, but possible.

| Instrumental | Они всегда пользуются тем, что покупают. *They always use what they buy.* | Unlikely to Impossible |
| Prepositional | Вы говорите о том, что они делают. *You are talking about what they are doing.* | Impossible |

These examples are very limited in scope and are in no way meant to exhaust what appears to be a very interesting topic with, at least at the surface level, a significant degree of verb dependent idiosyncrasies. First of all, these examples only include headless relatives with *что* as the relative pronoun. Noun clauses have not been considered here. Furthermore, with the exception of the prepositional case (which must occur with a preposition), no verbs were used that govern prepositions. While it is impossible in such instances to delete the *то*, as exemplified above, it is by no means exceptional for the entire prepositional phrase to be deleted: *Мы верим (в то), что всё получится* (*We believe everything will work out*). It might also be added that increased deletion correlates well with increased colloquial style. Let us now consider the third point: verb dependent deletion.

If we restrict ourselves to imperfective verbs with the suffix *-ся*, denoting feelings and/or emotions, and governing the genitive case, that is, verbs parallel in morphology, semantics, and selectional properties, it will nonetheless be seen that the likelihood for the dummy complement to be deleted varies. Consider the following:

Dummy то deletion in relation to lexical item only:

Example	**Deletion of то**
Я боюсь (того), что он сделает.	Likely
Я опасаюсь того, что там случится.	Unlikely
Я теперь стыжусь того, что я сказал вчера.	Unlikely

With these three parameters (i.e. grammatical role, case, and lexical item), it seems, one can fully describe the likely of headless relative clauses in CSR occurring without the dummy *mo*. However, per our definition of headless relatives, namely, those in which there semantically is no antecedent, but rather a dummy *mo* formally acts as such and it is a pronoun (*что*), adjective (*какой*), or adverb (*как*)[222] that is both the relative pronoun and the semantic focus (revealed by its sentence stress) of the clause, it can be seen that these clauses cannot contribute to our primary goal of explicating the expression of abstract events in CSR. This is a result of their referring to only a single, concrete aspect of the clause (i.e. the *who*, *what* or *how* of the event and not the event itself). Rather it is in those instances when the entire clause or the event in particular is the semantic focus that we can speak of events conceptualized abstractly. Such clauses are generally referred to as noun clauses and we will turn to them now.

3.2. Noun Clauses

As with relative clauses, it seems the best way to define a noun clause (*дополнительное предложение*) is not via its function (a relative clause functions as an adjective, a noun clause functions as a noun), but rather in its semantics and syntax: a noun clause is a dependent clause whose semantic focus is the entirety of the clause. If we were to define them functionally, problems arise in these constructions as, generally speaking in CSR, an adjective (relative clause) and a noun (noun clause) cannot stand in the same relationship to a noun (dummy *mo*). However, if we consider the relationship between adjective and noun to be one of +, as the meaning of the former contributes to the latter and they now constitute a united whole, the relationship between two nouns in apposition is one of =, where there the two nouns do not

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[222] It should be noted that there is a tendency to separate adverbial relatives (*обстоятельственное предложение*) from adjectival relatives, however this would not seem necessary syntactically as both modify/restrict a (pro)nominal head. The only true difference, at least in CSR, appears to be grammatical or semantic (relating to *time*, *place*, *cause* etc.).

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combine to make a greater whole, but simply are equated with one another.[223] This is reflected in morphology, as an adjective takes on the categories of the noun (gender, number, case), but features its own endings, while nouns in apposition have no such subordinate set of endings. Such morphologically expressed equality is seen also in the nominal declension of short-form adjectives in copulative sentences. In this way a functional definition too seems permissible. In English, such constructions in which a noun clause redefines a noun (*The fact that I was there annoyed him*, where the noun clause *that I was there* redefines *the fact*) are commonly referred to as *content clauses.*[224]

Such clauses in fact, it could be argued, constitute *all* of CSR noun clauses and that the *mo* is simply deleted along similar lines as the rules proposed for its deletion with headless relatives. This does not seem to be entirely the case, however, if we consider the following sentences:

1. *Я думаю, что это правда.*

2. *Я думаю о том, что это правда.*

3. *?Я думаю то, что это правда.*

4. *Я думаю, (что) это правда.*

Sentences 1 and 2 are not the equivalent of each other; i.e. sentences 1 is not sentence 2 with *о том* deleted. Sentence 1 expresses the speaker's subjective view, while sentence 2 does not reflect the speaker's viewpoint, but rather indicates that they are pondering a fact (*that this is true*). Sentence 3 is rejected by educated native speakers as being a common mistake, but one

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[223] There are admittedly problems with considering adjectives to be in a + relationship with nouns, but the main point here is that they are *not* in an = relationship
[224] This is Jespersen's term (349) that Huddleston also uses (120), while Nelson refers to it as a complement phrase (109). Валгина refers to their occurrence in Russian as *придаточные изъяснительные предложения* (*explanatory clauses*) (310).

that can be heard with some frequency.[225] Sentence 4 points out that the subordinate conjunction can be omitted, though is generally identified as highly colloquial, a fact confirmed by the universal censure of its omission by textbooks for English speakers, for whom such omission is normal: *I think (that) it's true.* To ensure that the modal nature of the verb in sentence 1 is not obscuring our understanding, let us consider a similar set of sentences with the verb *говорить*:

5. *Я говорю, что это правда.*

6. *Я говорю о том, что это правда.*

7. *?Я говорю то, что это правда.*

Little, if anything, seems to be gained by having used a different verb. Sentence 5, like sentence 1, seems once again to inject the speaker's view, sentence 6 shows a more objective relationship between the speaker and the statement.[226] Sentence 3 is again unacceptable (at least by prescriptive norms). The situation changes though if we consider a transitive verb that does not take prepositional complements, such as *понимать*:

8. *Я понимаю, что это правда.*

9. *Я понимаю то, что это правда.*

Here both of the sentences are accepted by native speakers, although the difference (if any) is not readily explained. Regardless of what the difference is, such instances point to the fact that, at least synchronically and on the surface level, not all noun clauses in CSR are content clauses. However, all *mo*-subordinates that are noun clauses are content clauses. Those of the type in sentences 1 and I work the same in both English and Russian (and many other IE languages) and

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[225] The typical response to the question of the acceptability of sentences 3 and 7 are that they are "common mistakes", a statement that would seem to speak more of prescriptive norms than saying anything about the true nature of the language itself. In fact, the key word in the response is not *mistake*, but rather *common*; that is, such sentences are frequently created instinctively by native speakers, a fact that stands in favor of the argument that, prescriptive norms aside, all noun clauses in Russian are in fact то-subordinates.
[226] I should point out that not all native speakers agreed with this evaluation, one even contending the opposite, that it is sentence 6 that expresses more the subjective viewpoint of the speaker.

will not be elaborated on here. However, this does not mean that such clauses are unimportant in the abstraction (here nominalization) of events – quite the opposite – but because of their relative transparency and similarity to English, we will take them for granted here and focus more on the less common ways CSR employs noun clauses; in particular, those that we have specified as content clauses. A further question as to why *думать* and *говорить* do not (at least prescriptively) allow the dummy *то* to be included, but *понимать* does is also in need of an answer.

A final question that arose earlier in this chapter as to the difference between *как* and *что* as subordinating conjunctions of noun clauses is answered by Semeonoff by first providing an example from Furmanov's 1923 *Чапаев*: "*Через две минуты Федор увидел, как один из гостей развалился у него на постели*" and commenting that "the conjunctive word **как** is used in preference to the conjunction **что** because in this clause not only is a fact stated but the manner of the action is described."[227] It is not surprising, then, that verbs of observation/perception like *видеть* (*see*), *слышать* (*hear*), *наблюдать* (*observe*) generally feature *как* as the subordinating conjunction in noun clauses, although *что* is in no way precluded, rather it simply observes a result or the general confirmation that the action took place and *как* observes the action unfolding. In English these differences are conveyed through the gerund indicating observation of unfolding and a subordinate clause indicating result: *I heard him playing*[228] (*Я слышал, как он играет*) vs. *I heard that he plays* (*Я слышал, что он играет*). This distinction is not exclusively rendered via the conjunction, nor is it limited to such

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[227] Semeonoff, 103

[228] For discussion of the difference between *I heard him play* and *I heard him playing*, refer back to Chapter 2 section 2. It has been excluded here so as not to convolute the discussion.

a semantic verb class as verbs of observation. Mathesius states the following in his discussion of types of verbal aspect:

> The second aspectual difference concerns the conception of verbal action as a fact or a process. In the former case the conception is c o m p l e x, in the latter c u r s i v e. Compare, for example, the difference between *Pamatuji se, že jsem ti tu knihu půjčil* [I remember having lent you the book] and *Pamatuji se, že jsem ti tu knihu půjčoval* [I remember lending you the book].[229]

The first example is *cursive*, or action as fact, while the latter is *complex*, or action as process. In Czech the author states the difference to be one of verbal aspect inherent in the verb form – perfective in the first, imperfective in the latter. English, as before, uses nonfinite vs. finite verb forms and Russian conjunctions: *Я помню, что я ему эту книгу отдал* and *Я помню, как я ему эту книгу отдавал*.[230] Why such prepositions as *после* (*after*), *перед* (*right before*), and *до* (*before*) almost always feature the subordinate conjunction *как* rather than *что* seems in some way to be related their temporal semantics, but this is hardly an explanation. A final type of noun clause involving the subjunctive subordinate conjunction *чтобы* will now be considered.

While most noun clauses are introduced by the unstressed and reduced subordinating conjunction *что* or *как* (the latter particularly with verbs of observation and prepositions of relative tense as discussed above), some seemingly similar sentences will feature the subjunctive conjunction *чтобы*. While I do not wish to discuss in any depth matters relating to mood here, it should be pointed out that, at least from an English speaker's point of view, such constructions in *чтобы* do contribute to the expression of abstract verbal objects. Consider the sentence: *Не*

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[229] Mathesius, 69

[230] It may be, however, that Russian does not differ from Czech and aspect alone would suffice: *Я помню, что отдал ему книгу* (fact) vs. *Я помню, что отдавал ему книгу* (process). Informants expressed reluctance as to the complete nature of *Я помню, как отдавал ему книгу*, commenting that the action seems incomplete, no doubt as a result of the imperfective's capacity to express the so-called *two-way action* (Forsyth, 5), also referred to as *cancelation of the action* and here were attempting to focus on the action's internal space. Perhaps a truly accurate rendering may only be achieved through further description: *Я помню тот момент, когда отдавал…*

prepared to take the exam. Such a sentence would have been analyzed as featuring an infinitival direct object within the framework of the grammatical analysis conducted in part one of the previous chapter. In Russian we can translate this nearly word-for-word and produce the grammatical sentence: *Он готовился сдавать экзамен.* Here, however, one is immediately struck by the fact that *сдавать* cannot possibly be interpreted as the direct object of *готовиться*, as verbs in *-ся* do not permit such objects. The true structure of such a sentence does in fact feature a preposition and the case-bearing element *то*, as seen before. What is interesting here, however, is not that *то* can be omitted, but that 1) the conjunction must be *чтобы* and 2) it too can be omitted: *Он готовился (к тому, чтобы) сдавать экзамен.* Let us examine this type of sentence further.

Consider the sentence: *Он меня научил плаванию и игре на гитаре* (*He taught me to swim* [lit. *swimming*] *and play* [lit. *playing*] *guitar*). First must be noted differing selectional restrictions between the Russian *учить/научить*, which permits an accusative and dative object, and the English *teach*, which also permits two objects, but neither can be a gerund, but rather only a noun or an infinitive. This presents the somewhat rare situation in which Russian would seem to permit a verbal noun and English does not. However, if we keep in mind that CSR forms in *-ije* are much more nominal than English gerunds, there in effect is little if any difference at all. We might also note that there is further confirmation of what has been said thus far, in that, while one of the nouns is a form in *-ije* from the verb *плавать*, the other is parallel in function, but not form: *игра*, a verbal noun with a zero morpheme which has replaced *играние*. Returning to the issue at hand, such sentences with *учить/научить* just as often, if not more so, feature an infinitive rather than a dative complement. Indeed, in this sentence too, we may perform such a transformation: *Он меня научил плавать и играть на гитаре.* However, as it cannot be said

that the infinitival forms express the dative nor that the verb spontaneously loses its dative government, such a sentence must be an elliptical realization of *Он меня научил тому, как плавать и играть на гитаре*. While this does not present anything new from the point of syntax, consider the following similar, though significantly different example.

Consider the sentence *он меня научил быть терпеливым* (*he taught me to be patient*). Here too we have the same issue in terms of case government, but the resolution looks different: *он меня научил тому, чтобы быть терпеливым*. What is then most peculiar in this situation is that the presence or absence of *чтобы* would not seem to affect the overall interpretation. Because *чтобы* is generally associated with the subjunctive mood (alternatively referred to as *irrealis* and then juxtaposed to the indicative, or *realis*), one would expect that it could not be omitted without a concomitant alteration of meaning. In Timberlake (2004) we find the following: "Irrealis mood is expressed not by inflectional morphology, but by means of the particle *бы*…The particle has long been used together with the conjunction *что* 'that', resulting in a univerbated irrealis conjunction *чтобы*."[231] It does seem, in fact, that *чтобы* does not always express irrealis: "infinitives are used in FINAL constructions, to name the intended result of an activity. Final infinitives are normally preceded by *чтобы* or the more explicit *для того, чтобы*."[232] One could then either conclude that not all uses of *чтобы* need be recognized as subjunctive (although this would prompt the diachronic question of how the *бы* came to lose its subjunctive meaning). Alternatively, one can see the irrealis in Timberlake's definition of final constructions as expressing an *expected* result. As this is a tangential issue, we will be satisfied to leave the question of the ability to omit *чтобы* unanswered at present.

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[231] Timberlake, 373
[232] Timberlake, 369

As a result, it seems that such final constructions initiated by *чтобы* are less noun clauses than they are noun phrases, as they express no overt prediction, but rather simply name an action. This explains the parallel meaning between *Он меня научил терпеливости* (*He taught me patience*) and *Он меня научил (тому, чтобы) быть терпеливым.* The fact that Russian orthographic norms seem to 'recognize' the clausal nature of these constructions by offsetting them with a comma is of no consequence and inevitably stems from seeing them as parallel to so-called *purpose clauses* of the type: *Он хотел, чтобы я был терпеливым* (*he wanted me to be patient*), which do indeed feature a subordinate clause.

As a means of summarizing what has been said about noun clauses in *то* subordinates, consider the following examples:

10. *Это случилось из-за того, что он сказал "да".*

11. *Наше решение зависит от того, захотят ли они помочь.*

12. *То, что он это сказал, меня огорчило.*

13. *Мы все целую минуту просидели в оцепенении перед тем, как встать и пойти.*

14. *Мы готовимся к тому, чтобы сдавать экзамен.*

Sentences 10 and 12 present no analytical difficulty as one features a noun clause as the subject (12), and the other as the object of a preposition (10). Both feature the dummy *то* and the unstressed subordinating conjunction *что*. This is presumably the most common type of noun clause one encounters with such constructions. Sentence 11 is perhaps the only instance in which an embedded question in a то subordinate structure is overtly distinguished. It seems apparent that the question of whether or not the то may be dropped depends on the same criteria as discussed in relation to headless relatives, meaning that the type of clause that follows is not a

factor. Once again, it is the third criteria point of those discussed, which delineates a seemingly idiosyncratic likelihood of deletion based on the strength of the selectional properties of the verb, that causes the most problems. Assuming that there is an explanation, one might look for it in semantic features of the verb or in its frequency of occurrence, where those verbs that occur more frequently permit greater ellipsis. We may note here that *зависеть* will often forego the prepositional phrase entirely, as in *Это зависит (от того), кто придет*. English in fact shows parallel ellipsis here: *That depends (on) who's coming*, although the apparent at least semi-systemic nature of the deletion in Russian would necessitate the interpretation that, if we are dealing with the influence of language contact here, it would be of a syntactic order.[233]

Sentence 13 is much like sentence 10, apart from the temporal preposition requiring the conjunction *как* rather than *что*.[234] Sentence 14 is again an example of a so-called final construction in which an infinitival phrase (*сдавать экзамен*) is introduced by the conjunction *чтобы* where we would otherwise expect a noun phrase. In effect, this is then a noun phrase redefining the pronoun *то*, i.e. a noun modifying a noun. We might refer to this in fact as a type of apposition. Of 10-14, only the last sentence (14) cannot be said to feature a noun clause. Such constructions do, however, provide yet another means of conceptualizing events abstractly as a goal or object of the primary verb in the sentence.

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[233] Other such instances of possible syntactic borrowing is in the DO and infinitival complements of the verb *просить* (as in English: *to ask* DO + inf.) rather than a subjunctive in *чтобы* and, especially among emigres, reported yes/no questions in *если* as in *Я не знаю, если…* after the English formation *I don't know if…*

[234] The sentence could just as easily read *Мы все целую минуту просидели перед тем, как мы встали и пошли*, but in sentences with such temporal prepositions it is typical to use infinitives in the subordinate clause when its subject is identical to that of the independent. In addition to preferring the subordinate conjunction *как*, this flexibility of allowing both finite and non-finite constructions to alternate would seem to point to the special status of these semantically temporal pronouns.

4. Summary

The goals of this chapter were to first point out the simultaneously overly general and overly narrow aspects of the commonly used label of *то, что constructions*. As was pointed out, not only are there two types of clauses represented by the unifying label (overly general) — noun and relative/adjectival — but the subordinating conjunction in the first type and the relative pronouns in the second need not be *что*. Rather than subdividing the label into two more accurately named constructions such as *то noun clauses* and *то relatives*, the unity provided by the presence of the dummy то was observed in providing the collective term of *то subordinates*. The second matter addressed was determining which of these constructions (if any) present a means for abstract event expression. It was concluded that finite noun clauses and infinitival noun phrases (introduced by the conjunction *чтобы*) are both central to abstract event expression in CSR.[235]

We will now move on to the tangentially related comparative analyses of verbal nouns before drawing final conclusions.

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[235] An important distinction could be made here in that such то-subordinates that feature noun clause are really only nominalizations/abstractions in form (via то) or from the point of view of English and that Russian, in fact, simply does not permit abstraction of the act in these circumstances.

Chapter 7 - Verbal Nouns and Abstract Event Expression: A Comparative Perspective

1.   Overview

The Common Slavic nature of *-ije* noun is apparent in their ubiquitous presence in all of the daughter languages. Before discussing the history of the development of this form in its function of deriving nouns from verbs in Russian in particular and all of Slavic in general, I would like to examine the presence and usage of not only such nouns in other contemporary Slavic literary languages, but of the larger set of abstract event expression means we have encountered in the preceding chapters, including infinitives, noun clauses and phrases, further deverbal affixes etc. Because I will be examining these further criteria and not only the nouns in *-ije*, this analysis builds on the thorough presentation of the data for deverbals in *-ije* in Dickey (2000)[236], the numerous works by Pchelinsteva, and Schupbach (1984). After providing a brief discussion of the status of these nouns in two East Slavic languages (Ru and Uk), two West Slavic languages (P and Cz), and two South Slavic languages (BCS and B), I will conduct a translation analysis of J. R. R. Tolkein's *The Hobbit or There and Back Again* (1937). This story was chosen for 1) the wide availability of its translations in many languages and 2) the English original which was translated into all of the above languages.

2.   Nouns in *-ije* in Slavic

Relevant sources to the following discussion will be Dickey's *Parameters of Slavic Aspect* (2000) for all of the languages considered and Pchelintseva's *От глагола к имени* (2016) for Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish. The former is particularly valuable for the previously cited survey in which native speakers were asked to form verbal nouns when possible from aspectual

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[236] Here the author surveyed native speakers of Polish, Czech, Slovak, Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, Ukrainian and Russian. Further discussion of these languages will reference them respectively as P, Cz, Sl, Sn, BCS (to use the now more conventional representation of Bosian-Croatian-Serbian), B, Uk, Ru.

pairs of 20 verbs. While the test has important caveats,[237] it provides a good relative measure of how the languages stand at least in comparison to one another. Pchelintseva's is much more thorough (an entire book devoted to the question compared to a single chapter in Dickey's primarily aspectual analysis), though it is limited to only three languages.

2.1.   East Slavic (Ru and Uk)

According to Dickey, the East Slavic aspectual system is defined first and foremost by *temporal definiteness*, which, as was discussed in Chapter 3, is largely incompatible with the inherently temporally indefinite nature of nominalization. This is purported to be the primary reason for the relatively low production of verbal nouns in East Slavic. Secondary, but nonetheless very important matters, are those concerned with morphological and stylistic constraints. A final factor that could be of importance here is language contact and the influence of foreign forms and models (cf. the discussion of *-инг* in Chapter 1 for a contemporary example of such a process).

2.1.1.   Russian

As we have seen, deverbals in *-ije* do not play the dominant role in the expression of abstract events in CSR that is often attributed to them, but rather share this role with the infinitive (*мне нравится <u>слушать</u> музыку – I like listening to music*), nouns with no suffix (*здесь действует запрет на <u>лов</u> рыбы – there is a ban on catching fish here*), those in *k* (*<u>остановка</u> процесса не произойдет сразу – the halting of the process will not occur*

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[237] Such weaknesses are primarily the unknown number of respondents and who they were (apart from their status as native speakers of a given Slavic language), as no other demographic information was provided and, most importantly it seems to me, the reliance on their ability to understand what is being asked of them and the total artificiality of the situation. While all questionnaires are artificial, here we do not even have language in context, but simply isolated forms. For the author's purposes that very well may have sufficed, but for the present study, this type of analysis could artificially inflate numbers for a language like Russian, where the possible formation of such forms far outstrips their usage in neutral speech circumstances.

instantaneously), and *то* subordinates (*мы легли спать после того, как поужинали – we went to bed after eating dinner*). While nouns in *-ije* abound, their meaning is unpredictable (abstract: *получение – receiving*; resultative/concrete: *подозрение – a suspicion*) due to the large number of factors involved (see Chapter 3 for dependency on morphology, semantic categories, verbal aspect, stylistics etc.). Dickey's survey results support our conclusions in that of the languages he compared (Cz, Slovak, P, Slovenian, SC, B, Ru, Uk), Russian formed the fewest deverbals total (22/40) and the fewest number of formal pairs, i.e. deverbal nouns created from each of the two aspectual pair members. Pchelintseva summarizes the situation well in stating that

> в русском языке образование имен действия, во-первых, нерегулярно, во-вторых, сопровождается нейтрализацией и конденсацией важных семантических компонентов, и даже лингвисты, занимающие радикальную позицию и причисляющие русский девербатив к формам глагола, признают отсутствие у него грамматического времени и модальности…семантика вида и залога в русских отглагольных именах также сильно нейтрализована…[238]

2.1.2. Ukrainian

Ukrainian presents an interesting situation in that it is genetically the closest relation to Russian of the languages considered here. However, the status of the deverbal noun (*віддієслівний іменник*) in CSU[239] would upon first glance appear to be far from that of the Russian. This is most apparent in Dickey's survey results, as 30 forms were produced to 22 in Ru and 12 formal pairs compared to 3 in Ru. The primary contributing factor to this current divergence would appear to be the significant influence of Polish, where verbal nouns are an important member of the conjugation of nearly all verbs. This is not surprising when one

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[238] "the formation of action nouns in the Russian language is, first of all, irregular, second of all, is accompanied by the neutralization and condensation of important semantic components, and even linguists who take the radical position of counting the Russian deverbative amongst verb forms admit its absence of grammatical tense and modality…the semantics of aspect and voice in the Russian deverbal nouns are also significantly neutralized" (Pchelintseva 2016, 11-12)

[239] The same abbreviations will be used here as were above noted in the previous footnote with CS in each case indicating *contemporary standard*.

acknowledges that the separation of Ukrainian history and its geographical boundaries from those of Poland is practically impossible, the two being so inextricably bound to one another. The linguistic influence is most easily seen in the large number of lexical items borrowed from Polish. In the estimation of Shevelov, the most prominent Ukrainian scholar of the 20th century, "Modern Ukrainian is still closer in its word-stock to Polish than to any other Slavonic language."[240] Our current topic, however, involves first and foremost the systematic grammar of the language and not borrowed lexical items. One need look no further than English to understand that lexical borrowings are not by themselves indicators of grammatical influence. English features a significant percentage of French, Latin and indeed many borrowings from still other languages and yet its core grammar (as seen in function words, sentence structure, the ablaut of strong verbs etc.) has remained indisputably Germanic. The question is whether or not Ukrainian, historically an East Slavic language like Russian, has been influenced by Polish on a deeper level than lexical borrowings.

As stated by Pchelintseva and observable in Shevelov's article and numerous online dictionaries, it is not typical for verbal nouns[241] to be included in the conjugation of the verb itself but they are more regularly included in descriptions of derivation. However, as with Russian, many dictionaries do not typically include them either. This ambiguity in organization representation is reflected in what Pchelintseva describes as being a *предмет дискуссии* (*an object of discussion*).[242] The problem seems to be in that while there is a significant number of formal pairs of nouns derived from each member of an aspectual pair (12 to 3 compared to Ru in Dickey), the pairs are not semantically representative, i.e. do not retain the category of aspect. In

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[240] Shevelov, 991

[241] Morpheme boundaries aside, formally these feature the string *-ння* or *-ття*, in which the the digraph represents a long, palatalized consonant and the final vowel [a] from the Common Slavic [e] in *-ije.*

[242] Pchelintseva, 196

fact, Dickey determined that of the 12 formal pairs, none were semantic pairs.[243] This is observable in the apparent aspectual neutrality of nouns derived from perfectives, seen in their ability to represent the results of actions (the domain of perfective verbs) and the action as process (the domain of imperfectives). Meanwhile nouns derived from imperfective verbs are restricted to procedural meanings. This is precisely what we observed in Russian as well. It would then appear that deverbal nouns in Uk play a more prominent role than in Ru simply because they are formed with greater consistency. However, there does not seem to be a significant qualitative difference. In fact, the commentary provided by Ukrainian author and translator Boris Antonenko-Davidovich in his short article "Віддієслівні іменники, дієслівні словосполуки" is highly reminiscent of that of Peshkovsky in Chapter 3. As with Peshkovsky, the author here takes examples from journalistic prose and critiques them for their supposed overuse of deverbal nouns:

> Візьмімо фразу з газети: «Завдання ліквідації будь-яких *порушень* статутів і настанов, рішучого *зміцнення* дисципліни вимагають докорінного *поліпшення* контролю за діяльністю підлеглих, розумного *використання* дисциплінарних прав, *усунення* помилок в роботі». Усі слова в цій фразі — українські, а разом із тим звучить вона не по-українському. Чому? Тому що її переобтяжено віддієслівними іменниками: порушення, зміцнення, поліпшення, використання, усунення. Таке нагромадження їх з одноманітними закінченнями порушує мелодійність звучання монотонним «няканням», ускладнює фразу — аж стає важко зрозуміти її зміст.[244]

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[243] Pchelintseva estimates roughly half of all verbs make such formal pairs, though she too describes a "functional aspectual universality" (245) in their usage.

[244] "Let's take a phrase from a newspaper: «The task of eliminating any kind of violations of the statutes and attitudes, [and] of the resolute strengthening of discipline demands a fundamental improvement of control over the activity of subordinates, of the reasonable use of disciplinary laws, the elimination of mistakes in work». All of the words in this phrase are Ukrainian, but at the same time it does not sound Ukrainian. Why? Because it is overburdened with deverbal nouns: violating, strengthening, improving, using, eliminating. Such an amassment of them with uniform endings disrupts the melodic nature of the sound with a monotone «ing*ing*», it complicates the phrase such that it becomes difficult to understand its meaning." (Антоненко-Давидович, 83)

Once again we find the complaint regarding the deficiency and inexactness of such forms in comparison to their verbal counterpart, providing further evidence, if anecdotal, that despite possible appearances, the Ukrainian system here differs little from that of Russian.

The question remains as to the prominence of nouns in -*k* (*оранка – plowing*) and -*ø* (*перехід* - transition), the infinitive (*грати на скрипці важко – playing the violin is hard*), and то-subordinates (*після того, як ми пообідали – after we ate dinner*), all of which are also found in Uk. Finally, as with all the other Slavic languages discussed here, there are borrowed nouns in -*інг* (*кемпінг – camping*), whose significance will only be apparent with the passage of time.[245]

2.2.   West Slavic (P and Cz)

In West Slavic we find a highly productive system of verbal noun formation and use. Verbal nouns are commonly included in the conjugation of verbs. In addition to formal noun pairs existing for most (if not all) aspectual pairs, there is a high degree of semantic retention relating to aspect, through which verbal nouns derived from imperfective verbs emphasize the action itself or its habitual nature, while those derived from the perfective verb are more concrete, often denoting the action's result or simply a singular instance of the action.[246] Of the two languages considered here, it appears that Czech features the more thoroughly developed system of verbal nouns.

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[245] In Bevzenko's (1985, p.79-80) backwards dictionary approximately 30 forms in -*инг/-інг* are cited. Pchelintseva (2016, p.205) cites the form as -*інг*, however internet searches indicated the prominence of spelling *г* (generally representing the voiced glottal fricative [ɦ]) over that of г (representing indeed what is likely pronounced, a voiced glottal stop [g], as CSUk does not have final obstruent devoicing like Ru). The spelling of и/і/ї indiciating [y], [i], [ji] respectively is largely a function of the preceding sound (hard consonant, soft consonant, vowel respectively).

[246] Dickey, 242-243

2.2.1.   Polish

Robert Rothstein in "Polish" (2002) comments on the deverbal noun (*rzeczownik odczasownikowy*), stating that

> verbal nouns (nomina actionis) can be formed regularly from most Polish verbs…in their primary meanings as names of states, activities or the like they preserve aspectual distinctions, can occur with *się* [the so-called reflexive particle], and permit the expression of the subject and objects associated with the verb[247]

In addition to the general preservation of aspectual divisions already mentioned, further verbal categories and selectional properties are also overtly retained, including those of voice, transitivity and reciprocity expressed via the particle *się*, and the ability to clearly distinguish between an agent (expressed via the preposition *przez* + acc) and a patient (expressed in the genitive case) when both are present (*pisanie listu przez prezydenta – the writing of the letter by the president*). In his Polish grammar (2002) Swan calls special attention to the fact that, while "the frequent use of verbal nouns is characteristic of heavy academic, journalistic, or bureaucratic style," common occurrence of verbal nouns is an essential part of neutral and even colloquial speech.[248] Not only are they commonly found as the objects of temporal prepositions (*po przyjściu – after arriving* in which the verbal noun *przyjście* is derived from the perfective verb *przyjść*; *przy przychodzeniu – while arriving* in which the verbal noun is derived from the imperfective verb *przychodzić* etc.), but also as adjectival complements (*trudny do wykonania – difficult to execute*).[249] Despite the high degree of formation and significant semantic retention in

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[247] Rothstein, 720

[248] Swan, 309-310; in other words, this is a matter of proportion. It seems to me one could say the same of English – their use is an integral part of neutral speech (again, particularly after temporal prepositions), but because of their passive/agentless nature, a high number of them is particularly characteristic of stylistically marked prose (journalistic, scientific etc.).

[249] Both of these uses significantly differ from Ru, in which то-subordinates are implemented with temporal prepositions and adjectival complements, though the latter often feature noun phrases introduced by чтобы: cf. *он готов, чтобы выйти* and *on jest gotowy do wyjścia* (*he is prepared to exit*)

Polish verbal nouns, there are apparent limitations in their use, if we once again take English as a point of reference. For example, the ability to express otherwise subordinate clauses nominally via the gerund is generally not observed in Polish, where a finite clause is preferred: *I was surprised at his/him not showing up* but *zdziwiłem się, że nie przyszedł.*

Pchelintseva opens her chapter on Polish by stating that the system of verbal nouns differs significantly from that of Ru and Uk not only in its formation of nouns in the "overwhelming majority" of instances, but also in the frequent use of these forms in everyday language, citing a phrase of the type discussed above, *nie mam nic do jedzenia* (*I have nothing to eat*), and comparing it to the infinitival constructions in both Ru and Uk: *мне нечего есть* and *мені нема чого їсти.*[250] Dickey's survey results provided further confirmation of the highly systematic nature of verbal noun formation, as they were formed in 38 of the possible 40 instances and semantic and formal noun fairs reflecting the aspectual division were created for 18 of the 20 verb pairs.

2.2.2. Czech

The Czech verbal noun (*podstatné jméno slovesné*) and its discussion in various grammars presents a less than clear picture of its place in the language. One the one hand, David Short (2002) makes no mention of it neither in his discussion of verb conjugation nor that of derivational morphology, and in his 77-page article commits only two lines to remarking on the contraction of the sequence /ije/ yielding /i:/, represented as *í* in CSCz (ex. the perfective verb for *educate > educating*: *vzdělat > vzdělání*).[251] Harkins makes the comment that "verbal nouns

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[250] Пчелинцева (2016), 247

[251] In the process of contraction (several sounds reducing to fewer), one often observes what is known as *compensatory lengthening,* in that, while the result of the contraction might be fewer sound units, one or more of them may be long to *compensate* for the lost sounds. Such a process is observed in /ije/ > /i:/.

should not be formed indiscriminately, as their use is rather limited."[252] In what way or compared to what they are "limited" he does not say. If one takes this to mean that they are used less than in English, then both Naughton and Mathesius are in agreement.[253]

On the other hand, Heim and Townsend note the general formability of verbal nouns in Cz and their retention of aspect, particularly noting that this fact significantly differs from what is seen in Russian.[254] Havránek and Jedlička confirm this and further note the retention of all case government (with the exception of genitive in place of accusative objects), although the reflexive particles *se* (from the accusative reflexive pronoun *sebe* and *si* from the dative reflexive pronoun *sobě*) are only retained in the noun when there could be ambiguity between whether the nominal form is representing the purely transitive form of the verb (without the particle) or one of the many meanings (simply intransitive, reflexive, reciprocal, passive etc.) expressed via the reflexive particle, slightly differing from the Polish situation described above.[255] In Dickey's survey, only Czech formed nominal pairs from all 20 verbs and in each instance the expected aspectually-based semantic relationship obtained.

2.3.   South Slavic (BCS and B)

According to Dickey, the South Slavic aspectual system, like that of East Slavic, is dominated by temporal definiteness, a category largely incompatible with nominal constructions, which are generally construed as temporally indefinite (cf. Chapter 3 for further discussion). It is expected, therefore, that this will have a significant limiting effect on the formation and use of

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[252] Harkins, 201
[253] Naughton, 258; Mathesius, 105, where the author sees this is a general "predilection of English for nominal expression of verbal action".
[254] Heim, 117; Townsend (2000), 210
[255] Havránek and Jedlička, 116

verbal nouns, particularly as concerns the retention of the category of aspect. As will be recalled, temporary definiteness and nominalization are mutually incompatible.

Another significant difference that sets South Slavic apart from North (collectively both East and West), is the restricted occurrence and/or use of the infinitive. Of the languages considered here, Bulgarian has lost it entirely, while in BCS it occurs on an increasing spectrum as one moves westward from Serbia into Croatia. For those languages without an infinitive, it is largely replaced by a finite subordinate clause, where there would have otherwise been a predicative infinitive: cf. English: *I like to play the violin* Russian: *Я люблю играть на скрипке* Croatian: *Volim svirati violinu* Serbian: *Волим да свирам виолину* (lit. *I like that I play the violin*) Bulgarian: *Обичам да свиря на цигулка*. For Serbian and Bulgarian, however, there arises the issue of how abstract events as the subject of the sentence are conveyed, because here a subordinate clause is not possible. This is one of the few instances in which infinitives are said to commonly occur in Serbian, so that one may say *тешко је свирати виолину* (*it is hard to play the violin*).[256] While the infinitive, therefore, in Serbian is severely restricted in its use, in Bulgarian it does not exist. In order to render such a general statement, in which the action is the subject, one must use a subordinate clause with either a finite third person singular form of the verb with the reflexive particle, or a generalized second person singular (respectively): *Трудно е да се свири на цигулка* or *Трудно е да свириш на цигулка*.

2.3.1. Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian

Ronelle Alexander has several lengthy discussions of verbal nouns in her grammar of BCS. On the one hand, she states that the meaning of verbal nouns "corresponds roughly to that

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[256] Alexander, 251

of the English gerundial form in *-ing*", but also notes that they are "used much more frequently than the English gerundial forms."[257] However, the reason for this disparity seems to be that many of these derivationally deverbal nouns are not in fact verbal in meaning, just as in East Slavic. BCS verbal nouns, it is true, are more regularly formed than in East Slavic, particularly from imperfective verbs, where their formation appears to be entirely regular. Indeed, it is common to include verbal nouns (*glagolska imenica/глаголска именица*) in the conjugation of imperfective verbs. Browne himself does the same when discussing the language's verbal morphology.[258] Alexander does note that formal/semantic pairs of verbal nouns do exist (*rađati > rađanje*; *roditi > rođenje*). However, such instances are sporadic and not readily predictable.[259] Dickey's survey supports this conclusion: verbal nouns were formed for all 20 imperfective verbs, a further 6 were formed from perfectives, 2 of which made aspectual pairs. Furthermore, there appears to be a similar situation to that of Ru in that verbal nouns from perfective verbs are prone to expressing both process and concrete meanings, while those from imperfective verbs only the former. I would like to note here that this "chaotic state" (in Dickey's words) that is seen also in Russian was one of the primary reasons for all of the preceding analysis and discussion.[260]

2.3.2. Bulgarian

The formation of verbal nouns in Bulgarian would appear similar to that of BCS. Nicolova and Stamenov as well as Scatton state clearly that the verbal nouns formed from imperfective verbs belong to the paradigm of the verb.[261] Nicolova and Stamenov also take issue

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[257] *Ibid*, 167
[258] Browne, 333
[259] *Ibid*, 183
[260] Dickey, 247
[261] Nicolova and Stamenov, 612; Scatton, 216

with the commonly held view that CSB verbal nouns formed from imperfective verbs all feature

the string *-не*, whereas those in *-ние*, made from verbs of both aspects are in fact borrowings

from Russian.[262] They claim (and cite support for their claim) that nouns in *-ние* are actively

created alongside those in *-не*, though only the latter produce the predictable meaning of the type

we are concerned with here: *казвам > казване* (*to say > (the act of) saying*).[263] The authors

further describe a situation otherwise very reminiscent of that of Russian: verbal nouns made

from perfective verbs are unpredictable in meaning and their frequent use is generally a marker

of "scientific and official style. One matter of note is that occasionally pairs seemingly reflecting

aspect in terms of process versus result nouns are both produced from imperfectives, but with the

suffixes *-не* and *-ние*, respectively: *пúсане* (*the process of writing*) and *писáние* (*a written

work*). However, as the latter is neither a readily predictable form nor meaning, the authors insist

on it belonging to word formation and not conjugation.

When consulting Dickey's findings, we find 24 of the potential 40 verbal nouns were

created, including forms for all 20 imperfectives. While, as with the other non-West languages

considered here, verbal nouns from perfective verbs do not retain the category of aspect, Dickey

cites Andrejčin, who claims that verbal nouns from imperfective verbs are commonly used to

express both process (the domain of imperfective aspect) and result (that of perfective).[264]

3.   Translation Analysis

Here I will conduct much the same kind of analysis that was used in in part 2 of Chapter

4: using a widely available and translated work, I will examine how the expression of abstract

events is conveyed in each of the languages analyzed above. I have already expressed the

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[262] Such views are stated in Dickey (2000), where he includes supporting references.

[263] As Bulgarian lacks an infinitive, the standard citation form for verbs is the 1st sg. non-past tense, as provided here.

[264] Dickey, 248

advantages and drawbacks of such an approach, and so will not repeat them here, as they are no different in this instance. The work I have chosen is J. R. R. Tolkein's *The Hobbit*. I will use the original English to determine which sentences to examine in the remaining six languages. It is expected that infinitives, то subordinates, and verbal nouns will make up the majority of the translations, but other means may appear as well.

Verbal nouns will be indicated in bold and cited as to their function in the sentence, as established in Chapter 4. Those functions are [1] subject, [2] predicate nominative [3] explanatory modifier, [4] object complement, [5] objective complement, [6] principal term of a prepositional phrase, [7] adverbial objective, [8] compound gerund, [9] post-positive modifier.[265] Other means of conveying abstract actions and typical means of their translations (particularly verbal adverbs for original prepositional phrases; verbal nouns in other suffixes will be ignored) will be underlined.

3.1.   East Slavic (Ru and Uk)

3.1.1.   Russian

The Russian translation used is by Natalia Rakhmanova.

1. No **going [1]** upstairs for the hobbit.	1. Хоббит не признавал восхождений по лестницам.
2. This is a story of how a Baggins had an adventure, and found himself **doing [5]** and **saying [5]** things altogether unexpected	2. Но мы вам поведаем историю о том, как одного из Бэггинсов втянули-таки в приключения и, к собственному удивлению, он начал <u>говорить</u> самые неожиданные вещи и <u>совершать</u> самые неожиданные поступки.
3. Not the Gandalf who was responsible for so many quiet lads and lasses **going [6]** off into the Blue for mad adventures? Anything from	3. Неужели вы тот самый Гэндальф, по чьей милости столько тихих юношей и девушек пропали невесть куда,

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[265] This ninth category will only prove pertinent in the Slavic translations, as its equivalent in English will always be a prepositional phrase.

climbing [6] trees to **visiting [6]** elves—or **sailing [6]** in ships, **sailing [6]** to other shores.	отправившись на поиски приключений? Любых — от **лазанья** по деревьям до визитов к эльфам. Они даже уплывали на кораблях к чужим берегам!
4. …he managed to say after **taking [6]** a deep breath.	4. …ухитрился он выдавить наконец, <u>набрав</u> воздуху в легкие.
5. Besides, we saw them **coming [5]** along behind us in the distance.	5. Да мы их видели — за нами следом шли четверо.
6. …who was not at all pleased at **falling [6]** flat on Bilbo's mat	6. …он был ужастно[266] недоволен тем, что ему пришлось <u>растянуться</u> на пороге
7. …who was wagging his mouth in protest at **being called [6/8]** audacious	7. …он шевелил губами, пытаясь опровергнуть слова «дерзновенный»
8. …this is what he called **being [5]** on his dignity	8. …все это он называл «<u>держать</u> себя с достоинством»
9. …or go back to **digging [6]** coal.	9. …А не хотите — ступайте домой, копайте уголь!
10. …certainly not after **devouring [6]** so many of the dwarves and men of Dale.	10. …а тем более теперь, когда он пожрал столько гномов и людей из Дейла.
11. The **washing-up [1]** was so dismally real…	11. [absent]
12. …they made a deal of **rustling [6]** and **crackling [6]** and **creaking [6]** (and a good deal of **grumbling [6]** and **dratting [6]**)	12. …все равно шороха, треска и скрипа (равно как воркотни и **чертыханья [4]**[267])
13. With sacks in their hands, that they used for **carrying off [6]** mutton…	13. Держа наготове мешки, в которых таскали баранов…
14. …they had not at all enjoyed **lying [4]** there **listening [4]** to the trolls making plans for **roasting [6]** them and **squashing [6]** them and **mincing [6]** them.	14. Еще бы! Разве приятно <u>лежать</u> и <u>слушать</u>, как тролли обсуждают — <u>зажарить</u> тебя, <u>раздавить</u> или <u>искрошить</u>?
15. Also I was anxious about **replenishing [6]** our small stock of provisions.	15. Меня также беспокоил вопрос, где <u>пополнить</u> наш скудный запас провианта.

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[266] Here and in other places throughout the translations, there appear to be spelling errors in the various languages, however, no corrections were made to any of the translations in this regard and they were left as found.

[267] I will keep with the norm established prior of oblique case verbal nouns in Slavic being identified as prepositional objects.

In the original English, 15 excerpts were analyzed, each featuring at least one instance of a verbal noun. Many of the examples, however, included strings of gerunds, a stylistic measure of which Tolkien seemed fond. The total number of verbal nouns, therefore, considered here was 28. As in the previous translation analysis, the vast majority of them (20/28, 71%) were objects of prepositions, 4 (14%) were objective complements, 2 were object complements/direct objects (7%), 2 subjects (7%) and there was a single instance of a compound gerund (4%), though it was also a prepositional object (hence the percentages amounting to over 100%).

The Russian translation of these forms was as follows:

Russian Translation

Verbal Adverb
4.0%

Verbal Noun
6.0%

Infinitive
36.0%

NA
54.0%
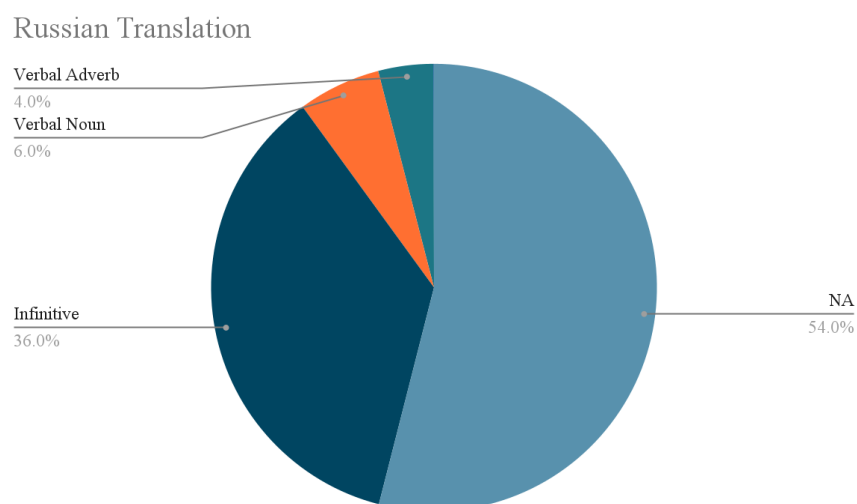
Of all the translations considered here, Russian featured both the highest number of infinitives and the fewest number of verbal nouns. Only the South Slavic languages featured a higher rate of translations via methods other than nonfinite verbal and deverbal forms. This is precisely what is expected per Horálek (1955): "Proti jazykům, kde infinitiv zanikl nebo je zachován jen ve zbytcích (bulharština a makedonština), jsou jazyky, na prvním místě ruština, kde se infinitivy

uplatňují ve velmi širokém rozsahu."[268] Of particular interest in these translations was the usage of the infinitive in 8 as an objective complement. Despite the inability of the infinitive to express case (and here the second object of the verb *называть* requires the instrumental case), both the functional analysis and survey from Chapters 4 and 5 supported this use of the infinitive in this situation and here in the tranlsations we find further confirmation of this. This again provides further support for the increasing analyticity of the language and/or expansion of the syntactic properties of the infinitive.

3.1.2. Ukrainian

The Ukrainian translation is by Olen O'Lir.

1. No **going [1]** upstairs for the hobbit.	1. <u>Підійматися</u> сходами – це було не для гобіта.
2. This is a story of how a Baggins had an adventure, and found himself **doing [5]** and **saying [5]** things altogether unexpected	2. Ця ж історія – саме про те, як Торбин устрягнув-таки у пригоду і як йому, на його власний подив, довелося <u>робити</u> і <u>казати</u> речі цілком несподівані.
3. Not the Gandalf who was responsible for so many quiet lads and lasses **going [6]** off into the Blue for mad adventures? Anything from **climbing [6]** trees to **visiting [6]** elves—or **sailing [6]** in ships, **sailing [6]** to other shores.	3. Чи не той це Ґандальф, котрий зворохобив стількох сумирних юнаків і дівчат, які вирушили кудись за небокрай на пошуки божевільних пригод? Усілякі **дряпання [1]** по деревах у гості до ельфів чи **плавання [1]** під вітрилами, **плавання [1]** до чужих берегів.
4. …he managed to say after **taking [6]** a deep breath.	4. …тільки й спромігся вимовити він, глибоко <u>зітхнувши</u>.
5. Besides, we saw them **coming [5]** along behind us in the distance.	5. Крім того, ми бачили, як вони йшли слідом за нами.
6. …who was not at all pleased at **falling [6]** flat on Bilbo's mat	6. …який був не надто вдоволений, <u>гепнувшись</u> на килимок біля дверей Більбо

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[268] In contrast to languages where the infinitive disappeared entirely or is retained only in remnants (Bulgarian and Macedonian), are languages, above all Russian, where infinitives are used on a very broad scale. (Horálek, 226)

7. …who was wagging his mouth in protest at **being called [6/8]** audacious	7. …який розтулив був рота, щоб запротестувати проти титулу «доблесний»
8. …this is what he called **being [5]** on his dignity	8. …це він називав «<u>триматися</u> з гідністю»)
9. …or go back to **digging [6]** coal.	9. …або повернетеся додому <u>копати</u> вугілля.
10. …certainly not after **devouring [6]** so many of the dwarves and men of Dale.	10. …а тепер, коли він пожер стільки гномів і людей із Долу, – й поготів.
11. The **washing-up [1]** was so dismally real…	11. Перспектива <u>перемивати</u> [9] це все постала перед Більбо в усій гнітючій реальності
12. …they made a deal of **rustling [6]** and **crackling [6]** and **creaking [6]** (and a good deal of **grumbling [6]** and **dratting [6]**)	12. …навсібіч лунали шелест, тріск і хрускіт (а ще більше – **бурчання [1]** та **ремствування [1]**).
13. With sacks in their hands, that they used for **carrying off [6]** mutton…	13. Тримаючи в руках лантухи, в яких їм не раз доводилося <u>носити</u> баранів…
14. …they had not at all enjoyed **lying [4]** there **listening [4]** to the trolls making plans for **roasting [6]** them and **squashing [6]** them and **mincing [6]** them.	14. …їм зовсім не подобалося <u>лежати</u>, <u>слухаючи</u>, як тролі планують їх <u>засмажити</u>, <u>розчавити</u> чи <u>покришити</u>.
15. Also I was anxious about **replenishing [6]** our small stock of provisions.	15. Також мене непокоїло, як <u>поповнити</u> наші невеликі запаси провізії.

The Ukrainian translation of these forms was as follows:

Ukrainian Translation

- Verbal Adverb 10.0%
- Verbal Noun 17.0%
- NA 31.0%
- Infinitive 42.0%
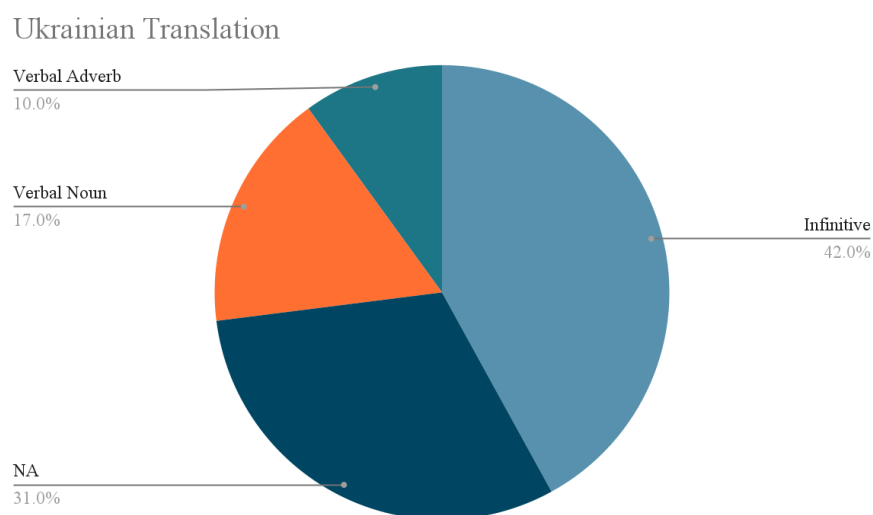
Here we see a significant increase in the use of the verbal noun (from 6% in Ru to 17% in Uk) and the lowest percentage of all the languages analyzed where none of the above means for translation were utilized. Translation 11 featured the only instance of an infinitive used as a post-posed adnominal modifier. Uk, like Ru, shows broad application of the infinitive (translation 8). Of further note is the fact that all of the verbal nouns are nominative forms, indicating perhaps a restricted syntactic tendency on their use.

### 3.2.   West Slavic (P and Cz)

3.2.1.   Polish

The Polish translation is by Maria Skibniewska.

1. No **going [1]** upstairs for the hobbit.	1. Hobbici nie uznają schodów.
2. This is a story of how a Baggins had an adventure, and found himself **doing [5]** and **saying [5]** things altogether unexpected	2. W tej historii opowiemy o Bagginsie, którego spotkała przygoda i który zrobił oraz powiedział wiele rzeczy niespodziewanych.
3. Not the Gandalf who was responsible for so many quiet lads and lasses **going [6]** off into the Blue for mad adventures? Anything from **climbing [6]** trees to **visiting [6]** elves—or **sailing [6]** in ships, **sailing [6]** to other shores.	3. Czyżby ten sam Gandalf, z którego namowy wiele spokojnych chłopców i dziewcząt ruszyło w świat po szaleńcze przygody, zaczynając od **łażenia [6]** po drzewach, a kończąc na **podróżowaniu [6]** na gapę statkami pływającymi między tym a Drugim Brzegiem?
4. …he managed to say after **taking [6]** a deep breath.	4. …zdołał wyjąkać, <u>nabrawszy</u> tchu w piersi.
5. Besides, we saw them **coming [5]** along behind us in the distance.	5. Zresztą idąc tu widzieliśmy ich daleko na drodze za nami.
6. …who was not at all pleased at **falling [6]** flat on Bilbo's mat	6. …nie zachwycony, że przydarzyło mu się <u>paść</u> plackiem w sieni Bilbo
7. …who was wagging his mouth in protest at **being called [6/8]** audacious	7. …Bilbo Baggins daremnie poruszał wargami, żeby zaprotestować przeciw **nazywaniu [6]** go zuchwałym hobbitem

8. …this is what he called **being [5]** on his dignity	8. …tak się wyraził, bo chciał wystąpić z wielką godnością
9. …or go back to **digging [6]** coal.	9. …albo wracajcie do kopalni węgla.
10. …certainly not after **devouring [6]** so many of the dwarves and men of Dale.	10. …a tym bardziej teraz, po **pożarciu [6]** tylu dziewic z doliny
11. The **washing-up [1]** was so dismally real…	11. **Zmywanie [1]** było tak niewątpliwą i przykrą rzeczywistością…
12. …they made a deal of **rustling [6]** and **crackling [6]** and **creaking [6]** (and a good deal of **grumbling [6]** and **dratting [6]**)	12. …szelestów, **skrzypienia [6]**, trzasku gałęzi pod stopami (a także **stękania [6]** i przekleństw pod nosem)
13. With sacks in their hands, that they used for **carrying off [6]** mutton…	13. Z workami, których używali do **przenoszenia [6]** porwanych owiec…
14. …they had not at all enjoyed **lying [4]** there **listening [4]** to the trolls making plans for **roasting [6]** them and **squashing [6]** them and **mincing [6]** them.	14. Niewielka to przyjemność <u>leżeć</u> bezsilnie i <u>słuchać</u>, jak trolle naradzają się, czy cię <u>upiec</u>, czy <u>posiekać</u>, czy <u>zemleć</u>.
15. Also I was anxious about **replenishing [6]** our small stock of provisions.	15. Myślałem też o **uzupełnieniu [6]** kończących się zapasów.

The Polish translation of these forms was as follows:

Polish Translation

- Verbal Adverb 4.0%
- Infinitive 21.0%
- NA 43.0%
- Verbal Noun 32.0%
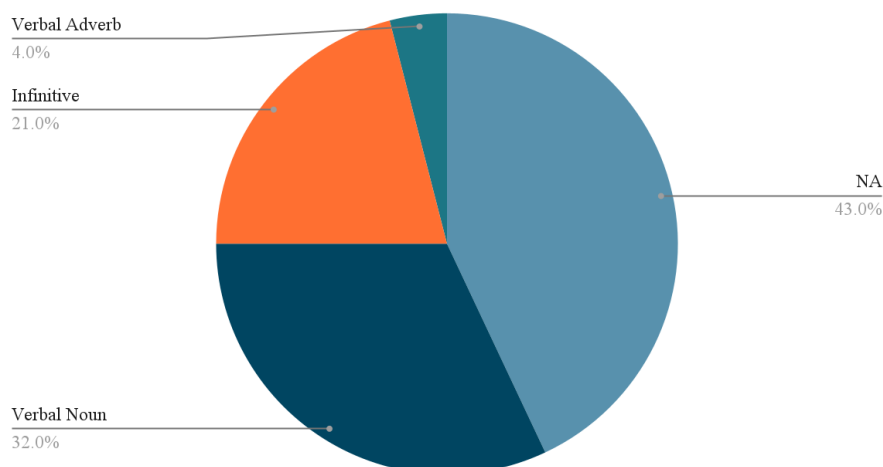
As expected, Polish equalled Czech (results below) for the highest percentage of verbal nouns (each had 32%). Of the 9 verbal nouns, 2 of them were derived from perfective verbs (10. *pożarcie < pożreć*, 15. *uzupełnienie < uzupełnić*) to signify the totality/completion of the action. The translation further contained the common construction for expressing ability: *do + verbal noun* discussed above in 2.2.1.

3.2.2. Czech

The Czech translation is by František Vrba.

1. No **going [1]** upstairs for the hobbit.	1. Hobit si nepotrpěl na žádné **chození [6]** do schodů.
2. This is a story of how a Baggins had an adventure, and found himself **doing [5]** and **saying [5]** things altogether unexpected	2. Náš příběh vypráví o tom, jak se jeden z Pytlíků do dobrodružství přece jen zapletl a shledal, že dělá a říká věci naprosto neočekávané.
3. Not the Gandalf who was responsible for so many quiet lads and lasses **going [6]** off into the Blue for mad adventures? Anything from **climbing [6]** trees to **visiting [6]** elves—or **sailing [6]** in ships, **sailing [6]** to other shores.	3. Snad ne ten Gandalf, který způsobil, že tolik poklidných mládenců a děvčat se vydalo do modravých dálek za spoustou bláznivých dobrodružství? Od **šplhání [6]** do korun stromů na návštěvu k elfům - až po plavby po moři, v korábech k cizím břehům!
4. …he managed to say after **taking [6]** a deep breath.	4. …vypravil ze sebe konečně, když se zhluboka nadechl.
5. Besides, we saw them **coming [5]** along behind us in the distance.	5. Ostatně jsme je zdálky zahlédli <u>přicházet</u> za námi.
6. …who was not at all pleased at **falling [6]** flat on Bilbo's mat	6. …nijak se mu nelíbilo, že se natáhl na Bilbově prahu
7. …who was wagging his mouth in protest at **being called [6/8]** audacious	7. …mlel ústy na protest proti tomu, že byl označen za odvážného
8. …this is what he called **being [5]** on his dignity	8. …to považoval za projev své důstojnosti
9. …or go back to **digging [6]** coal.	9. …nebo se vrátit ke **kopání [6]** uhlí.

10. …certainly not after **devouring [6]** so many of the dwarves and men of Dale.	10. …a rozhodně už ne potom, co sežral tolik trpaslíků i lidí z Dolu.
11. The **washing-up [1]** was so dismally real…	11. Špinavé nádobí svou zoufalou skutečností přinutilo Bilba uvěřit…
12. …they made a deal of **rustling [6]** and **crackling [6]** and **creaking [6]** (and a good deal of **grumbling [6]** and **dratting [6]**)	12. …s náramným **šustěním [6]** a **praštěním [6]** a **vrzáním [6]** (a taky s náramným **bručením [6]** a **nadáváním [6]**).
13. With sacks in their hands, that they used for **carrying off [6]** mutton…	13. Popadli pytle, ve kterých nosili skopové…
14. …they had not at all enjoyed **lying [4]** there **listening [4]** to the trolls making plans for **roasting [6]** them and **squashing [6]** them and **mincing [6]** them.	14. …vůbec je netěšilo <u>ležet</u> tam a <u>poslouchat</u>, jak se je zlobři chystají <u>upéct</u> a <u>rozmačkat</u> a <u>rozsekat</u> nadroboučko.
15. Also I was anxious about **replenishing [6]** our small stock of provisions.	15. Taky mi dělalo starost **doplnění [1]** našich malých zásob.

The Czech translations of these forms are follows:

Czech Translation

Infinitive 22.0%

NA 46.0%
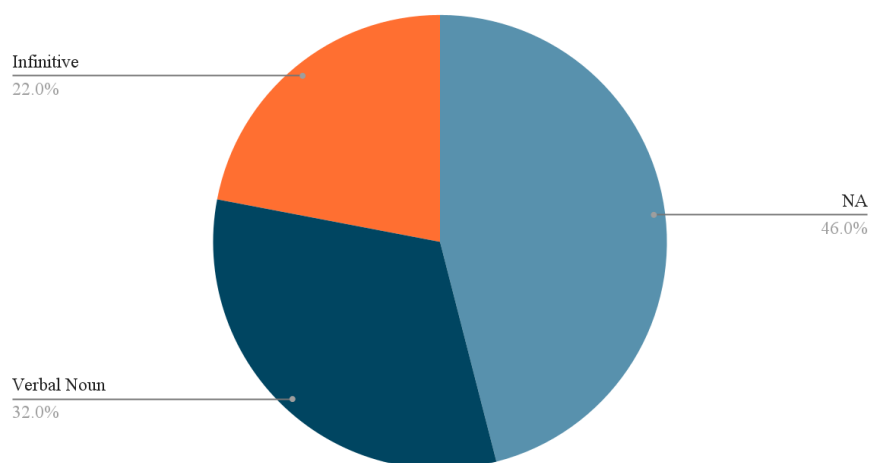
Verbal Noun 32.0%

We may note here that all but one of the Czech verbal nouns are derived from imperfective verbs, the only perfective form being that of *doplnění < doplnit.* Of interest here, and a feature apparently limited to Czech among the Slavic languages, is the use of the infinitive in dependent clauses where a verb of perception constitutes the predicate of the independent clause. We

should recall that a common feature of several Slavic languages is to mark such dependent clauses with a special subordinating conjunction (in Ru *как* rather than *что*; in Uk *як* rather than *що*; in P *jak* rather than *że*; B *как* rather than *че* etc.). Czech too, often uses *jak* rather than *že*, however, it also uses an infinitival object of what is then a single clause, as seen in translation 5. This type of construction is apparently the older one, as Horálek states that "v ruštině přestalo užívat infinitivů po slovesech vnímaní (verba sentendi), např. za čes. *vidím ho odcházet* je v ruštině *вижу, как он ухóдит.* V ruštině není také obdoby k českým infinituvům typu *byli jsem zvát.*"[269] One cannot help but notice parallels shared with English (*I'm watching him go*), in which English uses the bare infinitive, and German, which similarly permits an infinitival object (*Ich sah ihn gehen* - *I saw him go*) and, consequently, wonder whether language contact (particularly in the case of German and Czech) played a role in the retention of this construction.[270] The same could be said of the second construction, *byli jsme zvát*, only here the verbal noun must be used in both English and German (to the best of my knowledge): *we were calling* and *wie wurden eingeladen*.

3.3. South Slavic (BCS and B)

3.3.1. Bosnian-Serbian-Croatian

The BCS translation used here is *štokavian* (reflecting the question word used for *what*) and *ijekavian* (reflecting the reflex of Proto Slavic long *ě*, known as jat') the most common dialect spoken in Croatia. The translator is not cited.

1. No **going [1]** upstairs for the hobbit.	1. Hobit se nigdje nije morao penjati.
2. This is a story of how a Baggins had an	2. Ovo je priča o tome kako se

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[269] "in Russian the infinitive was no longer used after verbs of perception (verba sentendi), ex. for Cz….there is in Russian… In Russian there is no correlary to the Czech infinitives of the type…"Horálek, 269
[270] Naughton, 232

adventure, and found himself **doing [5]** and **saying [5]** things altogether unexpected	edan Baggins upustio u pustolovinu i našao u situaciji da čini i govori posve neočekivane stvari.
3. Not the Gandalf who was responsible for so many quiet lads and lasses **going [6]** off into the Blue for mad adventures? Anything from **climbing [6]** trees to **visiting [6]** elves—or **sailing [6]** in ships, **sailing [6]** to other shores.	3. Niste vi valjda onaj Gandalf koji je kriv što su se mnogi mirni momci i djevojke otisnuli u bijeli svijet u potrazi za ludim pustolovinama? Što su svašta radili, od **veranja [6]** podrveću do **posjećivanja [6]** vilenjaka – do **otiskivanja [6]** lađama, plovidbi do drugih obala!
4. …he managed to say after **taking [6]** a deep breath.	4. …uspio je izustiti pošto je bio duboko udahnuo zrak.
5. Besides, we saw them **coming [5]** along behind us in the distance.	5. Osim toga, vidjeli smo ih iza nas dok smodolazili ovamo
6. …who was not at all pleased at **falling [6]** flat on Bilbo's mat	6. …kome nije bilo nimalo drago što se opružio po Bilbovuotiraču
7. …who was wagging his mouth in protest at **being called [6/8]** audacious	7. …koji je odmahivao ustima u znakprosvjeda što je nazvan *neustrašivim*
8. …this is what he called **being [5]** on his dignity	8. …ovoe smatrao obranom svoga dostojanstva
9. …or go back to **digging [6]** coal.	9. …ili se možete vratiti u ugljenokop.
10. …certainly not after **devouring [6]** so many of the dwarves and men of Dale.	10. …a pogotovo ne može pošto se nažderao tolikih patuljaka i ljudi iz Dôlja.
11. The **washing-up [1]** was so dismally real…	11. **Pranje [1]** posuđa bijaše tako žalosna činjenica…
12. …they made a deal of **rustling [6]** and **crackling [6]** and **creaking [6]** (and a good deal of **grumbling [6]** and **dratting [6]**)	12. …poprilično su šuškali, pucketali i škripali (i mnogo gunđali i psovali)
13. With sacks in their hands, that they used for **carrying off [6]** mutton…	13. Uzevši u ruke vreće koje su im služile za **nošenje [6]** ovaca…
14. …they had not at all enjoyed **lying [4]** there **listening [4]** to the trolls making plans for **roasting [6]** them and **squashing [6]** them	14. …nimalo nije bilo ugodno ležati u vrećama i slušati gdje se trolovi dogovarajukako da ih ispeku, zgnječe i

and **mincing [6]** them.	isjeckaju.
15. Also I was anxious about **replenishing [6]** our small stock of provisions.	15. Osim toga, bio samzabrinut kako ćemo _popuniti_ ove naše skromne zalihe.

The Croatian translations of these forms looked as follows:

Croatian Translation

Infinitive 14.0%
Verbal Noun 18.0%
NA 68.0%
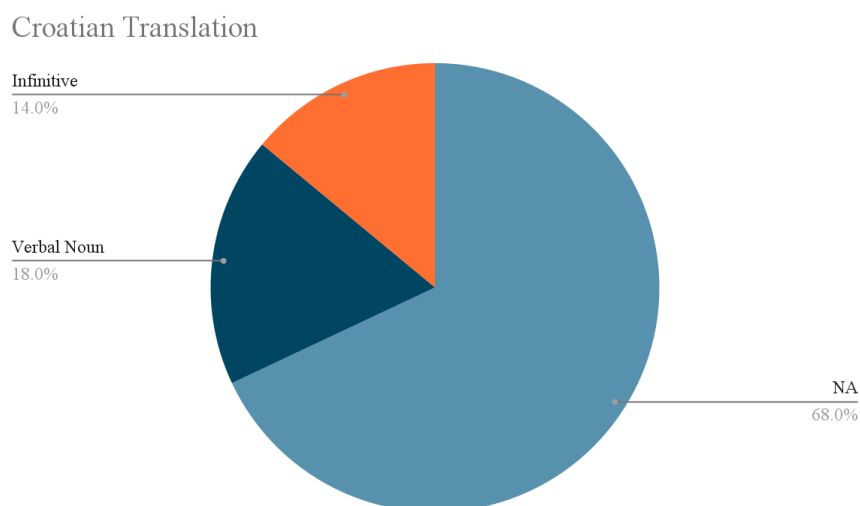
As was predicted in the grammatical analysis above, verbal nouns in Croatian were limited to imperfective verbs focusing on the process of the action. Their syntactic occurrence was limited to subject and prepositional object positions. As is typical of western BCS dialects and Croatian as a whole, the infinitive was used where one would otherwise expect an object, that is as a verbal complement. This usage comprised all such instances of the infinitive.
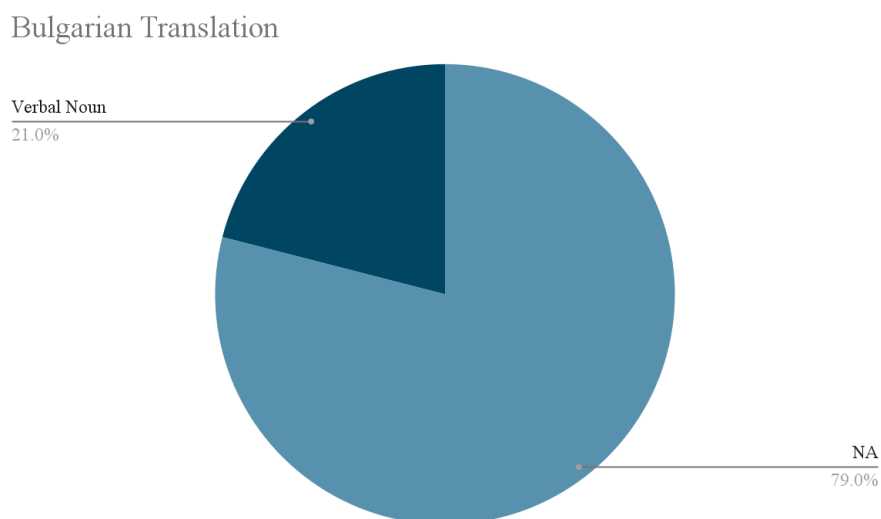
3.3.2.   Bulgarian

The Bulgarian translation is by Krasimira Todorova.

1. No **going [1]** upstairs for the hobbit.	1. Горен етаж у хобита нямаше.
2. This is a story of how a Baggins had an adventure, and found himself **doing [5]** and **saying [5]** things altogether unexpected	2. В тази история се разправя как един Бегинс преживя приключение и как извърши и каза някои най-неочаквани неща

3. Not the Gandalf who was responsible for so many quiet lads and lasses **going [6]** off into the Blue for mad adventures? Anything from **climbing [6]** trees to **visiting [6]** elves—or **sailing [6]** in ships, **sailing [6]** to other shores.	3. Нима ти си същият онзи Гандалф, който е подмамвал толкова много кротички и тихи момчета и момичета да се впускат в най-различни безумни приключения? Като се започне например от **катеренето [6]** по дърветата на гости при горските елфи, та до пътешествията с кораби към непознати брегове!
4. …he managed to say after **taking [6]** a deep breath.	4. …успя да избъбри той, след като си пое дълбоко дъх.
5. Besides, we saw them **coming [5]** along behind us in the distance.	5. Впрочем ние ги видяхме да се задават подир нас в далечината.
6. …who was not at all pleased at **falling [6]** flat on Bilbo's mat	6. Той кипеше от яд, че се е проснал върху изтривалката на Билбо
7. …who was wagging his mouth in protest at **being called [6/8]** audacious	7. Само мърдаше устни, опитвайки да възрази, че го наричат юначага
8. …this is what he called **being [5]** on his dignity	8. …с това той искаше да защити достойнството си
9. …or go back to **digging [6]** coal.	9. …или да се приберете обратно и да продължите да копаете въглища.
10. …certainly not after **devouring [6]** so many of the dwarves and men of Dale.	10. …камо ли сега, след като е погълнал толкова много джуджета и хора от долината.
11. The **washing-up [1]** was so dismally real…	11. Предстоящото **миене [1]** и **чистене [1]** бе тъй отчайващо реално…
12. …they made a deal of **rustling [6]** and **crackling [6]** and **creaking [6]** (and a good deal of **grumbling [6]** and **dratting [6]**)	12. …наоколо се носеше страшно **шумолене [1]**, **скърцане [1]** и **пращене [1]** (а и немалко клетви и ругатни)
13. With sacks in their hands, that they used for **carrying off [6]** mutton…	13. Стиснали здраво торбите, в които обикновено носеха овнешкото месо…
14. …they had not at all enjoyed **lying [4]** there **listening [4]** to the trolls making plans for **roasting [6]** them and **squashing [6]** them and **mincing [6]** them.	14. …не е приятно да лежиш завързан и да слушаш как троловете се двоумят дали да те изпекат, дали да те смачкат на пихтия, или да те накълцат на ситно.
15. Also I was anxious about **replenishing [6]** our small stock of provisions.	15. Освен това исках и да попълня малкия ни запас от провизии.

The Bulgarian translations of these forms was as follows:

Bulgarian Translation

Verbal Noun
21.0%

NA
79.0%

Bulgarian, as with BCS, utilized verbal nouns derived entirely from imperfective verbs. While they were largely limited to subject position, one did occur as the object of a preposition in translation 3. This particular translation included a further curiosity as it seems the translator misinterpreted the English, because what was two distinct ideas – "anything from [first idea] climbing trees to [second idea] visiting elves" – seems to have become one in the Bulgarian: "например от катеренето по дърветата на гости при горските елфи". This literally reads, "for example from climbing about the trees as guests at the mountain elves" and only later does the second component appear, starting "до пътешествията…", the Bulgarian *от…до* reflecting the English *from…to*.

4.   Summary

This chapter was intended to fulfill two functions. The first was to demonstrate where Russian stands compared to major representatives of the three Slavic branches regarding primarily the verbal noun in *-ije* but also other means of abstract event expression; namely, the breadth of application of the infinitive. As Horálek (1962) surmises, this is yet another area in

which CSR reflects the strong influence of OCS, as he states that "tento růst frekvence infinitivů

v církevní slovanštině nezůstal bez vlivu na ruštinu. Ve spisovné ruštině byl tento vliv posilován

v 18. stol. Ještě latinou a jazyky západoevropskými."[271] The second was to provide a general

overview of how Slavic as a language family in unity and in its at times significantly varying

daughter languages expresses abstract events, particularly regarding each language's tendency to

do so via a nominal form. The clearest division, in this regard, is the one Dickey drew regarding

aspect, contending that the defining feature of the perfective aspect in the West (here Cz and P)

is that of *totality*, which combines well with nominalization, while the remaining groups, South

and East, feature a perfective defined by temporal definiteness, a feature that does not lend itself

to nominalization (because of the inherently atemporal nature of nouns). This is, indeed, what is

observed when the results are compared:

Relative Percentage of Means of Translating English Gerunds

	Verbal Noun	**Infinitive**	**Verbal Adverb**	**NA**
Russian	6	36	4	54
Ukrainian	17	42	10	31
Polish	32	21	4	43
Czech	32	22	0	46
Croatian	18	14	0	68
Bulgarian	21	0	0	79

West Slavic is most notable for its use of the verbal noun. Second here is South, due to the high

regularity of the formation of the noun from imperfectives and third is East Slavic. The other

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[271] "This growth in the frequency of infinitives in Church Slavonic did not remain without effect on Russian. In literary Russian this influence was strengthened in the 18th century further by Latin and West European languages." (Horálek, 268)

significant trend is the frequency of the infinitive in East Slavic compared, at the other extreme, to its severe restriction (Croatian) or non-existence (Bulgarian) in the South.

5.   Historical Excursus

It is difficult not to note that this dichotomy in aspect, the defining category of the Slavic verb, which presumably drives this difference in abstract nouns, and the cultural-religious isogloss (or *isopol*, perhaps) separating the culturally Western-European looking West and the culturally Eastern looking East. This manifests itself most clearly in the religions adopted in the respective areas, with Western Christianity spread through Latin in the West, and the ideas of Eastern Christianity promulgated in Old Church Slavonic (OCS) in the East (here and below understood as South Slavic inclusive). The profundity of the influence this had on the two collective groups is hard to overestimate. Latin began its influence in Poland from the time it accepted Christianity in 966 AD.[272] The Western Christianity tradition in Bohemia might be conservatively dated to the founding of the Bishopric of Prague in 967.[273] The majority of the other Slavic peoples would remain under the sway of Eastern Orthodox Christianity and, therefore, had as their language of letters OCS. This division has held true largely up to the present day. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia (initially, Czechoslovakia) and Slovenia (South Slavic linguistically, but largely Roman Catholic and/or Protestant historically) quickly integrated into Western European society, while the rest of the Slavic nations remained largely under the influence of Russia, as it made claims to being the modern center of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Unsurprisingly, this is also where we see the greatest linguistic influence of OCS, particularly in CSR. The effects of this religious division on all aspects of culture, language being a part of culture, could provide the material for several

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[272] Vlasto (1970), 117
[273] *Ibid*, 99

volumes of analysis, but in the interests of brevity and not straying too far from the topic at hand, I would like to point out a single factor that could have had a pivotal influence on the divergent developments of West and East Slavic in terms of aspect and abstract even expression.

The languages of East Slavic in their written form remained up until the very recent past a tool in the hands of a select few for a select few purposes.[274] In the case of Russia, with the exception of government officials and court poets, the written word was primarily the domain of the clergy in the form of liturgical texts, sermons, and hagiography. We must additionally note that from the outset the language of these religious works was not so much Russian as a *russified* OCS. This state of a written language that differed from the vernacular (diglossia or *двуязчие*) was exacerbated by the influx of Southern Slavs (predominantly Bulgarians and Serbs fleeing the Ottoman invasion) beginning in the 14th century (the so-called *Second South Slav Influence*) who brought with them a reinforced belief in the inviolability of the OCS word and the impermissibility of vernacular encroachment on it. The result was that "an unbridgeable gulf had opened between the ChSl. and Russian languages and writing in them."[275] This gulf would not be bridged until Peter the Great set the stage for integration by simplifying the writing system, introducing the so-called *civil script* (*гражданский шрифт*) in 1708.[276] His reign is also known for the unprecedented influx of foreign culture and language, particularly of Dutch and German origin. While new customs and terms were introduced, translated works continued to be written in OCS and during this period, as "the language of literature stands still."[277] Further came the delineation of the three styles (low, middle, high) by Lomonosov, which did more to identify the

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[274] The situation in the so-called *Balkan sprachbund* is much more complicated, but the domination of the Orthodox Church, particularly in Serbia and Bulgaria, remained an extremely significant factor in the developmental trajectory of this part of Slavdom.
[275] Vlasto (1986), 360
[276] Vinogradov, 47
[277] Vlasto (1986), 285

problem, in the end, than it did to solve it. The attempts of his students, however, to use more Russian in the discussion of learned matters were considered groundbreaking: "когда в 1755 г. ученик М. В. Ломоносова Н. Н. Поповский начал читать курс философии в Московском университете на русском языке…это представлялось современникам своего рода научным подвигом."[278] It was not until Pushkin's time in the early 19th century that the styles had been significantly merged and a more democratic language arose. He too, however, "недостаточность современного «метафизического языка», относя это обобщение к таким областям, как «ученость, политика и фолософия».[279] Even then, however, when this hurdle began to be overcome, the written word still carried immense weight and so continued to be closely censored by the tsarist government for decades to come. Despite the obvious irony, the language was only truly democratized in the Soviet period.

The history of the Polish literary language, on the other hand, is striking for its differences from the history of Russian. Vlasto (1986) dates its "first important (secular) literature" back to the 15th century, when the Polish vernacular benefited under the Renaissance movement (that would not affect Russia to anywhere near the same extent) and its principle of the democratization of knowledge. The Polish vernacular came to be seen as being equally fit for the written word as Latin and the so-called golden age of Polish poetry was begun. Most prominent among its authors were Mikołaj Rej and Jan Kochanowski, both writing in the early to mid-16th century.[280] The Russian golden age of poetry, by comparison, was still 300 years away. This is in addition to the fact that the language or learning for Polish speakers remained Latin. It

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[278] "when in 1755 the pupil of Lomonosov Popovskij began to conduct a course on philosophy at the Moscow University in the Russian language…this was seen to his contemporaries to be a type of scientific feat of heroic proportions." (Веселитский, 6)

[279] *Ibid,* 7

[280] Cf. Miłosz, p.59 for the influence of Renaissance thought on Rej's 1568 *Zwierciadłdo* (*The Mirror*), written in Polish, but featuring many quotations in Latin, exemplifying the viewpoint that the two languages were seen as equals at least to some degree.

was, first and foremost the language of religious texts and rites, like OCS for Russians. However, unlike OCS, Latin was also the language of science that connected Polish speakers with so much of western society for centuries. For those cultures where Eastern Orthodox Christianity predominated, Latin texts largely remained a mystery until the more recent past.

Czech's connection with the West is even more obvious. Prague, after all, was the center of European society in the 14th century (when so much of the city's current form took shape) and the seat of the Holy Roman Empire under Charles the Fourth (Cz. *Karel čtvrtý*). Charles was himself known for his love of education, founding the Charles University in 1348, and for his international and interlingual interests: "at his cosmopolitan court, French, German, Italian, Latin, and Czech mingled as languages of refinement and education."[281] A significant element in the works of Jan Hus was writing in Czech as well as Latin to broaden his readership, not to mention his spelling reforms (the likes of which would not happen in Russia for another 300 years with Peter the Great).[282] Even when the Czech lands were to be dominated by a foreign power following the 30 Years War and the loss at the battle of White Mountain (Cz. *Bitva na Bílé hoře*), it was a western language (German) that would come to dominate the upper spheres of society for the next two hundred years until the Czech National Revival (*České národní obrození*) would return Czech its status as national literary language.

I include the above discussion to underline the degree to which languages like Czech and Polish interacted in many ways on an equal footing with the prestige languages of Latin and/or German, such that the gulf that developed between the written language and vernacular in Russia described above, did not occur in West Slavic. These languages, rather, were used for all walks of life, including, what seems to me to be critically important for the present discussion,

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[281] Thomas and Wallace, 2
[282] Fudge, 39

discussions of education and science. As we have seen, to the degree that science and learning were promulgated in Russia, the linguistic medium was OCS, not the vernacular East Slavic. What this meant is that the abstract language that is such a hallmark of scientific discourse (recall remarks in Chapter 1 as to a high number of -*ije* forms being indicative of scientific/journalistic prose in CSR) was overtly OCS. We see the remnants of this today in Russian, as the verbal noun in CSR is the OCS reflex (with a vocalized so-called tense *jer*: *ьje > ije* (-*ие*)) and not the expected East Slavic (with a nonvocalized jer *ъje > je* (-*ье*)).[283] The result is that the language people spoke and the language of science remained two distinct entities for centuries. It seems to me that this could have played a role not only in the development of these forms in the opposing West/East groups as discussed here, but even in the aspectual system that we have seen is likely the primary synchronic reason for this difference:[284] the West developing an aspectual system concerned primarily with the totality of the action and the East developing one based on placing the action in time. The former became more adept at envisioning the event outside of time, whereas the latter focused on the event in its narrative, finite capacity.

The degree to which the need to talk about events abstractly influenced these developments or was in fact rather one of their consequences will likely prove impossible to state for sure. However, the coincidence of these factors provides a compelling question in this regard, and one whose answering will require as much linguistic knowledge as cultural and historical.

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[283] Refer to footnote 183 for details.

[284] The Slavic aspectual system we know today (in which actions are consistently represented by aspectually differing verbal pairs) was still in development in the first written testaments of OCS and so, consequently, during the period of differentiation of the Slavic dialects.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

The general goal of this dissertation was to determine the means available in CSR to express events represented abstractly. Just as important, however, was determining what methods are actually used by speakers and when. The first task, while difficult enough, was more readily achievable and exhibits a more mechanical character, reflected in my analysis of the grammatical system of CSR and the forms and constructions available for representing events abstractly, including first and foremost the infinitive, nouns in *-ije*, nouns with a zero-morpheme, and an increasing number of nouns in *-инг*, as well as то-subordinates in as much as they form noun clauses and noun phrases. The second task was complicated by the fact that what a language can do and what speakers *choose* to do with the language are two different matters. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the relatively high degree of formal productivity of nouns in *-ije*, but their relatively low occurrence in neutral CSR. As the survey in Chapter 6 showed, if on a necessarily limited scale, speakers consistently choose infinitives and то-subordinates and to a lesser degree fully nominalized forms. I find this contrast between the possible forms discussed in the opening chapters and the actual preferences of native speakers, even if it is in such an artificial situation as a survey, to be one of the more compelling.

A key component of this analysis was using my native language, English, as the starting point of comparison. English provided an example of a language that regularly permits events to be expressed abstractly, most prominently through the English gerund in *-ing*. While English was used primarily as a means of analyzing Russian, the reverse also occurred, as the analysis caused me to take a deeper look at those instances in which not only a gerund can occur in English, but also an infinitive. This was one of the more theoretically oriented aspects of the dissertation, in that I attempted a markedness analysis of the two forms, primarily as objects/verbal

complements. I saw markedness as an appropriate means of theoretical analysis as it seems to me to be a manner of thinking that is ubiquitous at all levels of human culture, and if we are to continue to consider linguistics a social science, then linguistic analysis, even its more theoretical aspects, should reflect this awareness. The other interesting result of involving English is of a more typological nature.

As the quoted passage from Wierzbicka in the opening chapter implied, a particularly informative type of linguistic comparison and typology might not only be concerned with the shared universal traits of languages, but also with those sounds, forms, constructions, notions etc. that make languages different. One of the pertinent findings, in this regard, would seem to be that CSR simply is not *interested in* (to use the terms of Wierzbicka) event abstraction to the same degree as English. As Chapter 7 showed, Russian in fact shows the least propensity for nominalizing actions amongst the six Slavic languages considered. The high degree of infinitival usage and то constructions with a finite verb form indicate that the language in many ways prefers finite over abstract event expression. In the historical excursus to Chapter 7, I attempted to indicate possible historico-cultural factors that might have influenced the apparent aspectual division proposed by Dickey to be driving the differing nominalization patterns. As this was based purely on observations and not on analysis, I think it should stand as more of a question than a claim: could the history of the Russian literary language and the vernacular, the extreme situation of diglossia, the writing culture, in which only a select few (namely religious men and government officials and poets) were permitted and/or able to partake, have contributed to the developments of if not the East Slavic aspectual system in general, then in the more specific branch of verbal abstraction? Might the role of the subject as a stronger marker of agent in

Russian than in English also be a relevant factor? These and other questions are further important results of the analysis.

Looking back now, with the knowledge hindsight provides, I can also see that portions of the analysis could have been strengthened by altering and/or supplementing the type of analysis. Rather than strictly literary text analysis, analysis of a broader range of CSR texts in their own right might also have been revealing as to the tendency of the language to express events abstractly. More direct speech analysis of the type included anecdotally in the first chapter might also have provided further compelling evidence. The survey could doubtlessly have been improved upon as well, however, I was reluctant to expand it any more than I already had as your average respondent will only have so much time and attention for such a task. Thus, while there is certainly room for improvement in this type of analysis, I think the above also presents a solid precedent on an original topic. I asked the questions *what does it mean to talk about events abstractly? what tools does CSR possess for doing so? what tools does it use? how does this compare to historically related Slavic languages and much more distantly English?* I am also curious as to what fate the future holds for *-инг* in Russian: will it prove a passing fad or become a regular derivational morpheme? The answers to these questions I hope will prove not only relevant to linguists, but also to both teachers and students of Russian, and language in general. As I stated at the outset, abstraction is one of the defining factors of human language. I think it is important, therefore, that we know how it is achieved in the languages of the world.

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