

I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Aston in Birmingham, is all my own work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree.

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The underlying grammar in a language course
(with a special reference to Russian)

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Summary

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The thesis describes and justifies a set of ideal syntactic word-classes designed to facilitate the analysis of sentences of modern standard scientific and technical Russian by the setting up of chains of syntactic predictions designed to be derivable through a defined search procedure in a specially-prepared dictionary, which also contains appropriate instructions for translation into English of chains of a given structure (sentences of Russian).

A set of such syntactic word-classes has been used as the basis of a textbook of scientific and technical Russian (a so-called 'Integrated Dictionary'), which is described in the thesis. Its proposed syntactic word-classes are critically compared with the ideal set, and amendments to the textbook proposed.

A number of traditional textbooks of scientific and technical Russian are also examined, with a view to deriving from them a set of word-classes analogous to our proposed ideal set.

On the basis of a comparison of the ideal set of syntactic word-classes with those derived from the textbooks, it is concluded that a) the traditional textbooks do not, strictly speaking, constitute grammars of Russian, a deficiency which can be related to their underlying grammatical theory, and b) the present 'Integrated Dictionary' amounts to an attempt to express in morpho-syntactic terms the information given in traditional courses, and fails to provide all the information necessary to achieve its declared aim of analysis through strings of syntactic predictions.

RUSSIAN SYNTAX

LANGUAGE COURSES

INTEGRATED DICTIONARY SYSTEMS

Contents

	<u>Page Number</u>
Acknowledgements	i
List of Tables	iii
Introduction	iv
Chapter 1 : History and description of the REID course, teaching method: an orientational sketch	1
Chapter 2 : 'Syntactic Word-Classes': their definition and the method of establishing them for Russian	25
Chapter 3 : Noun classes	66
Chapter 4 : Verb classes	96
Chapter 5 : Numeral classes	144
Chapter 6 : Adjective classes	150
Chapter 7 : Pronominal classes	158
Chapter 8 : Adverb classes	172
Chapter 9 : Preposition, Particle, Conjunction, Interjection, PARENTH	198
Chapter 10 : Analysis of Textbooks other than REID	215
Bibliography	315

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My students, who struggled with the inadequacies of REID, thus showing me a) that it could be done, and b) how to do it better, also deserve a word of gratitude here.

Members of the IDS Seminar, Centre of Japanese Studies, Sheffield University, provided a very necessary forum for the formulation of my ideas, and salutary criticism of many of my more obscure or nonsensical formulations.

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List of Tables

	<u>Page Number</u>
Decision procedure for separating homographs	45
Analysis of Russian sentence, derived through REID	64
Potential ambiguity in Russian object verb subject sentences	77 - 78
REID noun classes mapped into proposed new classes	95
Classification of - сЯ verbs in VINOGRADOV 1952 and ŠVEDOVA 1970	103
Possible forms of Russian sentences containing transitive verbs	109
REID verb classes mapped into proposed new classes	138 - 139
List of Russian verbs classified according to REID and proposed new classes	140 - 143
Features of numeral classes	148
REID numeral classes mapped into proposed new classes	149
Features of adjective classes	157
REID pronominal classes mapped into proposed new classes	170
Adverb classes I	177 - 184
'Pronominal adverb' classes in VINOGRADOV 1952 and ŠVEDOVA 1970	185 - 186
Adverb classes II	189
Features of PRED classes	196

Introduction

0.1 This thesis carries out four related tasks:

- a) a critical examination of the syntactic word-classes postulated for Russian in the author's textbook of Russian for Scientists (HERON 1975 and 1977)
- b) postulation of an ideal set of syntactic word-classes for scientific and technical Russian, which will serve as a standard for comparison of HERON 1975's word-classes and those derivable from other textbooks of the same sort
- c) a critical examination of other textbooks of Russian for scientists⁽¹⁾, whereby it is attempted to establish a set of syntactic word-classes for each textbook, comparable with the ideal set postulated under b)
- d) an attempt to account for the findings under c), and the differences between all the textbooks examined and the set of ideal word-classes, in terms of the grammatical theory underlying the authors' analyses of Russian.

(1)

Examined in detail are BERESFORD 1965, DRESSLER 1965, HOLT 1962, WARD 1960, WARING 1967. Also discussed are CONDOYANNIS 1962, DEWEY & MERSEREAU 1963, FOURMAN 1959, MAGNER 1958, STARCHUK & CHANAL 1963, TURKEVICH 1960 and WYVILL 1966.

0.2 Since pedagogic aspects of the adequacy of textbooks and their arrangement are far-reaching in their scope, and require a different methodology for adequate analysis, they are treated here only to the minimum extent necessary to clarify our main concerns.

We therefore do not attempt to prove that one textbook or style of textbook is more suitable *pedagogically* than another. Neither do we discuss such questions as sequence of presentation, layout, possible rôle of teacher, effectiveness of 'tricks' of presentation designed to facilitate learning, amount of new material presented at each stage.

0.3 This study falls into three broad sections:

- a) Chapter 1, concerned chiefly with HERON 1975 and 1977 (see §1)
- b) Chapters 2 - 9, concerned with the ideal set of syntactic word-classes (see §2)
- c) Chapter 10, concerned with other textbooks of Russian (see §3).

1. Chapter One describes HERON 1975 and 1977, since the design of the course, using a grammatical analysis based on the syntactic word-class as its unit, and the method of using the materials, are likely to be unfamiliar to most readers, and their significance is not immediately obvious to those with a traditional background in Russian studies.

- 1.1 Paragraph 1 details the history of the course, in particular its indebtedness to J JELÍNEK's and M NOVÁK's Japanese-English machine-translation project at Charles University, Prague.
- 1.2 Paragraph 2 describes the arrangement, purpose and technique of using HERON 1975 (§2.1) and HERON 1977 (§2.2), and justifies the name of Integrated Dictionary System adopted for language courses of this type (§2.3).
- 1.3 In paragraph 3, the organisation of a course using these materials is described.
- 1.4 Pedagogic matters of broader consequence are the concern of paragraph 4. Our assumptions on the nature of language acquisition, insofar as it relates to language teaching, are briefly stated in §4.1. In §4.2 we criticise certain features of traditional language textbooks, maintaining that they adversely affect the student's ability to learn the language efficiently. Paragraph §4.3 asserts our underlying attitude to language teaching, in particular, to the rôle of the textbook. Some objections to our method, from a pedagogic standpoint, are discussed in §4.4 and §4.5. The rôle in our method of note memorisation is treated in §4.6, and that of the teacher in §4.7.
- 1.5 Since the effectiveness of any teaching materials must be gauged by their results, a typical course and its students' achievements are described in §5.

2. Chapter Two establishes the methodological basis for the ideal set of syntactic word-classes for Russian, and Chapters Three to Nine lay out this ideal set, comparing each class with its analogue in HERON 1975.
- 2.1.1 After orientating the reader to its somewhat complicated organisation (§0.1 - §0.2), Chapter Two begins by discussing the notion 'syntactic word-class' and its implications (§1). The tasks imposed upon the grammar, which to some extent determine its design, are described in §2, and the importance of delimitation of the relationships recorded in the grammar (§3), the analytical procedures used (§4) and the 'mapping procedure' for relating the units of the grammar (syntactic word-classes) to concrete language items (§5) is explained.
- 2.1.2 Paragraph 6 delimits the scope of the thesis. Since it is not possible, within the prescribed limits of this work, to formulate a complete grammar of Russian, a certain area of the grammar, which does not serve to distinguish syntactic word-classes, is treated only in outline.
- 2.1.3 The language analysed is broadly that of the current Soviet norm for the scientific and technical genre; the rôle and definition of the norm are discussed in §7, together with certain problems arising from our work where the prescriptions of the norm are vague, contradictory, or seemingly unduly restrictive.

- 2.1.4 In §8 the limits of application of our proposed grammar's rules are given. It is proposed to confine these to the limit of the written sentence, defined by its standard punctuation. The units with which our grammar operates are also axiomatically defined as printed words of the standard orthography (the case of homographs is separately discussed, §8.5.1.1).
- 2.1.5 The syntactic word-classes are distinguished by means of a so-called 'functional-distributional' analysis, which, in §9, is described and contrasted with other approaches, notably Z S Harris's 'distributional analysis'. The particular functional relationships which are recorded in the grammar are also discussed here; they cover the area traditionally described as 'government', 'modification' and 'complementation'.
- 2.1.6 The collection and handling of data is described in §10. Data are derived from written sources of three types, namely: texts of the required genre, other grammars of Russian, and manuals of usage. Each type of source presents its own problems of authoritativeness, completeness and compatibility, and these are discussed.
- The procedures used to determine the scope of syntactic restrictions are also described.
- 2.1.7 Paragraph 11 illustrates the application of the grammar, by the analysis of a sentence of the required genre of Russian. From this may be seen the importance in our technique of the set of syntactic word-classes, and their mapping into Russian lexis by the dictionary.

- 2.1.8 Finally, we touch on the problem of further verification of our work (§12).
- 2.2 Chapters Three to Nine present the proposed set of syntactic word-classes, with which those in HERON 1975 and those derived from other textbooks will be compared.
- 2.2.1.1 The chapters are divided, for ease of reference, according to the traditional parts of speech: Chapter 3 contains the discussion of word-classes covering nouns; Chapter 4, verbs; Chapter 5, numerals; Chapter 6, adjectives; Chapter 7, pronouns; Chapter 8, adverbs (including "категория состояния"), and Chapter 9, prepositions, particles, conjunctions, interjections and 'modal parentheses'.
- 2.2.1.2.1 Each chapter is organised in a similar way. Since the traditional definition of each part of speech is, from the standpoint of a grammar requiring rigorous definition, too much open to idiosyncratic interpretation, a working definition of each part of speech is proposed, sufficient to establish which items of Russian are to be handled within the given chapter. The treatment, in other grammars and textbooks, and in HERON 1975, of items falling within the scope of the chapter is then discussed. Finally, a classification of the relevant items into defined syntactic word-classes is proposed.
- 2.2.1.2.2 In Chapter Nine, each of the five types of word is treated in turn in the manner described above.

- 2.2.2.1 The most detailed discussion of the full range of Russian syntax was found to be in VINOGRADOV 1952 and ŠVEDOVA 1970, and their treatment is given a corresponding prominence in our discussion. This emphasis is felt to be justified also in that VINOGRADOV 1952 has clearly been influential in the formulations of Russian grammar proposed in the pre-1970 textbooks analysed, while HERON 1975 was prepared with continual reference to ŠVEDOVA 1970.
- 2.2.2.2 Since HERON 1975 claims to be based on a set of syntactic word-classes like those to be postulated in the present work, it proves convenient to contrast those two sets of syntactic word-classes within Chapters Three to Nine, which thus constitute also a critical discussion and reformulation of HERON 1975. The discussion of Russian syntax in other textbooks has a rather more diffuse basis, and is therefore confined, in these chapters, to a general indication of the type of treatment given. Full discussion is to be found in Chapter Ten.
3. Chapter Ten deals with the analysis of textbooks of Russian other than HERON 1975.
- 3.1 The criteria for selection of textbooks to be analysed are discussed in §1. These relate to the type of Russian handled in the textbook, the declared purpose of the textbook, and its claims to completeness as a manual of Russian grammar. Our criteria aim at the inclusion of works which are strictly comparable with HERON 1975.

- 3.2 Comparison of textbooks can only legitimately be carried out if a sufficient pedagogic and linguistic basis of comparison can be established. This is the task of §2, which finds that the textbooks analysed here, and HERON 1975, share teaching aims and certain assumptions as to the tasks of, and need for, language textbooks. The general limits on the scope and range of the grammar and its units, discussed in Chapter Two, are also found to be generally applicable.
- 3.3 The methodological basis for our analysis of the textbooks is discussed in §3, and related to statements on the nature of word-classes made in Chapter Two.
- 3.4 Paragraph 4 compares the treatment of Russian nouns in twelve textbooks of scientific and technical Russian available to us. Certain similarities of treatment and presentation are evident, and it is felt that a sufficiently clear picture of the treatment of Russian syntax can be obtained, therefore, by restricting the analysis of other parts of speech to the data obtained from five of these textbooks, whose selection is briefly justified in §1.3, in anticipation of these results.
- 3.5.1.1 Paragraphs 5 - 15 present in detail data from five selected textbooks, on the basis of which it is attempted to establish a set of word-classes analogous to our ideal set postulated in Chapters Three to Nine.

- 3.5.1.2 In paragraphs 5 - 15, data pertaining to each of the traditional parts of speech are presented in the same order as that in which the parts of speech are discussed earlier in the thesis. Sub-sections of each paragraph deal with specific items within each part of speech which potentially form classes analogous to our own.
- 3.5.2 Our conclusions are presented in §16. They fall into three sections:
- 3.5.2.1 the 'traditional' textbooks of Russian are judged to be inadequate as grammars of Russian, since they fail to establish units (analogous to our word-classes) upon which their proposed grammar rules may operate; this failure is in part explicable by inadequacies in the theory of grammar upon which they are based, and partly by failure to conform to certain basic requirements such as freedom from self-contradiction.
- 3.5.2.2 Traditional-type language courses differ from so-called 'Integrated Dictionary Systems' courses, such as HERON 1975, in ways which are explicable by consideration of their underlying grammars. These differences are discussed.
- 3.5.2.3 HERON 1975 also fails to a large extent to fulfil its declared purpose as a grammar of Russian (although, like the other textbooks of Russian discussed, it has fulfilled its pedagogic purposes). Reasons for this failure are suggested, and a means of amendment proposed.

CHAPTER ONE

History and description of the REID course, teaching method: an orientational sketch

1.0 History

- 1.1.1 The approach to language analysis and teaching exemplified in the textbooks with which we are primarily concerned (HERON 1975 Russian-English Integrated Dictionary 2nd edn, (2 vols), University of Aston, Birmingham and HERON 1977a Reading Russian)⁽¹⁾ is not well known in Russian studies, hence the need for this descriptive chapter. However, it is not original to this course.
- 1.1.2 The underlying approach to linguistic analysis (see Chapter II) is broadly that of the "Prague school"⁽²⁾ in particular of the practitioners of "functional-distributional analysis"⁽³⁾ and its application and development in machine translation.

(1) These two books will henceforth be referred to as "REID" and "RR", respectively. Other books and periodicals will be cited as follows: name, in block capitals, of author, or editor, or periodical's title or first word of title under which the work is referred to in full in the bibliography; year of publication as cited in bibliography; colon, followed by page number(s) referred to. If a whole work is considered relevant for a specific point, no page number is given.

(2) VACHEK 1966 provides a convenient short outline of the basic tenets of the school; other aspects of principle and methodology are illustrated in eg. THESES (reprinted in VACHEK 1964a), TRAVAUX I AND TRAVAUX 2 1966, APRESJAN 1973: 74 ff, DANEŠ 1974, VACHEK 1964a, FRIED 1972.

(3) No convenient exposition exists of the techniques of functional-distributional analysis, but a short discussion can be found, with illustrations of its application in the analysis of Japanese, in JELÍNEK et al. forthcoming.

- 1.1.3 The particular project which inspired REID and RR was J. Jelínek's and M. Novák's Japanese-English machine-translation project, carried out at Charles University, Prague, from 1961 - 1968. Versions of the computer programme prepared in this project are available in JELÍNEK 1967, JELÍNEK & NOVÁK 1968a, 1968b.
- 1.1.4 These materials were brought to the Centre of Japanese Studies, Sheffield University, in October, 1968, where they were adapted, under the financial auspices of OSTI, to the teaching of the translation of scientific and technical Japanese to scientists, librarians, information officers etc. on short, intensive courses. The feasibility of this application of the materials was amply demonstrated and is described in OSTI report number 5143. Further support was provided by the Shell UK grants committee (autumn 1974 - 1976), and the project, which is now self-supporting, has resulted in a series of characteristic teaching materials, listed in the bibliography under JELÍNEK, Scientific and Technical Japanese Series.
- 1.1.5 Courses of the Japanese and REID type came to be dubbed 'IDS' (Integrated Dictionary Search/System) courses by the authors; the title is intended to reflect the unique techniques of such courses (see 2.0).
- 1.2.1 Such was the success of the Japanese project in providing a solution to the translation problems of its target audience (see FOO-KUNE 1970), that it was decided to apply the same techniques to what was asserted (ibid) to be the next most

troublesome language - Russian. A primitive but workable first version was developed by P. A. Heron at Sheffield University 1971 - 1972, and the testing, further development, production and regular teaching of the course and materials, including the present version, were then taken over by the Department of Modern Languages, University of Aston in Birmingham, under Professor D.E. Ager, BA PhD, and with the full co-operation of his staff, to all of whom the author is profoundly grateful.

- 1.2.2 The IDS technique has since been applied to teaching the reading knowledge of other languages , and some work has been done on the production of English --> foreign language materials.⁽¹⁾
The present thesis, however, concerns itself only with REID and RR.

2.0 Description of materials

An older version of the REID course is described in HERON 1973; other descriptive material is to be found in JELÍNEK 1974 and HERON 1976.

2.1 REID

This dictionary contains two types of entry, which for convenience we shall refer to as "lexical" and "grammatical" entries.

- 2.1.1 "Lexical entries" correspond roughly to the stems of Russian inflected words, truncated at the point where they begin to vary.

(1) Languages for which materials for translating into English have been developed are, to date, Classical Japanese (Bungo), (JELÍNEK 1976); Czech (J. Jelínek manuscript); Chinese (A.W. Rowe manuscript); Spanish (T. Marrable manuscript); German (HERON 1977). Material for translation from English has been tentatively suggested for Japanese (J. Jelínek manuscript) and Russian and German (P.A. Heron manuscripts)

The truncation is influenced to some extent by traditional morphological analysis. For example, strictly speaking, the truncation for the verb ВИДЕТЬ should take place after ВИ, since the next grapheme is a consonant subject to mutation: Ж/Д; however, REID elects to enter two alternative stems, ВИЖ and ВИД, each with its individual linkage to the appropriate 'grammatical entries' (2.1.2). (There is in fact considerable inconsistency in splitting of stem and ending in REID, which is not of relevance for the aspects of the theory discussed in this work).

Non-inflected words are entered as non-truncated wholes, together with appropriate word-class information (see below).

A translation for the lexical entry is provided, and the item is assigned to its word-class. This assignation provides specific syntactic information about the individual word or the small group of words of which it is a member, over and above the general syntactic information given in the 'grammatical' entries and applicable to several word-classes (for the notion 'word class' see Chapter 2). The significance of the word class information is made clear to the student through an introductory List of Terms (REID vol. 1, pp. vii - xiv), where the word-class codes are listed and the classes defined.

Lexical entries for inflected words additionally contain a set of labels, consisting of numbers, or number + letter combinations, which serve as a means of cross-reference to those grammatical entries which may be relevant for a given stem.

2.1.2.1 'Grammatical entries' correspond roughly to the traditionally-delimited inflectional endings of nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Each individual entry is coded with one of the cross-reference numbers or number + letter combinations mentioned in describing the lexical entries, so that correct linkage of stem and ending for any vocabulary item is guaranteed.

2.1.2.2 As an example of how the cross-reference system works, let us consider the stem 'ПОЛ', which could relate to a number of meanings, depending on which inflectional endings are attached. We shall consider how to distinguish between two of these meanings, 'floor' (hard masculine declension) and 'field' (soft neuter declension).

Simplifying our account of REID's layout slightly (the full entry is in vol. 2, p. 400), we may say that the student finds an entry divided into two sections, thus:

ПОЛ	floor	.....	1Ma, 3Ma, 4Ma, 5Ma, 6Ma	.....
	field	.....	1Nb, 3Nb, 4Nb, 5Nb, 6Na	.....

The singular hard endings of the item 'floor' are listed as grammatical entries, and have the identifying codes 1Ma, 3Ma, 4Ma, 5Ma, 6Ma The soft neuter singular endings are likewise listed as grammatical entries, with with the different codes 1Nb, 3Nb, 4Nb, 5Nb, 6Na

Now, if the student's text contains ПОЛА, he will look for a grammatical entry consisting of the letter A and its identifying number. REID contains 9 such entries, but only one of them, that labelled '3Ma' (REID vol. 1, p. 2), has an identifying label identical with one in the lexical entry 'ПОЛ' . Furthermore, this matching number occurs only in the part of the entry relating to 'floor'. Thus the information that the ending A represents the genitive singular form only applies to this meaning.

Should the morphology alone not prove sufficient to disambiguate, resolution of the ambiguity occurs on subsequent levels, e.g. by REID's syntactic predictions, which cover adjective agreement, combination with different types of verb etc (see 2.1.2.3).

For further detailed explanation of the use of REID, the reader is referred to RR, in particular, Chapter II, where the looking-up procedure is extensively illustrated.

- 2.1.2.3 'Grammatical entries' also contain syntactic information on a) the rôles that a given inflected form may play in a Russian sentence, and the way to reflect this in the English translation, b) the necessary structure of the sentence containing the given item if a certain interpretation of it is to be accepted.

For example, if a dative singular noun has been identified, it could be translated as the indirect object, provided that the necessary condition (presence of a verb of the class which may take indirect object in the same sentence) is fulfilled

for the same noun to be translated as the English direct object, a different condition would have to be fulfilled, namely the presence in the same sentence of a verb of the class V-D (the class permitting such objects, see Chapter 4)

the sentence containing the dative noun may have to be reformulated so that the dative item becomes the English subject (e.g. D ХОЛОДНО: D is cold); for this, the presence of a particular class of PRED (see Chapter 8) is a necessary condition, and so on.

The student is thus presented, upon successful identification of an item (which is done not by memory of morphological rules but by a rule-bound cross-reference system), with a series of predictions of syntactic structure, which he can correlate as he works through the sentence (for an example see Chapter 2), giving a correct analysis of the grammatical structure of the Russian sentence and the way to reflect this in English.

The English translation is obviously crude, for example, a string of noun + genitive noun + genitive noun in Russian will usually result in 'noun of the noun of the noun' in English, but the product is intelligible, and it is made clear to the student that having understood the Russian, he is free to modify the English up to his own standards for connected English prose for a given purpose.

2.1.3 'Conversion Table'

REID vol. 2 pp. 569 - 583 provides a means of fitting into our system of predictions vocabulary items from other dictionaries, so that even if a word is not included in REID, the student has a rule-governed method of identifying it and its syntactic rôle. The method of using the Conversion Table is described in REID vol. 2 pp. 569 - 570.

2.2 Reading Russian

- 2.2.1 The course was originally taught with copious oral intervention from the teacher, who explained systematically the techniques needed to translate with REID; this meant that the pace of work was dictated by the teacher, which we considered undesirable (see 4.7), and so the necessary instruction was provided in writing.

Each new technical point is discussed and demonstrated on examples, and further translation tasks are then set, with detailed solutions provided. A final translation passage is given for those who wish to use it, but most students prefer to begin work at once on a text of their choice.

- 2.2.2 The 80 examples to be translated are all extracted from current Soviet publications (newspapers, periodicals, scientific publications), and illustrate how specific grammatical problems can be solved by analysis with REID. At no point in the course do we use simplified or 'doctored' materials for translation.

2.3 IDS

It was decided to call this type of system an Integrated Dictionary System, because, as the above explanation makes clear, the lexical and the grammatical information, which in the traditional approach are kept apart (the traditional bi-lingual dictionary is essentially just two correlated lists of items, though see HELBIG & SCHENKEL 1973, JACKSON 1975 for a newer type which attempts to incorporate syntactic information, while the grammar contains rules whose application to concrete items is made explicit only to a very limited extent, as the discussion in our thesis illustrates) are in our method explicitly integrated, so that for any vocabulary item, its range of syntactic behaviour is also immediately retrievable.

3.0 Organisation of Course

3.1 The course is ideally taught on an intensive basis, normally 5 days a week for two consecutive weeks, with 6 hours' supervised work and 1 hour's unsupervised homework per day.

Other arrangements have proved feasible, and a correspondence course allowing up to one year's tuition is now (1979) being launched. However, experience has shown that the more intensive the work, the more efficient the method.

3.2 The student, whether supervised or working alone, follows the instructions in RR from beginning to end, translating one Russian sentence after another until all the main features of REID and of

Russian grammar have been presented and successful translations obtained. The student then selects a text which he wishes to read, the teacher checks that it is of appropriate style (highly colloquial language or dialect have not been taken into account when writing the course) and the student translates the text, referring freely to REID and whatever other dictionaries are necessary (these are incorporated into the REID system with the Conversion Table, see 2.1.3).

- 3.3 Repeated consultation of the same sections of REID finally results in their retention in the student's memory, and as this occurs, he gradually refers less and less to the dictionary, and gains in speed. Thus he proceeds slowly from 'decoding' (where every item has to be looked up and carefully worked out) to what may more truly be called 'reading' (where the student has internalised sufficient information to ensure correct comprehension).

4.0 Approach to language teaching

This thesis is not concerned with pedagogic or linguistic theories of language-learning. However, since REID is influenced, as any textbook must be, by such theories, and since the assumptions entailed are perhaps different from those made by the authors of the more traditional textbooks, it seems advisable to touch upon the relevant issues here.

4.1 Language acquisition

Modern work on children's first-language acquisition⁽¹⁾ and on the

(1) Attempts at grammatical analysis of children's speech are discussed in VAN DER GEEST 1974, DERWING 1973, and extensive discussions and data can be found e.g. in BELLUGI & BROWN 1964, BLOOM 1970, BROWN 1973, DULAY & BURT 1975, LEONARD 1976, WEIR 1962, McNEILL 1970, SMITH & MILLER 1966

acquisition of a foreign language later in life⁽¹⁾ indicates in each case some kind of regular (hence potentially predictable and exploitable) developmental process. Ideally, language teaching should take account of knowledge gained in these fields.

However, it seems to the present author that the current state of knowledge is still not sufficient to permit the construction of full-scale language-teaching programmes of a kind to suit exactly human language-learning capacities. No programme is known to the author which even makes such claims.

In the construction of the REID course, we have, therefore, adopted the time-honoured approach of 'try-it-and-see', and the present product, from the pedagogic point of view, is justified only insofar as its measurable results (5.0) are deemed satisfactory. (The question of how far the information which we attempt to convey to the student represents an adequate grammar of Russian is one which can be investigated in some detail, and this question is the main concern of this thesis.)

4.2 Criticism of traditional textbook approach

Our main criticism of the traditional textbook of Russian is that its information is insufficiently explicit. The linguistic side of this criticism will be amply dealt with later; from the pedagogic viewpoint, we argue that the student is required to make decisions about the analysis of Russian at precisely the point when he is least qualified to make them. Some examples of what is meant follow.

(1) Data and discussion may be found in e.g. RICHARDS 1975, LEESON 1975, SVARTIVIK 1973, CORDER 1975a, JAIN 1975, NEMSER 1975, ULIJN & KEMPEN 1976, FROMKIN 1973

4.2.1 As we have mentioned elsewhere (HERON 1976), information about Russian inflexion is not presented in a form sufficiently tied to the vocabulary which manifests it. Thus, the inflectional ending *A*, which on any given occasion is presented as if its functions were quite clearly isolated (e.g. STARCHUK & CHANAL 1963:20 'Endings Feminine Hard -A, *ibid*: 49 'The genitive case of masculine and neuter nouns (their italics) in the singular has the endings *-A* (hard) / *-Я* (soft)') could, depending on which vocabulary item it is attached to and in what syntactic context, signal any of the following:

past tense of verb, feminine subject (preceded by Л)

present gerund

nominative singular masculine noun (ПАПА)

nominative singular feminine noun

genitive singular masculine noun

genitive singular neuter noun

nominative plural masculine noun (ДОМА)

accusative plural masculine inanimate noun (ДОМА)

nominative plural neuter noun

accusative plural neuter noun

In addition, there may be other, non-inflected words ending in *-A*, (e.g. ЧЛЕВА), which the student also has to bear in mind during the analysis.

Before a student can translate accurately, the whole morphological network formed by this and other items, and the syntactic system

whose use they signal, have to be available in the student's memory, since they are not available to him anywhere else (the dictionary does not list all forms and uses, while the grammar does not list sufficient vocabulary).

- 4.2.2 The concepts used are not adequately defined, e.g. 'the noun', 'the particle', 'emphasis' are simply thrown into the discussion without definition. For example, BERESFORD 1965:15 mentions the classes of verb, noun, pronoun, adjective and numeral for the first time in this way: 'The inflection of verbs is called conjugation, while that of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals is called declension'. No subsequent definition is offered.

Definitions of such notions are not matters of common knowledge, as can be established by asking any half-dozen potential students to provide a definition.

- 4.2.3 The complete range of behaviour of items taught is not adequately specified. For example, treatment of 'reflexive' verbs as in PERRY 1948:159, is common: 'Use of the reflexive in English is limited to denoting action which is directed back to the subject of the sentence This use of the reflexive is relatively unimportant in Russian in comparison with much more common use to correspond to a simple English intransitive verb or to the English passive It should also be noted that, with a few Russian verbs, . . . the reflexive form is a mere grammatical formality devoid of discernible relationship to reflexive action'.

How is a student, encountering a -СЯ form of a verb, to deduce from this description how it should be translated?

4.2.4 The translation strategies suggested are frequently not feasible. In particular, the student is encouraged to believe that he can identify the various parts of speech in the sentence by their characteristic morphology (e.g. WARD 1960 emphasises 'markers') and may be urged to 'pick out' crucial items and construe a sense around them. Such an approach overlooks at least three facts.

4.2.4.1 The morphology of a given part of speech is characteristic only in respect of complete sets of forms, not of individual forms, for example, the set:

А У Ы Е ОЙ/ОЮ Е Ы ~~А~~ АМ АМИ А Х

characterises the hard feminine noun declension, whereas the individual ending, such as -А, as pointed out in 4.2.1, may signal a variety of functions, and thus by itself characterises nothing. The student's text, of course, only ever contains one item from the characterising set at any given point.

4.2.4.2 The characterising feature chosen may not only be inadequate as just discussed in 4.2.4.1, but may be so in the context of the total range of forms of the language. For example, WARD 1960: elects to cite the group - ЛА as the characteristic signal of the past form of a verb with feminine subject. Although it is true that all such forms end in -ЛА, ОБРАТНЫЙ СЛОВАР' 1974: 75 - 77 lists 248 items ending in -ЛА, none of which is the past tense

of a verb. And of course the combination may additionally arise during the inflection of other items, e.g. СТОЛ ---- СТОЛА.

Thus, advice such as 'identify the verb/subject/etc.', for which no syntactic indicators are generally given, is simply impracticable on the morphological grounds presented as valid.

- 4.2.4.3 It may well be impossible to identify certain items on any but syntactic grounds; for example, 'НАЧАЛО' could be a verb or a noun form, and only the combination of items in which it occurs can resolve the question. The necessary syntactic information may not, however, be provided. For example, the possibility of the noun 'НАЧАЛО' governing the dative is not normally mentioned (see Chapter 3§6.4.5). Neither is the fact that the verb 'НАЧАТЬ' takes an accusative direct object and no dative indirect object (these facts are left for the student to assume, a process which may or may not take place). It is, however, common to assert that 'certain verbs' (not fully specified) take a dative 'direct' object, and further, that 'the subject of the Russian verb is often omitted'. Armed with these facts (and many students are so armed), there is nothing to prevent the sentence:

НАЧАЛО НОВОМУ ГОДУ!

from being translated as '(It) has begun the New Year!', rather than 'Let the New Year begin!/A start to the New Year! or the like.

It may be argued that the student's 'common sense' will make him translate correctly; however, not only is the correct translation

dependent on knowing the grammatical possibilities of this particular word-class, which are hardly deducible by common sense, but the instruction 'if you cannot decide the meaning by analysis, use your common sense', which is what such an argument implies, finally entails permission to 'write what your common sense tells you a Russian writing on this topic probably wants to say' (REID, E.E. 1970 goes a long way in this direction with his recommended translation technique), which makes all our courses (and Russian-language scientific articles) superfluous.

- 4.3 The authors of IDS courses believe that problems of the type discussed in 4.2 can be solved by an adequate grammatical description of the language, presented to the student in a way that guarantees him access to the correct part of the system, rather than random access. We further consider that since this can be done, it should be done, so that the student's energies can be devoted to solving the problems with which we cannot yet cope, e.g. providing an adequate flow of scientific information between countries.

The IDS method is not the only conceivable one, nor is it suitable for every student: however, we feel that these points and our solutions deserve serious attention.

- 4.4 Those who have successfully learned some other foreign language often protest at the absence of oral exercise in courses such as REID. There is no doubt that the ability to vocalise does help many people, but its importance may be overestimated by language

teachers and 'successful linguists': present-day language courses can usually only be completed successfully by those with good oral abilities⁽¹⁾. The others drop out. It has been our experience that former 'failures' who prefer diagrams, charts and correlating written information to the usual language-teaching techniques find a foreign language taught in this way easily accessible to them, while those who find oral methods easy react strongly against it. Thus our decision to teach the reading knowledge directly, without reference to the spoken language, should be considered appropriately as an empirical one, justified by its success or otherwise with its target audience: the supremacy of the spoken language is not a linguistic datum.

- 4.5 Readers who already know the language in question often object to the tedium of the looking-up procedure (GREEN 1978). The author of REID is certainly aware of this factor, as are some students (e.g. MEIJERS, 1977: 9 asked 15 participants of a course held in Tilburg, Holland, their opinions on this issue: (present author's translation) 'Five participants found it a drawback that pronunciation was not taught, as it was felt that this would help vocabulary retention. Three others found this not such a drawback. For two (who knew some Russian) the question was not applicable

(1) The ALM Russian course is an extreme example of this, but most courses depend to a large extent on active mastery of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar rules, regardless of the purpose of the course

In question 12 (of a questionnaire on attitudes, PH) the participants were asked about their reaction to the continual looking-up of words and segments of words. Two participants reacted very negatively (comments: undermined motivation, deadly). Two others responded rather positively (comments: generally good, not troublesome). The other six took an intermediate position. A selection of their comments: irritating, but this motivates efforts to retain vocabulary; a kind of puzzle-solving; sometimes it is frustratingly long before a result is obtained All in all, one can conclude that participants reacted favourably to the course.' (1)

It is admitted that the segmentation of items in REID, if it had not been so influenced by tradition, could have been made more efficient to minimise this problem. Again, this is an empirical issue, which does not affect the linguistic aspects of our work, and our results (5.0) seem to us to show that the burden of looking-up cannot be too heavy, since otherwise the given speeds could not be attained in the available time. (PERRY: 1948: 27)

'By keeping at it for about a year, assuming an average of about an hour a day, it is possible to acquire the necessary grammar

(1) Vijf deelnemers vonden het hinderlijk niets over uitspraak te leren, verwacht wordt dat het leren van uitspraak het onthouden van woorden zou vergemakkelijken. Drie anderen vonden dit niet zo hinderlijk. Voor twee (degenen die al Russisch kenden) was deze vraag niet van toepassing Invraag 12 (of a questionnaire on attitudes, PH) werd de deelnemers gevraagd hoe ze het steeds maar opzoeken van woorden en gedeelten van woorden gevonden hadden. Twee deelnemers waren erg negatief (commentaar: demotiverend, dodelijk). Twee ook waren tamelijk positief (commentaar: in het algemeen goed, niet vervelend). De zes anderen zaten der tussenin. Een greep uit hun commentaar: irritant, maar daarom stimulerend om woorden te onthouden; soort puzzelwerk; soms duurt het frusterend lang eer er een resultaat is ... Al met al kan geconcludeerd worden dat deelnemers positief over de cursus denken.'

background and to work through an elementary inorganic chemistry text in Russian'. Our course required 60 - 70 hours to achieve similar results.

4.6 The learning of vocabulary in isolation is not encouraged since, as we have said (2.3) it is the integration of the vocabulary into the grammatical system which we regard as essential. Thus, until the full system has been covered, the student is advised only to memorise the procedure for using REID (which will yield a correct translation even if he does not memorise any grammar or vocabulary). During the translation of the first text, where the vocabulary becomes limited and characteristic of the particular specialised subject, the student is encouraged to memorise the most frequent/ useful items, together with their behavioural possibilities, by becoming aware of tendencies to recognise spontaneously frequently-translated items. As this process progresses, there is a great increase in translation speed (see 5.0).

4.7 The role of the teacher is not that of an authority controlling the learning process, but that of a teaching aid. The student, who works at his own pace, can call upon him at will for necessary information, and he is required to monitor the student's complete output, not only for correctness of translation, but for correctness of procedure, whose lack may signal a basic misunderstanding of some essential point, even when the 'correct' translation has been achieved.

5.0 Results

We shall give an idea of the quality of our results by describing the most recent teaching of the course, the first to use REID and the complete published version of RR.

5.1 Students

There were three students, all working for the same company, and needing a reading knowledge of Russian in their work:

T, a research chemist, had taken a course in translating scientific and technical German using traditional dictionaries and grammar explanations. He had attempted to apply the same techniques to deciphering specialised Russian papers relevant for his work, but had succeeded only in identifying isolated words and drawing conclusions based on his knowledge of the subject-matter.

A, a librarian/information officer, reported little success with language courses at school (French and German), and during residence abroad (Germany). She was required to monitor Russian language periodicals, draw attention to items worth translation etc. Before attending the course, she knew only the Russian alphabet.

S, a translator, had a CNAA degree in German and French, and could cope with other languages, e.g. Spanish. She knew no Slavonic language, and when she attended the course, had reached Chapter 5 of FENNELL 1961 by self-tuition.

5.2 Organisation of course

The demands of the students' jobs made it impossible to teach them full-time for two weeks. The following timetable was therefore adopted:

Day 1	:	3 hours' tuition, 1 hour's homework
Day 2	:	6 hours' tuition, 1 hour's homework
Day 3	:	6 hours' tuition, 1 hour's homework

Interval of one week, during which the students were told to do at least one hour per day at home.

Day 4	:	6 hours' tuition, 1 hour's homework
Day 5	:	6 hours' tuition, 1 hour's homework
Day 6	:	3 hours' tuition
Total	:	30 hours' tuition, ca. 12 hours' homework

5.3 Students' achievements

T completed RR drill material during the week's interval

Day 4 completed text at end of RR before the end of the day, speed 37.5 words per hour

Day 5 worked on specialised text 'ПОДГОТОВКА ФУЗОВ К СЖИГАНИЮ' (from a periodical) speed over day 39 words per hour

Day 6 continued work on text, speed over day 58 words per hour

A. Day 4 worked on text in RR, speed over day 27 words per hour

Day 5 translated from the beginning of E. Zamyatin's novel 'МЫ' (ZAMYATIN: 1967), speed over day 32 words per hour

Day 6 continued translation of 'МЫ', speed over day 51.5 words per hour .

S. Day 2 completed RR material

Day 3 began translation of article from 'ЖУРНАЛ ФИЗИЧЕСКОЙ ХИМИИ', completed 132 words a.m., 141 words p.m.

Day 4 continued translation, speed over day 111 words per hour

Day 5 continued translation, speed over day 137 words per hour

Day 6 continued translation, speed over day 141 words per hour

(Note: S's estimated speed in French translation is 700 words per hour).

- 5.4 The students declared themselves extremely satisfied with the course and their achievements, and began plotting how to persuade their employer to send at least one of them on other courses of this type.

The employer independently declared great satisfaction with the outcome, and is now considering how his other language needs could be met by courses of this type.

- 5.5 Tutor's comments

S's performance was obviously exceptional. She simply did not make mistakes, and asked barely half a dozen questions throughout the course. The speeds of A and T were more what would be expected.

The students' work was monitored for accuracy throughout, and only the body of accurately translated running text was counted in calculating speeds. Mistakes were spotted at an early stage, so that we never had to decide to delete inaccurate passages from

our count. The technique of correction was that the tutor would say, e.g. 'You're going off course here. How did you get this analysis?' and the student would have to go back over his analysis, explaining his reasoning. This nearly always resulted in him spotting his mistake in procedure, or finding a better alternative that had been missed before. If this did not occur, the tutor would try to nudge his attention towards the relevant passage, so that in all but the very rarest of cases it was the student who discovered what should be done and amended his translation.

On Day 6, final speeds were estimated by making the students translate without help for the whole session. The results were then checked for accuracy, and as it happened, were all judged of adequate accuracy, that is, gave the same information as the Russian original, with evidence that the grammar of the Russian had been correctly analysed (the student usually had some rough working out, which was consulted for the details of the analysis). In the case of the novel 'Mb!', the student's translation was also compared with an English translation (ZAMYATIN 1970) and was observed to correspond to this quite well, the variations in style being, in the tutor's opinion, within acceptable limits. The number of words in the Russian text corresponding to the student's 'polished' English version was then counted, and the number of words per hour computed.

The chief slowing-up factors were difficulty in finding vocabulary in the traditional dictionary (some of the terms were highly technical, and were not in the dictionaries, but establishing this took time, of course), and difficulty in combining the various elements in the sentence to give good overall sense. It was clear to the author of REID/course tutor that the latter difficulty could be to a large extent attributed to the deficiencies in the predictions made by REID which we discuss in subsequent chapters of this thesis. It should, however, be pointed out that this factor affected A particularly, and it was clear to her and to her tutor that her style of learning influenced the extent to which it affected her: A learned slowly and thoroughly, and would on no account take risks or make guesses; she insisted on knowing exactly how and why each decision was to be made before committing herself to a decision. Although this adversely affected her speed, especially in the initial stages, the long-term result seemed to be very satisfactory retention of information.

CHAPTER TWO'Syntactic word-classes': their definition and the method of
establishing them for Russian

0:1

The research and teaching project culminating in the production of REID was, as explained in Chapter One, an offshoot of a project for the analysis and teaching of a language, which had already proved both theoretically and pedagogically sound in its basic premises and techniques. Since these were considered to be of sufficient general application, the initial decision was taken to conduct the work on Russian in the same terms, whose characterising features may be described as:

- a) operation with 'syntactic word-classes' within the limits of the sentence
- b) the setting up, from left to right through the text of sequences of words defined by the dictionary as corresponding to sequences of syntactic word-classes (cf. KUNO & OETTINGER, 1963, MEY, 1966)
- c) as a consequence of a) and b), the operation of teaching materials as a type of machine, whereby for an input of a given structure (Russian sentence as analysed), a predictable output (correct English translation) is obtained.⁽¹⁾

(1) This aspect is discussed in JELÍNEK 1974, and in several unpublished papers by Jelínek

- 0.2 The body of this thesis (Chapters 3 - 9) proposes and justifies a set of syntactic word-classes for Russian in accordance with the methodology mentioned above, comparing these with the classes postulated in the published version of REID. Subsequently, (Chapter 10), comparisons are made with the sets of syntactic word-classes which may be derived from other Russian courses. The present chapter explains in more detail the theoretical premises underlying the work.
- 0.2.1 Paragraphs 1 - 5 discuss in general terms the nature of the units which in our work correspond to syntactic word-classes, and their role in the grammar (§1), the manner in which the task imposed on the grammar may influence the constitution of these units (§2) and the effects of the delimitation of the relationships to be registered by the grammar (§3). §4 and §5 discuss briefly the general significance of the concrete procedures of analysis and the mapping into language data of our theoretical constructs.
- 0.2.2 In paragraphs 6 - 11, it is discussed how these theoretical considerations have been translated into the taking of practical decisions in the analysis of Russian. §6 sets the information about Russian syntactic word-classes provided in Chapters 3 - 9 in its wider context (a general explicit grammar of Russian). §7 discusses our proposed general grammar of Russian and delimits its scope. The 'span' (see 1.1.1.3) of our grammatical rules is defined for Russian in §8, as is their 'scope' (see §1.1.1.2). §9 discusses the types of syntactic relationship which our grammar records for Russian, while the handling of the language data is discussed in §10. §11 explains and exemplifies the proposed mode of application of our grammar.

0.2.3 Finally, §12 recognises a very basic limitation of our research, the potential value of which is nevertheless asserted.

1. General definition of the syntactic word class

We may regard our grammar of Russian simply as a description of the syntactic structure of Russian sentences, stated in terms of rules which operate upon abstract units. The definition of these units has two aspects: a) we regard the nature of the grammar as such that each unit may be exhaustively defined through an account of the rules in which it participates; b) the nature of the grammar also entails for its units the property of being mappable into a (potentially infinite) number of actual pieces of language. For any grammar, the units (or combinations of units) which have these two properties may be regarded as the analogues of our syntactic word-classes.

1.1 Grammar (Units and Rules)

1.1.1 Delimitation

It is customary to designate by the term 'grammar' a scientific construct which has as its object (a) human language(s), as distinct from the communication systems of other animals. (cf. for example, HOCKETT 1963 for proposals concerning the distinguishing features of human language). We shall simplify our formulations by adopting the convention that 'a grammar' means 'a grammar of a human language'.

1.1.1.1 Consequent upon such a delimitation is the need to specify the limits of the language in question (§7), a need arising from the general

scientific requirement that all scientific constructs be completely appropriate for their objects. (For discussion of the principled limitation of the basis of analysis, see, for example, HJELMSLEV 1961). A grammar must, therefore, by means of its rules and units, account for all the data within its prescribed range. It follows that the units must between them account completely for the specified range of language data; i.e. must, within the purpose of the description, be related with each other in all and only the ways in which items of the language are related, and must each be translatable into all and only the items of the language which relate in the specified ways.

- 1.1.1.2 A second aspect of the delimitation of a grammar is the requirement of a delimitation of 'scope': a human language is commonly seen as an interacting hierarchy of more or less discrete components, ranging from significant sound units (mode of physical expression) to 'meanings' (however we elect to interpret this term). One such detailed exposition of a hierarchical structure is to be found in PIKE 1967. A different type of hierarchy is proposed in BOS 1967:4. There is legitimate variation amongst grammars in how much of this hierarchy is to be accounted for. Again, a requirement on the units arises: they must be definable in terms of all the levels of the hierarchy which are relevant for the concrete items that they map, wherein 'relevance' is determined by the purpose of the description. Conversely, each unit must only be mappable into those items whose participation in the specified hierarchial arrangements coincides with that postulated by the grammar (see §8.5).

1.1.1.3 A third aspect of the delimitation of the grammar, and hence of its units, is that of its 'span', by which we mean the size of the stretches of language data for which the grammar is required to account. It is customary, in the majority of linguistic studies, to confine the upper limit of the 'span' to sentences of the language (the sentence itself being somewhat arbitrary of delimitation). This is recognised to be unsatisfactory, and is imposed for purely practical reasons. (cf. FRIES 1952, LYONS 1969: 172 ff, WERLICH 1976). In the present work, we shall take as the upper limit of the 'span' the written sentence, orthographically defined (§8.1, §8.2), and as the lower, the orthographic word (§8.6). The consequence of such a delimitation for the unit is that it must reflect all relevant data manifested by concrete items within a given span, and no data relating to features outside that span.

1.1.1.4 Hence, in respect of what data are covered, and to what extent, the units are simultaneously an integral part of the construct known as 'a grammar', subject to the identical delimitations to the identical extent, and an accurate representation of the concrete data in all those respects in which the data are deemed relevant objects of study.

1.1.2 From the above, it may be seen that the units (our syntactic word-classes) are to some extent arbitrarily determined, in that they are partly a product of our decisions as to scope, range, etc.

On the other hand, the units are non-arbitrary in that they are permitted to be arrived at only as the outcome of certain defined procedures (§4), designed to recognise only certain relationships (§3),

in fulfillment of specified tasks (§2), and are translatable into concrete data in a specified way (§5). These factors are discussed below.

2. Tasks

2.1 Insofar as the grammar (and hence its rules and units) is translatable into a mass of concrete data, it may be said to be a model of the language it describes. Thus, as for any model, the form of the grammar and its units is selected with respect to its purpose. (cf. APRESJAN 1963:89ff, MATHIOT 1970:160, VERHAAR 1970).

2.2 Current views within the appropriate science (linguistics) of the tasks of grammars vary, and often conflict. However, in respect of the modelling of a given natural language within the scope of the sentence, the formulation of KUMMER 1972 is probably sufficient and acceptable:

- 'a) (the grammar) has to enumerate all possible well-formed sentences of a language and to mark the types of deviance of not-well-formed sentences
- b) it has to assign to every sentence a structural description
- c) it must indicate the possible readings of a given sentence'

2.3 Our proposed grammar has in effect an additional requirement upon it, necessitated by its eventual practical application, namely a form such as will facilitate the explication of strings of predications (§0.1). The nature of these strings, and related points, is discussed in §11.

3. Relationships

3.1 Clearly, the language data are relatable to each other in a variety of ways (rhyme, alphabetical order, synonymy, etc.). Many such relationships will not be recognised as relevant within the general framework of the science. In the case of linguistics, where a common theoretical basis is not firmly established, it would seem desirable to specify which relationships are to be regarded as significant, and how they are to be recognised. For our present purposes, this is done in §9.

3.2 The statement of the various recognised relationships in the particular configurations in which they occur in the data constitutes the set of rules of the grammar, and clearly therefore represents one aspect of the units (syntactic word-classes), which are thereby defined.

4. Procedures

Similarly, a wide variety of analytical procedures is available, or even arbitrary imposition of a segmentation of the data; thus, the procedures used must be defined, as in §10.

5. 'Mapping' into concrete data

5.1 The following quotation from PALA 1972:184 explains concisely the need for a mapping procedure:

'Данная порождающая грамматика (сокращаем $\Pi \Gamma$) перечисляет множество предложений некоторого искусственного языка. Вывод (derivation) каждого такого предложения внутри $\Pi \Gamma$ (или, более точно, соответствующий

показатель структуры . . .) считается структурной характеристикой предложения. Если множество предложений такого искусственного языка достаточно „близко” графическому или звуковому облику предложений определенного естественного языка и С.Х. предложений отражают удовлетворительно то, что известно о синтаксическом строении предложений естественного языка, тогда мы можем П.Г., задающую указанный искусственный язык, считать описанием („грамматикой”) данного естественного языка. Это наше утверждение приобретает смысл только тогда, когда мы сумеем интерпретировать некоторые элементы (т.е. также предложения) искусственного языка, иначе нам не известно, какие явления естественного языка посредством П.Г. мы познаем”.

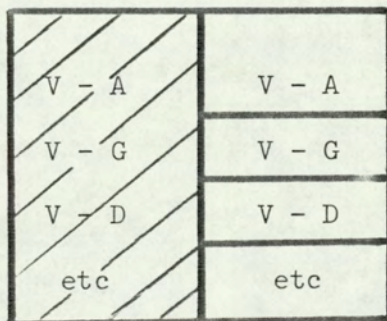
- 5.2 The mode of execution of the procedure is again variable, depending, for example, on the nature of the imposed task.
- 5.2.1 In general, where there is a very immediate relationship between the process of collecting the data and that of their analysis, it is practicable to allow the procedures (§14) to serve partially also as a mapping procedure, in that the procedures constitute a process of abstraction which may be applied in reverse; for example, the procedures described in BLOCH & TRAGER 1942.
- 5.2.2 Where the relationship between data and grammar is more abstract, a specific set of mapping rules is necessary. (cf. ŠAUMJAN 1971:160ff, and ŠAUMJAN 1965:190 'the objects of the genotype language must be transformed into the objects of a phenotype language by means of correspondence rules.')

- 5.2.3 In either case, a component of the mapping procedure, for an individual language, ultimately has to be a dictionary, in which individual concrete items are expressly related to the generalised concepts resulting from the application of the procedures to the data. The constitution of our own dictionary (REID) and its role in our analysis is shown in §10, and explained in Chapter One, §2.1.

6. Delimitation of scope of thesis

It is not practicable within the scope of the present work to formulate and justify the whole proposed grammar with equal regard to each of its components. We therefore confine our presentation to the equivalent for Russian of KUNO & OETTINGER's (1963) list of the set word-classes for English, where the distinguishing syntactic characteristics of the classes are given in detail.

- 6.1 The scope of the thesis can be illustrated as in this diagram for Russian verbs:



-
- Notes
1. The labels 'V-A', 'V-D' etc. are the names of verb classes
 2. The outer borders of the diagram represent the whole field of the syntax of the Russian verb, which is to be covered by the grammar
 3. The shaded area represents those syntactic structures which are common to all Russian verbs
 4. The unshaded area represents those syntactic structures of Russian in which only verbs of certain classes may participate

6.2 Features falling within the shaded area above serve to distinguish verbs from, say, nouns or adjectives, and thus are of use in establishing large-scale groups, analogous to the parts of speech, but more consistently defined. Such information is discussed in the thesis only to the extent that the general delimitation of such broad classes facilitates the organisation and expression of our exposition.

7. The proposed grammar of Russian

7.1 Range of data covered

Our grammar aims to cover that style of written Russian used in scientific and technical publications in the Soviet Union (specialised periodicals, journals, and books in the field of science and technology, abstracts, technical specifications, scientific and technical information and similar). A brief characterisation of the features of this style, and further references, can be found in LAPTEVA 1968. The ideal is comprehensive coverage of this range, but the final version of the grammar has not yet been sufficiently worked out to permit even a detailed list, such as that in KUNO & OETTINGER 1963, of structures which are excluded.

7.1.1 Since other styles of Russian share elements of the same grammar, our rules will partly apply to other materials than those specified above, e.g. newspapers, popular science journals such as Наука и жизнь, school textbooks, certain literary works, commercial correspondence, minutes, public notices etc. As may be judged from the drill tasks in RR, where our analysis can accommodate such materials, we are prepared to apply it.

7.1.2 It may happen that consideration of data from other genres would lead to the establishing of several word-classes rather than one. Such cases have not been sought out, but were accommodated if they came to our attention, in order to facilitate the eventual broadening of the scope of the materials to other genres. One must also consider in such cases that in principle any structure available in the language as a whole may be exploited in any genre.

To this extent, our range is not strictly exclusive with respect to the target area of Russian.

7.1.3.1 For present-day English, there is no established norm in the sense that there is for Russian or French, i.e. there is no recognised authoritative body which may pronounce upon the merits and acceptability of current usages or innovations; detailed, centrally-enforced standards and practices are not issued for observance by the media, schools and teacher-training institutions; publishers and editorial boards do not as a matter of policy screen publications for linguistic correctness. Although amongst groups of English-speakers there may be a consensus as to what is 'good', 'bad', 'correct' or 'incorrect' English, supported by appeals to 'authorities' such as FOWLER 1952, English speakers by and large consider themselves at liberty to write and speak exactly as their individual tastes prescribe. As a result, KUNO & OETTINGER 1963, feel free to accept as input data any plausible-seeming sequence in the analysed language (English) and style.

7.1.3.2 Such is not the case for modern Russian; the Institute of the Russian Language of the Soviet Academy of Sciences is a recognised authority on the nature and status of modern Soviet usage, and effectively

controls research in this field in the USSR . (See, for example, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, USSR, 1967). Its grammars enjoy tremendous prestige as authorised sources of information on the Russian norm, and influence almost all materials for the teaching of the language even outside the USSR. A centralised and standardised education system imposes certain norms and usages on teachers and students alike, which are also applied as a matter of course in the editing of materials for publication. For example, VALGINA 1973 is published under the rubric "Допущено Министерством высшего и среднего специального образования СССР в качестве учебника для студентов вузов, обучающихся по специальности "Журналистика" ". Many normative reference publications are available, and it is expected that these will be used by all those who participate in public life, e.g. VAKUROV et al. 1968.

- 7.2 Our grammar attempts to conform to the appropriate norm, but with reservations.
- 7.2.1 The prescriptions of the norm may not solve all the questions which arise in an analysis. A solution compatible with the norm is then to be attempted, but may prove impossible where the norm is fundamentally lacking in coherence.
- 7.2.2 Normative works frequently claim to decide issues 'in conformity with the tendencies of the language system'; thus GORBAČEVIČ 1973: Preface refers to the norm as expressing "внутренние закономерности развития языка". However, examination of the analysis of the

language system in Academy grammars reveals such inconsistencies that it may be doubted whether the claims can be validated.⁽³⁾

7.2.3 Normative works cover a mass of individual details, often in isolation from each other. Thus ROZENTAL' & TELENKOVA 1976 is described on the colophon as follows (my emphasis): "Если слово может вызвать определенное затруднение, то именно это затруднение и разрешается в словаре." It is doubtful whether the sum total of these isolated pronouncements amounts to an overall system free from contradictions.

(3) As an example of the sort of inconsistency which can be found, we may briefly examine ŠVEDOVA 1970, defining the parts of speech, which form the basis of her analysis. Op. cit.:304 defines parts of speech: "Это классы слов, характеризующихся: 1. наличием у них общего категориального значения, т.е. значения, абстрагированного, во-первых, от лексических значений всех слов данного класса и во-вторых, от принадлежащих этому классу грамматических категорий; 2. общностью парадигматики и 3. тождественностью синтаксических функций". The first part of criterion 1. amounts to a circular argument: the class is defined by abstracting from members of the class. The second part of criterion 1 is shown by Švedova's own discussion (op.cit.: 305 - 314, 315ff) to be applicable only to five or six of the parts of speech, since only these (noun, pronoun, adjective, numeral, verb, and adverb) are said to possess 'grammatical categories'. The four parts of speech: preposition, conjunction, particle and interjection, are expressly denied those types of lexical and grammatical meaning from which the abstractions required by criterion 1 can be made (op. cit.:311). It is not explained how one is to define, for criterion 2, "общность парадигматики", unless by the circular argument that nouns, for example, share nominal paradigms. Further the definition of 'paradigmatics' (op. cit.: 367) implies that the notion of paradigm cannot apply to the undeclined "служебные слова". If we admit that discussion of the derivation of "служебные слова" falls under "Парадигматики", these items clearly have no features in common, some being 'compound', some being 'complex' etc. (op.cit.: 311). The notion "тождественность синтаксических функций" (third criterion) is not defined: our thesis could be held to demonstrate, in fact, that none of the sets of items postulated by the parts of speech theory manifests such identity; indeed, it is because of the variety of syntactic function that we have been able to set up our word classes.

- 7.2.4 Normative recommendations are often influenced by ideas of what it is logically meaningful to say, that is, by censorship of the content of the message, disguised as censorship of its form.
- 7.2.5 It is admitted that, in spite of the policy of extensive linguistic editing, some non-normative features do creep into writings in our chosen genres. Examples of editorial corrections are shown in LAPTEVA 1968. Examples of non-normative usage which might be found in our texts can be seen in GORBAČEVIC 1966; 15f.
- 7.2.6 The definition of the norm tends to be restrictive: (note the constant use, where the task of reference works is explained, of words such as "оценка", "правильность", "учетность", "речевая ошибка".) it may be necessary, in the interests of overall coherence and consistency, to lift some of these restrictions.
- 7.3 We attempt to keep the limits of the grammar coextensive with those of the scientific and technical norm, with certain exceptions.
- 7.3.1 Phenomena disallowed by the norm but found in our texts are accepted as valid, unless the deviation can be very easily and obviously explained as a misprint, and are evaluated as follows:
- 7.3.1.1 As a minimum, the dictionary entry for the word in question will permit the usage found in the text.
- 7.3.1.2 Where the discrepancy between the text and prescription concerns the existence or prohibition of inflectional forms, we attempt to be as permissive as our textual data allow.

7.3.1.3 If the prohibitions of the norm seem clearly based on notions of permitted sense rather than permitted form, we have simply ignored such prohibitions. In each such case, reasons for the decisions are given.

7.3.2 The greatest discrepancies between norm and textual data have proved to occur where isolated inflectional forms are said not to exist for individual words. The problem arises because of the all-pervasive and consistent nature of Russian morphology, which positively invites the coinage of new forms by analogy, a process which takes place uninhibitedly in informal conversation. Specimens of such coinages (frequently made by children, but not confined to them) are sometimes presented for amusement in *Наука и жизнь* and the like.

The following decision procedure has been adopted to deal with such cases.

7.3.2.2 If a text contradicts the norm, REID is made to conform to the text.

7.3.2.3 Where two or more normative sources contradict each other, the decision permitting the greater number of possibilities is taken.

7.3.2.4 This type of difficulty arises particularly for verbs (existence of various participles) and adjectives (existence of 'short' and comparative forms). It has been resolved in different ways in the two cases.

7.3.2.4.1 Verbs can be classified in a very detailed manner with respect to their numerous complementational possibilities (type of oblique-case

object, government of infinitive or other subordinate clause etc). Such possibilities are much more frequently encountered than the various participle forms whose existence is in question. It was therefore decided that for all practical purposes it would be adequate, in the present stage of our analysis, to confine the classification of verbs to consideration of these complementational factors.

7.3.2.4.2 The complementational possibilities of adjectives, on the other hand, are much more restricted, and constructions affected by the existence of 'short' or comparative forms occur rather frequently. It was felt appropriate, therefore, to let the classification system reflect the widest possible range of types so that, for example, the student could be made aware that, if a certain range of syntactic meanings were associated with predicate adjective position, this range would be distributed differently over the three possible predicate forms (long nominative, long instrumental, short nominative) of an adjective possessing long and short forms than for an adjective which did not have the short form as a possibility. Consequently, the most permissive norm or usage that could be found for each adjective was taken as the basis for a classification which used as one of its criteria the range of morphological forms available to the words in question.

7.4 Serious problems of the above-mentioned types have been very rare. We state, therefore, that our grammar deals with the norm of the scientific and technical style of modern standard written Russian, with two extensions: a) textual data which exceed the limits of the norm

are not rejected, but incorporated into the description; b) data which are usually deemed irrelevant for this particular genre are taken into account if they would clearly need to be incorporated in a future more broadly-based grammar on the same principles.

8. 'Span' and 'scope' of grammatical rules and units.

8.1 The maximum stretch over which our rules function is the sentence, which for our purpose is sufficiently defined by its standard written form, see JAMES 1962.

8.1.1 A sentence in standard written Russian ends with one of the punctuation marks . (full stop), ! (exclamation mark) or ? (question mark), each of which may be followed by the punctuation marks) (end of parenthesis) or " (closing reported speech). The beginning of a sentence is either the beginning of a text, chapter or paragraph, or it follows a sentence ending in one of the ways specified above. If the sentence begins with a numeral symbol or some type of formula, the sentence does not begin with a capital letter; otherwise, the first word of the sentence begins with a capital letter.

8.1.2 It is recognised that in principle this definition would encompass certain elliptical constructions, which, though syntactically incomplete, may occur with the type of punctuation used above as a defining device. However, this has not been found to occur in the genres with which we are concerned.

8.1.3 In describing the complementational possibilities of certain word-

classes, the variety '+ sentence' has been postulated on occasion. This formulation indicates that the complement in question has a structure such that it could be expected to occur in a Russian text in our genre as an independent sentence, defined as in § 8.1.1. The formulation is to be regarded as a convenient device to avoid having to specify for this type of complement the wide variety of forms which may occur.

- 8.2 The restriction of scope to the sentence is imposed for several reasons.
 - 8.2.1 Such a restriction accords with widespread current practice in works of theory. The limitation is frequently not made explicit, but in works with such limits, data are presented consistently in units no greater than that of the sentence.
 - 8.2.2 All the textbooks with which REID is compared appear to operate with rules which do not extend beyond the sentence.
 - 8.2.3 The greater number of the relationships we record extend over this range.
 - 8.2.4 We elect to follow the programme suggested in JELÍNEK & NOVÁK 1968a: 3-4, the need for which is echoed in WERLICH 1976:11, whereby a comprehensive account of possible sentence types forms a foundation for a text grammar.
- 8.3 Our rules are confined to the level of syntax, and are concerned with the registration of what FRIES 1952:56 refers to as 'structural

meanings'. It is acknowledged that no firm boundary can be drawn between the various postulated levels: (see NOSEK 1961, for example); however, sufficient distinction can be drawn to make practical application possible. Individual cases of difficulty are separately discussed in this thesis.

8.4 Our analysis deals only with the surface structure of the sentence, which for our purposes amounts to 'that which appears on the printed page'. This limitation is accepted for a number of reasons, whose discussion in depth would unnecessarily extend the length and complexity of the present work.

8.4.1 We do not accept that the task of linguistics is necessarily or feasibly to explore the structure of the human mind, as suggested by Chomsky et al. (cf CHOMSKY 1972:27-28's justification of universal grammar as 'a study of the nature of human intellectual capacities', and hence of linguistics as a 'subfield of psychology').

8.4.2 It is not necessarily the case that the assumed universal deep structure simplifies the description of human language as a whole, or of a particular human language. For example, the postulation of an initial structure

S \longrightarrow NP + VP cf STAAL 1967:5ff

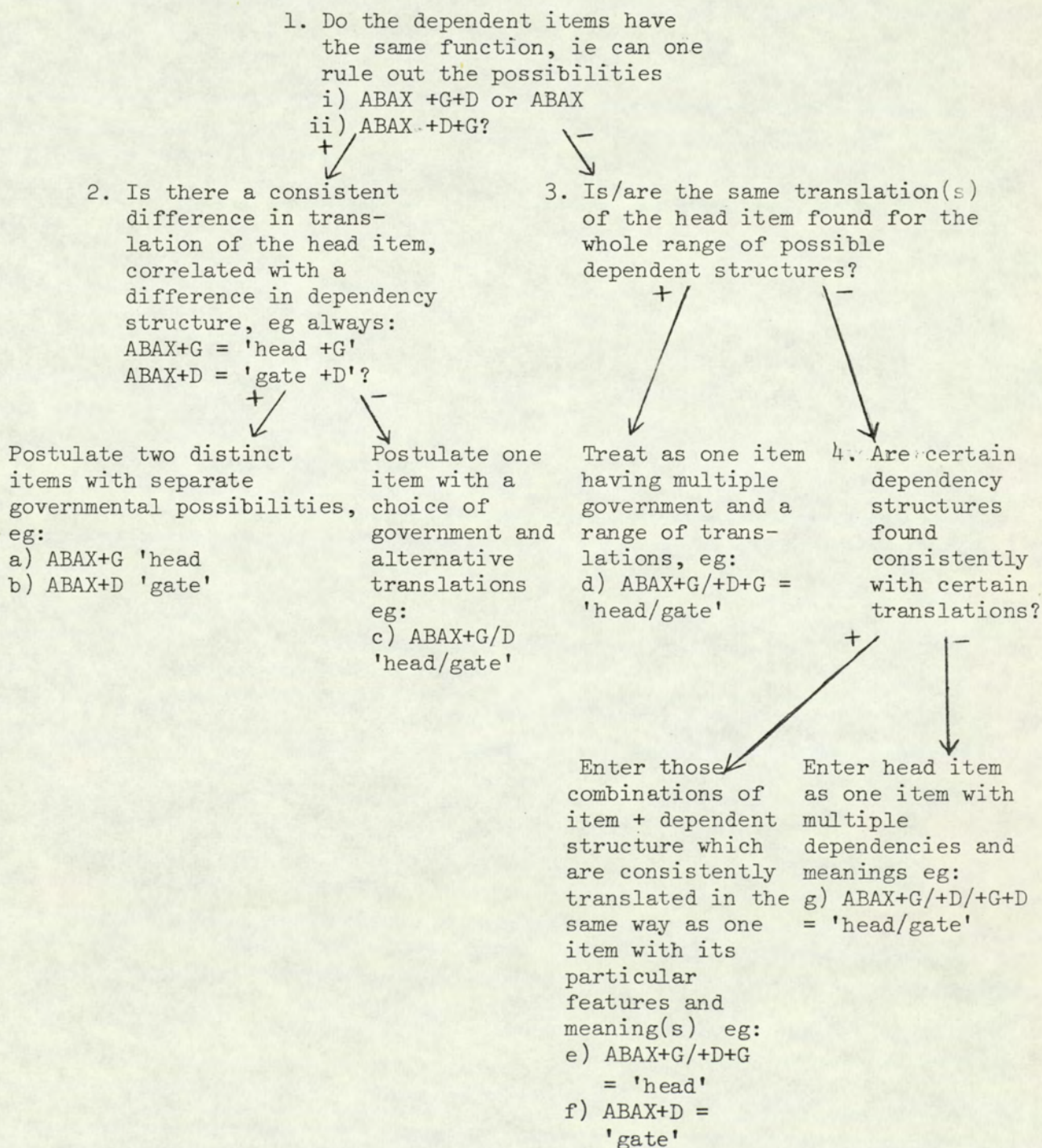
entails massive subject deletion for a language such as Japanese, which descriptions of the standard transformational type leave unmotivated; it also leaves unsolved questions as to the relative

status of ""subject" が "" and ""subject" は "" (see DIK 1978).

- 8.4.3 It can plausibly be argued that many of the supposed deep structural relationships are in fact better to be looked for in the formal surface structure of the surrounding text, i.e. that deep structure, as normally understood, is an artefact of the rules and their confinement to the scope of the sentence (cf BABBY & BRECHT 1975, DERWING 1973).
- 8.4.4 There would seem to be considerable justification for the assertion of ŠAUMJAN 1965 that the set of Chomskian transformations is assembled on an ad hoc basis, where a coherent, motivated set is called for.
- 8.5 The units with which our grammar operates are printed Russian words (including their whole inflectional paradigms) of the standard modern Russian orthography. Exceptions to this are a) that homographs which can be distinguished by phonological (e.g. difference of stress) or syntactic (i.e. difference in combinatorial possibilities) criteria are so distinguished; b) collocations which function as a unit (e.g. are internally uninterruptible) are entered in the dictionary as words (e.g. в зависимости от, where no adjective can intervene between в and зависимости, or between зависимости and от, and the whole combination is therefore to be entered as one preposition).
- 8.5.1 In separating homographs on syntactic grounds, the meaning of the item may, as a last resort, be permitted to play a role, as shown in the following decision-procedural chart.

8.5.1.1 Data: ABAX is a noun (i.e. can be subject, object, etc., can be modified by adjectives, etc.). The printed item ABAX sometimes occurs with a dependent genitive (+G), sometimes with a dependent dative (+D). Russian-English dictionaries offer two translations for the printed item ABAX, thus: 'head; gate'.

Procedure



8.5.2 In the case of inflected words, the classification is deemed to apply to the whole paradigm. For example, the proposed verb-class V-1 implies compulsory complementation by an accusative object (Chapter 4 §1.13.1). Clearly, the present passive participle of such verbs cannot have an accusative object. Nevertheless, such a participle will still, in the present work, be deemed to belong to that class; REID's treatment of the participle will simply inform the student that an accusative object need not be found in this particular usage of an item of the given class. In the long term, such inconsistencies will have to be fully handled, but at present such a vast work cannot be attempted.

9. Relationships within the grammar

9.1 The relationships which will be significant for our grammar, and will therefore be included in it, are those where the form and/or presence of one item (the 'modifier') is conditional upon the presence of another (the 'head'). These relationships are reflected in the distribution of items in the corpus as discussed in §9.2. They cover a variety of relationships discussed in traditional grammars (see §9.3).

9.2 Distribution

9.2.1 HARRIS 1946, and to a great extent FRIES 1952, conduct linguistic analysis with heavy reliance on factors of distribution, that is, the possibility of items occurring in juxtaposition in a context which predefines such sequences as are found as well-formed,

cf HARRIS 1968:14, where the well-formedness seems partly to be predefined by the notion of 'discourse': 'every discourse can be segmented into sections in such a way that each section is a case of one of certain well-formed sequences of word classes or of word-class sequences'.

The difficulty of such an approach is that within a sequence which is well-formed overall, individual juxtapositions may occur which in themselves do not constitute well-formed sub-sequences. These ill-formed sub-sequences can theoretically be eliminated from the formulation of the rules of the grammar by a sufficiently massive accumulation of data, where well-formed morpheme sequences will eventually predominate. However, for a syntactic analysis, it is not clear how the influence of lexical collocational restrictions is to be separated from that of syntactic restrictions. In practice, a certain amount of 'intuition' as to functional relationships appears to provide a 'short-cut' through the analysis. This seems to be inevitable if practical results are ever to be achieved; the 'intuitions' should therefore be formalised.¹

¹For example, FRIES 1952 arrives at a fairly far-reaching analysis of English sentence structure on the basis of something over 250,000 words of running text (50 hours of telephone conversation) (FRIES 1952:x). It must be supposed that the wide generalisations made in that grammar could be arrived at only by heavy application of the 'short-cut' offered by the supposed existence of 'structural meanings' (op.cit. p.56), i.e. not by distributional criteria alone. We draw this conclusion on the basis of data such as that of GUSTAVSSON 1976:36-37, where, in investigating just one area of Russian grammar, that of the adjective in predicate position, and asking only 16 questions about syntactically relevant factors (animacy of subject, form of copula etc.), it was found that the actual number of parameter combinations to be investigated amounted to 6,615. Although the number of example sentences collected appears large (7,729 - it is not stated how many running words of text, but if we assumed an average length of 10 words for each of Gustavsson's examples, this would suggest that Fries's corpus was only three to four times bigger), the corpus was in fact only big enough to permit an average of 1.2 examples of each possible combination (in theory. In fact, of course, some possibilities were heavily represented, others not at all). Clearly, if only pure distributional data are to be used for the construction of a complete grammar, the size of the corpus is likely to be unmanageable.

9.2.2 We propose, therefore, to let ours be a 'functional-distributional' analysis.

9.2.2.1 The term and our techniques of analysis are not original, having been widely used within the Prague school. Since, however, a comprehensive account is not available (see JELÍNEK et al., forthcoming), a short exposition is in order here.

9.2.2.2 Functional-distributional analysis aims at restricting the mass of distributional data derived from a well-formed text to those data where the distribution reflects a functional relationship between the items in the distribution, the relationships to be considered functional being specified as part of the framework of the analysis. The tests described in §10 serve as a means of establishing functional similarity, and also as a projection mechanism whose effect is to extend the boundaries of the grammatical predictions beyond those of the original data found in the corpus.

9.3.1 The type of relationship which concerns us is traditionally discussed under such headings as 'modification', 'government' ('weak' and 'strong'), 'complementation'. Such terms, however, tend to be defined notionally, e.g. in terms of 'completion of sense', or expression of 'отношения объективные, субъективные или комплетивные' (ŠVEDOVA 1970:489), and there is some degree of overlap between notions, for example, 'agreement' is a type of 'modification'. It has also been maintained, with some reason, that the traditional set of terms does not quite extend to cover all the relationships we should wish to include (cf HAPP 1976:126ff on 'government').

Examples of the relationships recorded in our grammar follow.*

9.3.2.1 Head is a noun:

- I adjective NOUN
(agreement required; modifier optional)
- II NOUN adverb
(modifier optional)
- III NOUN noun
(case of modifier predetermined; modifier optional)

9.3.2.2 Head is a verb:

- IV noun VERB noun noun adverb preposition + clause
 pronoun pronoun pronoun
 numeral numeral numeral
 (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6)

(modifiers are optional or compulsory, depending on classificational features of individual verb; case of (1) must be nominative, agreement with verb form required; (2), (3) ('objects') have form and presence determined by verb; (4) normally has lexically fixed form, presence determined by verb; (5) has its own modifiers of predetermined form, represented here by '+'; form of (6), if present, determined by class membership of verb).

- 9.3.3 Our complete grammar would ultimately permit a comprehensive listing of such combinations and their occurrence in sentences. For our present purposes, the type of relationship to be recorded is adequately demonstrated above.

* Curved lines join items between which exists a relationship of the relevant type. Alternative realisations of the relationship are listed in columns.

9.4 'Syntactic valency'

The statement of the total set of syntactic relationships in which an item may participate, and of whether participation in such syntactic relationships is compulsory or optional when the item is used in a sentence, will be called a statement of the item's 'syntactic valency'. For a recent detailed discussion of the term 'valency' and its usage, see FINK 1977. An account of the basis of the theory is given in GÜNTHER 1975. WELTE 1974 attributes the introduction of the term to TESNIÈRE 1953 and 1959. Words whose syntactic valency is identical belong to the same syntactic word-class.

10. Collection of data

10.1.1 Several texts from the required genre were collected¹ as a basis, and the syntactic relationships exhibited in these data were noted.

10.1.2 Further information on the possible syntactic configurations of the language was extracted from a number of 'theoretical'² grammars of Russian, and 'theoretical'² studies of individual problems of Russian grammar.

¹These texts were largely contributed by students of our course, and were texts which the students were required to read in their jobs. The present author scanned them for conformity to the specified genre. Since the majority of the texts were either from standard Soviet scientific and technical periodicals, or were from collections of texts deemed by authoritative sources to provide suitable training for those wishing to master the features of the genre with which we deal, it seems safe to assume that our corpus fell within the required range.

²By 'theoretical' we mean 'claiming to describe systematically and exhaustively (an area of) the langue 'Modern Standard Russian' (eg VINOGRADOV 1952, KARCEVSKI 1927). We thereby exclude textbooks, which we shall define as 'works whose aim is to enable a person who does not speak or understand Russian to acquire such an understanding, whether or not for a limited purpose, and using a language other than Russian as a medium for the presentation and elucidation of data about the Russian language'. Textbooks are examined in Chapter 10 of this thesis. 'Manuals of usage', (eg ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, USSR 1950-1965, DERIBAS 1975 which we define as 'works aiming at illustrating and exemplifying, for the benefit of an audience which already knows Russian, recommended current usage'. played a role described in §10.1.3.

- 10.1.2 The status of the information given in these works is sometimes dubious. Our evaluation of individual points of controversy is given as the need arises. Here we deal with our general evaluative principles.
- 10.1.2.1 The theoretical premises of 'traditionalist'¹ works were found to use criteria which were inexplicit, not well-defined, and sometimes contradictory. In many cases, data were apparently handled on the basis of their meaning alone, and this in a potentially controversial way (e.g. GALKINA-FEDORUK 1958, although noting syntactic features of impersonal expressions (op.cit.:127), ultimately groups them under semantic types such as 'Безличные предложения, выражающие физические и атмосферно-метеорологические явления' (op.cit.:129), 'Безличные предложения, выражающие понятия о времени и метеорологическо-атмосферных явления' (op.cit.:135). The basis for the distinction is hard to ascertain. Thus it proved impossible in many instances to assess how far the analysis was compatible with our own criteria. These works were therefore used as fruitful sources of suggestions and data, and the information derived from them was included in our definition of our word-classes only when it had been widely verified by other means.

¹By 'traditionalist' works we mean those carried out within the traditional framework of the parts of speech, as defined by e.g. NIKITEVIĆ 1963 and as used in the range of grammars sanctioned by the Institute of Russian Language of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, e.g. GVOZDEV 1961, PEŠKOVSKIJ 1956.

10.1.2.2 Findings made within a particular, well-defined theoretical framework were accommodated insofar as the criteria used were compatible with our own, or the data presented could be confirmed by the application of our own criteria.

Certain problems arose:

10.1.2.2.1 Shaping of the analysis by criteria not deemed relevant to our method, e.g. the need to accommodate universal deep structure. Insofar as these criteria were defined, a relationship to our own could be attempted, and an evaluation of the data made accordingly.

10.1.2.2.2 Omission from the analysis of factors which we require it to accommodate, e.g. purely distributional, rather than functional-distributional, analysis. In such cases, our additional criteria would be applied to the results.

10.1.2.2.3 Confinement of analysis to a particular corpus. Where it is the conclusion of such a study that a potentially-occurring structure 'has not been found', or where the study otherwise indicates that a residual possibility remains of a particular structure occurring, given a sufficiently enlarged corpus, we propose to make use of the findings in our teaching materials, e.g. by mentioning the rarest possibilities in the less conspicuous areas of our lay-out, instead of giving them prominence, but shall not make such information the basis for the establishing of word-classes.

10.1.3 'Manuals of usage' were consulted with a restricted purpose. A use of a word or word-combination was regarded as possible if it could

be found in one of these sources. No conclusion can of course be drawn from failure to find such a combination, since these works deal with the recommended norm rather than the limits of possibilities of the language.

10.2 Handling of data

10.2.1 The syntactic generalisations suggested by the data were examined as to the extent of their applicability to all Russian words. Where all sources were in agreement, and no counter-example could be found or construed by the present author, syntactic rules said to be of general application (usually to all members of a given part of speech) were accepted as correct. Where there was doubt as to the part of speech membership of an item, or if any source restricted the applicability of the syntactic structures, these were taken as potential distinguishing features of our syntactic word-classes, and further examination was carried out, as discussed in subsequent chapters.

10.2.2. It is recognised that the general body of grammatical rules which we suppose to be operative within the language, but not to distinguish individual word-classes (see §6), needs further scrutiny. This cannot be done within our present scope, and we therefore base our proposed word-classes on the unproven assumption that the rules are correct and otherwise consistent in the manner required for a grammar. To the extent that they are not, deficiencies of the following two types will show themselves in our word-classes.

10.2.2.1 Inconsistencies and inadequacies will reveal themselves in the word-classes which cannot be remedied by extending or refining their definition.

10.2.2.2 Application of our analytical procedure to the analysis of texts from our chosen genre will fail in such a way that amendment of individual word-class-carried predictions will not be possible.

10.2.3 As a working hypothesis, the reader is invited to take as our axiomatic body of general grammar rules those rules of syntactic analysis given in REID which are not modified or restricted to certain word-classes by specifications made in REID or in this thesis. In cases of conflict between REID and the thesis, the information given in the thesis is to prevail.

10.3 'Testing' of data

The following procedures were used to determine the scope of syntactic restrictions (terminology from HAPP 1976).

10.3.1 Substitution

The constituent structure of the sentence under examination having been established, alternative members of sentence were substituted into the sentence frame, and the syntactic acceptability of the result assessed.

10.3.2 Permutation

The order of occurrence of items in the sentence was altered, and the syntactic acceptability of the result assessed.

10.3.3 Deletion

Systematic deletion of items in the sentence was carried out, and the result assessed in terms of a) syntactic optionality of the deleted item; b) syntactic dependency of the deleted item on other members of sentence.

10.3.4 Insertion

Additional items were added, and the syntactic acceptability of the result assessed.

10.3.5 Exclusion and conjunction

It was first established by substitution which items could replace a given member of the sentence. It was then attempted a) to insert two such items at the same point in the sentence with no intervening conjunction; b) to insert the same two items with one of the conjunctions и, или. This served to establish the existence of one sentence 'slot', and the identity of status of the two items in that context (since и, или join items of equal status (LAUNER 1974)).

10.3.6 Morphological change

This is used in one case only, that of the class PARENTH (see Chapter 9) where one of the identifying features of the class is its inability to inflect in contexts where its homographs would inflect.

10.3.7 Effect on inflection of dependent items

This feature too occurs only once, see Chapter 5, §1.1.

10.3.8 Transformation

Various types of transformation have been used as the most convenient means of demonstrating syntactic relationships between items.

11. Application of the grammar

The design of our grammar and its word-classes is such that a Russian sentence may be fully analysed by the following procedure:

- 11.1 With reference to the lexicon (REID), assign to each word in the sentence its word-class label(s). (see Chapter 1, §2.1).
- 11.2 With the aid of the morphological information in REID (Chapter 1, §2.1), identify which inflected form of inflectable items is present in the sentence (recording alternative interpretations in the case of morphological ambiguity).
- 11.3 Consulting the definitions of the word-classes (List of Terms, REID pp. i - xv)¹, register which combinations of word-classes in which morphological forms result in (a) coherent chain(s) of predictions and fulfillments from the beginning to the end of the sentence.

¹Our example below uses REID, but it is intended that the set of word-classes postulated in Chapters 3 - 9 will provide a more detailed and better-founded set of predictions. It must of course be used with an updated lexicon.

11.4 Although we have described the three stages as if each were carried out independently over the whole sentence before beginning the next stage, we intend the analysis in fact to proceed from left to right, with all three operations performed on one word before the next is dealt with. Thus, as each word is analysed, (a) new syntactic prediction(s) is/are set up, to be confirmed or rejected as the analysis proceeds to the right.

We insist on the strict right-to-left procedure because this permits predictions to be systematically set up and refuted even by the novice, in spite of the difficulty of identifying members of sentence, discussed in Chapter 1, §4.

11.5 An illustration of the procedure follows.

Consider the sentence: Надо было понять, как растения поглощают солнечную радиацию.

We shall illustrate in principle how our grammar, word-classes and REID are used to analyse the sentence.

a) Look up надо in REID.

Translation: 'it is necessary'

Word-class: PRED-2

Predictions entailed for PRED-2 (REID:xii): 'it' as English subject¹;

¹in the classes proposed in the thesis, the translation of the item is no longer allowed to play such a large part in its classification.

any dative item which occurs must be translated as 'for-'; possible verb in infinitive, translated 'to-'; tense derived from COP or ending of PRED-2.

Modification of prediction (in dictionary entry for **надо**): tense of this particular PRED-2 is given by an associated COP

Additional prediction: present tense of **быть** (=COP) may be present (indicated by number 55 in the 'possible continuation' column)

Diagrammatically:

Analysis	Predictions
надо	
PRED-2	+COP <u>±</u> Dative <u>±</u> Infinitive (for-) (to-)

it is (?was ?will be) necessary

b) Look up **было**

This is broken down into the copular stem **бы=** and the past neuter ending **ло**, giving the past tense of COP

Translation: 'was'

Word-class: COP

Predictions: +PRED-1, 2 or 4 (gives tense); +nominative complement; +verb in No. 31 form (=past passive participle);

(The last prediction is restricted to the stem **буд=** and so does not apply.)

Diagrammatically:

Analysis	Predictions	
надо было	<u>±</u> Dat. <u>±</u> Inf.	<u>±</u> PRED-1, 4 <u>±</u> nom. complement
PRED-2 COP	unfulfilled	unfulfilled predictions for
stage a) prediction	predictions	было

Analysis	Predictions
fulfilled, giving 'it was necessary'	for надо

Thus far, we have found one set of predictions which ties up the two items we have so far looked up, but we record all others, since in the long term the link which we have established may not be the right one (may not be further sustainable throughout the sentence).

c) Look up ПОНЯТЬ

This is identified as the infinitive of a verb.

Translation: '(to) understand'

Word-class: V

Predictions: none

Diagrammatically:

Analysis	Predictions
----------	-------------

надо было ПОНЯТЬ

PRED-2 COP V(Inf) see below

'it was necessary'

fulfills prediction for

PRED-2, giving 'it was

necessary to understand'.

Now we find a weakness of REID which we hope our revised system will overcome: the combination ', как', once it occurred, effectively rules out the possibility that the D, PRED-1 or PRED-4, or nominative complement, which were predicted as possible, will now occur, since the clause within which they would have to come has now terminated.

In addition, the verb `понять` should be assigned to a verb-class which requires either an accusative direct object within the same clause, or a following clause consisting of an indirect question and introduced by a word of the same class as `как`. In REID no such verb-class exists, and so the student will finally have to construe the connection between the clauses by sense. This is an instance of our criticism in the final paragraph of Chapter 1, and illustrates the importance of our word-classes and their associated predictions. Our thesis resolves this difficulty by postulating an appropriate verb-class, V-6 (Chapter 4, §3.3.4).

d) Look up `как`

Translation: 1. 'how', 2. 'as, like, while'

Word-class: 1. INTERR 2. CONJ

Predictions: REID:xi gives two predictions for INTERR, each of which can be ruled out as it requires the presence in the sentence of a specific piece of Russian (`не` or `бы ни`) which can at once be seen to be absent. REID:viii says that CONJ join two sentences, but what precedes is not a sentence, so this appears impossible.

Thus, we apparently have no predictions. Again, REID's classifications are at fault. INTERR should be better defined to admit of introducing indirect questions, and to correlate with verbs of the `понять` class. At present, the student has to resort to guess-work based on sense.

e) Look up `растения`

Translation: `растен`= 'plant'

Word-class: NOM-2

Predictions: \pm genitive noun

Morphology: Я added to this stem may signal the following additional meanings and predictions:

i) plural 'plants' Nominative (subject of V)

Accusative (direct object of verb)

\pm 'be' (COP); verb in form no. 28 or 29Pl

if this is subject; complement of 'be';

\pm adj, ending no. 18; direct object of V-
or PREP-A

ii) genitive singular 'plant's')

\pm adj, ending no. 14MN; \pm NUM-2; object of
NOM-G, V-G, PREP-G; object of negated verb
(ruled out - no 'НЕ' in sentence); 'some
plant' - not applicable, as the word is not a
NOM-3

Diagrammatically:

Analysis

Predictions

растения

NOM-2

'plants'

\pm COP \pm V (no. 28 or 29Pl) \pm Adj (no. 18) \pm PREP-A

'plant's'

\pm Adj (no. 14MN) \pm NUM-2 \pm NOM-G \pm V-G \pm PREP-G

f) Look up поглощают

Translation: 'absorb' + ending no. 28 (=3rd plural present tense)

Word-class: V-iii/iv

Predictions: the numbers iii and iv of the verb-class label relate to

the function of the ending *ся/сь*, which is not present. Thus we know only that we have a verb, and that its object, if it has one, will be accusative (REID:xiv). Not only is this information obscurely expressed, it is defective in that verbs which cannot take any object (e.g. *ходить*) are not distinguished from those which may (e.g. *писать*), or those which must (e.g. *поглощать*). Our newly-proposed word-classes should remedy this (Chapter 4). No further predictions.

Diagrammatically:	Analysis	Predictions
растения	поглощают	\pm COP \pm Adj (18)
'plants'	'absorb'	\pm PREP-A
NOM-2	V-iii/iv ending no 28	\pm Accusative direct object
prediction fulfilled		
'plants absorb'		
OR		
растения	поглощают	
'plants'	'absorb'	\pm Adj (18) \pm PREP-A
NOM-2	V-iii/iv ending no 28	\pm Nominative subject
accusative ending		
prediction fulfilled		
'absorb plants'		
OR		
растения	поглощают	
'plant's'	'absorb'	\pm Adj (14MN) \pm NUM-2
		\pm NOM-G \pm V-G \pm PREP-G
NOM-2	Viii/iv ending no 28	\pm Nominative subject
		\pm Accusative object
genitive ending		

g) Look up солнечную

Translation: 'solar' + ending 13Fa Accusative singular

Word-class: ADJ

Predictions: modifies noun, so +F sg. acc. noun; other functions ruled out, as they require a nom. or instr. ending

Additional prediction for ending no. 13Fa: +noun (ending no. 2F)

Diagrammatically:

Analysis	Predictions
солнечную	
ADJ	+ noun (ending no. 2F)
'solar'	
F. Acc. Sg.	

h) Look up радиацию

Translation: 'radiation' + ending no. 2Fb

Word-class: NOM-2

Predictions (given only for ending no. 2Fb): object of V-;

+ PREP-A +ADJ (ending no. 13F)

Diagrammatically

Analysis	Prediction
солнечную радиацию	
ADJ NOM-2	Since no words of the sentence remain
'solar' 'radiation'	unaccounted for, it is clear that predictions
ending <u>13Fa</u> ending <u>2Fb</u>	requiring PREP-A or additional ADJ can be
prediction fulfilled	abandoned, as no such items are present.
'solar radiation'	For the integration of the 'object of V-'
	prediction, see j)

12. Limitations of the present work

In establishing our syntactic word-classes, we have relied on a certain standard of 'acceptability'. We recognise that current linguistic practice relies on careful evaluation of the reactions of native speakers of the language in question to the data for the establishing of such a standard of acceptability. An extensive programme of evaluation with native speakers was unfortunately beyond our resources, and to the extent that this has not been carried out, our proposed word-classes must be regarded as tentative.

However, no classes are proposed unless;

- a) textual data confirm, or at least do not refute, them
- b) individuals with a suitable degree of competence in Russian have confirmed individual points

The author's own judgement, as a non-native speaker of Russian, has nowhere been taken as definitive.

In cases where sufficient confirmation of the data is not available, we confine ourselves to suggesting how such confirmation might be sought.

It is hoped that these proposals will serve as a fruitful basis for future research.

CHAPTER THREE

Noun classes

0.1 Definition of the noun classes

0.1 We discuss here words traditionally called 'nouns'. Also included are items such as зимой, вечером (§6.3), which some sources call 'adverbs' (VINOGRADOV 1952, I:611). Certain items coinciding in form with nouns, e.g. правда in "Он, правда, неплохой студент", are distinguished from their homographous noun forms by a failure to decline, no matter what their syntactic context, and are discussed as PARENTH (Chapter 9). The distinction between 'adjectival nouns' and 'adjectives' e.g. русский, ученый, is discussed in §0.52.

0.2 The traditional definition of the 'noun' emphasises its 'abstract meaning' (term from ŠVEDOVA 1974) e.g. VINOGRADOV 1952, I:21 обозначают предметы . . . или представляют любые явления как предметы ŠVEDOVA 1970:305 "часть речи, обозначающая предмет"; GVOZDEV 1961, I:146 "часть речи, выражающая предметность"; VALGINA 1973:161 "Слова которые служат названием предмета в широком смысле, т.е. имеют значение предметность".

0.2.2 Secondly are mentioned morphological and syntactic features, eg ŠVEDOVA 1970:loc.cit continues "и выражающая это значение в грамматических категориях падежа, числа и в лексико-грамматической категории рода".

- 0.2.3 Thirdly, subgroups of nouns are distinguished on the basis of the supposed nature of their designata, e.g. VALGINA 1973:162ff lists существительные собственные, одушевленные, неодушевленные, конкретные, вещественные, отвлеченные, единичные, собирательные, a list with which other sources agree.
- 0.3 Textbooks of Russian do not normally define 'noun', although they operate with this notion. Neither do they use nominal word-classes, or otherwise impose an explicit subclassification.
- 0.3.1 In deciding whether a given Russian word is a noun, the student is 'nudged' in certain directions. First, the absence of article in Russian is mentioned (HOLT 1962:1, WARING 1967:9), implying that the Russian translation word for an English word which has an article is a noun. This rule works in many cases, particularly when the languages are seen as two lists of isolated words to be correlated as in a bilingual dictionary. A Russian noun does not always have to be translated as an English noun, but this relatively sophisticated point is not raised when the student is first told that he can recognise nouns, that is, when the nouns are presented in isolation from their syntactic features and with emphasis on their morphology.
- 0.3.2 Secondly, the student is encouraged to associated characteristic morphological features ('endings') with the noun (cf WARD 1960 for 'markers'). (Chapter I, §4.2) shows the unreliability of this approach.



0.3.3 Thirdly, it is tacitly assumed that the student already knows that nouns function syntactically in certain ways.

0.4 REID uses the term 'noun' as a cover-all term for several word-classes (TEMP-1, TEMP-2, TEMP-3, TEMP-4, QUANT, PLC, NOM-D, NOM-G, NOM-I, NOM-2, NOM-3 (REID:xi - we would now exclude NOM-1, see Chapter 7)) in cases where it is not important which of the classes occurs (e.g. nominative subject can be of any class).

0.4.1 The above class names are found as labels of individual dictionary items in REID, and the List of Terms (REID:i-xv) asserts them all to be nouns. The noun is thus defined partly by a list, plus a morphological definition (REID:xi) 'can take endings numbers 1-11'.

0.5 In our present work, we shall define nouns as Russian words which can a) fulfill at least the syntactic functions of subject, object and indirect object; b) be modified by adjectives.

0.5.1 Thus we can distinguish between nouns, adjectives and pronouns:

	noun	adjective	pronoun
can be subject etc	+	-	+
modifiable by adj.	+	-	-

0.5.2.1 The ability of practically any Russian adjective to function as a noun causes problems of definition, especially in textbooks. Typically, textbooks list 'adjectives' (so called on morphological grounds) which 'may be used as nouns'. Sometimes a historical

explanation in terms of deleted associated nouns is adduced (e.g. BERESFORD 1965:29). The result is a conglomeration of ill-defined entities such as 'adjectival nouns', 'adjectives used as nouns' etc.

0.5.2.2 At present, REID does not allow for a 'nominal' use of adjectives. Clearly, an individual occurrence of a 'long' adjective/noun cannot be correctly labelled on the basis of its morphology; some procedure for achieving a correct analysis on syntactic grounds must therefore be attempted.

0.5.2.3 CONDOYANNIS 1959:142-143 shows that 'an adjective used as a noun' is distinct from an 'adjective' through the presence or absence of a modified noun in its environment.

The 'adjective used as a noun' can itself be modified by an adjective, while a 'true' adjective cannot. e.g.

- | | | |
|------|----|--|
| adj. | a) | <u>Русский</u> народ любит мир. |
| noun | b) | <u>Русский</u> любит мир. |
| noun | c) | Стар <u>ый</u> <u>русский</u> любит мир. |

In many instances, the two criteria of absence of modified noun and possibility of modifying adjective are sufficient to establish nominality.

0.5.2.4 However, in predicative position, for example, the distinction is more difficult. Detailed discussion is found in GUSTAVSSON 1976.

0.5.2.5 It is argued that in:

d) Эти книги - русские

the word "русские" has nominal force, and this is supported by appeals to translation, e.g. English 'These books are Russian ones'. Further support may be derived from e.g. BORRAS & CHRISTIAN 1968:78

e) Его мать - больная His mother is an invalid (noun)

f) Его мать - больна His mother is ill (adjective)

0.5.2.6 In d) we may avoid the problem by saying that 'These books are Russian' is just as adequate a translation as 'Russian ones', and in f) we would simply axiomatise that short adjectives be regarded as adjectives. But in g)

g) Он-ученый

one must decide whether this is a characterisation of a personality (What kind of man is he? He's learned = adjective) or an attribution of status/profession (What is he? He's a scientist = noun).

0.5.2.7 We stipulate that 'short' forms be regarded as adjectives, and tentatively propose the following tests for 'long' adjectives in predicative position:

I) Modification of predicative adjective by another adjective.

A predicative adjective which can be modified by another adjective is to be treated as a noun, e.g.

h) Он - великий ученый. He's a great scientist

II) Modification of the predicative adjective by certain adverbs (QUAL-CIRCLE, QUANTA 7 - See Chapter 8). A predicative adjective which can be modified by one of the above adverbs is to be treated as an adjective.

j) Он как-то ученый. He's sort of learned

Until the reliability of these tests can be thoroughly assessed, however, we must concede that a problem still exists.

0.6 Thus our proposed definition of the noun covers the REID classes named in 0.4 and coincides roughly with the traditionally-defined 'noun'.

1. We now consider the REID nominal classes in detail, a) by investigating whether features such as case, number, gender, should be included in our basis for classification (§2-5); b) by investigating syntactic features not shared by all nouns, in order to establish classes (§6).

2. Number

2.1 A strong notional element underlies the definition of number, eg. ŠVEDOVA 1970:322 "словоизменительная категория, указывающая на количество называемых существительных предметов".

VALGINA 1973:172ff suggests a possible formal basis for a distinction: 'countable nouns' are combinable with cardinal numerals (our classes NUM-1 to NUM-11 inclusive (see Chapter 5)) 'singulabilia tantum nouns' (term from ŠVEDOVA 1970:323) are not combinable with cardinal

or collective (our class NUM-COLL) numerals; 'pluralia tantum nouns' (term from ŠVEDOVA 1970:160) are, as VALGINA'S example (VALGINA 1973:174) "Во двор ведут двое ворот" shows, combined only with collective numerals (our class NUM-COLL).

- 2.2 It does not appear possible for pluralia tantum nouns to form singulars, and this, with their collocation with NUM-COLL, should lead us to postulate a separate class for such words. However, since these words are few, and in other respects behave like other classes of nouns, we shall simply treat them as subclasses of other nominal classes whose syntactic possibilities they otherwise share.
- 2.3 For 'singularia tantum nouns', we cannot rule out the possibility of plural forms, in view of ŠVEDOVA 1970:323 "в тех относительных редких ситуациях, когда возникает необходимость выразить количественные отношения, от ряда слов singularia tantum могут быть образованы формы мн. ч." We therefore leave open the possibility that such words do not constitute a separate class.
- 2.4 Since the singular/plural distinction otherwise extends over all Russian nouns, it is not used to establish word-classes.
- 2.5 Textbooks treat the singular/plural distinction in Russian as identical to that in English (although from a contrastive standpoint which compares language systems it is not, since the English system does not contain a set of collective numerals, and does exploit a relationship between article and countability of nouns). Onto this supposed identity is grafted a list of individual items where the difference in system affects the translation, e.g. "часы" 'watch.'

3. Gender

3.1 Although some sources confuse gender and sex (e.g. NIKITEVIĆ 1963), the majority emphasise the syntactic basis of gender distinction (VALGINA 1973:169, GVOZDEV 1961, I:147ff), ŠVEDOVA 1970:317:

"(категория) указывающая на способность существительных сочетаться с определенными формами слов, относящихся к синтаксическому разряду определяющих"

All sources except ŠVEDOVA, who expressly states (ŠVEDOVA 1970:318 "система флексии не всегда является достаточным критерием для различения рода существительных", emphasise heavily the correlations between the gender and the morphological form of the noun.

3.1.2 The emphasis on the gender-morphology relationship is echoed in textbooks (except REID, see 3.1.3). HOLT 1962:2 alone mentions pronominal reference as a means of distinction (see DRESSLER 1961:16, BUXTON & JACKSON 1960:17). This accords with the textbooks' general emphasis on morphology.

3.1.2.1 There may be pedagogical reasons for this presentation: the morphological rules are concrete, easy to grasp, and usually effective, whereas treatment of gender as an unmotivated category creates problems (cf French, German), and may be overridden by a student's private determination to treat it as morphologically-determined. However, exceptions to the 'morphology determines gender' rule are numerous, and require detailed, often confusing, discussion

(cf BORRAS & CHRISTIAN 1968:1-5). It can be found that students who have been accustomed to such a rule remain unsure, even at an advanced stage, whether the accusative of "старый дядя" for instance, is "старого дядю", "старого дяди" or "старую дядю".

3.1.3 REID takes gender as an unmotivated nominal feature, manifested syntactically by adjective and past-tense verb agreement, and by pronominal reference. Each noun is individually labelled for M(asculine), F(eminine) or N(euter) gender, and agreement rules are specified.

3.1.3.1 REID's agreement rules are incomplete, covering only instances where the noun and agreeing item share the identical feature, i.e. M + M, F + F etc. Thus "Он хорошо знает русский и немецкий языки" is not handled in our rules. This should be remedied.

3.2 When gender is treated, as in this work, as a syntactically-determinable phenomenon (a position supported e.g. by IBRAHIM 1973), the question arises whether the traditionally-recognised three types (masculine, feminine, neuter) suffice for our description of Russian.

3.2.1 All sources recognise at least three genders:
 masculine (referred to by он + Nom. Sg. adj. form in ый, ий, ой)
 feminine (referred to by она + Nom. Sg. adj. form in ая, яя)
 neuter (referred to by оно + Nom. Sg. adj. form in ое, ее).

But VINOGRADOV 1952, I:111, VALGINA 1973:169 also mention 'common gender' (общий род). VALGINA 1973:169 confines this to "существительные (со значением лица) на -а (-я) " whose gender "определяется в зависимости от конкретного употребления их в речи".

3.2.1.1 It is not certain how far the morphological restriction can be maintained. In some (colloquial) varieties of Russian, nouns such as врач may also have masculine or feminine agreement, depending on the sex of the referent (cf ^VSVEDOVA 1970:555). Since we do not cover this style of Russian (Chapter 2, §7.1), this aspect of the question need not be discussed further here. The syntactic aspect, however, is to be considered.

3.2.2 The syntactic possibilities for noun gender agreement in Russian are:

- a) singular nouns referred to by он + masc. adj. + masc. past verb
- b) singular nouns referred to by она + fem. adj. + fem. past verb
- c) singular nouns referred to by оно + neut. adj. + neut. past verb
- d) singular nouns referred to by он/она + m/f adj. + m/f. past verb

As the functioning of REID depends on the accuracy of this type of syntactic prediction (Chapter 2, §11), four categories are required (cf GLADKIJ 1973:197).

3.2.3 We do not have separate word-classes for each gender, as this would simply result in splitting each class into three or four; we therefore assign agreement rules to the general part of the grammar (Chapter 2,

§6), and regard items of different gender as belonging to sub-classes of our classes, which are not further discussed in this work.

4. Case

Under 'case' (категория падежа) are habitually discussed two different issues (cf ANDERSON 1971): 'case' (падеж) i.e. 'participation in certain syntactic roles' and 'declinability' (склоняемость) i.e. 'ability to signal morphologically participation in certain syntactic roles' (cf VINOGRADOV 1952, I:120: "Падеж выражает синтаксические функции существительного, устанавливая отношение существительного в данной его падежной форме к другим членам предложения", where the two aspects are mixed).

4.1 All Russian nouns participate in 'case' relationships. We shall discuss here whether 'declinability' influences syntactic function.

4.2.1 VINOGRADOV 1952, III:660f implies that indelinable nouns are limited syntactically, in that only the first noun may be taken as subject in sentences where both subject and direct object noun are morphologically ambiguous for the nominative/accusative distinction.

4.2.2 The following table deals with such instances.

Possible ambiguity in sentences where subject and object are
morphologically unmarked

The following 64 combinations are possible; the first noun will be taken as subject (nominative), the second as direct object (accusative)

1	m	v	m	AB	9	fb	v	m	CB	17	n	v	m	CB
2	m	v	fb	CB	10	fb	v	fb	AB	18	n	v	fb	CB
3	m	v	n	CB	11	fb	v	n	CB	19	n	v	n	AB
4	m	v	pl	CD	12	fb	v	pl	CD	20	n	v	pl	CD
5	m	v	mind	AB	13	fb	v	mind	CB	21	n	v	mind	CB
6	m	v	find	CB	14	fb	v	find	AB	22	n	v	find	CB
7	m	v	nind	CB	15	fb	v	nind	CB	23	n	v	nind	AB
8	m	v	plind	EB	16	fb	v	plind	EB	24	n	v	plind	EB
25	pl	v	m	CD	33	mind	v	m	AB	41	find	v	m	CB
26	pl	v	fb	CD	34	mind	v	fb	CB	42	find	v	fb	AB
27	pl	v	n	CD	35	mind	v	n	CB	43	find	v	n	CB
28	pl	v	pl	AB	36	mind	v	pl	CD	44	find	v	pl	CD
29	pl	v	mind	AB	37	mind	v	mind	AB	45	find	v	mind	CB
30	pl	v	find	AB	38	mind	v	find	CB	46	find	v	find	AB
31	pl	v	nind	AB	39	mind	v	mind	CB	47	find	v	nind	CB
32	pl	v	plind	AB	40	mind	v	plind	EB	48	find	v	plind	EB

(cont. overleaf)

49	nind	v	m	CB	57	plind	v	m	CD
50	nind	v	fb	CB	58	plind	v	fb	CD
51	nind	v	n	AB	59	plind	v	n	CD
52	nind	v	pl	CB	60	plind	v	pl	AB
53	nind	v	mind	CB	61	plind	v	mind	AB
54	nind	v	find	CB	62	plind	v	find	AB
55	nind	v	nind	AB	63	plind	v	nind	AB
56	nind	v	plind	EB	64	plind	v	plind	EB

m = masculine declinable inanimate noun, singular

fb = feminine declinable noun in б, singular

n = neuter declinable noun, singular

pl = inanimate declinable plural noun

mind = masculine indeclinable noun, singular

find = feminine indeclinable noun, singular

nind = neuter indeclinable noun, singular

plind = plural indeclinable noun

v = verb

A = if the verb is in the past tense, the sentence is ambiguous

B = if the verb is in the present tense, the sentence is ambiguous

C = if the verb is in the past tense, the sentence is not ambiguous

D = if the verb is in the present tense, the sentence is ambiguous

E = if the verb is in the past tense and subject and object are of the same gender, ambiguity arises through failure to mark plurality of object.

Of a total of 128 types of sentence (allowing for verb to be past or present tense), 47 are not ambiguous. The majority of these (36) involve the past tense.

Of the 81 ambiguous cases, the majority (53) involve the present tense of the verb.

A number of interesting conclusions could be drawn from further analysis of these results: we should like here only to draw attention to the fact that the ability of the verb form to signal gender and, to a lesser extent, number, strongly influences the ambiguity or otherwise of the sentence, and the influence of the noun's ability to reflect the subject/object distinction morphologically may be overemphasised.

4.2.3 In many instances, therefore, the position described by VINOGRADOV is less ambiguous than he suggests. LYNCH 1960:Appendix 10 P. 61 contradicts VINOGRADOV altogether. Her algorithm uses verbal transitivity, animacy/inanimacy, and subject-verb agreement to disambiguate, but admits also 'We are providing a second reversed translation, to take care of possible variations, which may, and sometimes do occur.' Her Flowchart VIII (LYNCH 1960:59) leaves all possibilities open.

4.2.4 We suspect that the 'inverted' sentence structure (for this term, see, for example, WARD 1960) is a product of intersentential grammatical rules, which we cannot at present specify. We restrict ourselves therefore to two conclusions:

- a) Indeclinable nouns are not necessarily more restricted than others in the sentence-types in which they occur.
- b) Absence of a specific morphological case marker does not necessarily make a sentence ambiguous, and we need not assume that nouns which lack such markers are syntactically restricted. A special 'indeclinable' REID class is therefore not necessary.

4.2.5 The morphological marking of Russian nouns and adjectives is highly ambiguous, and more research is necessary to permit disambiguation through better syntactic predictions in REID (cf Chapter 2, §11).

5. Abstract, concrete, proper, common, animate, inanimate

Our sources do not prove that membership of one or another of these categories conclusively influences the syntactic possibilities of nouns. Such restrictions as are imposed are tentative, e.g.

VALGINA 1973:167 on abstract nouns "Грамматически отвлеченные . . . существительные характеризуются тем, что большая их часть имеет только формы единственного числа . . .

Лишь немногие из отвлеченных существительных могут быть употреблены во множественном числе при конкретизации значения". This classification is largely a semantic one, the limits of whose restrictions are not reliably defined, as may be said too of the other categories mentioned above, which are therefore not used as a basis for our word-classes.

5.1 Only animacy/inanimacy is extensively discussed in textbooks, apparently because of its reflection in the morphology of the noun

(accusative like nominative or genitive). The animacy or inanimacy of the subject of a verb-form in *сЯ/сЫ* is frequently said to influence its possible grammatical analysis (e.g. REID entry for *сЯ*), but this may not be so (see Chapter 4, §1); in the absence of conclusive evidence, we do not propose animate or inanimate classes.

6. Syntactic noun classes

We now deal with the various noun classes proposed in REID, redefining or amending that classification as necessary.

6.1 PLC and QUANT (e.g. ширина, высота; метр, литр)

These can conveniently be discussed together. REID defines them as follows: 'QUANT labels units of measurement' (REID:xiii) and PLC 'Words for dimensions . . . May appear in the I case when the measurement of that dimension is given' (REID:xii). These definitions are largely semantic, but the syntactic formula given for PLC is effective for delimiting both classes:

i) шириной	в	6	метров
<u> </u>			<u> </u>
PLC			QUANT

Additionally, QUANT can serve as the head-noun with a dependent

NOM-3 (see §6.2) in the use which VINOGRADOV 1952, I:121ff calls "родительные меры"

ii) бутылка	молока
<u> </u>	
QUANT	NOM-3

We therefore retain the REID classes PLC and QUANT, defining PLC by i) and QUANT by i) and ii). QUANT can also be distinguished by their ability to cooccur, in the accusative case, with verbs of class V-4 and V-5 (see Chapter 4, §3.3.3).

6.2

NOM-3

REID:xi defines as follows: 'A NOM-3 in the G case may be translatable as 'some noun'. Few instances of this class are marked as such in REID (e.g. чай), and it is usually the few which have a 'partitive genitive' in y/ю which are noted.

ii) бутылна молока

QUANT NOM-3 in genitive

iii) Я хочу купить хлеб/хлеба (Accusative or genitive possible
NOM-3 for NOM-3)

iv) Я хочу купить две шляпы (Member of classes NUM-1 to NUM-11,
possible for non-NOM-3)

* Я хочу купить два хлеба (Member of classes NUM-1 to NUM-11,
NOM-3 not possible for NOM-3)

Thus NOM-3 are to be defined by ii), iii) (which VINOGRADOV 1952, I: 123 discusses in terms of whether all or part of an object is referred to, i.e. semantically) and iv).

6.3

TEMP-1, TEMP-2, TEMP-3, TEMP-4

REID:xiii defines these as follows:

TEMP-1 "+в" or "на" in A case = "at" e.g. ночь, понедельник,
время, минута

TEMP-2 "+в" or "на" in P case = "at" e.g. январь, двухсотлетие,
конец, момент

TEMP-3 "in I sing. case = "in the -" e.g. весна, вечер, ночь

TEMP-4 "in I pl. case = "for -s on end" e.g. час, минута, год.

6.3.1 These classes are clearly unsatisfactory:

6.3.1.1 excessive emphasis is placed on translation as a criterion.

6.3.1.2 the specified uses of the prepositions are contradicted e.g. by BORRAS & CHRISTIAN 1968:293

6.3.1.3 the classification is supposed to be comprehensive, yet many words appear in more than one class, without any difference of meaning as required by Chapter 2 §8.5.1.1.

6.3.2 We may redefine the TEMP- items through their use in the following formulae:

v) Это произошло зимой.

vi) Он сидел у себя в комнате целыми часами.

vii) Они проспали всю ночь.

6.3.3 The group весна, зима, осень, лето, вечер, ночь, утро, день are usable in v), vi) and vii). We shall call this group TEMP-3, and redefine TEMP-3 in terms of three formulae v), vi) and vii).

6.3.3.2 We may redefine TEMP-1 to include only items which occur only in vi) and vii): e.g. столетие, час, минута, секунда, неделя, год, names of weekdays, and some other items previously classed as NOM-2 (NOM-2 are defined in §6.6): эпоха, сутки, семестр, сезон, вечность.

6.3.3.3 TEMP-2 may be redefined to include only items used in vii) only: мгновение, двухсотлетие, время, момент, names of months, and other items which REID calls NOM-2, e.g. спектакль, бал, жизнь, урок.

6.3.3.4 There remains no clear basis for a fourth TEMP- group. Thus the REID classes TEMP-1, TEMP-2, TEMP-3 and TEMP-4 are to be considered inadequate and the names TEMP-1, TEMP-2 and TEMP-3 are now used for freshly-defined classes.

6.4 Certain members of the REID classes are now unclassifiable without more investigation:

6.4.1 вознесение may be used only in vi) or in vi) and vii). Depending on which turns out to be the case, it will be classed as TEMP-1 or TEMP-2.

6.4.2 раз does not fit into any TEMP group, and should be further investigated.

6.4.3 четверть and половина can be used in vii) if they have a dependent genitive. Depending on their other behaviour, we may wish to make them a separate class.

6.4.4 пора may possibly occur in v) if modified by an adjective, but otherwise remains unclassifiable.

6.4.5 конец and начало may be used in vii) with a dependent genitive, thus viii) Они проспали весь конец пьесы.
and also in:

ix) конец войне!

We therefore assign them to a new class, NOM-4, defined by viii) and ix).

6.5 An additional new class can be defined through:

x) Они проспали всю дорогу.

and

xi) Идут они той же дорогой, какой все наши друзья идут. (cf VINOGRADOV 1952, Iii:138). Since the nouns conforming to these patterns are largely spatial in connotation (улица, лес, поле etc), we call the class SPAT. Most of these nouns are simply classes NOM-2 in REID. They may also be accusative object of V-4 or V-5 (see Chapter 4, §3.3.3).

6.6 NOM-G, NOM-D, NOM-I, NOM-2

These are defined (REID:xi) as follows:

'NOM-G requires any noun depending on it to be in the genitive case'

'NOM-D requires any noun depending on it to be in the dative case'

'NOM-I requires any noun depending on it to be in the instrumental case'

'NOM-2 is any noun not specified as some other part of speech. It often has following it a noun in the genitive case, regardless of the case of the first NOM-2, which determines the role of the whole group of nouns in the sentence.

6.6.1 NOM-G, NOM-D and NOM-I were intended to cover, respectively, nouns like посещение (посещение Лондона, not Лондону or some

other obvious rendering of English 'to') измена, and управление. The classification has not been consistently carried out in REID, and does not take account of all the governmental possibilities of the nouns concerned. Furthermore, it implies that the dependent noun is a rather simple type of modifier, when in fact there is a distinct type of relationship between head noun and governed noun in such cases, whose elucidation is valuable for the understanding of the sentence in which they occur. This is particularly clear in the case of a "noun + genitive noun" combination, where the relationship may be one of 'possession' or of, for example, 'object' (cf VINOGRADOV 1952, I:122ff). The contrast in classification between NOM-2 and NOM-G was intended in REID to reflect such a difference in relationship, but not effectively exploited.

NOM-2 serves as a 'catch-all' class, and our discussion so far has narrowed its original scope considerably. It will now be further narrowed.

6.6.2 The majority of REID's NOM-G, NOM-D, NOM-I, and a large number of NOM-2 are in fact nouns which can be derived from verbs, and most of them have further governmental possibilities which should be recorded, and whose derivational history is useful in giving instructions for translation. We demonstrate this with a series of transformations (6.6.2.1).

6.6.2.1 In the formulae below, the names of the cases are abbreviated to their initial letters. The numeral superscripts identify items on each side of the transformational arrow which are in correspondence.

In each instance, the head noun of the derived phrase may occur in any case, depending on its function in the text where it occurs; for this reason, it is not assigned a particular case in the formula.

6.6.2.1.1 A) noun N^1 verb 2 noun A^3 \Rightarrow noun 2 noun G^3 noun I^1
 делегаты выполняют план выполнение плана делегатами

Nouns of the type выполнение will be classed as NOM-GI, to indicate the optional presence of two dependent nouns in the Genitive and Instrumental case.

6.6.2.1. B) noun N^1 verb 2 \Rightarrow noun 2 noun G^1
 2.1 делегаты приезжают приезд делегатов
 кровеносные сосуды сузились сужение кровеносных сосудов

The head nouns приезд, сужение, which will be called NOM-G, have to be derived from verbs which cannot take an object in an oblique case (for nouns derived from verbs which have a non-accusative object, see, for example, formula D).

6.6.2.1. This newly-defined class NOM-G, unlike the inconsequentially
 2.2 carried out classification of some REID items as NOM-G, effectively distinguishes between nouns capable of taking a 'possessive' genitive (which we propose to assign to the class NOM-2, insofar as they have no other distinguishing features), and those where the genitive dependent item represents some kind of actor/agent. We have been unable, however, to find an intrasentential method of distinguishing between these two types. At present, therefore,

definition of this class depends rather heavily on our undefined notion of 'derivation', a notion which is partly etymological and partly semantic. We do not consider this satisfactory, since the notion is open to subjective interpretation, and propose further investigation of this class aimed at a) detecting possible intra-sentential formal differences between nominal groups of the type NOM-2 + genitive and NOM-G + genitive; b) establishing verifiable formal relationships between sentences in connected text manifesting the relationship shown in formula B); c) clarifying and giving formal definition to the notion of 'derivation' resorted to in our present discussion.

6.6.2.1.3 C) noun N¹ verb² noun D³ noun A⁴ \Rightarrow noun² noun G⁴ noun D³ noun I¹
 отец посылает сыну письмо посылка письма сыну отцом

Here the head noun, посылка, meaning 'sending', may be classified as NOM-GDI.

6.6.2.1.4 D) noun N¹ verb² noun D³ \Rightarrow noun² noun D³ noun G¹
 Браун изменил родине измена родине Брауна

Nouns such as измена will be called NOM-DG. It will be noted that the type of verb from which they are derived is that which we call V-D (requiring a compulsory dative complement), whereas nouns derived through formula C) relate to verbs for which the dative complement is optional.

6.6.2.1.5 E) noun N^1 verb 2 noun $D^3 \Rightarrow$ noun 2 noun D^3 noun I^1

второй вывод противоречит первому противоречие первому выводу вторым

We have been unable to establish conclusively whether the case of noun 1 on the right of the formula must be instrumental, or whether the genitive case is an acceptable alternative, or in fact the correct possibility. In the latter case, the noun противоречие simply falls under the scope of formula D), and is to be classed as NOM-DG. On the assumption that formula E) is correct, we shall call this type of noun NOM-DI. Should genitive and instrumental turn out to be alternatives, this may be reflected in the class name, e.g. by the name NOM-D G/I, where a naming convention may specify that / separates alternative realisations of the same function.

6.6.2.1.6 F) : noun N^1 verb 2 noun D^3 , что sentence $^4 \Rightarrow$ noun 2 noun G^1 noun D^3 , что sentence

начальство извещает работникам, что . . . извещение начальства работникам, что

We shall call nouns like извещение NOM-GD, что

6.6.2.1.7 G) noun N^1 verb 2 noun D^3 verb inf. \Rightarrow noun 2 noun G^1 noun D^3 verb inf

отец приказал сыну делать . . . приказание отца сыну делать . . .

H) noun N^1 verb 2 noun D^3 noun $A^4 \Rightarrow$ noun 2 noun I^1 noun D^3 noun G^4

отец приказал сыну тишину приказание отцом сыну тишины

Nouns like приказание may be named NOM-GDInf/IDG to indicate their alternative complementational possibilities shown in formulae G) and H).

6.6.2.1.8 I) noun N¹ verb² noun I³ \Rightarrow noun² noun I³ noun G¹

предлог управляет род. падежом управление род.падежом предлог

Nouns such as управление are derived from verbs which have a compulsory instrumental noun complement. We shall name them NOM-GI.

6.6.3.1 VINOGRADOV draws attention to a further group of nouns which he considers etymologically related to verbs, which also have governmental possibilities not taken into account by REID (where they are classed as NOM-2) e.g. письмо, ответ, посылка ('parcel') телеграмма. These govern the genitive (for the writer/sender) and the dative (recipient).

6.6.3.2 As we have observed under formula B), the notion of derivation is not properly defined, and the majority of these items may ultimately be found to fall within the scope of formulae A)-I). However, in the case of телеграмма, there appears not to be a verb from which derivation could occur, and therefore, so long as the criterion of derivation is allowed to play a role, we must envisage a separate class, NOM-GD, for nouns which do not correspond to one of the formulae A)-I), but do fit:

xii) noun noun G noun D

телеграмма сына отцу верность, преданность etc. would also be included here.

6.6.4 Four other nouns, classed in REID as NOM-2, appear, on the basis of constructions found, to constitute four one-member classes, delimited

as follows:

xiii) noun noun G/noun D/, что /, чтобы

(пример)

xiv) noun noun G/noun D/, что

(доказательство)

xv) noun noun G/noun D

(вина)

xvi) noun noun G/noun D/verb infinitive/, что /, чтобы

(причина)

We shall call these 4 classes NOM-G/D/что/чтобы (пример);

NOM-G/D/, что(доказательство); NOM-G/D (вина); NOM-G/D/INF/,

что /, чтобы (причина).

6.6.5 Several of REID's NOM-2 have possible complements containing a verb, and the class NOM-2 can be further narrowed by reclassifying these.

6.6.5.1 VINOGRADOV 1952, III:437 lists nouns governing что + sentence:

xvii) NOM-5, что sentence

мысл, что

a similar set of nouns is mentioned in SVEDOVA 1970:553

xviii) infinitive COP NOM-5 (nominative)

строить бассейн - его мысль/идея/дело . . .

We shall name nouns which can participate in these two patterns

NOM-5.

6.6.5.2 Following VINOGRADOV 1952, IIIi:17-18, we can further distinguish nouns which may have an infinitive complement:

xix) NOM-6 verb (infinitive)

сила делать

Members of this group, NOM-6, include сила, ум, умение, мужество, дух etc.), (formerly classified as NOM-2)

6.6.5.3 ŠVEDOVA 1970:552 mentions a group of nouns with a strong semantic similarity (тайна, загадка, секрет) which can be distinguished by their ability to participate in the following pattern:

xx) sentence beginning with ADV-INTERR- это NOM-7 (nominative)

Где он живет - это загадка

We shall call these nouns NOM-7.

6.6.6 It is possible also to distinguish a group of nouns which may be said to have the functions of 'counters' (for this term, see, for example, JORDEN 1962:31). ŠVEDOVA 1970:506 mentions in this connection человек, штук.

We shall call such nouns NOM-8, identifying them through the following formula:

xxi) NUM-(except NUM-ORD, NUM-COLL) NOM-8 (in case required by NUM-)

10 человек

noun (GPlural)

студентов

6.7 Nouns which cannot be classified with respect to any of the above-mentioned features will continue to be named NOM-2, and it will be assumed that all such nouns may have a genitive complement:

xxii) NOM-2 noun (genitive)

бeрeг рeки

We are aware that this still leaves NOM-2 as a 'catch-all' class, a device which is not legitimate, since it permits classification of all items without necessarily specifying all the ways in which they may be relevantly distinct. We feel that this problem may be best solved by aiming at complete listing and investigation of all possible varieties of noun complementation. Although our present exposition is in this respect an improvement on that of REID, much work remains to be done, in particular in the areas of a) government of prepositional phrases as complements (see Chapter 9); b) complementation by various types of clause, e.g. those introduced by где, когда ; c) possible combinations of complements, e.g. formulae G) and H) above show that in some instances at least, an accusative noun and a clause introduced by что are mutually-exclusive alternatives. At present, the recording of one complement type for a given noun does not imply anything about the possibility or otherwise of simultaneous occurrence of other complements.

7. Further features of nominal classes

7.1 We have not found in our work any indication that the particular syntactic class of a noun, as defined here, influences its ability to be modified by an adjective or adverb. We therefore propose simply to add to the general definition of the noun the stipulation that it may be modified by any ADJ (class whose name

contains the name 'ADJ') and by QUAL-1, QUAL-2, QUAL-CIRC-2,? QUANTA-3, QUANTA-5, QUANTA-8, ADV-TEMP-1, ADV-TEMP-2, LOC, CAUS, ADV-1, ADV-2, ADV-3. All nouns can apparently also be modified by the pronouns discussed in Chapter 7, §1.

- 7.2 It appears possible to coordinate all nouns with и or или, provided that the nouns to be coordinated are being used in a syntactic configuration which is possible for any noun. In a configuration which is characteristic of a syntactic class, only members of that class may be coordinated.
- 7.3 The dependency features used above to classify nouns are optional in all instances.
8. Relationship between REID's noun classes and those proposed in this chapter.

NOTES

- 1) The column headed 'REID definition' contains a reference to the paragraph in this chapter where REID's definition of the class is quoted.
- 2) The column headed 'New definition' contains a reference to the paragraph in this chapter where the class is defined and discussed, and the identifying number(s) or letter(s) of the formula(e) used to delimit the class.
- 3) Arrows from left to right indicate which 'REID' classes are mapped into which 'new' classes. Since the REID classification is somewhat inconsistent in execution and definition, there are many cases where no one-to-one correspondence exists between the two sets of classes.

<u>REID definition</u>	<u>REID class</u>	<u>New class</u>	<u>New definition</u>
§6.1 (i)	PLC	PLC	§6.1 (i)
§6.1 (i)	QUANT	QUANT	§6.1 (i)(ii) acc obj of V-4, V-5 (Chapter 4)
§6.2	NOM-3	NOM-3	§6.2 (ii)(iii)(iv)
§6.3	TEMP-1	TEMP-1	§6.3.2 (vi)(vii)
§6.3	TEMP-2	TEMP-2	§6.3.2 (vii)
§6.3	TEMP-3	TEMP-3	§6.3.2 (v)(vi)(vii)
§6.3	TEMP-4	TEMP-3	
§6.6	NOM-G	NOM-GI	§6.6.2.1 A)
		NOM-G	§6.6.2.1 B)
		NOM-GDI	§6.6.2.1 C)
		NOM-GD,	§6.6.2.1 F)
		NOM-GD/INF/IDG	§6.6.2.1 G) H)
§6.6	NOM-D	NOM-DG	§6.6.2.1 D)
		NOM-DI	§6.6.2.1 E)
§6.6	NOM-I	NOM-IG	§6.6.2.1 I)
§6.6	NOM-2	TEMP-1	§6.3.2 (vi)(vii)
		TEMP-2	§6.3.2 (vii)
		NOM-4	§6.4.5 (viii)
		SPAT	§6.5 (x)(xi) acc obj of V-4, V-5 (Chapter 4)
		NOM-GI	§6.6.2.1 A)
		NOM-G	§6.6.2.1 B)
		NOM-GDI	§6.6.2.1 C)
		NOM-GD, что	§6.6.2.1 F)
		NOM-GDINF/IDG	§6.6.2.1 G) H)
		NOM-GD	§6.6.3 (xii)
		NOM-G/D/, что /, чтобы	§6.6.4 xiii)
		NOM-G/D/, что	§6.6.4 xiv)
		NOM-G/D	§6.6.4 xv)
		NOM-G/D/INF/, что /, чтобы	§6.6.4 xvi)
		NOM-5	§6.6.5.1 xvii) xviii)
		NOM-6	§6.6.5.2 xix)
		NOM-7	§6.6.5.3 xx)
		NOM-8	§6.6.6.4 xxi)
		NOM-2	§6.7 xxii)
		NOM-3	§6.2 (ii)(iii)(iv)

CHAPTER FOUR

Verb classes

- 0.1 Traditional sources define the verb in the first instance notionally, e.g. "часть речи, обозначающая процесс, т.е. представляющая признак как действие, состояние или становление" (SVEDOVA 1970:310), and refer also to formal features which are morphologically marked, i.e. person, number, gender (in the past tense), tense, voice and aspect (seen as a morphological category, cf NIKITEVIĆ 1963).
- 0.2 Textbooks of Russian customarily take the notion 'verb' for granted and a definition of the class can only be constructed by a process of backward reasoning, such that if a Russian word has a particular range of morphological forms, it must be considered a verb. So dominant is the use of morphology as a criterion that items such as *кажется*, in "Он, кажется, не придет", which we would classify as PARENTH (see §0.4.2 and Chapter 9, §6) because of their syntactic independence, are taken to be somewhat idiosyncratic uses of verbs, an interpretation which is doubtless reinforced by the fact that the English translation usually requires a finite verb form.
- 0.3 REID also defines the verb primarily by its morphology: 'V- are verbs, i.e. they take (most of) the endings numbers 23-37'. (REID: xiii). Like other sources, REID indicates (by the remark 'most of') that not every verb officially possesses every possible form, but

avoids the question of how many, or which, of all possible verb forms, must be available before an item can be considered a verb.

0.4.1 We now propose the following criteria as necessary for an item to be considered a verb:

- a) possession of aspect, perfective or imperfective, which we would define not morphologically (referring to prefixed forms etc.), but syntactically e.g. by some means such as ability or inability to serve as infinitive complement of *начать*;
- b) agreement with nominative subject, where the sentence type is one which permits a nominative subject (by agreement we mean the determinative relationship which exists between the type of nominative subject and the form of the verb);
- c) ability to be negated by the insertion before the verb of the word *не*, written as a separate item.

0.4.2 The above criteria would serve to distinguish, for example, 'verbal' from 'parenthetical' uses of *кажется* as demonstrated in the following:

- а. Он начинает показаться . . . verb, subject to aspectual restrictions.
- б. Он начинает, кажется, . . . PARENTH, not subject to aspectual restrictions.
- в. Он кажется больным. Они кажутся больными. verb, with agreement with subject
- г. Он, кажется, болен. Они, кажется, больны. PARENTH,

no agreement with subject

д. Он не кажется больным. verb, negatable by не.

е. *Он, не кажется, болен. PARENTH, not negatable by не
(* indicates inadmissibility).

0.5 The main features on which our classification of verbs has been based are as follows:

- I Complementation with *ся/сь* (discussed in §1)
- II Complementation with *что, чтобы, как бы*, Infinitive (discussed in §2)
- III Complementation with oblique cases of nouns (§3)

Examples of REID verbs of various classes, reclassified in the light of our discussion in this chapter, are given in §4.

1. Complementation of a verb form by *ся/сь*

1.1 REID:494-495 classifies verbs which may take the ending *ся/сь* (henceforth referred to as 'sja') into 6 groups:

- V-i if the subject is animate, the verb is intransitive; if inanimate, the verb is passive
- V-ii if the subject is animate, the verb is reflexive; if inanimate, the verb is passive
- V-iii the verb is passive
- V-iv the verb is intransitive
- V-v there is no form of this verb which does not have sja attached
- V-vi the verb is reflexive

- 1.1.2 This classification has proved faulty in many respects.
- 1.1.2.1 REID is frequently contradicted by the textual data, e.g. the overwhelmingly most suitable translation of a form in the text may be passive, when REID suggests that it should be 'intransitive'.
- 1.1.2.2 The terms 'intransitive', 'passive', 'reflexive' are ill-defined, and are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In this REID reflects the weaknesses of its sources (see §1.3).
- 1.1.2.3 REID frequently resorts to classifications such as V-iii/iv, that is, alternative classifications, a necessity which arises to such a large extent because the basic system is not adequate.
- 1.1.2.4 REID essentially uses English translation possibilities as sole criterion for Russian verb-classes, without the necessary primary motive for the classification being based on formal features of Russian.
- 1.1.2.5 The classification in REID is pedagogically ineffective, since students can be observed to discover the above defects after a few trials, and then to ignore the information given, while still achieving correct results, apparently on the basis of a sense of English style alone. While it is fortunate for the translator that this can be done, it undermines the rationale behind our method (Chapter I, §4.2), and should obviously be corrected.
- 1.2 Treatment of сЯ in other textbooks of Russian is equally

ineffective. The notion of 'reflexivity', defined in terms of 'doing things to oneself' is heavily emphasised, e.g. 'двигать to move (transitive) двигаться to move (intransitive) i.e. to move oneself' (HOLT 1962:90). In fact, translations involving 'self' are very rarely required in our chosen genre. It is customary to add that verbs in *ся* may be translated by an English intransitive form or by a passive and that some verbs have no non-*ся* form. Normally no guidance is given on which translation is to be preferred, although the presentation implies that discrete categories are involved. This unsatisfactory treatment of the problem can probably also be referred to the traditional descriptions of the Russian verb (cf §1.3) which in general have a pronounced effect upon the teaching of Russian grammar.

1.3 Typically, traditional analyses of *ся* forms lead into a semantic maze:

1.3.1 ŠVEDOVA 1970 treats the question, as is customary, under 'Voice'. Within this, two pairs of oppositions are introduced - passive-active: "т.е. действия, направленного на субъект, с действием, у которого нет указания на такую направленность" (ŠVEDOVA 1970:350) and transitive-intransitive: "переходными называются глаголы, сильно управляющие винит. и родит. падежами без предлога" "непереходными называются глаголы, не способные сильно управлять винит. падежом с объектным значением, называющие действие или

состояние, не обращенное на прямой объект" (ŠVEDOVA 1970: 350). The two sets of notions cannot be related, since the first pair is defined in purely notional terms, the second in partly formal terms.

Further confusion arises with the attempt to add the class of 'reflexive verbs' (возвратные глаголы) to the discussion of the verbal system. 'Reflexive verbs' are: "все глаголы с постфиксом -ся за исключением глаголов страдательного залога" (ŠVEDOVA 1970:353).

Thus there are apparently verbs in ся which belong to the passive voice and are distinct from the verbs in ся which are reflexive, a distinction which entails postulating massive homonymity:

"возвратные глаголы в значительной своей части омонимичны глаголам страдат. залога" (ŠVEDOVA 1970:353).

(Verbs in ся which belong to the passive voice are to be distinguished by the following criterion: "глаголы, действие которых направлено на субъект, относятся к страдательному залогу" (ŠVEDOVA 1970:351).

It is in fact hard to see how a verb may be reflexive without its action being 'directed to the subject'. Since no criteria are given for determining which actions are directed to the subject etc., and the definitions given are, as we have said, not readily relatable to each other, one cannot effectively use the proposed analysis to give a unified description of this area of verbal behaviour, but must resort to the fragmented, notional treatment shown in textbooks.

1.3.2 VINOGRADOV 1952 takes a slightly different approach, starting from a distinction between 'transitive' and 'intransitive' verbs, based on ability to govern the accusative without a preposition. His proposed typological categories are shown in diagram I.

Diagram II attempts to contrast ŠVEDOVA's analysis of the same phenomena, relying not only on her definitions quoted in §1.3.1 above, but on her examples and, to a certain extent, the present author's knowledge of how traditional Russian grammarians in fact resolve the problems that arise for individual items.

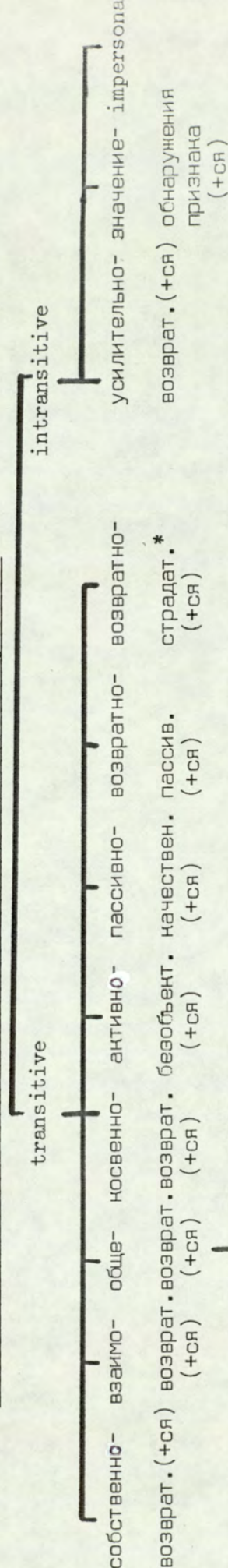
1.3.3 Both ŠVEDOVA and VINOGRADOV overlook the important fact that, by their own definitions, verbs in *ср* are intransitive.

In addition, ŠVEDOVA's 'intransitive' verbs are of 5 distinct kinds (ŠVEDOVA 1970:350-351):

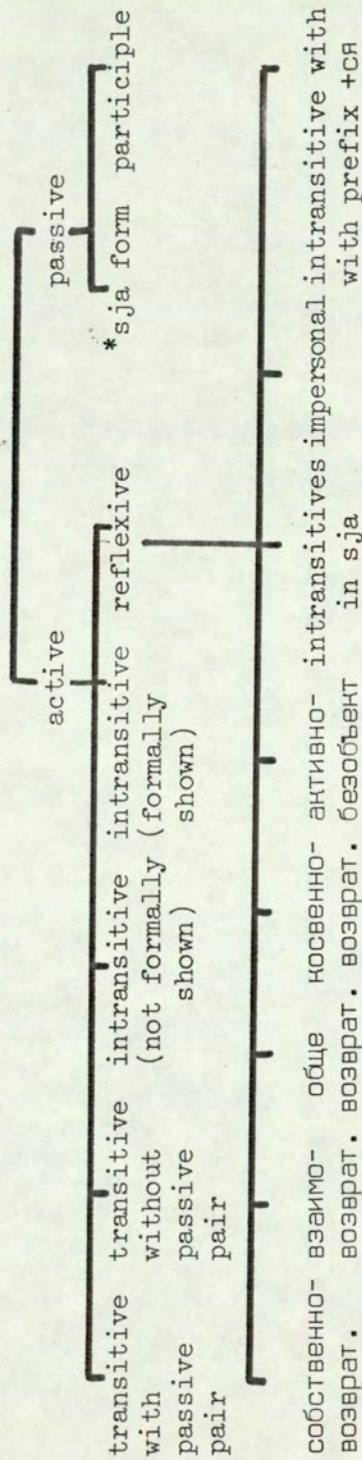
- a) verbs whose accusative complement is optional (when the complement is omitted)
- b) verbs which cannot take a noun complement
- c) verbs which govern a case other than accusative or genitive
- d) verbs in *ср*
- e) verbs which govern a preposition + noun phrase.

Thus in the traditional framework, the notions habitually used to discuss discrete types of 'reflexive' verbs cannot meaningfully be defined, since such categories as 'intransitive', 'passive' and 'reflexive', insofar as any meaning can be attached to them, are neither uniform in their internal content nor mutually exclusive. The difficulty of their application is illustrated in §1.4.

I VINogradov - categories of verbs with respect to their sja forms



II ŠVEDOVA - categories of verbs in sja



1. (+ сЯ) means that the sja forms of verbs are described under these headings.
2. Judging from the examples given, the categories marked * correspond in the two analyses.
3. VINogradov describes all the (+ сЯ) subcategories of transitive verbs as belonging to the 'middle reflexive' voice.
4. From the examples given in the sources, it appears that sub-classes given the same name by both authors contain the same lexical items (although in ŠVEDOVA'S analysis all the items presumably recur as homonyms under the section marked *).
5. From the examples given, ŠVEDOVA'S 'intransitives in sja' appear to coincide with VINogradov'S 'усилительно-возвратные verbs'.
6. It should be noted that individual verbs are assigned to all these categories exclusively on the basis of their supposed meaning, a means of verifying which is not given. The only formal features recorded are transitivity/intransitivity (in terms of government of the accusative) and presence or absence of a sja form.

1.4 Consider the sentence: Я моюсь.

According to the most commonly used criterion for reflexivity (the initiator of the action is also the object of that action) (TOWNSEND 1967:196), the verb is apparently reflexive. It is also transitive (no accusative direct object is possible), (loc.cit); in textbooks and the majority of Russian grammars (cf ŠVEDOVA 1970: 491ff), reflexivity and intransitivity are separate categories. Are we to assume then that this is part of the massive homonymy mentioned by ŠVEDOVA? And if so, how do we decide in a given case which category applies? It would further seem that the same sentence is passive, in that Я моюсь няней is permitted by some sources (HARRISON 1967 cites as sources ŠAHMATOV 1952:96 and GALKINA-FEDORUK 1964, part 2:159), and agents in the passive are apparently completely optional. It only remains for someone to assert that the sentence exemplifies one of the verbs for which сЯ completely changes the meaning (?to get washed) and we have a full house! Thus it seems inadvisable to begin any analysis from these notions.

1.5 So, traditionally, notionally-defined subcategories of verb-forms in сЯ are grafted onto a confused framework called 'voice and transitivity'.

1.6 JANKO-TRINICKAJA 1962 circumvents this framework by considering as a unified group all verbs in сЯ, and then examining the relationship between subject and object in sentences whose verbs

do or do not end in ся. However, the problem again arises that the basis of discussion is notional and ill-defined, e.g.

"Возвратные глаголы этого разряда, становясь непереходными, полностью утрачивают ту сторону лексического значения производящего глагола, которая связана с прямой переходностью последнего . . ." (JANKO-TRINICKAJA 1962:205).

As may be seen, the proposed analysis requires delicate decisions as to how much of what kind of meaning is retained under certain circumstances, yet no formal criteria are given for making such decisions.

- 1.7 Discussion of verb-forms in ся is also to be found in less traditional sources, e.g. machine translation programmes (§1.7.1) and transformational-generative grammar (§1.7.2).

- 1.7.1 The most developed project to which I had access was that of KUNO & OETTINGER (KUNO & OETTINGER 1963). A paper by I. LYNCH (LYNCH 1960), based on her earlier PhD thesis (unfortunately unobtainable), describes the analysis used in this machine translation programme. Appendix 12 of the LYNCH paper summarises her thesis to the effect that four main groups of verb are distinguished according to the number of participants permitted by a given verb: this number is determined, in the first instance, by the verb's being active or non-active. Active verbs are defined both semantically 'indicate a progressive action whose source of output energy is one of the participants in the process' and syntactically 'admit more than one participant' (LYNCH 1960: Appendix 12, p. 72). The four groups

distinguished in this way are:

- I. Active Transitive (must have 2 participants)
- II. Active-Non-Transitive (admits 2 participants)
- III. Non-Active Non-Transitive (must have 1 participant)
- IV. Non-Active Non-Transitive (requires no participant)(ibid:72).

The groups are then further sub-divided; for example, these sub-categories are described for active verbs:

- 1.1 Purposeful Teleological
- 1.2 Purposeful Non-Teleological
- 1.3 Purposeful-Non-Teleological (sic? Non-Purposeful Teleological)
- 1.4 Non-Purposeful Non-Teleological (ibid:73).

Although the definitorial language of the paper has the air of objectivity the criteria used are ultimately based on subjective assessment of what real-world processes are referred to by the individual verb, and how they fit into a preconceived scheme of analysis, e.g. 'teleological means the process is directed toward a goal which "gives out signals" that modify the activity of the agent (the source of output energy) in the course of the event' (loc.cit.).

Two further groups of verbs are mentioned: 'those -CR verbs which have no corresponding non-CR forms, and those verbs that are found in both -CR and non-CR form, but with meanings differing radically one from the other' (loc.cit.). It is not clear how one is to

assess difference of meaning. Ultimately, the framework offered, being still tied to a semantic classification, does not provide a solution different from the traditional division into passive/intransitive/reflexive.

1.7.2.1 BABBY and BRECHT 1975 take a transformational-generative approach with, however, a rejection of deep structure in favour of 'discourse conditioned' variation in surface structure. The work is seen partly as a contribution to general T-G-G theory, in that it takes the framework offered by the 'passive transformation' and tries to improve on the notion by observing its application in Russian. We shall quote their conclusions:

- (1) There is no passive transformation in Russian . . .
- (2) There is no passive morpheme in Russian . . .
- (3) The morpheme -SJA is the only Voice morpheme in Russian; it signals a marked realisation of a verb's sub-categorisation feature.
- (4) The morpheme -EN- is not a Voice marker; it is a derivational suffix which makes an adjective out of a perfective verb. . .
- (5) Perfective verbs have two middle voice constructions, one with -SJA and one with -EN- . . .
- (6) Active and passive sentences with perfective predicates are in fact related in Russian, but not transformationally; they are related lexically . . . (op.cit:365ff).

1.7.2.2 Since BABBY and BRECHT's conclusions are intended to be seen in a 'universalising' framework, as a general contribution to TGG theory, the problem again arises, as in the traditional analyses, of a suitable general interpretation of the notion 'passive' and the like. We may say, however, that (4) tends to support the conclusions of HALLIDAY 1968 on interpretations of passive forms (§1.10.5). Insofar as (6) implies that the relationship of certain sentence types in Russian is arbitrary (a matter of lexis), we have to disagree.

1.8 Thus, we have found that existing attempts to deal with verbs in CR have not proved suitable for our purposes, since they operate with notions which either cannot be or have not been adequately defined, and result in each occurrence of each verb having to be described individually in terms of its meaning in the particular context. Our own consideration of the evidence leads us to suppose that there is a describable system in operation in Russian, on the basis of which we can solve our problems of verb classification more efficiently than is the case in REID. Some difficulty arises with the mapping of this system into English, but we maintain that this arises because the English system does not make the corresponding distinctions. The two issues should not be confused.

1.9 If we reject the notions 'reflexive', 'passive' etc. as an unsuitable foundation for an analysis, certain formally-verifiable factors still remain for consideration, namely a) the form of the

verb, which may be 'active' (we use this term simply to name the form, with no semantic implication); + сЯ; or a participle b) the aspect of the verb - perfective or imperfective c) whether the subject and the accusative direct object of the verb are animate or inanimate (determined by the accusative form of the word).

A grid incorporating these factors can be constructed:

	active	+сЯ	participle	
an. subj/an. obj				imp verb
an. subj/in. obj				
in. subj/in. obj				
in. subj/an. obj				
an. subj/an. obj				perf verb
an. subj/in. obj				
in. subj/in. obj				
in. subj/an. obj				

NOTES

1. an = animate in = inanimate subj = subject obj = object
2. 'subject' and 'object' refer to the items which have these functions in the 'active' sentence

1.9.2 It is possible to fill each place in the above grid with an acceptable Russian sentence of the given type (1.9.3), although for certain verbs certain participle forms may be said to be unavailable. Such statements will be treated with caution:

1.9.2.1 The standard sources are peppered with statements that certain forms 'do not exist'. This concerns particularly:

- a) animate instrumental 'agents' in sentences also containing animate subject + сЯ form of verb (HARRISON 1967:12)
- b) various passive participles (cf DAUM & SCHENK 1965:Introduction)

We may counter-argue that:

- a) is attested by at least two reputable grammars of the Russian norm (ŠAHMATOV 1952:96; GALKINA-FEDORUK 1964 part 2:159) (and if one of them merely follows the other, the same can be said of those holding the contrary opinion also). It is felt desirable at this stage to construct the maximum which appears permissible, and allow further work to confirm the extent to which denials are valid. It is notable that the strongest denials of the possibility mentioned occur in a book aimed at getting the student to produce safe, non-anglicised standard Russian (HARRISON 1967); the prohibition may therefore be more strategic than well-founded.
- b) Of 24 imperfective past passive participles listed by HARRISON (op.cit:27-30), whose corresponding infinitive is given in OŽEGOV (OŽEGOV 1968), 16 participles are not given as possible by Ožegov.

Limitations on the formation of participles do exist, but one should not be too ready to accept assertions of the limits without evidence.

	active ('normal' and 'inverted' orders)	+sja (with and without 'agent')	participle (with and without 'agent')
--	--	------------------------------------	--

an. subj.	1. Мать моет ребенка.	2. Ребенок моется.	3. Ребенок был мыт.
an. obj.	1а. Ребенка моет мать.	2а. Ребенок моется матерью.	*3а. Ребенок был мыт матерью.
an. subj.	4. Рабочий моет окно.	5. Окно моется.	6. Окно было мыто.
in. obj.	4а. Окно моет рабочий.	5а. Окно моется рабочим.	6а. Окно было мыто рабочим.
in. subj.	7. Облака покрывали небо.	8. Небо покрывалось.	*9. Небо было покрывано.
in. obj.	7а. Небо покрывали облака.	8а. Небо покрывалось облаками.	*9а. Небо было покрывано облаками.
in. subj.	10. Судьба поставляла меня	11. Я поставлялся в	*12. Я был поставляем в
	в различные столк-	различные . . .	различные . . .
	новения.		
an. obj.	10а. Меня поставляла	11а. Я поставлялся судьбою.	*12а. Я был поставляем судьбою . .
	судьба . . .		
an. subj.	13. Мать вымоет ребенка.	14. Ребенок вымоется.	15. Ребенок был вымыт.
an. obj.	13а. Ребенка вымоет мать.	14а. Ребенок вымоется	15а. Ребенок был вымыт матерью.
		матерью.	
an. subj.	16. Рабочий вымоет окно.	17. Окно вымоется.	18. Окно было вымыто.
in. obj.	16а. Окно вымоется рабочим.	17а. Окно вымоется рабочим.	18а. Окно было вымыто рабочим.
in. subj.	19. Облака покрывали небо.	20. Небо покрывалось.	21. Небо было покрыто.
in. obj.	19а. Небо покрывали облака.	20а. Небо покрывалось	21а. Небо было покрыто облаками.
		облаками.	
in. subj.	22. Судьба поставила меня.	23. Я поставился в	*24. Я был поставлен в . . .
		различные столкновения.	
an. obj.	22а. Меня поставила судьба.	23а. Я поставился судьбою.	*24а. Я был поставлен судьбою в . . .
		

*Existence of participle attested e.g. in DAUM & SCHENK 1965; these forms may be considered "potentially available".

Notes to 1.9.3

1. So-called 'inversion' is possible for all sentences, but is only shown here for active sentences, as this is the variety usually discussed in the literature.
2. 2a is condemned in HARRISON 1967:12, but is arguably acceptable.
3. 3, 3a are awkward in that use of the imperfective participle is uncommon. HARRISON 1967:30-31 calls these 'archaic, colloquial' and 'not archaic or colloquial' in effect, from which we can perhaps deduce that they are merely unusual, carrying a shade of aspect/state/tense not often required in everyday communication.
4. 5 is called in HARRISON 1967:12 'ridiculous', apparently referring to the *interpretation* of it as a normal grammatical sentence, i.e. to its meaning, which common sense rejects as impossible. The argument does not seem to be based on ungrammaticality.
5. 6 appears to be more easily acceptable if negated (HARRISON 1967:31).
6. 12, 12a This example is attested with this participle (HARRISON 1967:23). Rather than make up a participle which is said not to exist, I prefer to take this example, particularly since tense does not seem to affect the overall picture.

1.9.4 A large number of translations may be proposed for these sentences:

1. The mother washes the child
- 1a. The child is washed by the mother.
2. The child washes.
The child washes itself.

The child gets washed.

The child has a wash.

The child is washed.

2a. The child is washed by the mother.

3. The child was washed.

3a. The child was washed by the mother.

4. The workman washes the window.

4a. The window is washed by the workman.

5.? The window washes. X

? The window washes itself. T

The window gets washed.

The window has a wash.

The window is washed.

5a. The window is washed by the workman.

6. The window was washed.

6a. The window was washed by the workman.

7. The clouds covered/were covering the sky.

7a. The sky was covered/was getting covered
by the clouds.

8. The sky was covered/was getting/becoming covered.

? The sky covered. X

The sky covered itself. T

The sky got a cover.

The sky got covered/was getting covered.

8a. The sky was covered/was getting covered
by the clouds.

9. The sky was covered.
- 9a. The sky was covered by the clouds.
10. Fate placed me into various conflicts.
- 10a. I was placed by fate in various conflicts.
- 11.* I placed into various conflicts.
- I placed myself . . .
- I got placed
- ? I had a place . . .
- I was placed
- 11a. I was placed by fate . . .
12. I was (?being) placed . . .
- 12a. I was (?being) placed by fate . . .
13. The mother will wash the child.
- 13a. The child will be washed by the mother.
14. The child will wash.
- The child will wash itself.
- The child will get washed.
- The child will have a wash.
- The child will be washed.
- 14a. The child will be washed by the mother.
15. The child was washed.
- 15a. The child was washed by the mother.
16. The workman will wash the window.
- 16a. The window will be washed by the workman.
17. ? The window will wash. X
- ? The window will wash itself. T

The window will get washed.

? The window will have a wash.

The window will be washed.

17a. The window will be washed by the workman.

18. The window was washed.

18a. The window was washed by the workman.

19. The clouds covered the sky.

19a. The sky was covered by the clouds.

20. ? The sky covered. X

? The sky covered itself. T

The sky got/became covered.

? The sky got a cover.

The sky was covered.

20a. The sky was/got/became covered by the clouds.

21. The sky was covered.

21a. The sky was covered by the clouds.

22. Fate placed me . . .

22a. I was placed by fate . . .

23. * I placed in . . .

I placed myself in . . .

I got placed . . .

? I had a place . . .

I was placed . . .

23a. I was placed by fate . . .

24. I was placed into . . .

24a. I was placed by fate into . . .

Notes to 1.9.4

1. The translations do not take great pains to capture aspectual shades of meaning of the Russian which are not normally brought out in English without special effort.
2. The definite article is used whenever an article is possible. The precise role of the definite, indefinite and article-less forms of noun-phrase in English has not been satisfactorily established; if it makes a difference in the present case, it is difficult to say how.
3. The sentences marked ? are of dubious acceptability, in the author's English, as carriers of the meaning which the author understands to be conveyed by the Russian. Those marked * seem to the author definitely not possible.
4. Sentences additionally marked X are those where the author can imagine that a different verb would work in this grammatical construction, e.g. 'The buildings rose (from the ashes overnight)'. The author considers it highly likely that she might be persuaded, given a convincing context, to accept the sentences marked X, but observes herself to be rather more flexible than the majority of English speakers on such points, and would not risk basing translation instructions in a textbook primarily on such constructions in the hope that all natives would understand all of them in the same way as the author.

5. Sentences marked T are those which often serve as a gloss to the translations of *ср* forms in textbooks⁽¹⁾. The present author finds them acceptable, but is aware that her usage of English here has been heavily influenced by reading too many textbooks in Russian!

1.9.5 We can say provisionally that a perfectly symmetrical picture can be constructed. Certainly, some areas are less obviously acceptable than others, because, apparently, of a) difficulties in accepting that e.g. a window can wash itself (but how, in a fictional world where windows have other powers than in ours, would one otherwise express this idea?); b) difficulties in forming some participles (but DAUM and SCHENK 1965 provides for participles of other verbs closely related in meaning supplying the lack where necessary, which suggests that the system could be deliberately maintained by speakers in spite of the lack of isolated verb forms); c) lack of use for e.g. past participles of imperfective verbs: it is far easier to imagine a use for the perfective counterpart.

It would be advisable to carry out extensive work with informants to establish just how far this scheme may be found to hold, given plausible examples.

¹ For example, PERRY 1948:159
 "Хлористый винил довольно легко полимеризуется
 Vinyl chloride rather easily polymerises (itself)
 Аммиак хорошо растворяется в воде"
 Ammonia well dissolves (itself) in water

1.10.1 In general linguistic literature, four approaches seem to offer an explanatory framework for the question of verb forms in *сЯ*: those of KARCEVSKI 1927, BOOST 1964, HALLIDAY 1968 and FILLMORE 1971.

1.10.2 KARCEVSKI 1927:120ff) consistently emphasises the relationships between the different syntactic processes of active, passive and impersonal sentences. Such relationships in Russian remain under-investigated, and are not mentioned in textbooks.

In respect of our present problem, the following is of note:

Relationships in the sentence, as in word construction etc. too, are seen in terms of T ('*élément générique*') and T' ('*élément particularisateur*') (ibid:20). The agent tends to become the subject of the sentence, and on the degree to which this occurs depends the active or passive voice of the verb (loc. cit). A further possibility is the confining of the process to the sphere of the agent (op.cit:90), which gives rise to the *сЯ* forms.

The formulae representing our sentences are then:

$S^a \quad V \quad O$ active sentence 1, 4, 7 etc.

$S \text{ aux. part. } I^a$ passive sentence 3a, 6a, 9a etc.

$S^a \quad V + \text{сЯ}$ process confined to sphere of agent 2, 5, 8 etc.

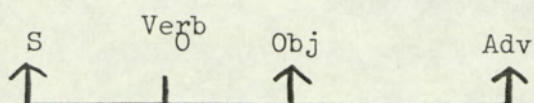
$S^a V +_{\text{сЯ}} I$ interest of subject still paramount 2a, 5a, 8a etc.

$S =$ subject $a =$ agent

aux(iliary) part(iciples)

$I =$ instrumental numbers = our example sentences

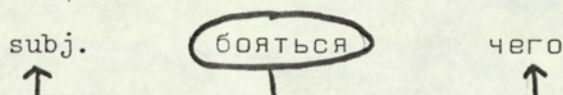
1.10.3 BOOST 1964 takes the verb as central, thus



The verbs would be represented by characteristic configurations⁽¹⁾,
e.g. мыть



бояться



1.10.4.1 FILLMORE 1968 operates with 'frames' specifying the possible deep-structure case of the verb complement(s). The concepts represented by the cases are 'a set of universal, presumably innate, concepts' (FILLMORE 1968:24). I suggest the following role assignments for the verbs in the chart:

мыть/вымыть	)	(	_____	A/I	D/O)
)				
покрывать/покрыть)				
)				
поставлять/поставить)				

where one of each pair must be chosen (my convention). In the case of мыть, it is not certain whether an I is possible, or whether,

¹ BOOST 1964 does not suggest a layout - the conventions here are my own.

as implied in FILLMORE's footnote, a potential I would be personified. I have chosen to assume not, as this does seem rather far-fetched.

We can then postulate that A is subject, failing this, I is subject, in an active sentence; in CR forms and passive sentences, D is subject, or O if no D is present.

1.10.4.2 The proposals are not altogether satisfactory:

In a sense, all the questions of interest to us are under the heading, in FILLMORE, of 'idiosyncrasy' (cf discussion op. cit: 31ff, especially 'the superficial form of a case element may be determined by an idiosyncratic property of some governing word' (p. 32)). It is not clear why particular deep relationships are given any one surface manifestation. There is no clear indication that the apparent correlation between (subject being the bearer of a certain role) and (voice of the verb) is to be dealt with. Assignment of roles, for all they are said to be innate and universal, is very difficult, since, apart from intuitions as to whether a certain sentence member is 'affected by the action' etc., there are no clear criteria for assignment. It is questionable whether the assignment of D to *ребенок* in sentence 2, for example, is correct. Analogy with 1, 1a and 2a seems to require such an interpretation, but there is in the literature a consensus that in such sentences as 2, the subject is an active instigator of the action (to use terms on the same level of generality as those of

FILLMORE); thus it would not be appropriate to describe it as 'affected' (a non-active notion)¹.

10.5.1 Finally, expressing the sentences in HALLIDAY 1968's notation, roles such as the following can be assigned:

Russian:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. S ^{a/i} C ^g | 2. S ^{a/aⁱ/i^g} | 3. S ^g attr |
| 1a. C ^g S ^{a/i} | 2a. S ^g C ^{a/i} | 3a. S ^g C ^{a/i} |

English:

- | |
|--|
| 1. S ^{a/i} |
| 1a. The child is washed by the mother. S ^g C ^{a/i} |
| 2. The child washes. S ^{a/i/g} |
| 2a. The child is washed by the mother. S ^g C ^{a/i} |
| 3. S ^g attr |
| 3a. S ^g C ^{a/i} |

Notes

S = subject

C = complement (MAKH's term)

/ = concurrent roles

Alternativelines imply alternate role interpretations

10.5.2 The difference between the Russian and the English 1a could be accounted for by the need for the Russian C to become the theme, which can be achieved by a change of word order, while English can only achieve this by a change of voice. The referents ('child' etc.)

¹cf op.cit:24: 'Dative (D), the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb'

of course remain the same. Expression of the agent in the passive constructions 3a serves to rule out the attributive interpretation; a similar purpose is served by the instrumental in 2a. For Russian the choice between 2a and 3a as a mode of expression is influenced, at least in frequency of normal usage, by the aspect of the verb. Further insight on this question is not given by HALLIDAY, who deals only with English, although, in an analysis specifically devoted to Russian, the theory would naturally accommodate aspect.

Sentence 2 in English has two interpretations: $S^{a/i/g}$ (= the child washes itself) and $S^{a/i}$ (= the child washes, analogous to 'the prisoners marched'). With an inanimate subject, it seems that this verb can only be translated as a passive 'The window is washed' with S^g . But with other verbs e.g. "Поднимались новые здания" 'new buildings rose', ($= S^{a/i}$) seems more satisfactory than 'were raised' ($= S^g$).

It is possible that the Russian sentences should be analysed as $S^{a/i}$. This would explain why *Окно моется* may be called ridiculous, and why *Ребенок моется матерью* is controversial.

1.10.5.3 Again, it must be objected that formal criteria of role assignment are not given. One suspects a process of reasoning very like that of traditional grammar.

1.10.5.4 Thus, the notion 'making something the theme' is of use in explaining the difference between two types of Russian sentence, 'inverted' and

'non-inverted', and their various English translations.

.10.5.5 The constructions with passive participles and no agent in the instrumental are generally considered potentially ambiguous between passive and attributive/state.

.10.5.6 There is general support also for the feeling expressed in traditional grammars that in some way the hearer's attention is focussed upon various participants in the sentence, and that this is associated with changes in verbal voice.

.10.6 Satisfactory formal definitions of the notions invoked have not been given in the work so far available. The possibility should be considered that the structure of the surrounding sentences contains some formally-verifiable signals that a particular verb form is required.

.11. In the light of this discussion, we must draw conclusions about our classification of Russian verbs (1.11.1) and about the type of information we should use in REID to ensure correct translation of Russian verb-forms (1.11.2).

.11.1 Attempts to classify Russian verbs on the basis of their meaning are not well-founded; factors such as the animacy/inanimacy of accompanying members of sentence may influence one's ideas on the plausibility of these members playing a more or less active role in the verb-process, but such ideas are essentially not relevant to the kind of problem we are discussing. Consequently, it is not

helpful to suggest that Russian CR verbs fall into classes which have to be translated into English by, say, an intransitive verb, a passive verb etc. It may be more desirable to investigate just how much difficulty these forms can cause, and to devise translation instructions based on a) what is achieved by the choice of a particular Russian verb form and b) how to achieve the same effect in English.

.11.2 For REID, it is concluded that the verb codes i - vi are superfluous. Those verbs which have CR form fall into just two classes: those with corresponding non-CR forms, and those without. (Each of these groups must of course be sub-classified according to other syntactic possibilities, cf §2 and §3).

.11.3.1 It would seem safe to recommend that 'non-inverted' Russian active, declarative sentences be translated into English by sentences of the same structure.

.11.3.2 Russian active, declarative, 'inverted' sentences, on the other hand, are best translated into an English passive construction. An explanation of this may be seen in the fact that Russian can make the object the theme simply by a change of word order, while English, lacking in clear case markers, can only 'thematise' the object by changing it to subject; the correct sense relationships can then only be maintained by a passive verb.

1.11.3.3 Translation of forms with the participle pose few problems: one could recommend translation with an English passive. The problems of conveying all aspectual shades of meaning are not confined to these verb forms, and may perhaps be best dealt with under the heading of 'Aspect' in general.

(It should be noted that authorities agree that the 'passive' construction in Russian has a strong 'stative' element, and this it shares with the parallel English construction. The addition of an instrumental 'agent' seems to ameliorate this stative impression slightly).

1.11.3.4 Real confusion sets in with the translations of the *ся* forms. It is surely the multitude of English translations, none of which may be universally valid, which causes the problem.

1.11.3.4.1 If an instrumental is present, an English passive translation is the only good possibility.

1.11.3.4.2 In instrumental-less sentences, the subject (= object of the active version) is in the position of theme, and is apparently taken as the initiator of the action, the goal of which is not emphasised. Here 'common sense' has its effect: *Машина останавливается* is taken as perfectly normal Russian, presumably because 'everyone knows' that stopping, like being able to move, is one of the capacities that a car is designed to have. Everybody, on the other hand, 'knows' that windows do not wash themselves. Similar rationalisations apparently pervade English. 'I placed into . . . ' is ruled out

amongst the animate subjects in the English examples ('I slotted into . . . ', similar in sense, is acceptable), but other animate subject + verb combinations shown are quite acceptable, while those sentences with inanimate subjects are more problematic.

.11.3.4.2.A passive translation into English has a) the stative connotations already mentioned, which are not appropriate for a Russian active-subject oriented verb form b) (at least for the present author), a suggestion of an omitted agent, which is by no means a necessary concomitant of the Russian forms.

.11.3.4.2.2 The addition of 'self-' is not generally successful: 'The car stops itself', and similar formulations may be misleading for some verbs or in some contexts.

.11.3.4.3 It would appear that the essential point of the Russian CR forms is their orientation towards the subject, with exclusion of agent and object. We must therefore recommend an English translation which achieves exactly this: the two possibilities are a) subject + intransitive verb; b) subject + aux. + past participle passive (aux. = be/get/become). Because of the unwanted stative associations of the participle, and because the passivity of the subject should not be overstressed, alternative a) should be recommended, with instructions to change to passive if the verb cannot easily be used intransitively in the context.

Such a solution is in effect that proposed by the majority of textbooks. However, we come to this solution from a different

viewpoint, i.e. that the solution is one which overcomes the difficulties of English, not one which is affected by the presence in the Russian language of 'passive verbs', 'reflexive verbs' and 'intransitive verbs', all of similar form.

1.12 The verbs which have the ending сЯ , and have no forms without сЯ , correspond to the REID class V-v. We shall rename them V \rightarrow sja. For our purposes, the non-existence of a form without сЯ is sufficiently established if such a form is not found in ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, USSR 1950 - 65. Further classification of such verbs is carried out on the basis of their other syntactic possibilities.

1.13.1 Verbs which have forms with and without сЯ may be delimited through the transformation J):

Notes:

(Block capitals stand for case names; superscribed numerals identify items which correspond on each side of the transformational arrow; brackets indicate optionality).

J) $\text{noun } N^1 + \text{verb without } \text{сЯ} + \text{noun } A^2 \Rightarrow \text{noun } N^2 + \text{verb} + \text{сЯ} (+ \text{noun } I^1)$

1.13.2 J) may be expanded, as in K):

K) $\text{noun } N' + \text{verb without } \text{сЯ} + \text{noun } A^2 (+ \text{noun } D^3) (+ \text{noun } I^4)$
 $\Rightarrow \text{noun } N^2 + \text{verb} + \text{сЯ} (+ \text{noun } I^1) (+ \text{noun } D^3) (+ \text{noun } I^4)$

1.13.2.1 Here the nouns 3 and 4 are normally described, respectively, as the indirect object and the 'instrument', noun I^1 then being designated 'agent'.

.13.2.2 We have been unable to ascertain the extent of restrictions on the occurrence of 'indirect object' and 'instrument' nouns with verbs of the broad group delimitable by J). ALLERTON 1978 shows that in English, a very wide range of verbs may have an indirect object, and a similar range may be suspected for Russian. Detailed investigation of the 'instrument' phenomenon would also be desirable.

.13.2.3 For the present, we shall specify that a class which we shall call V-1 may be defined by K), and shall permit this class to be of wide application, so that any ordinary transitive verb of Russian which happens to occur in our texts with a dative or instrumental of the specified type may be correctly interpreted. (Teaching experience shows that, contrary to our expectations, correct interpretation is not always possible with the REID classification, where the relevant dative and instrumental forms are treated in isolation from features of the verbal government as 'to NOUN' and 'by/with NOUN' respectively).

.13.3 In a variation of K), the accusative (noun A^2) is optional (although, of course, the transformation would require the presence of the accusative noun):

L) noun N^1 + verb without CR (+ noun A^2)(+ noun D^3) (+ noun I^4)
 \Rightarrow noun N^2 + verb + CR (+ noun I^1)(+ noun D^3)(+ noun I^4).

Verbs to which the transformation L) applies will be classed as V-2. The remarks on the associated dative and instrumental items, made in §1.13.2.3 apply also here.

1.14

It is open to question whether there are any verbs which cannot under any circumstances have a form in *сЯ*. LYNCH 1960 makes a similar assertion. Since, however, we have been unable to study the precise circumstances under which forms such as "помочьсЯ" might be rendered acceptable, and since such forms are highly unlikely to occur in our chosen genre, we shall stipulate that only members of verb-classes V + *сЯ*, V-1, V-2, V-3 (§3.3.1), V-6 (§3.4.2) and V-7 (§3.3.5.2) may have the element *сЯ* amongst their complementational possibilities.

2.

Complementation of a verb by a clause introduced by *чтоб/чтобы, как бы* or any infinitive.

2.1.1

REID:xiv classifies verbs according to their ability to participate in constructions with *что, чтобы, как бы* as follows (REID:xiv):

Va is complemented by a clause in *чтобы* plus the past form of the verb

Vb requires either the same construction as Va, or a complement noun/pronoun in the nominative (sic for accusative) or dative plus the infinitive

Vc is complemented by a clause in *чтобы, как бы* and a negative verb in the past form (not infinitive, as given in REID)

Vd requires a clause in *чтобы* and an infinitive verb form (sic)

This definition is erroneous; intended are the verbs of the type *сомневаться*

Ve requires the Ve to be negated by *не*, with a complement clause in *чтобы* and a past verb form.

- 2.1.2 Quite apart from the difficulties caused by editorial errors in REID, it has become clear that not all possibilities for each verb have been recorded, and that not all verbs permitting complements of this general type have been so classified. In addition, complementation with an infinitive has been neglected. This lack has caused translation problems to some students, interestingly enough, even in cases where textbooks assume that the construction is self-evident because, presumably, of similarity between Russian and English. For example, students fail to recognise the infinitive complement of the various forms of МОЧЬ .
- 2.2.1 Complements of these types are traditionally discussed under the heading of the conjunction which introduces the subordinate clause; this is done in a fragmentary way, resting on classification of the clause type from a logico-semantic point of view. For example, ISAČENKO 1962:589 discusses the verb forms under the heading 'the conjunction': he sees the conjunctions as 'synsemantische Wörter, deren Funktion darin besteht , verschiedene Arten logisch-semanticischer Verbindungen zwischen anderen als selbständig aufgefaßten Sprachelementen . . . herzustellen', and discusses the content rather than the form of the clauses. Most of the constructions which interest us are described under the clause-types 'Deklarative' and 'Finale' (op.cit:598ff).
- 2.2.2 Even when the issue is designated one of verbal government, e.g. ŠVEDOVA 1970:552, discussion is in semantic not syntactic terms. Compare also, for example, VINOGRADOV 1952:III:214ff, where verb

plus infinitive combinations are discussed in such terms as "отношение к действию", "целевые отношения".

2.3 Pedagogic works are also unsystematic in their treatment.

2.3.1 BORRAS & CHRISTIAN 1968:150ff focusses on the restriction in form of the verb in the subordinate clause, and deals with a variety of clauses containing the 'past' forms under the heading 'the subjunctive'. The verbs of the main clause are characterised semantically: 'verbs of wishing or endeavouring', 'verbs of commanding, permitting, persuading, warning' (op.cit.:152).

2.3.2 Textbooks offer only scattered examples, e.g. WARD 1960 mentions *чтобы*, DEWEY & MERSEREAU 1963 and STARCHUK & CHANAL 1963 deal with *чтобы* plus the 'subjunctive' after verbs or clauses of purpose, command, desire, fear, evidently relying on the ideational content of the clauses to clarify their definition.

2.4 The most extensive list we have found of complements in *что*, *чтобы* or infinitive is in IČKOVIČ 1970, and this has been used as the basis of our classes. In some respects, however, IČKOVIČ's lists are not quite satisfactory.

2.4.1.1 Several verbs appear under more than one of his class headings. No reason for this duplication is given.

2.4.1.2 The question of homography is not adequately dealt with.

2.4.1.3 A few instances were found where the possibility of a complement of the relevant type had not been included.

- 2.4.1.4 Restrictions on the use of these complements may exist which have not always been noted, e.g. ИСКОВИЃ permits принести, чтобы or принести + infinitive. These examples appear to us implausible unless an intervening accusative noun or pronoun is also present.
- 2.4.1.5 It appears that, to use a convenient transformationalist formulation, different deep structures underlying identical surface structures are not differentiated adequately in the lists. For example ехать + infinitive and ехать, чтобы are treated as synonyms and constitute expressions of purpose; начать on the other hand, although it is an example of a verb with dependent infinitive, does not have these purposive connotations, yet both types are classified together. One would hope to be able to distinguish these two varieties by some formal means, since we consider mere assertion of synonymity to be inadequate grounds. To date, we have not been able to develop such a test.
- 2.4.2.1 At present, our classification registers each complementational possibility independently, and does not deal with the possibilities of combining several different types of complement in the same sentence. For example, some verbs may be complemented either by an infinitive verb form or by an accusative noun form, but not by both at once. At present, each of these possibilities is recorded separately, and the restriction of co-occurrence is not mentioned.
- 2.4.2.2 As far as the optionality of the present type of complement is concerned, we postulate as follows: all complements of the type

registered by the class names Va to Vj are optional, with the provision that, where additional classificational features of a given verb include a compulsory accusative direct object (e.g. V-1), it may be possible for this object to be replaced by a clause of the appropriate type. This specification should account for all actually found occurrences, but is probably too wide; however, the scope of our study does not permit the necessary wideranging work on the question to be carried out.

2.5

We propose to define classes Va - Vj by the following formulae:

- xxiii) Va, что + sentence (class Va)
- xxiv) Vb, чтобы + sentence with past verb form/
infinitive clause (class Vb)
- xxv) Vc + infinitive verb form (class Vc)
- xxvi) Vd, чтобы, как бы + sentence with ~~negated~~
negated past verb form (class Vd)
- xxvii) Ve, чтобы + sentence with past verb
form/infinitive clause + infinitive verb
form (class Ve)
- xxviii) Vf, что + sentence/чтобы + sentence
with past verb form/чтобы + infinitive
verb form/+ infinitive verb form (class Vf)
- xxix) Vg, что + sentence/+ infinitive verb form (class Vg)
- xxx) Vh, что + sentence/чтобы + sentence with
past verb form/чтобы + infinitive verb form (class Vh)
- xxxi) Vj, что + sentence как + sentence (class Vj)

Examples of verbs of these classes are given in §5.

3. Complementation of a verb by an oblique case of a noun/pronoun/numeral.
- 3.1 This type of government is most extensively discussed in our sources. In spite of the great quantity of data amassed, there are, however, some notable gaps in discussion.
- 3.1.1 In general, the case form whose presence is recorded and discussed (usually in terms of its semantic relationship with the governing verb) is that of the 'obligatory object'. (We coin this name to refer to all oblique-case (without a preposition) objects of the verb whose presence is obligatory). For the majority of Russian verbs, the case of the 'obligatory object' is accusative, and the tradition then calls it the 'direct object'. As is well known, the case of the item which seems to have an analogous function⁽¹⁾ in certain instances may be, not accusative, but genitive, dative or instrumental.

Additional case complements are only sporadically noted, their recording often seeming to depend on whether a convenient semantic label is available for characterising the combination, e.g. dative 'beneficiary' of the verb.

¹ie in languages where an accusative case marks the direct object, it is common for such Russian genitive, dative or instrumental items to be translated with an accusative

3.2 REID follows the majority of textbooks in accounting only for the 'obligatory object'. Other possible oblique-case complements are dealt with as general functions of the cases in question, e.g. dative of indirect object. Classes called V-D, V-G (obligatory object in dat/gen) are distinguished, with occasional additions, e.g. снабжать V-AI (i.e. verb with accusative and instrumental complements) where difficulties in translation were anticipated.

3.2.1 In fact, this solution has not been satisfactory. REID does not mark accusative direct objects as a possibility at all, and does not distinguish between e.g. ехать (no accusative object possible) останавливать (accusative object compulsory), and писать (accusative object optional). From the point of view of the word-class system, this is undesirable, and pedagogically it leaves an area of vagueness which should not be permitted, since it leaves the way open for other members of sentence to be misinterpreted. Neither is the fact that a certain dative item, for example, is the indirect object always immediately apparent to the student, although this notion is habitually treated as self-evident in textbooks.

3.3 In respect of complementation with an oblique case of the noun, we may distinguish the following classes:

3.3.1 V-1 and V-2, defined by transformations K (§1.13.2) and L (§1.13.3).

3.3.2 V-3, defined by transformation K (see §1.13.2), but with the additional possibility that the accusative noun may appear in the genitive, even in a non-negated sentence.

3.3.3 V-4 and V-5, where an accusative complement may only occur if it belongs to one of the classes TEMP, SPAT or QUANT (see Chapter 3, §6.). Such accusative complements occur freely with all verbs.

V-4 may be defined by formula xxxii):

xxxii) verb(TEMP/SPAT/QUANT in accusative): complement
optional

V-5 has a compulsory complement:

xxxiii) verb TEMP/SPAT/QUANT in accusative.

3.3.4 V-6 are defined by transformation K (see §1.13.2) and the additional possibility of complementation by a clause introduced by an ADV-INTERR (see Chapter 8, §5.5.1.2) or containing the particle *ли*, PART-*ли* (see Chapter 9, §3), or a PRON-INTERR (Chapter 7).

3.3.5 V-7 can also be defined by transformation K (see §1.13.2), but have an additional range of behaviour shown in transformation M:

M) noun N¹ verb noun A² noun I³ \Rightarrow noun N² VCOP noun I³
(for VCOP see §3.3.10.1)

e.g. Они выбрали его президентом \Rightarrow Он стал президентом

3.3.6 Verbs which have a compulsory dative object form the class V-D,
corresponding to REID's V-D.

3.3.7 Verbs which have a compulsory genitive object form the class V-G,
corresponding to REID's class V-G.

3.3.8 Verbs with an instrumental complement are called V-I in REID.
In fact, several different verb-classes can be distinguished.

3.3.8.1 V-COP can be distinguished by xxxiv): ⁽¹⁾

xxxiv) V-COP + (PRED 1 - 12
 (
 (ADJ (instrumental or comparative form)
 (
 (Noun (instrumental)

One of these complements is compulsory. There is the possibility that an optional dative complement may also occur, but it has not been possible to establish the precise limits of this.

3.3.8.2 Isolated verbs have complements which include an instrumental:

 грозить has a compulsory instrumental complement and an optional dative one. As it also belongs to the class Vc, we can name its class Vc-I(D).

 мешать, in contrast, has a compulsory dative and an optional instrumental complement, and will be called Vc-D(I).

4. The following list shows how a selection of verbs included in REID would be reclassified in the light of our discussion above.

4.1 All verbs have the letter V in their class name.

4.1.1 In the REID class-names, this is followed by one of the letters a - e to indicate complementation with что, чтобы etc, where this is possible. There then follows a block letter G, D or I to

(1) COP (быть) shares this defining formula, restricted to its past and future tenses. All its forms have the additional: COP + noun (nom)/adj (noun)/PRED 1-12/past participle/imperfective infinitive

indicate the case of the 'obligatory object', where this is not accusative. The numerals i - vi indicate the effect of the morpheme *сЯ* added to the verb form.

4.1.2 The newly proposed class names follow a similar system. The letters a - j indicate type of complement with *что, чтобы* etc. The numbers 1 - 7 refer to the complement types defined in §§ 3.3.1 - 3.3.7. Where other types of oblique-case object than those mentioned in §§ 3.3.1 - 3.3.7 are possible, these are shown by a block letter G, D, A or I (abbreviation of case name) in the verb class name; optional complements of this type are enclosed in brackets. The inclusion of '+sja' in the class name indicates that all forms of the verb end in *сЯ/сь*.

4.2 The REID classification and the present classification correlate as follows:

REID classification

New classification

V-i	)	V-1
)	
V-ii	)	or V-2
	)	or
V-iii	)	V-3
	)	or
V-iv	)	V-6
	)	or
V-vi	)	V-7
)	
V-iii/iv)	
V-v	→	V + sja
V	→	(V-4
		(
		(V-5

REID classification

New classification

Va	—————→	(Vb (or (Vd (or (Ve (or (Vf (or (Vh (or (Vj
Vb	—————→	Ve
Vc	—————→	Vd
Vd	—————→	Va
Ve	—————→	Vg
V-D	—————→	V-D
V-G	—————→	V-G
V-I	—————→	(V-COP ((V-I(D) ((V-D(I)
COP	—————→	COP

NOTE:

As the classification shown in REID and the class definitions given on p. xiv are full of errors and inaccuracies, the correspondences given here are only approximate: in particular, the relationship between REID classes Va - Ve and the new classes Va - Vj is valid only insofar as certain members of a REID class are now to be assigned to certain of the newly proposed classes. This arises

because the new classes take account of more features and more combinations of features, so that the segmentation of the field of Russian verbs is completely different from that in REID.

4.3

The following list of verbs shows how the REID classification is modified in a variety of cases:

Verb	REID classification	New classification
аплодировать	V-D	V-D
ассоциировать	V-vi	V-1
беспокоить	Vc-ii	Vb-1
бояться	Vc-Gv	Vd-G +sja
брить	V-ii/iii	V-1
бросить 'throw'	V-ii	V-1
'give up'	V	Vc
везти	V	Ve-1
велеть	Vb-D	Ve-D
верить	Ve-Diii	Va-D
взять	V	Ve-1
видеть	V	Vj
восхищать	V-Iiv	V-1
встать	V	Ve-I
выбирать	V-Iiii	V-7
выглядеть	V-I	V-COP
выдвигать	V-iii/iv	Ve-1
выделить	V-iv	Ve-1

Verb	REID classification	New classification
выехать	V	Ve-4
вывести	V-iii	Ve-1
вызвать	V-iii	Ve-1
выйти	V	Ve-4
выпустить	V-iii	Ve-1
говорить	Ve-iv	Vf-2
гордиться	V-Iiv	V-I + sja
готовить	V-iv	Vc-1
грозить	V-I/Div	Vc-I(D)
грозиться		Vg-(I)(D) + sja
дать	V	Vc-1
держаться	V-Gv	V-G + sja
доверить	V-iv	Ve-1
допускать	V	Ve-1
думать	Ve	Vg
дышать	V-I	V-(I)
ехать	V	Ve-4
жаждать	V	Vc-3
желать	VaGD	Ve-3
забыть	V-ii	Vc-1
задохнуться	V-v	V + sja
закончить	V-iii/iv	Vc-1
заменять	V-AIiv	V-1
занимать	V-Iv	Ve-1

Verb	REID classification	New classification
заставить	Vb	Ve-1
затруднять	V	Vc-1
звать	V	Ve-1
избегать	V-G	Vc-G
изменить	V-D	V-D
искать	V-A/G	V-3
назаться	V-Iv	V-COP + sja
кончить	V-iv	Vc-1
лишать	V-Giv	V-AG
лестить	V-Div	V-D
любить	V	Ve-1
мечтать	V	Vf
мешать	V-D	VcD(I)
мочь	V	Vc
надеяться	Vb-v	Vf + sja
назначить	V	Ve-7
ожидать	V-G	Vb-3
опоздать	V	Vc
остаться	V-v	V-COP + sja
помочь	V-D	Vc-D
просить	Vb-iv	Ve-1
разрешить	V-iii/iv	Ve-1
рекомендовать	V-iii	Vf-1
руководить	V-Iiii	V-I

Verb	REID classification	New classification
сказать	Ve	Vh-1
советовать	V-D	Ve-D
сомневаться	Vd-v	Va + sja
стараться	Vd-v	Vc + sja
стать 'begin'	V	Vc
'become'	V-I	V-COP
требовать	Va-Giv	Ve-G
хотеть	Va-G	Ve-3
являться	V-Iv	Ve-COP + sja

CHAPTER FIVE

Numeral Classes

- 0.1 Numerals (имя числительное) are traditionally defined primarily by their meaning: 'является названием отвлеченного числа . . . количества предметов . . . или же называет порядок предмета по счету ' (VINOGRADOV 1952, I:368). ' часть речи, обозначающая количество предметов' (ŠVEDOVA 1970:308).

This definition is generally shared by textbooks.

- 0.2 REID distinguishes five classes of NUM (numerals):

- 0.2.1 NUM-1 is один and 'any numbers ending in this'. NUM-1 'works like an ordinary ADJ' (REID:xi). REID has only one class of adjective (ADJ), which subsumes items with a variety of syntactic possibilities. It is not stated which of these possibilities NUM-1 shares.
- 0.2.2 NUM-2 is 2, 3, 4, and numbers ending in one of these, and оба = 'both' (REID:xi). It is specified that nominative and accusative forms be followed by a genitive singular noun.
- 0.2.3 NUM-3 'are numbers 5 and above (except those ending in 1, 2, 3, 4), also numerals meaning 'a group of 2, 6, etc.' (REID:xi). A dependent genitive plural noun is specified with nominative or accusative forms of numerals.

- 0.2.4 NUM-4 is тысяча: 'If NUM-4 is NOM. or ACC., the following noun is G Plural; if G/D/I/P either a plural noun follows in the same case, or a noun in G Plural follows' (REID:xii).
- 0.2.5 'NUM-5 миллион 1,000,000 is always followed by a G Plural noun' (REID:xii).
- 0.3.1 'Ordinal' numerals are simply labelled ADJ (adjective).
- 0.3.2 'Indefinite' numerals, such as сколько, много (cf VINOGRADOV 1952) are assigned to the class NUM-3, and немного is simply marked '+G' and not assigned to any class.
- 0.4.1 The prevailing confusion between the linguistic item and its real-world referent is well illustrated by the treatment of numerals in textbooks. There is a widespread tendency to formulate the rules for use of the genitive after numerals in terms of 'genitive singular after numerals ending in 2, 3, 4'. This is actually not correct, since 12, 13, 14 end in that way, yet require the genitive plural. Reference should instead be made to the language items два, две, три, четыре. REID, as can be seen above, shares this weakness.
- 0.4.2.1 The distinguishing feature of numerals is not their characteristic meaning, but their syntax; in particular, their influence on the inflectional form of other items in the syntagm.
- 0.4.2.2 In addition, numerals seem unable to be modified by adjectives, and

all but один and ordinals can be distinguished from nouns and pronouns as shown in the following diagram:

	<u>noun</u>	<u>pronoun</u>	<u>numeral</u>
can be subject, object, etc	+	+	+
can be modified by adjective	+	-	-
may have dependent noun	+	-	+

- 1.1 Один may be distinguished from the adjectives which it resembles morphologically by formula xxx v:

xxx v) до пятидесяти тонн
 до пятьдесят одной тонны
 до пятидесяти красивых женщин

where the presence of один inhibits the inflection of the preceding numeral.

Additionally, один can be modified by adverbs of the class QUANTA-2 (Chapter 8 §4.9).

These two properties distinguish the class NUM-1.

- 1.2 Ordinal numerals may also be delimited through xxx v:

xxx v) до пятидесяти тонн
 до пятьдесят первой тонны
 до пятидесяти красивых женщин

We shall name the class NUM-ORD.

- 2.1 NUM-4, as currently defined, shows confusion between *тысяча* as a noun and as a numeral. As nouns, *тысяча*, and NUM-5, *миллион*, can function as subject, object, etc., be modified by adjectives, and take a dependent genitive plural noun, regardless of their own case (VINOGRADOV 1952, I:378f). In such usages, we shall class *тысяча*, *миллион*, *миллиард*, *сто* as NOM-GPL.
- 2.2 These same items, used as numerals, are followed by a dependent genitive plural noun when they are in the nominative or accusative, combined with NUM-ORD and NUM-1, and share the characteristic features of numerals shown in 0.4.2.2. In this they coincide with our proposed class NUM-6 (see §3.2).
- 3.1 The remaining numerals can be classified according to the following criteria.
 - 3.1.1 Ability to combine with noun of a certain gender.
 - 3.1.2 Ability of the nominative or accusative to govern the genitive singular or genitive plural of a dependent noun.
 - 3.1.3 Government of a genitive plural or nominative plural of an adjective when the numeral is in the nominative or accusative.
 - 3.1.4 Ability to govern an animate noun with an accusative form like the nominative, rather than the genitive (cf VINOGRADOV 1952, I.380; BORRAS & CHRISTIAN 1968:364).

3.1.5 Ability to be used in the formula:

xxxvi) Их было NUM в комнате.

3.1.6 Ability to be followed by NUM-ORD or NUM-1.

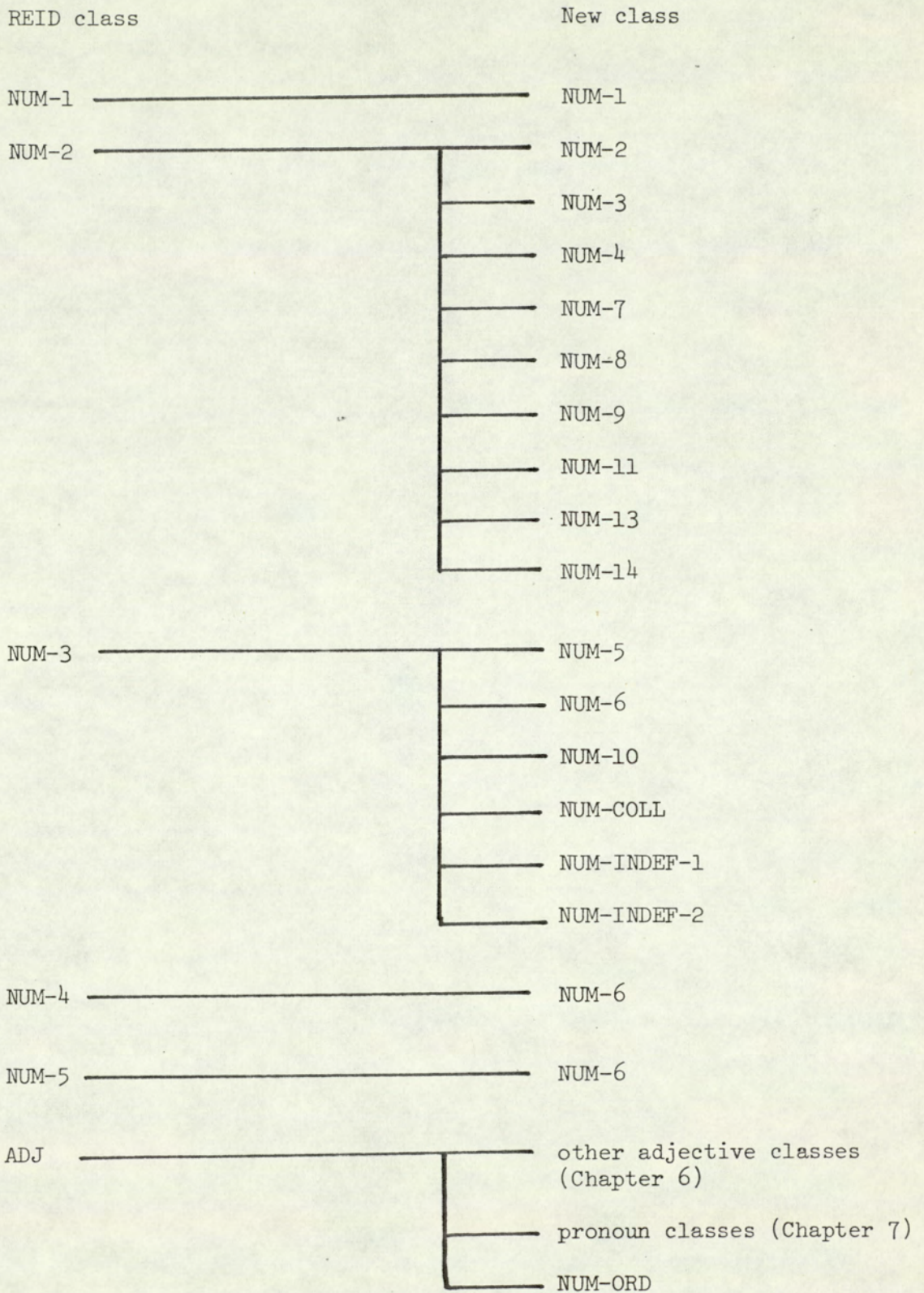
3.1.7 Ability to follow NUM-6 .

3.1.8 Ability to be modified by certain adverbs.

3.2 The classes can conveniently be shown in tabular form:

Class name	Numeral or noun	+ m	+ f	+ gs	+ gpl	+ gpl	+ npl	+ an.	+	+ NUM-	foll	modified
				noun	noun	adj	adj	acc. like nom.	form xxxv	-ORD/ NUM-1	NUM-6	by
NUM-2	два	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	QUANTA-2 ADV4 ADV5
NUM-3	две	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	QUANTA-2 ADV4 ADV5
NUM-4	три четыре	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	QUANTA-2 ADV4 ADV5
NUM-5	пять . . тринадцать	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	QUANTA-2 ADV4 ADV5
NUM-6	двадцать сто тысяча	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	QUANTA-2 ADV4 ADV5
NUM-7	двадцать два тридцать	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	QUANTA-2 ADV4 ADV5
NUM-8	двадцать две тридцать	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	QUANTA-2 ADV4 ADV5
NUM-9	двадцать три/четыре	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	QUANTA-2 ADV4 ADV5
NUM-10	двадцать пять/шесть	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	QUANTA-2 ADV4 ADV5
NUM-11	полтора	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	QUANTA-2 ADV5
NUM-12	полторы	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	QUANTA-2 ADV5
NUM-13	оба	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
NUM-14	обе	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
NUM-COLL	двое трое	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
NUM-INDEF-1	немного много мало	+	+	+	+	adjective agrees with noun			-	-	-	-
NUM-INDEF-2	несколько	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

4. Comparison of REID classes with newly proposed classes.



CHAPTER SIXAdjective classes

- 0.1 In Chapter 3 we proposed that the class of adjectives could be distinguished by ability to modify nouns and inability to be modified by other adjectives. We may add to this definition the ability to be modified by adverbs.
- 0.1.1 We shall include also as adjectives items which may occur with the present tense, of COP- in predicate position in the nominative, agreeing with the subject, i.e. we include 'short' adjectives.
- 0.1.2 должен, which REID classes as PRED-4, now falls within the definition of the adjective, and may conveniently be treated here (§6, entry 'ADJ-11' in table).
- 0.1.3 A number of items which are traditionally called 'pronomial adjectives', because they are adjectival in form, but are held to be pronomial in function (a notion which is not well-defined), are considered by us to be more appropriately discussed as pronouns. Our reasons are given in Chapter 7 §0.5. The items affected are those given e.g. in ŠVEDOVA 1970:305ff.
- 0.1.4 In accordance with the principle discussed in Chapter 2 §6, participles, even when they are adjectival in form and fall within the above rough delimitation of the adjective class, are handled as part of the verb and are not further discussed. Much interesting discussion would be possible, but is outside our scope.

0.2 Traditional sources define the adjective notionally, and also agree that it has number, gender and case, and manifests agreement.

The distinction between 'qualitative' and 'relative' adjectives is discussed in §1.

0.3 Textbooks do not usually define the adjective, but associate it with characteristic morphological forms and emphasise its agreement features. Certain adjectives are given special names from the repertoire of names used in traditional discussions, e.g. 'possessive', 'relative', 'pronominal' (e.g. WARD 1960), but it is difficult to decide how far these have any function other than the broad characterisation of the semantic content of particular groups of adjective.

0.4 REID postulates a single class, ADJ, defined as 'a word which can have one of the endings, numbers 12 - 22. It may modify . . . a noun, or it may stand as the complement of a verb (V-) or COP' (REID:vii). Two items are further differentiated within the lexical entries: доволен is called ADJ-I, and рад , ADJ-D. The naming conventions of REID encourage one to believe that these two items govern respectively the instrumental and the dative, but this is not made explicit.

1. Although traditional grammatical analyses make much of a distinction between 'qualitative' (качественные) and 'relative' (относительные) adjectives, this distinction admittedly

"является в значительной степени условной и непостоянной". (VINOGRADOV 1952, I:303). The two types are defined, respectively: "обозначает качество предмета, свойство, которое может проявляться с разной степенью интенсивности" and "обозначает свойство предмета через отношение к другому предмету или признаку" (ŠVEDOVA 1970:307). Such distinctions require a clear formal basis.

1.1 VINOGRADOV 1952, I:282ff lists some formal features of qualitative adjectives which could be used in establishing adjective classes within our framework, namely:

- a) possession of 'long' (полные) and 'short' (краткие) forms
- b) possession of comparative and superlative forms
- c) ability to form diminutives, etc.
- d) ability to form adverbs in - о , - е
- e) possession of antonyms
- f) ability to form abstract nouns.

Relative adjectives, it is implied, do not share these properties.

1.1.1 It would be fruitful to use all VINOGRADOV'S suggestions in establishing our classes, but at present only a small number of them can be accommodated:

c), d) and f) fall within an area where Russian tends to coin new items as the context demands, and thus any reliable classification

on this basis would require the co-operation of a large number of native speakers to obtain; e) can only be reliably established on the basis of a formal semantic theory of antonyms, of a kind which is not available to us within our present scope. We are thus confined to a) and b), features which we require to consider also on other grounds (see §2).

The qualitative/relative distinction will therefore not play a role in our classification.

2. We have chosen to classify adjectives with respect to the following features: possession of 'long' forms; possession of 'short' forms; possession of comparative forms; government of oblique cases without a preposition; government of infinitive. Each of these will be discussed separately below.

- 2.1 Possession of 'long' forms is of syntactic relevance in that, for example, non-predicative use of the adjective is only possible for its 'long' forms; the use of an instrumental form of the adjective in predicate position (whatever interpretation one may elect to assign to this use) is only possible for adjectives possessing a 'long' form (GUSTAVSSON 1976). As authorities on the question of whether a given adjective possesses a 'long' form, we have used the widest available selection of Russian grammars, e.g. VALGINA 1973, GVOZDEV 1961, VINOGRADOV 1952, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, USSR 1950-65 and PROKOPOVIČ 1966, taking as definitive in case of contradiction the source which permitted the greatest number of forms for a particular item, as described in Chapter 2 §7.3.2.3.

- 2.2 Possession of a 'short' form is of syntactic relevance in at least the following respects: a) in predicative position, there is a three-way contrast between long nominative, long instrumental, and short form (GUSTAVSSON 1976); b) VINOGRADOV 1952, IIIi:447 specifies that a short form is required in the following sentence types, where the underlined word is said to refer to a whole sentence, rather than a member of sentence:

Только на войне по-настоящему знаешь людей. Мне теперь это ясно.

Все, что недостижимо для него теперь, когда-нибудь станет близким, понятным. (Sources of the information are as in §2.1).

- 2.3 Possession of a comparative form is relevant in determining collocatability with ADV-5 (более, менее); and combination with the 'genitive of comparison'. We have assumed that a form which has a comparative also has a superlative, but have not made special investigation of this. Sources for the information are as in §2.1.

- 2.4 Government of an infinitive was established by consulting our sources. It was not always possible to establish whether this type of complement was available for both long and short forms, or for only one form. Several of our sources indicate that the latter is the case, but evaluation presents some difficulty, since, in some cases, subtle differences of meaning are asserted between long and short forms which, it is implied, require them to be considered as two different items.

2.4.1 We have assumed that long and short forms which are morphologically related in the standard ways described in grammars under 'formation of short adjectives' do belong under the same paradigm, even though our sources often imply that long and short forms are in some respects different items because one has a shade of meaning not shared by the other.

3. Government of oblique cases of nouns without a preposition is optional for all adjectives. Only certain instances have been considered here.

3.1 PROKOPOVIČ 1966 implies the existence of a class with accusative complement, e.g. *все время печальный*. We suspect, however, that this is an instance of a pretty-well unrestricted possibility of modification by the accusative form of a noun of class TEMP- or SPAT, parallel to modification of verbs (Chapter 3 §6.3, §6.5, Chapter 4 §3.3.3). This construction is therefore not used as a basis for classification.

The characteristic construction of *должен* (= 'owe') + accusative is, however, separately recorded.

3.2 PROKOPOVIČ 1966 also records the possibility of an instrumental complement of the type '*белый лицом*'. Again, it is thought that this type of complement is very widespread, and may in fact be too general in application to serve as a distinguishing feature of a class. We have therefore registered only that type of instrumental which is an alternative to the genitive (*полный чего/чем*).

- 3.3 Dative complements of a function analogous to the indirect object of verbs are also plausible in a wide range of cases. It seems plausible in such instances to substitute for the dative item the formula 'для кого'. Where this can be done, the possibility of the dative complement is not recorded, since it is too widespread to be distinctive of class. Where substitution with 'для кого' fails, the possibility of a dative complement is marked.
4. Government of an infinitive is recorded where our sources permit it. If a particular aspect of the verb is required, this is also marked.
5. Complementation with a preposition + noun phrase was not considered (see Chapter 9 §2.2).
6. The classes derived are shown in the table on page 157.
- 7.1 The word самый, adjectival in form and occurring with another ADJ to form a superlative, as in formula xxxvii):
- xxxvii) сам (+ adjective ending) ADJ (1 - 6, 17) NOUN (all three items to agree) forms a one-member class, which we shall call ADJ-SUP.
- 7.2 ADJ-COMP, e.g. младший, старший, have only long forms, and participate in structures available to comparative forms of adjectives.
- 7.3 ADJ-19 covers those adjectives which, according to our sources*, lack one or other of the short forms: a) no masculine form: поздний, ранний, земной; b) no feminine or neuter forms: древний; c) no comparative, no masculine or neuter forms: пустынный; d) no comparative, no masculine form: родной.

* ŠVEDOVA 1970:399

Class name	+long	+short+comp arative	+acc	+gen	+dat	+inst	+inf.	+pf inf.	+imperf inf.	+что	Examples	Notes*
ADJ-1	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	алмазный, бедный	
ADJ-2	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	параллельный	
ADJ-3	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	чуждый, достойный	
ADJ-4	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	полный	gen & inst are alternatives
ADJ-5	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	любпытный	infinitive opt.
ADJ-6	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	согласный, свободный	infinitive opt.
ADJ-7	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	пеший	
ADJ-8	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	благородный	
ADJ-9	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	сестрин, борзой	
ADJ-10	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	близенен	
ADJ-11	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	должен 'must' горазд	infinitive comp
ADJ-12	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	готов	infinitive opt.
ADJ-13	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	рад	
ADJ-14	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	здоров	infinitive comp
ADJ-15	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	уверен	
ADJ-16	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	люб, нужен	
ADJ-17	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	новогодний, толстый	
ADJ-18	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	должен 'owe, indebted to'	acc and dat may co-occur

* sources as in §2.1

CHAPTER SEVENPronominal classes

- 0.1 Traditional definitions of the pronoun appeal to the notion of "указание": "часть речи, обозначающая указание на лицо или предмет" (ŠVEDOVA 1970:305); "такие слова, которые указывают на предметы и на их признаки, но не называют их и не определяют их содержания" (VINOGRADOV 1952, I:387).

Although VINOGRADOV, for example, classifies the pronoun as a distinct part of speech, items within this part of speech are referred to as 'nouns', 'adjectives' (i.e. as belonging to other parts of speech) with no apparent awareness of a contradiction (loc. cit). This is indicative of the confusion and haziness which pervades discussion of the pronoun.

- 0.2 Textbooks use the term 'pronoun' without further definition. Many subtypes are distinguished, but in an unsystematic way, apparently depending upon the individual author's opinion as to how idiosyncratic a particular syntactic behaviour is. Subclasses of pronouns are distinguished by names taken from the traditional repertoire, without definition, e.g. 'demonstrative pronouns', 'possessive pronouns'.

- 0.3 REID:xiii defines the class PRON simply as 'words like he/she/it etc'. Labelled as PRON are all case forms of я, ты, он, она, оно, мы, вы, они, себя.

Other traditional pronouns, e.g. *кто* are labelled REL, and defined in terms of their ability to correlate with other items, e.g. *что*, *кто* or as INTERR, defined as 'introducing questions'.

- 0.4 Of current work on the pronoun, (e.g. LEES & KLIMA 1969, DOUGHERTY 1969, GRINDER 1971), that of HARWEG 1968, in particular, seems potentially adaptable to our own framework, since it relies explicitly on substitutional, rather than semantic or pragmatic, criteria. We shall now discuss the proposed treatment through substitution in more detail.
- 0.5.1 HARWEG 1968:25 defines the pronouns as a '2-dimensional substituens', that is, as paradigmatically and syntagmatically substitutable. Substitution is defined as 'die Ersetzung eines sprachlichen Ausdrucks durch einen bestimmten anderen sprachlichen Ausdruck' (op. cit.:20). However, this notion is not as simple as it would appear.
- 0.5.1.1 MEY 1966 points out that paradigmatic substitution simply defines morphological type, and thus only indirectly syntactic class. Hence, if we substitute for the 'adjective' in "*большая книга*" the 'possessive pronoun' "*моя*": "*моя книга*" we establish only that it is adjectival in form.
- 0.5.1.2 However, in the above example, *моя* is not, strictly speaking, totally functionally equivalent to *большая* in that a) it cannot be coordinated with *большая* by a comma or *и* ; b) it cannot

be modified by an adverb:

e.g. моя большая книга

^xмоя, большая книга (^x denotes impossibility)

^xмоя и большая книга

^xочень моя книга

очень большая книга.

Compare a genuinely substitutable adjective such as тяжелая

большая, тяжелая книга

большая и тяжелая книга

очень тяжелая книга.

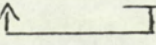
In contrast, the 'possessive' pronouns can coordinate with each other,

e.g. мои и ваши книги.

0.5.1.3 Thus, the notion of 'paradigmatic substitutability' is not a criterion which can be straightforwardly applied, since in a number of cases only a selection of mutual functions (perhaps amounting only to those of morphological class) can be maintained over substitution.

0.5.2 The criteria for syntagmatic substitution are equally difficult to specify from case to case. In examples such as the following, the problem appears to be easily solved:

a) Вот карандаш. Он лежит на столе.

(он)  (карандаш)

In both instances, the identical set of paradigmatic substitutions can be made in the two sentences, and it is this which appears to influence the interpretation of Он in the second sentence as a syntagmatic substitute for карандаш in the first.

However, in sentences such as

б) Мальчик дал подарок учителю. Он был большой.

it is clear that Он can be regarded as a syntagmatic substitute for any of the three nouns, that is, as the traditional account has it, it is a substitute for any masculine singular noun, regardless of case or sentence type. Thus, it is not clear how one could unambiguously define the notion of syntagmatic substitutability.

Further difficulties arise with the definition of the notion in other instances. For example, if we consider only Russian surface structure, себя and its other forms cannot be syntagmatically substituted:

с) Мальчик купил себе новую шляпу.

д) Мальчик купил мальчику новую шляпу.

Мальчику in д) cannot be considered a paradigmatic substitute for себе in с) because Russian must interpret д) as referring to two different boys. If it should be possible to establish some deep-structural criterion for substitutability, it seems most implausible that it would bear any relationship to that established

for OH etc., since in the case of c), substitutability rests on the notion of 'subject of the clause', not on 'masculine gender'.

0.5.3 JELINEK 1966 refers to the ability of certain constructs to be 'depredicated' into pronouns, implying the need for some kind of transformational reduction of sentences/members of sentence into proforms (the process is considered not to be restricted to nouns). The necessary rules are, however, admittedly unknown.

0.5.4 Current discussions of the pronoun, including our own below, reveal the heterogeneous nature of these forms and their syntactic behaviour, and the lack of an adequate unified conceptual background against which variations in syntactic behaviour can be viewed. The scope of the problem is seen to be even greater when one considers data which are usually not handled in textbooks of Russian, even though the phenomena in question cause difficulty to the student.

0.5.4.1 KAČALOVA & IZRAILEVIČ 1959:108 draw attention to a contrast between English and Russian:

e) He asked me for some stamps, but I hadn't any.

f) Он попросил у меня марок, но у меня не было марок.

Such usages seem to be relevant for a discussion of pronouns, and have a practical relevance too, since the typical student is likely to translate f) unidiomatically as 'He asked me for some stamps, but I had no stamps'.

0.5.4.2 Similarly, the use of 'proverbs' is widespread in English and Russian, and could usefully be defined within a general discussion of proforms:

g) Did you prepare the lesson? Yes, I did.

h) Вы приготовили урок? Да, приготовил.

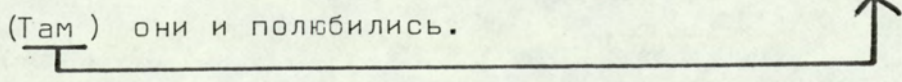
In h), the 'pro-verb' is permitted to have no direct object, although such an object is normally compulsory for a verb of this class (our class V-1). Again, the limits of the phenomenon appear to be unknown, and the solution of the problem would be of immediate practical use for translation courses.

0.5.4.3 VINOGRADOV 1952, I:627 lists several adverbs, "сохраняющие непосредственное смысловые и словообразовательные связи с соответствующими местоименными основами", such as потому, здесь, всегда.

It may well prove that such items serve as pro-forms, when we consider such examples as j):

j) Они встретились (в маленькой гостинице в Ялте) .

(Там) они и полюбилась.



0.5.4.4 Thus, the whole issue of proforms confronts us with problems of description with which no theory currently known to us seems equipped to deal in their entirety. We therefore propose to handle these items in a way which we acknowledge to be in the last resort

inadequate, but which at least rests within the self-imposed limits of our methodology (Chapter 7). Our proposals are discussed in §0.6.

- 0.6.1 We shall discuss only the traditional 'pronouns', and shall treat 'pro-verbs' merely as special uses of the verb; 'pro-adverbs' (0.5.4.3) will not be differentiated from other adverbs.
- 0.6.2 In view of the above-mentioned difficulties in defining substitution in a uniform manner over the whole range of pronouns, we shall not use such a notion as a defining criterion, but shall roughly delimit the area dealt with under 'pronoun' by reference to the criteria mentioned in Chapter 3 §0.5.1, namely ability to fulfill certain syntactic functions (subject, object etc.), and inability to be modified by adjectives (i.e. members of our class ADJ-). Applying these two criteria to the traditional lists of pronouns (e.g. VINOGRADOV 1952, I:25ff, and the 'pronominal adjectives' of ŠVEDOVA 1970:305ff), and omitting items which are said to be archaic, we obtain the following list for consideration: мой, твой, свой, наш, ваш, я, ты, мы, вы, себя, его, их, ее, он, она, оно, они, тот, этот, такой, этаний, таков, следующий, весь, каждый, самый, иной, другой, всякий, всяческий, любой, целый, чей, который, какой, каков, кто, что, какой-нибудь, некий, некоторый, какой-то, чей-то, чей-нибудь, чей-либо, кое-какой, некто, нечто, кто-то, кто-нибудь, кто-либо, что-то, что-нибудь, что-либо, кое-кто, кое-что, никакой, никоторый, ничей, никто, ничто, некого, нечего.

1. The above-mentioned items can be divided into two groups, depending on their ability to modify nouns, i.e. to be inserted in the frame (_____ noun), with agreement in number, case and gender. The resulting list contains items which can cooccur with adjectives (ADJ-) modifying the same nouns, without being separated in writing from these adjectives by a comma; they cannot be modified by adverbs:

мой, твой, наш, ваш, его, ее, их, свой, тот, этот, такой, этаний, следующий, весь, каждый, самый, иной, другой, всякий, всяческий, любой, целый, чей, какой, какой-нибудь, некий, некоторый, какой-то, чей-то, чей-нибудь, чей-либо, кое-какой, никакой, некоторый, ничей, который.

Further classification may now take place.

- 1.1 The group which we shall call PRON-NEG-1 requires in the sentence the presence of a negated verb (verb preceded by не): никакой, некоторый, ничей.
- 1.2 PRON-REFL-1, свой, is distinguished by its compulsory use instead of мой, твой, ваш, наш, его, ее, их when the subject of the clause is referred to.
- 1.3 PRON-INTERR, чей, entails an interrogative sentence (sentence + ?), or introduces a clause which complements a V-6 (Chapter 4 §3.3.4).

1.4 Накой shares the feature of чей , but is further distinguished by its ability to occur in a correlative pair with такой (i.e. to occur in the same sentence, with the clauses containing накой, такой being of parallel structure). It will therefore be named PRON-INTERR-1, такой will be called PRON-REL-1.

1.5 The remaining items of this group (except который, see 1.6.3 and 1.6.4), can be assigned to four groups on the basis of their ability to cooccur as modifiers of the same noun, in the order shown in the table (1.5.1).

PRON-ADJ-1 весь, каждый, всякий, всяческий, любой, целый? некий? некоторый

PRON-ADJ-2 тот, этот, этаний, какой-нибудь, какой-то чей-нибудь, чей-то, чей-либо

PRON-ADJ-3 другой, иной, следующий, самый

PRON-ADJ-4 мой, твой, наш, ваш, его, ее, их

1.5.1	name of class:	preceded by:	precedes:
PRON-ADJ-1	-		PRON-ADJ-2, PRON-ADJ-3 PRON-ADJ-4
PRON-ADJ-2	PRON-ADJ-1		PRON-ADJ-3, PRON-ADJ-4
PRON-ADJ-3	PRON-ADJ-1, PRON-ADJ-2		PRON-ADJ-4
PRON-ADJ-4	PRON-ADJ-1, PRON-ADJ-2, PRON-ADJ-3		-

- 1.6 Various homographs of items already mentioned can be classed separately, on the grounds that their syntactic behaviour is unique and very limited, compared with the broad general patterns, common to several items, used as a basis for classification so far.
- 1.6.1 Это, то and their singular oblique case forms have the ability to refer to whole sentences or clauses, rather than a noun referent. This use of то has led it to be classified in REID as NOM-1: in this use, it correlates with a clause introduced by a comma and что . We shall retain its class name, although we no longer intend to imply by the name that the item is a noun, since it does not fit our definition of the noun (Chapter 3 §0.5). Similarly, it is not implied, if we now give the name NOM-1a to это, that this is a noun. The relevant use of это may be specified as reference to a whole sentence, established by absence of a possible neuter singular referent in the sentence.
- (NOM-1a) Мальчик подарил подарок учителю. Это удивляло его.
- 1.6.2 A variety of тот which correlates with который or кто: тот, кто который may be separately distinguished, since this item cannot modify a noun, unlike its homograph. We shall name it PRON-REL-2.
- 1.6.3 Какой in its use as a 'relative pronoun', is distinguished from its homographous adjectival form by its inability to modify a noun (see 1.6.4), and the requirement that it agree with its antecedant in number and gender, while having its case determined through the

structure of its own clause. This is of course the traditional explanation, in deference to which we select the name REL-PRON.

- 1.6.4 **Который** as a noun-modifier entails an interrogative sentence (sentence + '?') or complements a V-6 (Chapter 4 §3.3.4). It also forms a correlative pair with **ТОТ** (PRON-REL-2). In this function we shall call it PRON-INTERR-2.
- 1.7 **Каков** and **Таков** are distinguished by their inability to occur in non-predicate functions; they may form a correlative pair (i.e. they may occur in a sentence, one item in each clause, the clauses being of parallel structure), and **Каков** is also able to entail an interrogative sentence (sentence + '?'), or to introduce the complement clause of a V-6 (Chapter 4 §3.3.4). We shall name the two classes, **Каков** PRON-INTERR-3 and **Таков** PRON-REL-3.
2. Of the remaining items from our initial list in 0.6.2, none may modify a noun or be modified by an adjective (ADJ-), or by any of the pronoun classes discussed in 1. They are all, however, capable of fulfilling most of the functions of nouns, i.e. subject, object etc. We propose the following classification:
 - 2.1 **Сам** may occur in predicate position, or may cooccur with any noun, or with a PRON-PERS-1 or PRON-PERS-2 (see 2.7 and 2.8). In fact, the presence of one of these is obligatory. We shall call this item SAM.

- 2.2 Никто, ничто require a negated verb form (verb + не), and are separable (ни с кем etc.). They will be called PRON-NEG-2.
- 2.3 Кто, что entail an interrogative sentence, or introduce the complement clause to a V-6 (Chapter 4 §3.3.4). They may correlate with masculine and neuter forms respectively of тот PRON-REL-2. They will be called PRON-INTERR-4.
- 2.4 Некто PRON-1 is able only to function as subject of a verb.
- 2.5 Нечто PRON-1a may be only the subject of a verb or the direct object of a V-1 or V-2 (Chapter 4 §3.3.1).
- 2.6 Себя PRON-REFL-2 is distinguished by its use in place of a subject noun or subject PRON-PERS-1, PRON-PERS-2 or PRON-2 (see §2.7 and §2.8).
- 2.7 Я, ты, мы, вы are freely usable as subject, object, etc., provided that the necessary agreement of the verb-form is maintained. They will be called PRON-PERS-1.
- 2.8 Он, она, оно, они share the features of PRON-PERS-1, and have the additional possibility of being substitutable for nouns, with the observance of rules of agreement in number and gender. These will be called PRON-PERS-2.
- 2.9 Ное-кто, кто-то, кто-нибудь, кто-либо, что-то, что-нибудь, что-либо share the features of ability to function as subject,

object etc., and may also correlate with который REL-PRON, thus:
 Я встретился с кем-то, который тебя знает. They will be
 classed as PRON-2.

3. The forms некого, нечему etc, may as well be described as a type of PRED (Chapter 8 §6), since they share PRED's characteristic properties of combination with dative, COP and Infinitive.
4. Thus the REID classes PRON, REL, INTERR, ADJ and NOM-1 merge into our new classes as follows:

<u>REID class</u>	<u>New class</u>	<u>discussion in</u>
Ни + ADJ	PRON-NEG-1	(1.1)
ADJ	PRON-REFL-1	(1.2)
ADJ	PRON-INTERR	(1.3)
REL/INTERR	PRON-INTERR-1	(1.4)
REL/ADJ	PRON-REL-1	(1.4)
ADJ	PRON-ADJ-1	(1.5)
ADJ	PRON-ADJ-2	(1.5)
ADJ	PRON-ADJ-3	(1.5)
ADJ	PRON-ADJ-4	(1.5)
NOM-1	NOM-1	(1.6.1)
not entered in this function	NOM-1a	(1.6.1)
REL	PRON-REL-2	(1.6.2)
REL)) functions not	REL-PRON	(1.6.3)
REL)) distinguished	PRON-INTERR-2	(1.6.4)

<u>REID class</u>	<u>New class</u>	<u>discussion in</u>
not entered	PRON-INTERR-3	(1.7)
not classified	PRON-REL-3	(1.7)
PRON	SAM	(2.1)
HH + INTERR	PRON-NEG-2	(2.2)
REL/INTERR	PRON-INTERR-4	(2.3)
not entered	PRON-1	(2.4)
not entered	PRON-1a	(2.5)
PRON	PRON-REFL-2	(2.6)
PRON	PRON-PERS-1	(2.7)
PRON	PRON-PERS-2	(2.8)
not entered or		
REL/INTERR + suffix	PRON-2	(2.9)
not entered	PRED-14	(Chapter 8 §8.2)

CHAPTER EIGHTAdverb classes

- 0.1.1 In order to delimit the range of items discussed in this chapter, we may define adverbs as optional, non-nominal modifiers of the verb.
- 0.1.2 Our discussion will also include items of the type which REID labels PRED. Other sources refer to these as "категория состояния" (see, for example, ŠAPIRO 1955), 'impersonal expressions' (WARING 1967:22ff) or 'adverbs' (WARING 1967:23). As will be shown below (§6), we consider it more appropriate to distinguish these items from adverbs.
- 0.1.3 Paragraphs 1 - 5 will discuss and classify 'adverbs'.
Paragraphs 6 - 9 will discuss and classify 'PRED'.
1. Traditionally, the class of adverbs is notionally defined (e.g. ŠVEDOVA 1970:309: "часть речи, обозначающая признак действия, качества или предмета"), as are its various subdivisions, although various formal features are mentioned in support of the notional classification. The discussion in VINOGRADOV 1952 is typical:
- 1.1 VINOGRADOV 1952, I:606 postulates a class of qualitative (качественные) adverbs, which "обозначают качество признака или действия, а также указывают на количественные оттенки действия или качества".

- 1.1.1 The sub-category of adverbs of manner is defined (op. cit., I: 607) by its ability to modify verbs, adjectives and adverbs, and to be used in responses to questions such as *как?*, *каким образом?*.
- 1.1.2 'Quantitative' (количественные) adverbs are defined (op. cit., I:607) by their ability to be used in response to questions such as *сколько?*, *как много?*, *до какой степени?*.
- 1.1.3 A second large group of adverbs is named (op. cit., I:606) 'circumstantial' (обстоятельственные), and again is defined primarily by meaning: "являются показателями временных, пространственных, целевых и причинных отношений". Each of the four sub-groups thus suggested is related to a specific set of interrogative items: *когда?*, *с каких пор?*, *до каких пор?* (temporal); *где?*, *куда?*, *откуда?*, *докуда?* (locational); *почему?*, *отчего?* (causal); *зачем?* (purposive).
- 1.1.4 An intermediate 'qualitative-circumstantial' (качественно-обстоятельственные) group is also postulated (op. cit., I:610ff). This category includes a) a group etymologically derived from preposition + noun combinations; b) forms in *по-—— и, по-——ему/ому*; c) the instrumental forms of numerous nouns. This last group appears however, to subsume a rather general function of the instrumental case of nouns, rather than a distinctive feature of a small class of nouns.

2. Like other textbooks, REID has only one class, ADV ('adverb') corresponding to all the adverb classes delimited in this chapter. REID:viii defines ADV simply: 'ADV(erb) can modify an ADJ or V-'.
 3. The traditional and the REID treatment of adverbs are both unsatisfactory, in that differing possibilities of modification and restrictions on coordination are thereby obscured. A certain amount of information on modification is given in VINOGRADOV 1952, especially at Iii:291, Iii:330ff, Iii:345f, Iii:346, Iii:348, Iii:350f, Iii:334, Iii:349, and sections dealing with "словосочетание". However, the information is not presented systematically, and the extent of its applicability is difficult to ascertain, especially in view of the inconsistencies which can be found. For example, "НОЧЬЮ" is described (op. cit., Iii:291) as a qualitative-circumstantial adverb, while op cit., I:612 describes it simply as circumstantial (temporal). In neither case is it defined what syntactic restrictions are associated with the classification.
 - 3.1 On the basis of the information given in VINOGRADOV 1952, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, USSR 1952 - 1960, ŠVEDOVA 1970, and a variety of other sources giving examples of 'word combination' (словосочетание), it was attempted to establish sub-groups of adverbs which could modify each other and/or other members of sentence, or could be modified by them. The information so derived is presented in §4 and §5.5 in the columns 'modified by' and 'can modify'.

- 3.2 Other relevant features are recorded in §4 for each type of adverb:
- 3.2.1 Ability to form the comparative permits participation in the following syntactic constructions:
- 3.2.1.1 Все + comparative (и comparative).
- 3.2.1.2 Еще + comparative (+ genitive noun).
- 3.2.1.3 Как можно + comparative.
- 3.2.1.4 Comparative + всего/всех.
- 3.2.1.5 Comparative + genitive noun.
- 3.2.2 Adverbs have therefore been classified by their ability to form the comparative, as indicated in available reference sources. Those possessing a comparative form are marked '+ comp', and those without a comparative form are marked '-comp' in the left-most column of §4.
- 3.3.1 Coordination within each proposed group by means of и 'and' was examined, on the basis that it should not be possible between items of different status (cf LAUNER 1974:63, on coordination with и ; 'by which two elements of identical structure are combined into one unit').

However, certain difficulties arose:

- 3.3.1.1 Some combinations are so obviously absurd in sense that it is difficult to make an independent judgement of their syntactic acceptability.

e.g. Я быстро и медленно иду в библиотеку.

- 3.3.1.2 Coordination may be possible between groups which have been distinguished on other grounds such as ability to modify other items.

e.g. ? Он тихо и дружески улыбнулся.

- 3.3.1.3 In some cases, coordination between items of different groups is, however, clearly impossible, thus indicating that the test has some validity.

e.g. Он очень любит ее.

Он страстно любит ее.

Он очень страстно любит ее.

* Он очень и страстно любит ее.

- 3.3.2 Testing of the limits of coordination among our proposed adverb groups will clearly require an extensive programme of investigation with native informants. Until more conclusive results can be obtained, we have decided against using data on coordination as a criterion for establishing adverb classes.

4. Adverb classes I

name of class, examples	modified by ¹	can modify ¹
	¹ Where a general name, such as 'noun', 'verb' is listed below, it is implied that all items falling within the general definition of 'nouns', 'verbs', given in this thesis, can be modified by/modify the adverb in question	

4.1	QUAL 1	как	
		ADV-NEG	
	+ comp	QUAL 2	adj
		QUAL 3	verb
		QUAL 1	QUAL 2
		QUAL 4	prep + noun
		QUAL-CIRC 1	QUAL 1
	бойко быстро громко дино		
	злобно игриво медленно	так	
	радостно	QUANTA 2 4 5 6 7	noun in genitive

4.2	QUAL 2	ADV-NEG	
		QUAL 4	adj
	+ comp	QUAL 1	verb
		QUAL 2	prep + noun
		QUAL 3	QUAL 1
		QUAL-CIRC 1	QUAL 2
			QUAL 3

name of class, examples	modified by	can modify
блестяще потрясающе	QUANTA 2 4 5 6 7	
	нак	
	так	noun in genitive

4.3	QUAL 3	ADV-NEG	
		QUAL 4	adj
	- comp	QUAL 1	verb
		QUAL 2	prep + noun
		QUAL 3	QUAL 1
			QUAL 2
		QUAL-CIRC 1	QUAL 3
	дружески иронически		
		QUANTA 2 4 5 6 7	
		нак	
		так	

4.4	QUAL 4		
			adj
	- comp		verb
			QUAL 1
			QUAL 2
			QUAL 3

name of class, examples	modified by	can modify
как-нибудь как-то		QUANT-CIRC 1
кое-как		TEMP 3
		PRED 1 - 13

4.5

QUAL 5

- comp

?QUANTA 5

verb

наотрез

4.6

QUAL-CIRC 1

QUAL 4

verb

QUAL 1

- comp

ADV-NEG

QUAL 2

QUAL 3

по-братски по-геройски

PRED 1 - 12

попрежнему по-весеннему etc.

adj

4.7

QUAL-CIRC 2

verb

- comp

noun

prep + noun

вброд вдребезги вдруг

взапуски верхом вносъ вкривъ

вплавь вплотную вручную

name of class, examples

modified by

can modify

вслух втихомолку исноса

навыворот наизнанку наизусть

ощупью пешком плашмя

4.8

QUANTA 1

- comp

QUANTA 2

verb

comparative adverb/ad.

вдвое втрое вчетверо

?PRED 1 - 12

4.9

QUANTA 2

?PRED 1 - 13

NUM 1 - 12

- comp

QUANTA 1

QUANTA 3

почти приблизительно

QUANTA 7

ровно

verb

adj

QUAL 1

QUAL 2

QUAL 3

ADV-NEG

4.10

QUANTA 3

QUANTA 2

verb

надвое натрое

?deverbal nouns

- comp

	name of class, examples	modified by	can modify
4.11	QUANTA 4	QUANTA 5	?PRED 1 - 13
	- comp		adj
			verb
			QUAL 1
	крошечку капельку		QUAL 2
	чутьочку		QUAL 3
			ADV TEMP 3
4.12	QUANTA 5	?QUAL 5	prep + noun
	- comp		noun ADV TEMP 3
			adj LOC
			verb PRED 1 - 13
	совсем		QUAL 1
			QUAL 2
			QUAL 3
			QUANTA 4
			ADV-NEG
4.13	QUANTA 6		adj ?LOC
	- comp		verb ?PRED 1 - 13
			QUAL 1
			QUAL 2
	чуть еле едва		QUAL 3
	едва-едва		ADV TEMP 3

	name of class, examples	modified by	can modify
4.14	QUANTA 7 - comp весьма очень слегка слишком совершенно	QUANTA 2	adj ?LOC verb PRED 1 - 12?1 QUAL 1 QUAL 2 QUAL 3 ADV TEMP 3
4.15	QUANTA 8 несколько		negated verb neg + adj noun in genitive
4.16	ADV TEMP 1 - comp когда-то ныне теперь вчера завтра давно раньше накануне встарь впоследствии во-время иногда всегда сегодня		adj noun ? prep + noun ? PRED 1 - 13
4.17	ADV TEMP 2 + comp рано поздно давно	QUAL 4 ?QUANTA 4 QUANTA 5 ?QUANTA 6 QUANTA 7	adj verb QUAL 1 QUAL 2

	name of class, examples	modified by	can modify
		нан	QUAL 3
		тан	?PRED 1 - 13
4.18	LOC		
	- comp	QUANTA 5	noun
		?QUANTA 6	prep + noun
	вдаль везде взад влево	?QUANTA 7	adj PRED 1 - 13
	внизу далеко здесь	LOC	LOC
	издалека		
4.19	CAUS		
	= comp		verb
			noun
	сгоряча сдуру сослепу		? prep + noun
	сослепа спьяна		
4.20	ADV-1 (on the basis of ŠVEDOVA 1970:510)		noun in D
	сродни наперерез вдогонку		verb
	вразрез		
4.21	ADV-2 (cf ŠVEDOVA 1970:510)		
	внутри наружку		noun in I
	вниз вверх		verb

	name of class, examples	modified by	can modify
4.22	ADV 3 (cf ŠVEDOVA 1970:510) вблизи		noun in G verb
4.23	ADV 4 (cf ŠVEDOVA 1970:510) дважды, пятью etc.		verb NUM 1 - 12
4.24	ADV 5 более менее		adj verb NUM 1 - 12 in genitive
4.25	A class of 'modal adverbs' (ARNDT 1960:328 - 329), such as опять, также, тоже modify verbs, as can be established by deletion of the verb, which entails also deletion of the adverb. They are not modified by other items. In deference to the traditional name, these will be called ADV-MOD.		
5.	'Pronominal adverbs'.		
5.1	VINOGRADOV 1952, ŠVEDOVA 1970 and other sources postulate classes of 'pronominal' (местоименные) adverbs. The various classes (отрицательные, относительные etc.) appear to be based partly on syntactic criteria ('relative' adverbs come in correlated pairs),		

partly on meaning ('indefinite' (неопределенные) adverbs are those such as когда-нибудь). The overall notion of 'pronominality' is simply not defined, and, as discussed elsewhere (Chapter 7 §0.5), it is difficult to find a satisfactory formal definition. Within our present level of analysis, however, it is possible to propose a classification of these items on syntactic grounds.

5.2.1 'Pronominal adverbs'

Name of group	Membership of group (VINOGRADOV 1952,I:39)	Membership of group (ŠVEDOVA 1970:309)
указательные	так этак	здесь там тут туда потому поэтому затем оттого тогда так этак
неопределенные	некогда когда-то когда-нибудь как- нибудь	где-то где-нибудь куда-то куда-нибудь откуда-то откуда- нибудь кое-где кое-куда кое-когда
определительные	всегда везде	по-всякому всячески везде всюду отовсюду всегда по-иному по-другому

Name of group	Membership of group (VINOGRADOV 1952,I:39)	Membership of group (ŠVEDOVA 1970:309)
отрицательные	никак никогда	нигде никогда нигуда низачем негде некуда некогда незачем неоткуда
вопросительные	как? когда? где?	где куда откуда когда зачем отчего почему как
относительные	как-так, тогда- когда, там-где	---
притяжательные personal	по-моему по-твоему по-вашему по-нашему	Group named 'personal' (личные)
reflexive	по-своему	Group named 'reflexive' (возвратные)

5.2.2 Where both sources have a category in common, it may be suspected that VINOGRADOV's examples are intended only as a rough indication of the type of item to be included, and that ŠVEDOVA's list is an expansion⁽¹⁾. This relationship between the two sources is a frequent one.

(1) It is not clear whether ŠVEDOVA's lists were intended to be exhaustive.

5.3 Of the items listed in §5.2.1, REID classes the majority of those entered as ADV. Two further classes are, however, distinguished by REID, although the assignation of particular items to these classes is not always carried out consistently. The class names in question are INTERR and REL.

5.3.1 INTERR are defined as follows (REID:x - xi):

'INTERROgative. These are words which can ask a question, e.g. 'who', 'where' (but not 'why') '

They participate in two distinctive constructions:

'1) noun (in D case) не INTERR V- (no. 30) = 'there is no INTERR (i.e. nowhere, nothing) for noun (= noun in D) to verb (= V- no. 30)'.

2) INTERR бы subject ни V-(no. 29) = 'INTERR ever (e.g. whatever) subject verbs/verbed'.

This class encompasses such items as когда, как, что, где.

5.3.2 REL are defined (REID:xiii):

'RELative : words like "где" . . . "тогда" . . . "когда" in Russian, often occur in complementary pairs separated by a comma; the first item of the pair is often superfluous in the English translation'.

It is intended by this definition to cover e.g. там in configurations such as " . . . там где . . . ".

- 5.3.3 REID's definitions of INTERR and REL are not satisfactory, in that they do not accurately delimit the intended items or their syntactic behaviour.
- 5.4 Applying the criterion already demonstrated for classification of adverbs in §4, we can assign certain 'pronominal adverbs' to already-existing classes.
- 5.4.1 Нан-нибудь already appears, on the basis of data given in VINOGRADOV 1952, as QUAL-4.
- 5.4.2 По-моему, по-твоему, по-вашему, по-нашему, по-своему appear to be assignable to QUAL-CIRC-1 as are по-всякому, по-иному, по-другому.
- 5.4.3 Здесь, тут, где-то, где-нибудь, куда-то, куда-нибудь, откуда-то, откуда-нибудь, кое-где, кое-куда, везде, всюду, отовсюду may all be assigned to the class LOC.
- 5.4.4 Всегда, когда-нибудь, кое-когда, когда-то belong to ADV-TEMP-1.
- 5.5 The remaining 'pronominal adverbs' have special features which justify the establishing of further classes. These are shown in the following table.
- 5.5.1 Adverb classes II

5.5.1.1	name of class, examples	features	modified by	can modify
	ADV-NEG	Entails compulsory		QUAL-1
	нигде, никогда	negation of verb	QUANTA-5	QUAL-2
	никуда, низачем	by не: only other	QUANTA-2	QUAL-3
	никак	ADV-NEG or PRON-NEG-1		QUAL-CIRC-1
		PRON-NEG-2 may be used in such sentences instead of their counter- parts without initial ни		
5.5.1.2	ADV-INTERR	Introduces clause где, куда, от- куда, когда, зачем, отчего почему	-	-
		complement of V-6. Introduces interr- ogative sentence (sentence + ?)		
5.5.1.3	ADV-REL	Correlates with туда, там, оттуда тогда, затем, оттого, потому	-	-
		ADV-INTERR		

5.5.1.4	name of class, examples	features	modified by	can modify
	KAK	Introduces comp-	-	QUAL-1
	КАК	lement clause of V-6, Vj.		QUAL-2 QUAL-3
		Introduces inter- rogative sentence		ADV-TEMP-2 PRED-1-12
5.5.1.5	TAK	Correlates with	-	QUAL-1
	ТАК	clause in КАК.		QUAL-2
		When modifying		QUAL-3
		another adverb		ADV-TEMP-2
		or PRED may be		PRED-1-12
		followed by, ЧТО		
		+ sentence		

6. Under the heading PRED, we shall discuss items which can occur in a sentence which lacks an overtly-expressed finite verb. In such a case, tense is expressed by an appropriate form of COP (which, for the present tense, is of course not overtly expressed); other members of the clause containing PRED are dependent on it, so that the PRED forms a nexus for the sentence in a manner analogous to that of the finite verb form.

Thus our minimum defining formula can be expressed as:

xxxviii) PRED (+ tense)

Холодно

Expansion by overtly-marked tense is exemplified by:

COP + PRED

было холодно

The number and type of dependent members of sentence varies according to the class of PRED, but the function of PRED as a clause nexus may be illustrated e.g. by

Мне было холодно в комнате.

where the dative and the locational phrase are governed by the PRED, as can be shown by deleting it:

* Мне было в комнате.

6.1 REID distinguishes several varieties of PRED

- 6.1.1 'PRED-1 identical in form with adverbs formed from ADJ + no. 52' (= -о) '... Tense taken from accompanying COP. ... If a D (pro)noun is also present, it may either become the English subject ... or be rendered as 'for (pro)noun', with 'it' as subject' (REID:xii).

Examples would be холодно, весело.

- 6.1.2 'PRED-2 English requires 'it' as subject. Russian Dative item translated 'for -'. V-(no. 30) may also be present (= 'to do'). Tense acquired either from COP . . . or, for some PRED-2, by the presence of the ending no. 25/29Na' (REID:xii).
Examples: надо, нельзя, нужно, можно.
- 6.1.3 'Pred-3 1) видно . . слышно if not negative have a direct object (Accusative). If negative, the object is G'.
...Thus 2) . . .
- 6.1.4 'PRED-4 долж = 50a, b = must' + COP + infinitive (REID:xii).
This item is now discussed in Chapter 6, as ADJ-11.
- 6.2 REID's definitions often subsume several syntactic types, and are rather heavily influenced by translation possibilities.
- 6.3 Discussion of PRED in traditional grammars is heavily influenced by semantic factors. For example, GALKINA-FEDORUK 1958:300ff divides PRED in -o into the following semantically based groups:
1) состояние природы 2) состояние среды и обстановки
3) состояние физической сферы живых существ 4) состояние психической сферы человека 5) модальные значения.
In many cases, it is hard to differentiate between members of these groups on the grounds of their *syntactic* behaviour.
- 6.4 Textbooks do not deal consistently with these items. Some (e.g. MAGNER 1958:31) refer to PRED ending in -o as 'adverbs'. WYVILL 1966:65 refers to the same items as 'the neuter singular of the short

form of the adjective'. WARING 1967:23 calls the forms in -о 'adverbs', and discusses them under the heading of 'impersonal expressions' (op. cit.:22ff), defined: 'Impersonal expressions have no grammatical subject'. Since, for example, nouns and adjectives also lack grammatical subjects and thus fall within the definition, certain difficulties might be expected in application of the analysis.

- 6.5 In her discussions on whether PRED ending in -о should be classified as adverbs or some other part of speech, GALKINA-FEDORUK 1958:267ff rightly points out that they are distinct in several ways.

In particular, they do not modify verbs, as do all other adverbs - they merely cooccur with verbs which in effect serve only as tense markers, e.g. *быть, становиться, делаться*, that is, our classes COP and V-COP.

They furthermore participate in a characteristic range of constructions, which GALKINA-FEDORUK 1958:301 exemplifies by the following:

1. мне грустно
2. грустно думать о былой молодости
3. грустно, что молодость уходит
4. думать о прошлом грустно

In fact, as is usual in the tradition in which GALKINA-FEDORUK writes, the four example sentences represent a kind of maximalistic ideal: not all PRED have all four possibilities. However, it is

clear that the behaviour illustrated is different from that of adverbs. For example, if *группно* is to be taken as an adverb (modifier of a verb), none of the four instances is then interpretable as a complete sentence, whereas, with a PRED interpretation this is possible.

- 6.6 GALKINA-FEDORUK's classification of PRED is heavily influenced by their semantic analysis, with somewhat arbitrary results. For example, while GALKINA-FEDORUK 1958:282 assigns the item *холодно* to the class of PRED which cannot take D, on the grounds that it refers to a state of nature, op. cit.:284 permits it to be used with the dative, on the grounds that the coldness is now felt subjectively. Obvious difficulties arise in applying this approach.
- 6.7 The complementational possibilities of the items listed in GALKINA-FEDORUK 1958:266ff were further investigated.
- 6.7.1 Complementation with temporal and locational phrases (e.g. "*утром*" and "*здесь*" respectively) appears to be possible for all items, and does not therefore form a basis for separate classes.
- 6.7.2 The following types of adverb appear able to modify all classes of PRED, although this should be verified by tests with informants: QUANTA 5, QUANTA 7, QUAL 4, QUAL-CIRC-1, LOC, TAK, KAK. Other adverb classes were found modifying PRED in ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, USSR 1950 - 62, but the extent to which they may be applied is not clear: QUANTA 4, QUANTA 6, QUANTA 2, QUANTA 1, ADV-TEMP 1, ADV-TEMP 2.

- 6.7.3 An accompanying dative noun seems in some cases to be implausible, largely because it is difficult to imagine a suitable context. We have provisionally divided PRED into those where a dative is attested, and those where it does not seem plausible.
- 6.7.4 Similarly, the addition of a dependent infinitive is affected by the presence of a plausible context. GALKINA-FEDORUK 1958:288ff shows it to be very widespread. Our classes allow for cases where it cannot occur.
- 6.7.5 GALKINA-FEDORUK 1958:284 poses some restriction on the formation of comparatives of PRED in -о . It does seem, however, that informants would accept a wide range of comparative forms in a formula such as 'здесь становится все(comparative) и (comparative)'.
- 6.7.6 Isolated cases were found of government of oblique cases of nouns without a preposition. Complementation by preposition + noun phrases is frequent and general.
- 6.7.7 Complementation with что, как, чтобы has also been noted.
- 6.8 To some extent, coordination with и occurs across the class boundaries suggested here, as is illustrated by the following examples:

Здесь тихо (PRED-2) и ясно. (PRED-5)

* Тихо и ясно, что он придет.

? Интересно (PRED-6) и ясно, что он придет.

Интересно, что он придет.

Ясно, что он придет.

Здесь тихо и интересно.

It has not been possible to investigate this problem adequately, and coordination as a criterion for establishing classes has therefore not been used.

7. Classification of PRED

Class name	+D	+G	+A	+ inf	+что	+как	+чтобы	examples
PRED-1	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	душно, светло
PRED-2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ветренно, морозно
PRED-3	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	жарко, уютно
PRED-4	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	дино
PRED-5	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	ясно
PRED-6	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	трудно, понятно
PRED-7	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	неловко
PRED-8	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	обидно, больно
PRED-9	+	+ ¹	+	-	+	+	-	видно, слышно
PRED-10	+	+ ¹	+	+	-	-	+	нужно, надо
PRED-11	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	здорово
PRED-13	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	сомневательно

¹ Genitive possible if PRED or COP is negated by не .

8.1 From ŠVEDOVA 1970:566, a further class, PRED-12, can be derived, which has the possibility of a dative complement and an infinitive complement. If the infinitive precedes the PRED, the word "это"

may also be inserted before the PRED; furthermore, if a COP or V-COP is expressed, the form of the PRED may be like that of a neuter singular adjective in the instrumental. Members of this class are: возможно, невозможно, обязательно, необязательно.

- 8.2 PRED-14 includes forms of *некого, нечего* characterised by dative and infinitive complements and separability of *не* from the remainder of the PRED by an overtly-expressed form of COP.

CHAPTER NINEPreposition, Particle, Conjunction, Interjection, PARENTH

0.1 We deal here with a number of word classes related to the parts of speech: preposition (§2), particle (§3), conjunction (§4) and interjection (§5). The first three are traditionally grouped together as "служебные слова", a notion which is discussed in §1.

Our class PARENTH includes items from various parts of speech and is discussed in §6.

1.1 "Служебные слова" are defined (ŠVEDOVA 1970:311) as "слова, противопоставленные самостоятельным словам как лексемы и как грамматические единицы", in that they a) do not name objects, properties or actions; b) do not have grammatical categories and c) serve syntactically merely as linking devices (ŠVEDOVA 1970 loc.cit.).

1.2 Underlying this argument is an approach to language which sees the function of linguistic items as a naming function; it is this function which then entails grammatical features. This approach to linguistic analysis is discussed in Chapter 10, in the context of its application in textbooks. It will be clear from our Chapter 2 that we do not agree with this analysis; however, there is a certain *formal* basis for distinguishing "служебные слова" from others, in that, for example, they either do not receive full word stress (VASILYEVA on particles), or form one stress unit with other members

of the syntagm (e.g. из дому). Overall, however, the syntactic differences between the three types are so great as to require their separate discussion; we shall not, therefore, exploit the notion of "служебные слова" in our work.

2. Preposition

2.1 It is customary to define the preposition as a non-inflectable word which has as compulsory complement a particular case form of a noun, pronoun, adjective or numeral (VINOGRADOV 1952, I:652); ŠVEDOVA 1970:311). This is also the definition used in REID and other textbooks and will be retained in the present work.

2.2 Neither our analysis in REID nor our present analysis deals with dependent preposition + noun phrases as complements of word classes, although these obviously play an important part in dependency relationships within the sentence, and should come within the scope of our predictions. There are three difficulties which compel us at present to omit this information.

2.2.1 While there has been little difficulty in deciding for other types of complement whether the given complement is optional or compulsory, it has not been possible to do this for prepositional phrases. There is no inherent reason why this should be so, and the matter could be decided by extensive studies with informants, but such a study could not be undertaken within our present scope.

Reference sources (e.g. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, USSR 1950 - 65) proved unsatisfactory, in that the precise meaning of a preposition is seen as determined by its context (cf ŠVEDOVA 1970:311), and this results in definitions containing characteristic collocations rather than compulsory combinations, with no distinction made between optional and compulsory uses.

2.2.2 GARVIN 1970 demonstrates that combinations of, for example, verb + preposition + noun in Russian may require analysis in one of two ways:

a) (verb) + (preposition + noun)

e.g. работать на заводе

b) (verb) + (preposition) + (noun)

e.g. соглашаться на операцию

He observes that the preposition + noun group in a) can be elicited through an appropriate interrogative adverb, while the particular prepositional usage in b) is an idiosyncratic feature of the governing item. The arrangement of information in such sources as ANDREYEVA-GEORG & TOLMACHEVA 1975 suggests that a similar analysis has been applied here.

Unfortunately, it has not been possible to ascertain whether ANDREYEVA-GEORG & TOLMACHEVA's material fully conforms to the principle that instances of type a) bracketing are always listed with an interrogative adverb. An extensive programme of testing with informants is necessary to

gain the information we require for establishing syntactic predictions in this respect.

2.2.3 The fact that a preposition + noun phrase may be substituted for an adverb implies that prepositions might be classified in terms of their substitutional possibilities. This has so far yielded unsatisfactory results, and further investigation is necessary.

2.3.1 The translation of prepositions does pose pedagogic problems, since the range of translations for any one item is so large. An effective pedagogic solution might be to include in the 'possible continuation' column of REID the most likely preposition continuation (based on standard reference sources like ANDREYEVA-GEORG & TOLMACHEVA 1975) with its translation,

e.g. соглас = 'agree' на + Acc 'to'

2.3.2.1 As far as our prediction-chains are concerned, a suitable temporary expedient might be to permit optional modification of all nouns, verb and adjectives by preposition + noun phrases.

This solution has two disadvantages:

2.3.2.1.1 Many predictions will thereby be raised which cannot in fact be fulfilled.

2.3.2.1.2 In the absence of more restrictive specifications of type and/or position, preposition + noun phrases may be attributed as complements of the wrong member of sentence.

2.3.2.2.1 If such a course were adopted, however, the correct prediction-chain would be amongst those set up, and this would overcome a considerable defect of REID's prediction-chains, namely that certain gaps currently exist which can only be bridged by 'common sense', as in the example below:

2.3.2.2.2 The sequence:

Они живут в Москве

as analysed in REID, results in two fragments of a prediction-chain:

- a) nominative subject + verb
- b) PREP-P + noun in prepositional case.

Satisfactory interpretation of the sentence rests not on the grammatical analysis, but on the assumption that 'live in Moscow' is a plausible idea.

Our proposed modification would give the chain

- c) nominative subject + verb + preposition + noun

where the prediction '+ preposition + noun' is fulfilled by PREP-P + noun in prepositional case, and the sentence is thus fully analysed by our grammar.

2.4 We shall therefore postulate the preposition classes:

PREP-A (governing the accusative)

- PREP-G (governing the genitive)
- PREP-D (governing the dative)
- PREP-I (governing the instrumental)
- PREP-P (governing the prepositional).

3. Particles

- 3.1 It has been argued elsewhere (e.g. ARNDT 1960) that the traditional definitions of the particle are confused and vague, and include items which have nothing in common syntactically. This is clear from the definitions given by VINOGRADOV 1952, I:639 or ŠVEDOVA 1970:313, where "субъективно-модальные" items such as же, -то and "синтаксические частицы" such as бы, пусть are all included under the general heading of 'particles'. We have been unable to find sufficient common features between these types to justify postulation of a general class of particles to include all of them (see §3.4).
- 3.2 Textbooks typically use the term 'particle' without definition; there is little agreement between authors on the applicability of the name. Some sources, for example refer to же as an 'emphatic particle' and не as a 'negative particle', while others simply state that 'verbs are negated by не' without attempting to classify не.
- 3.3 REID has no class of particles, but enters some of the items commonly so called with a variety of explanations, e.g. '
' бы 1. would DO + V-29

2. INTERR ever preceded by INTERR, followed by *ни + V* 'и'
1. and, also, too CONJ
2. intensifies the main point of what is being said'.

The treatment of 'и' is typical in that it appeals to the notion of 'intensifies' without conveying how this may be expressed in translation, and does not give any syntactic information which would enable the student to distinguish between the two uses of 'и'.

Thus, in its treatment of particles, REID is grammatically and pedagogically unsound.

- 3.4.1 ARNDT 1960:326, confining himself to 'modal particles' (which appear from the listed examples to correspond to the *субъективно-модальные частицы* mentioned in §3.1), suggests several criteria for distinguishing them as a group. Some of these criteria, e.g. 'typical shortness' (loc. cit.) are not sufficiently rigid for our purposes. However, the four criteria of unstressability, inability to be complete utterances, inelicitability and omissibility appear sufficient to delimit a broad group, consisting of *ведь, -то, же, уж, вот, ну, -на, так, еще, ли, да, и, хоть . . .* (a group discussed in VASILYEVA, undated).

- 3.4.2 Another group of items commonly known as 'particles' may be established. These require the presence in the sentence of (a particular form of) the verb. Here we include *бы, пусть, давай, да, пускай, не*.

- 3.4.3 The 'particle' **ни** may precede a noun, adjective, adverb, NUM-1, and requires the negation of the verb in the sentence by **не**. In this it is unique, and will be called PART-ni.
- 3.5.1 Of the items mentioned in 3.4.1, **ли** can be distinguished by its ability to occur in the complement of a V-6, and its inability to serve as the first item in a sentence. It will receive the class name PART-li.
- 3.5.2 **Же, -то, -на** are unable to occur as the first word in a sentence, and will be grouped together as PART-MOD-1.
- 3.5.3 The remaining items appear to occur freely in initial position, or to modify any sentence member. They will be called PART-MOD-2.
- 3.6.1 In the genre with which we deal, **бы** requires the presence of the 'past' form of the verb (V-29) and this is sufficient to define the class PART-by, of which it is the sole member.
- 3.6.2 **Пусть** and **пускнай** require a future verb form (ŠVEDOVA 1970:580) or a third person present tense form. We may call the class of which they are the members PART-pust.
- 3.6.3 **Да** is restricted to cooccurrence with third person singular or plural, imperfective present or perfective future verb forms. We call its class PART-da.
- 3.6.4 **Давай, давайте** may be used alone or with one of the following verb forms:

1st person singular imperfective present

1st person singular perfective future

1st person plural imperfective present

1st person plural perfective future

Infinitive.

We shall assign these to the class PART-dav.

- 3.6.5 He, as an independent written word, precedes a verb form which it negates, and may entail a change of the accusative direct object (if any) of the verb to the genitive. In a negated sentence, negative adverbs and pronouns are obligatory, rather than their positive counterparts. We shall name the class whose one member is не PART-ne.

4. Conjunction

- 4.1 There is widespread agreement on defining conjunctions as suggested by their name, e.g.. VINOGRADOV 1952, I:665 "служебные слова, связывающие предложения или члены предложения". Further discussion is normally in terms of the semantic content of the items joined (cf ISAČENKO 1967, JELITTE 1977 on 'temporal', 'concessive' and other clause types).
- 4.2 REID's definition (REID:viii): 'joins two sentences, thus making a more complex sentence out of (a number of) simple ones' clearly overlooks a number of possible functions of conjunctions (e.g. joining nouns, as in 'NOUN и NOUN').

4.3 Typically, textbooks simply refer to certain words as 'conjunctions' with no further elucidation.

4.4 To encompass the whole set of traditional conjunctions, a definition as general as that of VINOGRADOV above is probably necessary, since more detailed formal definition reveals two distinct types, traditionally called 'subordinating' and 'coordinating' conjunctions.

4.4.1 'Subordinating' conjunctions are those which join elements in such a way that one is restricted relative to the other. For example, where two simple sentences are combined into a more complex sentence by a subordinating conjunction, the verb form in the simple sentence to which the conjunction is added may be restricted to a certain tense or aspect.

Such conjunctions will be classed as CONJ-SUB (§4.5).

4.4.2 Coordinating conjunctions do not entail such a restriction. The coordinated items are of equal status and parallel structure, and fill the same syntactic 'slots', e.g.

Я вижу ———.

has an accusative direct object 'slot' which can be filled with one item :

Я вижу брата.

Я вижу отца.

or with two coordinated items:

Я вижу брата и отца.

Such conjunctions will be classed as CONJ-COORD (§4.6).

4.4.3 Our treatment of conjunctions now follows JELITTE 1977, with some additions where necessary to bring the information given there within our word-class system.

4.5.1 Subordinating conjunctions in general are defined (op. cit. 40ff) by JELITTE through the following transformations:^{*}

- a) $(N^1_{\text{nom}} + V^1 + X + Y) + \text{Konj} + (N^2_{\text{nom}} + V^2 + Z) \leftarrow \begin{cases} N^1_{\text{nom}} + V^1 + X + \\ N^2_{\text{nom}} + V^2 + Z \end{cases}$
- b) $(N^1_{\text{nom}} + V^1 + X + Y) + \text{Konj} + (V^2 + Z) \leftarrow \begin{cases} N^1_{\text{nom}} + V^1 + X + Y \\ N^1_{\text{nom}} + V^2 + Z \end{cases}$
- c) $(N^1_{\text{nom}} + V^1 + X(\text{Advk})) + \text{Konj} + (N^2_{\text{nom}} + V^2 + Z) \leftarrow \begin{cases} N^1_{\text{nom}} + V^1 + X(\text{Adv}) \\ X(\text{Adv}) + N^2_{\text{nom}} + V^2 \end{cases} + Z$

Notes: 1) nom = nominative: N = noun, V = verb, Adv = adverb, Konj = conjunction: X, Y and Z represent the remainder of the sentence; numerals identify items.

2) We omit JELITTE's formula d), which treats as conjunctions items which we have discussed as interrogative adverbs or relative pronouns.

3) It should be noted that JELITTE's simplified sentence formulae in fact represent a wide variety of types achieved through permutations and deletions.

^{*} e.g.

- a) Он опоздал потому, что ты его задержал. \leftarrow Он опоздал. Ты его задержал.
- b) Он устал и подрог, пока искал наш дом. \leftarrow Он устал и подрог. Он искал наш дом.
- c) Он опоздал на поезд потому, что ты его задержал на час. \leftarrow Он опоздал на поезд. Ты его задержал на час.

- 4.5.2 The following classes of conjunction can be defined through the above formulae, with additional features specified where necessary. They occur with any verbs, except where specified.
- 4.5.2.1 CONJ-SUB-1 (used as in formulae a, b, c above): потому что, так как, оттого что, из-за того что, если, в случае если, хотя.
- 4.5.2.2 CONJ-SUB-2 (used as in formulae a, b, c above; require an imperfective verb in the subordinate clause (JELITTE 1977:40): пока, покада, в то время как, между тем как.
- 4.5.2.3 CONJ-SUB-3 (used as in formulae a, b, c above; require a perfective verb in the subordinate clause (JELITTE 1977:41): пока не, прежде чем, перед чем, перед тем как, после того как, с тех пор как, как только, лишь только, не успел как.
- 4.5.2.4 CONJ-SUB-4 (used as in formulae a, b, c above; requires infinitive or past tense verb form in subordinate clause): для того чтобы.
- 4.5.2.5 CONJ-SUB-5 (used as in formulae a, b, c above, but the two elements of the conjunction are separated by an adjective): так как, то же что, чем тем.
- 4.5.2.6 CONJ-SUB-6 чтобы : as CONJ-SUB-4, but may also complement verbs of classes Vb, Vd, Vf, Vh.
- 4.5.2.7 CONJ-SUB-7 что: as CONJ-SUB-1, but may also complement verbs of classes Va, Vf, Vg, Vh, Vj.

4.6 Coordinating conjunctions are defined (JELITTE 1977:47) by the following formulae:

- a) $(N^1_{nom} + V^1 + X + Y) + Konj + (N^2_{nom} + V^2 + Z) \leftarrow \begin{matrix} N^1_{nom} + V^1 + X + Y \\ N^2_{nom} + V^2 + Z \end{matrix}$
- b) $(N^1_{nom} + V^1 + X + Y) + Konj + (N^1_{nom} + V^2 + Z) \leftarrow \begin{matrix} N^1_{nom} + V^1 + X + Y \\ N^1_{nom} + V^2 + Z \end{matrix}$
- c) $(N^1_{nom} + V^1 + X + Y) + Konj + (V^2 + Z) \leftarrow \begin{matrix} N^1_{nom} + V^1 + X + Y \\ N^1_{nom} + V^2 + Z \end{matrix}$

Notes: see notes 1 and 3 of § 4.5.1.

4.6.1 CONJ-COORD-1 may be defined through the above formulae: и, а, да, даже, да и, а также, но, однако, же, все-таки, а то, или, либо.

4.6.2 CONJ-COORD-2 may occur in the above formulae, and additionally are separable; each of the elements to be conjoined is preceded by one part of the CONJ-COORD-2: не только . . . но и . . . , или . . . или . . . , либо . . . либо . . . , то . . . то . . . , не то . не то .

4.7 JELITTE 1977:49f also specifies circumstances under which a comma (,) functions as a conjunction. In particular, the formulae provided cover examples where English would probably use some other device, such as 'and', or avoid joining the two elements altogether, e.g.: (op. cit.:50).

Моя дама увлекательно рассказывала о Париже, я уже знал его по книгам.

Поезд ушел быстро, его огни скоро исчезли.

Since this use of the comma does cause hesitation to English students, it may be desirable to incorporate an entry for the comma in REID.

5. Interjection

5.1 VINOGRADOV 1952, I:674 is typical of traditional sources in defining interjections as indeclinable words "служащие для выражения чувств и волевых побуждений". Sub-classes of interjection are based on a combination of form (single- versus multi-syllable), meaning and etymology (op. cit.:675ff).

5.2.1 REID, like other textbooks of scientific and technical Russian, does not provide for a class of interjections. This decision is justifiable in that we have not found such items in the genre with which we deal primarily.

5.2.2 However, since this omission leaves the student with no guidance if an interjection should ever occur, and since the problem can be solved very simply by the addition of one class to the grammar, it seems worthwhile to make such an addition.

5.3 The defining feature of interjections is their inability to form any kind of syntactic link with their context. They may stand alone as complete utterances, in which case they have a characteristic intonation (or punctuation in written texts, i.e. '!'). Where, in the written language, the interjection is written as part of a sentence, it occurs at the beginning of the sentence or of a clause

with a sentence-like structure and is separated from it by a comma. The class so defined will be called INTERJ.

5.3.1.1 VINOGRADOV 1952, I:679 mentions types of interjection which are claimed to have additional features:

5.3.1.1.1 бах, бац, бух and some others are described as "употребляющиеся в предложении в роли сказуемого в значении прошедшего времени".

5.3.1.1.2 Шасть is cited in a context where a locational phrase is apparently required as its complement: "как вдруг из лесу шасть на них медведь" (loc. cit.).

5.3.1.1.3 Толк appears (loc. cit.) with an apparent instrumental complement: . . . тихонько медведя толк ногой".

3.5.1.2 Insufficient examples have been found to resolve this issue, where our description of INTERJ as syntactically independent appears to be contradicted. However, we postulate that the examples quoted constitute highly colloquial, dramatic, semi-elliptical combinations, where there is little coherent syntactic structure within the utterance, and there is in fact no syntactic connection between the INTERJ and its apparent complements. As partial support for this argument, we observe the implausibility of exclamations such as "Толк ногой!" where the syntactic connection would be maintained without a supporting context and characteristic style of discourse. We therefore do not propose other classes of INTERJ to accommodate VINOGRADOV's data.

6. PARENTH

6.1 REID defines this class, which does not exist in traditional analyses, as 'words which are 'omissible extras', e.g.: 'probably', 'I imagine', 'it seems'. Usually put 'in parenthesis' by two commas, one each side of the expression', (REID:xii). Items so classified in REID are: бывало, ведь, во-вторых, конечно, кстати, наверно, наоборот, например, напротив, пожалуйста.

6.2 Traditional sources do not treat these items as a separate class. ŠVEDOVA 1970:304 is typical in calling them "синтаксические дериваты" which are seen as "синтаксически обособившиеся значения" of particular items distributed over the normal range of parts of speech. She gives as examples: буквально, вероятно, главное, правда, словом, в частности, признаюсь, видишь (ли), знаешь (ли), извините, кажется, разумеется, говорят, признать

6.3 Other sources distinguish a similar set of items largely on the grounds of their 'modal' meaning.

ISAČENKO 1962:614 calls them 'Schaltwörter (Parenthetika)', with sub-classes based on type of meaning: 1) вероятно, несомненно, может быть, вряд ли; 2) короче говоря, как говорится, с позволения сказать; 3) пожалуй, чего доброго; 4) то есть, значит, мало того, например; 5) говорит, говорят, по слухам

ARNDT 1960:328 gives: верно, видно, даже, значит, стало быть.

6.4 Textbooks echo the 'traditionalist' analysis in that they tend to describe these items more or less idiosyncratic usages of members of other parts of speech. For example, WARD 1960:115 discusses "должно быть" as if it were identical with the item 'должен, должна, должно, должны- must' disregarding the distinctiveness of its syntactic possibilities.

6.5 We may define the class PARENTH, to include the above items, as follows:

- a) unable to form syntactic connections with the remainder of the sentence
- b) inability to participate in inflectional paradigms characteristic of the word-class members of which they are homographs.

Characteristically, these items are separated from other items in the sentence (in writing) by commas.

CHAPTER TENAnalysis of Textbooks other than REID

0. Organisation of chapter.

0.1 Throughout the immediately preceding Chapters 3 - 9, we have contrasted the word-classes used in REID with an ideal set which we suppose to be necessary and sufficient for the analysis of scientific and technical Russian. We now attempt a similar comparison between the word-classes derivable from other textbooks of scientific Russian and our ideal set, and draw conclusions from these comparisons.

0.2 Paragraph 1 describes and justifies the selection of textbooks for analysis. The necessary basis for the comparability of the textbooks is expounded, in a series of axiomatic assumptions, in §2. Our methodology for the comparison, which refers to our theoretical basis described in Chapter 2, is described in §3. Our fourth paragraph analyses the treatment of noun classes in the selected twelve textbooks of Russian. From this, it may be seen that the books are of essentially similar type, so that a sub-selection of five textbooks may justifiably be picked out for further detailed analysis. Paragraphs 5 - 15 analyse the data concerning other word-classes, presenting them in the order in which they have been discussed in preceding chapters, viz.. verb classes (§5), numeral classes (§6), adjective classes (§7), pronoun classes (§8), adverb classes (§9), PRED (§10), preposition

classes (§11), particle classes (§12), conjunction classes (§13), interjections (§14) and PARENTH (§15).

0.3 Our conclusions are stated in §16. We suggest that they may be accounted for by consideration of the grammatical theory underlying the textbooks' presentation.

1. Selection of Textbooks.

1.1 REID (together with RR) is a textbook of modern scientific and technical Russian, intended to enable English speaking students with a specialised knowledge of a scientific or technological subject to translate into English unmodified Russian-language texts of the required genre, using as translation aids only the course materials (REID, RR) and traditionally-arranged⁽¹⁾ bilingual dictionaries (where appropriate), such as SMIRNICKIJ 1965. The student is not required to produce written or spoken Russian, nor to understand the spoken language.

(1) The stipulation: 'traditionally-arranged' means 'Using as a means of indicating grammatical possibilities of items (a selection of) the labels 'noun, verb, adjective, adverb, numeral, pronoun, preposition, conjunction, interjection, particle; perfective, imperfective', and listing items in the order of of the Russian alphabet. Inflected items are entered in (at least) the following forms: for nouns, the nominative singular (nominative plural if no singular form exists); for verbs, the infinitive; for adjectives, the nominative singular masculine 'long' form ('short' form if no 'long' form exists)'. To the knowledge of the present author, no dictionary other than traditionally-arranged was available at the publication dates of the textbooks, except those associated with machine translation projects, which are excluded from consideration, since a) they are not widely available b) the textbooks ignore them.

1.2.1 To ensure true comparability with REID, only those textbooks were selected for analysis to which the above specification applied.

1.2.1.1 In theory, the task of establishing that a textbook belonged to the required type could have presented difficulties. However, our selection clearly defined itself:

1.2.1.1.1 All the textbooks were dated, in the edition used, no earlier than the late 1950's, and examination of the Russian language content did not reveal any features normally labelled archaic by Soviet sources.

1.2.1.1.2 All the textbooks claimed to deal with 'scientific' Russian. There was little attempt to delimit this term in a methodical fashion; some sources, e.g. CONDOYANNIS 1959:58 concede to the peculiarities of 'scientific' syntax to the extent of drawing the student's attention particularly to third person verb forms, but generally, 'scientific' Russian is seen as characterised by a particular subject matter, rather than by distinctive syntactic features.⁽¹⁾

Three factors compelled us to accept the textbooks' characterisations of themselves as covering the required genre:

a) the present author does not regard 'scientific and technical' Russian as absolutely distinct syntactically from other genres (see Chapter 2 §7.1.2); b) the selection of examples in textbooks is from scientific texts, and thus naturally embodies features of 'scientific' discourse; c) we impose the methodological assumption

(1) cf MAGNER 1958:1 '... Scientific Russian is simply that Russian textual matter which deals with scientific subjects'

that the statements made in the textbooks are to be taken as functional (see §2.1.2).

Thus it was felt justified to accept that the textbooks fall within the required genre.

1.2.1.1.3 All the textbooks used English as the medium of instruction and dealt with the translation of Russian into English.

1.2.1.1.4 The declared aim of all the textbooks was to enable scientists to read or translate Russian-language material in their specialised field.

1.2.1.1.5 The majority of the textbooks provided explicit instruction in the use of traditionally-arranged bilingual dictionaries (e.g. DRESSLER 1965:120ff). Where this was not done (e.g. FOURMAN 1959), it was clear that the information provided could only be made use of in conjunction with a bilingual dictionary, since otherwise the translation equivalents of Russian textual items exemplifying the grammar expounded in the text could not be ascertained.

1.2.1.1.5 One textbook PERRY 1948, was explicitly intended to be used in conjunction with another, more detailed, grammar, and was therefore excluded from the analysis.

1.2.2 A search of all the public and institutional libraries accessible to the present author yielded the following series of textbooks eligible for analysis: BERESFORD 1965, CONDOYANNIS 1962, DEWEY &

MERSEREAU 1963, DRESSLER 1965, FOURMAN 1959, HOLT 1962, MAGNER 1958, STARCHUK & CHANAL 1963, TURKEVICH 1960, WARD 1960, WARING 1967, WYVILL 1966.

- 1.3 There was a remarkable similarity in the content and treatment of Russian grammar, between all these twelve textbooks, as may be seen from our comparison of their treatment of nouns (§4). In view of this similarity, it was felt that it would be somewhat excessive to repeat essentially the same information twelve times. A selection of the twelve textbooks was therefore picked out for the detailed exposition required in this chapter.
- 1.3.1 BERESFORD 1965, DRESSLER 1965 and WARD 1960 are examined in detail here because they were the textbooks which were found in the greatest number of libraries. If this picture is typical, students are most likely, if they attempt to teach themselves to read Russian, to come across one of these three, and it is therefore of practical value to have their content known.
- 1.3.2 WARING 1967 is the most recently published of the textbooks found, and may legitimately be hoped, therefore, to have improved upon its predecessors.
- 1.3.3 HOLT 1962 appeared the least detailed (for example, only two of our 26 noun classes were represented in HOLT's data), and is examined for this reason.

2. General assumptions concerning comparability of textbooks, REID and the classes proposed in this thesis.

2.1 Pedagogical assumptions.

2.1.1 All the textbooks, including REID, are assumed to have fulfilled their purpose, that is, to have successfully transmitted, to a number of students, the desired knowledge.

2.1.2 The textbooks are assumed to be what we shall describe as 'functional'. By this we mean that the statements made in them are true and necessary.

2.1.2.1 It is not unknown for a student to achieve the ability to translate from a foreign language without the aid of a textbook, for example, by comparing a foreign-language text with a translation of that text into his own language, or by use of a bilingual dictionary and 'inspired guesswork'.

To the extent that a textbook is inadequate, and yet the student acquires the ability to translate, this process must be suspected to take place. However, since it cannot be studied in a controlled fashion in our present work, we must impose the idealisation of §2.1.2. In this we are simply putting the language textbook on an equal footing with a textbook of, say, mathematics or physics, where the student is required to learn the science from the textbook, and not to fill in gaps by intuition or common sense, nor to reinterpret misleading statements.

- 2.1.3 We accept the common formulation that a student who has learned a language has internalised a grammar of that language.
- 2.1.3.1 We suppose it is likely that the grammar internalised by the student will bear some resemblance to that which is explicitly presented to him.
- 2.1.4 Consequently, upon the above stipulations, we must assume that, while the textbooks at any given point may make false statements in order to ensure the desired student behaviour (correct translation), the textbook overall must present a true picture within its own limits (see §3.3.4).
- 2.1.5 It is assumed for the purposes of our analysis that the student has access only to the textbook and bilingual dictionary. Clearly, such an idealisation is necessary because we cannot account for such factors as additional information given by a teacher.
- 2.2 Assumptions concerning the grammar.
 - 2.2.1.1 All the textbooks are taken to cover the same range, i.e. the modern scientific and technical norm (see Chapter 2 §7).
 - 2.2.1.1.1 Although the range is not explicitly delimited in the textbooks, the type of text which the student is expected to translate, where one is appended, is always one which falls within the range of REID. Furthermore, common sense decrees that a textbook 'intended primarily for chemists who wish to read Russian literature in their

own subject' (WYVILL 1966:iii) should deal with the appropriate norm. We therefore consider our assumption justified.

2.2.1.2 All the textbooks took the orthographic word as their unit.

2.2.1.2.1 No explicit statement to the above effect was found. However, all general grammatical statements were framed in terms of words, e.g. 'the instrumental case of a noun may be used adverbially . . .'. Although the internal structure of some phrases was examined in many textbooks, whole phrases were never found as the prime object of grammatical rules. Additionally, morphemes smaller than whole orthographic words were always treated as 'endings', 'suffixes', 'prefixes' etc., and never as independent participants in grammatical rules. We therefore take the orthographic word to be the intended unit.

2.2.1.3 The grammar rules of the textbooks are taken to extend over the sentence, as orthographically defined.

2.2.1.3.1 No rule extending beyond the boundaries of the sentence was found. Some rules dealt with the construction of phrases, e.g. the dependent genitive in 'Чашка чая'. However, the phrases so formed were usually to be found in other sections of the course integrated into the sentence in a way which suggested the application of sentence-level rules to the head of the phrase.

2.2.1.4 All the rules with which we concern ourselves in this analysis are rules of syntax. Information about morphological or phonological regularities of Russian, although given in the textbooks, is not considered

2.2.1.5 The grammatical relationships handled in the discussions of syntax in textbooks are those registered in REID and in Chapters 3 - 9 (see Chapter 2 §9.3).

2.2.2 We assume, in the light of §2.2.1, that the necessary broad common basis for a comparison exists between the analysed textbooks, REID, and the word-classes proposed in Chapters 3 - 9.

3. Methodology

3.1 Selection of data.

3.1.1 With the exceptions noted below, the entire textbook (i.e. explanation and examples) is to be regarded as a fund of data to be analysed.

3.1.1.1 Lists of vocabulary are excluded, unless a specific note on the grammatical possibilities of an item is attached. Vocabulary lists in the analysed textbooks consist entirely of matched lists of Russian and English words, and although it might be valuable to compare the grammatical possibilities of the Russian items with those of their English equivalents, this would unduly extend the present work.

3.1.1.2 'Introduction', 'Author's Foreword' and the like are excluded from the analysis, unless a comment there can be shown to clarify the interpretation of data which would otherwise remain obscure. Since an 'Introduction' has to be readable and informative to those

who are not yet studying the language seriously, any linguistic information given there may be simplified in order to achieve non-pedagogic ends; e.g. to attract an audience.

3.1.1.3 Drill texts (exercises for translation, tasks such as 'identify these word forms' etc.) are excluded from consideration, as are whole texts intended for translation, except that where a footnote provides grammatical information, this is to be considered, as is the phrase or sentence to which it applies. This exclusion is made because such sections of the courses are frequently taken direct from Russian scientific texts, and thus contain all the normal features of such writing, whether or not these features are genuinely mentioned or analysed correctly by the textbook. A student who manages to translate this material presumably learns from it, and therefore acquires a grammar more extensive than that explicitly presented by the textbook. It is possible to argue that this is the intention of the presenter. However, a logical extension of such an argument would be simply to give the student a set of texts and a dictionary, and require him to teach himself. We are unable, insofar as this teaching technique is adopted, to specify what grammar rules the student may have acquired.

3.1.2.1 Explicit statements which belong in the 'general' section of our postulated grammar (Chapter 2 §6) are not further examined. For example, DRESSLER 1965:27 'A noun in the nominative is regarded as the subject of a sentence . . . and determines the grammatical

form of the verb', although the formulation is somewhat lacking in rigour (it does not exclude nominative noun predicates, for example, which do not determine the form of the verb), clearly corresponds to one of our postulated rules, and applies to all Russian nouns. It therefore cannot serve to distinguish a noun class, and so is not discussed here.

- 3.1.2.2 Explicit statements which appear to encompass all of a particular range of items, but in fact apply only to a sub-group of them, are selected for discussion. For example, MAGNER 1958:18 implies that there is a general use of the instrumental of nouns for 'specification or reference'. But his examples show that he intends to cover by this a use of the instrumental case which defines our class PLC (see §4.1.1). The statement is therefore extracted for further analysis.
- 3.1.2.3 Explicit statements which delimit a class of items corresponding to one of our classes are discussed.
- 3.1.2.4 Explicit statements which delimit a class of items corresponding to several of our classes are discussed; e.g. §4.3.1 TEMP-classes.
- 3.1.2.5 Explicit statements which delimit a class of items which we consider to have no foundation are discussed; e.g. §5.1.3.1 shows data implying separate classes of verb: a) сЯ makes passive b) сЯ makes intransitive c) сЯ makes reciprocal and the like.

- 3.1.2.6 Explicit statements which delimit a class, but do so incompletely or inaccurately, are discussed. For example DEWEY & MERSEREAU 1963:144 confines our definitory formula for PLC to four Russian words (see §4.1.1). We suggest how their statement should be extended.
- 3.1.2.7 Explicit statements scattered throughout the textbook, concerning what in our grammar are the same word-class(es), will be considered in unison.
- 3.1.3.1 Russian-language examples which accompany explicit statements will be discussed in order to ascertain whether
- a) they exemplify the statement in the way intended
 - b) they extend or amend the statement
 - c) they coincidentally delimit more than the explicitly-intended number of classes; e.g. in §4.2 we see that statements intended to delimit a class comparable to our class NOM-3 also happen, in a number of cases, to delimit the equivalent of our class QUANT.
- 3.1.3.2 Russian-language examples which are presented without accompanying explicit statements will be examined to ascertain whether they show any syntactic features which characterise one or more syntactic word-classes according to our grammar.
- 3.1.3.3 Groups of Russian-language examples presented together will be examined to establish whether they have syntactic features in

common of a type which characterises one or more syntactic word-classes according to our grammar.

3.1.3.4 Russian-language examples scattered throughout the textbooks, exemplifying syntactic features which in our grammar characterise word-classes, will be examined together.

3.1.4 Statements purporting to apply to Russian language items, but referring to English words (e.g. CONDOYANNIS 1962:23, on the *Russian* 'Noun-adjective system': 'The adjective (descriptive words like good, bad, new, old) in Russian usually stands before the noun it modifies' (good man, bad news) . . . ', will be interpreted as follows: the given English (good, bad, etc.) will be translated by the present author in the most banal way known to her, without regard for the niceties of stylistic or lexical nuance, and the statement will be taken to be intended to apply to the resulting Russian. For example, the above cases will be translated as "хороший, плохой, новый, старый" , which we shall say are Russian adjectives, and "хороший мужчина, плохие новости" will be taken to exemplify adjectives modifying nouns, whatever the merit of the phrases as idiomatic Russian.

3.1.5 Data relating to the morphology of words are omitted, since we are not concerned with morphological word-classes, and the morphological aspect plays a subordinate rôle in the underlying grammatical theory of these textbooks (see §16).

3.1.6 Data concerning syntactic and semantic aspects of words (by which we mean, respectively, information on word combinations and characterisations of the general meaning of word-combinations) are included, since, although we are concerned primarily with *syntactic* word-classes, syntactic features are often presented under a semantic guise. Furthermore, the underlying theory of these textbooks is such that their treatment of syntax cannot be understood in isolation (see §16).

3.2 Presentation of data.

3.2.1 Each paragraph deals with the textbook analogues of one or more of our proposed syntactic word-classes. Whether one or more than one of our classes is handled in each paragraph depends broadly on the textbooks' organisation of their materials. In cases where adequate treatment of several of our classes would require repetition of the same quotations (e.g. QUANT and NOM-3, §4.2.1) the paragraph deals with all relevant materials for all the classes concerned.

3.2.2 The textbooks' statements on the point at issue are quoted as fully as necessary, and their examples cited. In the majority of cases, the complete set of examples is given, but where this amounts to a long list of isolated words, for example, a list of prepositions taking the genitive, the presentation is somewhat truncated.

3.2.3 *Where a textbook is not quoted or referred to on a particular point, this is because the point is not handled in the textbook.*

3.2.4 After presentation of the data for each word-class or group of word-classes, there follows an evaluative discussion of the data.

3.3 Evaluation of the data.

3.3.1.1 As specified in Chapter 2 §1, the analogues of our syntactic word-classes in any grammar (including that postulated by a textbook) are units which have two properties: ability to be exhaustively defined by the rules in which they participate; ability to be mapped into items of language.

3.3.1.2 In the sections of the textbooks which we analyse, we are confronted with three types of data:

- a) items of language
- b) usages of items of language
- c) statements about the properties of items of language.

3.3.1.3 Our assumptions detailed in §2 enable us to assert that the items of language, which will function as realisations of the units of the grammar, are Russian words, and that the textbooks' statements about their properties and exemplifications of their usages are true and necessary.

3.3.1.4 The task of our evaluative commentary is to establish which units can be abstracted from the data presented, and how these units can be defined. The processes called 'abstraction' and 'definition' are, of course, mutually determined.

3.2 Our assumptions detailed in §2 permit us to carry out our task in a context where certain of the necessary specifications for the delimitation of units are axiomatised: we have assumed that the limits of the language, i.e. the scientific and technical genre of Modern Standard Russian are delimited, that there is completeness of description on the syntactic level, confinement of rules to the 'span' of the sentence, and that the units are words of Russian. The relationships registered in the textbooks' grammars are taken to be those specified for our own grammar (Chapter 2 §9), and the task of the textbooks may be assumed to be the analysis of sentences of Russian (§2).

Other conditions thus being held constant, we have to state how the existence of analogues of our syntactic word-classes may be established or disproved.

3.3 An analogue exists, or to put it another way, a corresponding word-class has been delimited by the textbook, if the following requirements are met.

3.3.1 The postulated rules relate the units (words) to each other in all and only the ways in which the units may be related to each other in the language (Chapter 2 §1.1.1.1).

Thus, rules intended to apply to all members of a given part of speech should specify this. (In practice, this would make the textbook too large, and so we assume the principle to operate,

unless the contrary assertion is made). The contrary also applies, i.e. that the rules restricted to a sub-set of items should specify the sub-set, either by list, by clear delimitation which enables the user of the grammar unambiguously to identify such items, or by reference to a lexicon (= dictionary or list).

- 3.3.2 The units must be describable in all the ways relevant for the grammar (Chapter 2 §1.1.1.2). The practical consequence of this is that if, for example, semantic criteria of classification are adduced for some items to supplement the syntactic, they should be adduced for all items.
- 3.3.3 The complete range of behaviour of units (words) within the given span (the sentence) must be specified, and no other (chapter 2 §1.1.1.3). Thus, for example, a treatment of TEMP- nouns (see §4.3) which does not specify that certain items may function as temporal complements either in the accusative or in the instrumental, does not fulfil the condition; neither does one which, conversely, appears to permit an item to function as an instrumental temporal complement which may in fact only do so in the accusative (see §4.3.2.4.2.2).
- 3.3.4 The effect of the above-mentioned requirements is also to impose a demand for self-consistency, i.e. that the grammar should not contradict itself. On this a special word has to be said in the case of textbooks; since, at any given stage, the textbook is attempting, from the pedagogic standpoint, to enforce a set of

desired behaviours (those resulting in successful translation of the material to hand), it may be expedient that individual statements should be false or contradictory. This is permissible, provided that the falsehood or contradiction is later rectified. Thus, in our evaluation, we have to consider all the information on a given point, and not simply isolated statements as they occur in sequence in the book.

3.4

Thus, the technique for evaluation requires us to a) identify the range of units (words) to which a statement/example applies b) determine the completeness of coverage of linguistic phenomena touched upon by statements/examples. In both instances, we have to appeal to the definitions and limitations postulated in the textbook, and contrast these with our own knowledge of the language, embodied, for our present purposes, in our set of ideal word-classes. Finally, c) we must assess the consistency and truth of the formulation of the grammar arrived at by the textbook, a task achieved partly by comparison with our ideal set of word-classes, and partly by application of our general knowledge and judgement of what constitutes a set of non-contradictory statements.

4.

Noun classes.

In this section, as in paragraphs 5 - 15, the following layout conventions are adopted:

- i) sub-section 1 of each paragraph (i.e. §4.1, §5.1 etc.)
quotes the data presented in the textbooks

- ii) sub-section 2 of each paragraph (i.e. §4.2, §5.2 etc.) presents our evaluative commentary
- iii) quotations are attributed to sources by citing author's name (abbreviated as shown below), following this, a colon, and the relevant page numbers; e.g. 'B:112' means 'BERESFORD 1965, page 112'
- iv) abbreviations of authors' names are shown in brackets:
BERESFORD (B), CONDOYANNIS (C), DEWEY & MERSEREAU (D & M),
DRESSLER (D), FOURMAN (F), HOLT (H), MAGNER (M),
STARCHUK & CHANAL (S & C), TURKEVICH (T), WARD (W),
WARING (WA), WYVILL (WY)
- v) where a topic is discussed under a particular heading which elucidates interpretation of the data, that heading is quoted before quotation of the data
- vi) the context in which data are presented is indicated where necessary by a brief comment by the present author
- vii) text within quotation marks comes from the textbooks
- viii) examples come from the textbooks; any example cited is given in full, unless omissions are specially indicated.

4.1.1

PLC.

B:128

'Expressions of measurement'

'a noun denoting a dimension, weight etc. is governed by в + accusative or it stands in the instrumental and the numeral is governed by в + accusative'

e.g. тысяча метров в длину
волны длиной в девять метров

D:148

A footnote gives a translation of глубиной в 270 метров in a drill task

D & M:144

'Measurements'

'The words for length (длина), width (ширина), height (вышина) and depth (глубина) are used in the instrumental when indicating measurement in units'

e.g. Новый автомобиль длиной в двадцать футов

M:18

The instrumental is used 'as a case of specification or reference'

e.g. шириной in width, as to width
толщиной in thickness
длиной in length

S & C:75

'idiomatic uses of the instrumental case'
'complements of dimension'

шар весом в 3 нилограмма
цилиндр объемом в 2М³

W:56

'idiom' using the instrumental

длиной в три мили

WA:19

instrumental 'in attributes of measurement'

e.g. столб ртути высотой в 760 мм

4.1.2

There is general agreement in the use of the same definitorial formula for PLC as proposed in this thesis.* The degree of integration of the class thus delimited varies considerably.

* Chapter 3 §6.1

4.1.2.1.1 S & C, W and D, by treating the expressions as idioms, essentially exclude them from the grammatical system. Since idioms are by definition individual 'quirks' of the language, the complete list should be given: W in fact could be taken to imply that only длина belongs to the class, while S & C rests on the student's notion of 'dimension'.

4.1.2.1.2 M gives only half the definitorial formula, although it is doubtful whether these forms ever occur in the given meaning without the complementary $B + \text{numeral} + \text{QUANT}$. The English explanation is obscure.

4.1.2.1.3 D & M's formulation restricts the phenomenon incorrectly to four words.

4.1.2.1.4 WA relies on student recognition of an 'attribute of measurement'.

4.1.2.1.5 B's formulation corresponds most closely to that of REID, but adds a feature (government of $B + \text{acc}$) which we have not mentioned, since it applies to some other classes than PLC. However, since the definitorial nature of the formula is not emphasised, the student is more likely to rely on the notional side of the explanation, where he is left to interpret '&c'.

4.1.2.2 Thus none of the textbooks unequivocally and exhaustively delimits the position of PLC in the language.

4.2.1 QUANT and NOM-3.

These are discussed together, since they are normally presented in conjunction.

B:48 'Partitive genitive'

e.g. литр бензину
чашка чаю contrasted with запах чая.

'nouns denoting substances are used in the genitive to express 'some of', e.g. воды 'some water''

C:127 'Partitive genitive'
'designating an indefinite quantity of a divisible substance'

e.g. Мы купили пива, водки, хлеба, сахара, молока и булочек.

C:128 masculine genitive forms in - у or - ю

e.g. чашка чаю
купить чаю.

D & M:156 'Masculine genitive in - у / ю '
used 'when the genitive of a noun denoting divisible matter is used in a partitive sense'

e.g. чашка чаю
мало народу
фунт сахару

D:28 'If reference is made to an indefinite quantity or to a part only of a divisible substance, the partitive genitive is used'

e.g. кусок хлеба
стакан воды
дайте мне, пожалуйста, воды
чашка чаю is contrasted with цена чая.

- M:17 Genitive used 'after verbs to denote 'some' or 'a portion of'
e.g. дайте мне воды
- W:39 Genitive used in 'partitive' phrases, i.e. phrases expressing 'part of', 'some of', 'a certain quantity of' etc.
e.g. кусок сахара в запах сахара
фунт чаю в цена чая
тонна лесу в цена леса.
- W:42 e.g. Он выпил воды 'The genitive here is sufficient to express 'some water''.
- WA:67 The genitive in - у/ю is used 'in a partitive sense'
e.g. фунт чаю в цена чая.
- WY:228 The partitive genitive in - у/ю is used for nouns 'when they follow a noun signifying quantity'
e.g. чашка чая
килограмм сахара
кусок сыру
литр спириту.

4.2.1.1 QUANT are delimited only coincidentally, by their cooccurrence with the (partitive in - у / ю) genitive forms. Only WY mentions 'nouns signifying quantity', while W's notional definition encompasses only part of the class.

4.2.1.2 There is a misleading emphasis on those NOM-3 which have a morphologically-marked 'partitive' genitive. This may be the result of the textbooks' emphasis on morphology.

- 4.2.1.3 The alternative defining formula for a NOM-3 object of a verb is under-represented (only in C, M and D).
- 4.2.1.4 The repetitive nature of the examples selected is painfully obvious, and probably results from the emphasis on genitives in - y/ ю, restricting the set of NOM-3 to a small group which is not very appropriate, lexically, to a 'scientific' context.
- 4.2.1.5 The notion 'partitive' is not very clearly defined, while such formulae as 'part of a divisible substance' are open to mis-interpretation. For example, an atom can be divided. Does атом therefore have a 'partitive' genitive?

It is in fact necessary to define NOM-3 by at least two of the formulae we suggest, in order to distinguish them from e.g. NOM-2 ('possessive' genitive as only possible defining feature).

4.3.1 TEMP-1, TEMP-2, TEMP-3.

B:36 Accusative 'to express time or distance covered'

e.g. Я работаю весь день TEMP-3
Она здесь всю неделю TEMP-1

B:62 Instrumental 'to form adverbs and adverbial phrases'

e.g. летом и зимой TEMP-3
утром и ночью TEMP-3

C:186-187 To express 'definite time. The accusative case predominates'

e.g. каждый день
каждую неделю

- C:41 Instrumental 'used adverbially, especially in time expressions'
e.g. летом
днем
- D & M:81 'Accusative expressions of time involving весь'
e.g. весь день
всю неделю
весь месяц TEMP-1
весь год TEMP-1
- D & M:38 Instrumental used for 'certain adverbial expressions of time'
e.g. весной, летом, осенью, зимой, утром, днем, вечером, ночью
(all TEMP-3)
- D:30 Accusative 'to express certain periods of time'
e.g. Он работал весь день
Я провел неделю на юге.
- D:30 Instrumental 'expresses time'
e.g. работать днем, ночью.
- F:43 'Some nouns in the instrumental case are used as adverbs'
e.g. вечером, днем, ночью, утром
- M:17 Accusative 'in certain expressions denoting duration of time'
e.g. Пациент отдыхал всю зиму
Я работал круглый год.
- S & C:75 'Idiomatic uses of the instrumental case'
'Some complements of time'
e.g. утром, вечером.
- T:28 Accusative 'expressions of duration of time'
e.g. Он здесь год.

- T:58 Instrumental 'in the temporal expressions
'in the morning', 'in the daytime' etc.'
e.g. вчера вечером
сегодня вечером
завтра ночью
послезавтра днем
- T:69 Accusative 'expressions of time'
e.g. Она была там целый год
Она была там целую неделю.
- W:56 Instrumental 'idiomatic expressions'
e.g. ночью, утром, летом, весной.
- W:87 'Adverbs'
'Instrumental of nouns to express time'
утром, вечером, днем, ночью, летом, зимой.
- WA:19 Accusative 'in expressions of time . . .
through which the action is performed'
e.g. Она приходит каждую неделю
Половину периода переменный тон
идет в одном направлении . . .
- WA:84 'Adverbs denoting time of day and season of
the year are the instrumental case of the
appropriate noun'
e.g. весной, летом, осенью, зимой, утром,
днем, вечером, ночью, однажды
вечером, весной, сегодня вечером.
- WY:167 'In order to express a length of time or a
recurrence in time the accusative is used
without a preposition'
e.g. весь день, целую неделю
Он уже целую неделю работает над
этим анализом.

4.3.2.1 The use of the term 'idiomatic' (S & C, W) implies idiosyncrasy
and demands fuller exemplification, since idiomatic usages are not
derivable from grammar rules.

4.3.2.2 There is a pervasive use of the term 'adverb' for the forms in the instrumental. The confusion whereby nouns (whose traditional definition permits them to have case forms) may simultaneously be adverbs (whose traditional definition does not permit them to be in a particular case) may be found also in ACADEMY OF SCIENCES grammars, e.g. VINOGRADOV 1952. If the criterion for calling these instrumentals 'adverbs' is their possibility of interpretation as verb-modifiers, then the accusative forms discussed here should also be considered adverbial. This is essentially the approach of ŠAUMJAN & SOBOLEVA 1968. However, since these nouns can be modified by adjectives, the traditional school ought, by this criterion, to consider them nouns, not adverbs.

4.3.2.3 No mention is made of the possibility of distinguishing any classes of temporal nouns by the collocation with intransitive verbs (V-4 and V-5).

4.3.2.4.1 Since no source makes a systematic attempt to deal formally with all items which might fall under the notional heading 'expressions of time', it is not possible to derive from any one of the sources a clear analysis of the syntactic behaviour of the items mentioned.

4.3.2.4.2 One could postulate, on the evidence shown, the following classes in each textbook:

- | | | | |
|----------|---|----|--|
| 4.3.2.4. | B | a) | accusative expressions of time of the nouns : день, неделя |
| 2.1 | | b) | instrumental expressions of time: лето, зима, утро, ночь |

There is no overlap between accusative and instrumental examples. Reliance on semantic categorisation might lead the student to postulate further for a) год, месяц, on the basis that these are segments of time. The question of whether ночь or день in the sense of afternoon, should appear in each category, then arises. In b) one might, on a similar semantic basis, postulate that other names of seasons and times of day should be included. This would result in a partially defined analogue of our TEMP-3 (group b), and a group a) which cannot be definitely related to our classes because of lack of definition.

4.3.2.4. C & D would not rule out, on the analogies каждый день:днем and он 2.2 работал весь день:работать днем the form недель 'in the week' (каждую неделю: недель). The point that 'time expressions', which amount to 'phrases containing words concerned with times' vary in syntactic behaviour is not adequately made by the material presented.

4.3.2.4. D & M gives the false impression that весь is a necessary 2.3 concomitant of the accusative forms. The accusative group only overlaps by one member (день) with the instrumental group. Essentially the same classification may be postulated as for BERESFORD above (§4.3.2.4.2.1).

4.3.2.4. F and S & C fail to cover any but the instrumental use, and thus 2.4 imply only one class, defined by it, while M and WY likewise imply only one class, defined by its accusative use.

4.3.2.4.2.5 It is not clear whether T intends *вчера, сегодня* to be necessary concomitants of *вечером* etc. However, their presence does serve as an additional means of separating two classes a) *год* (accusative) b) *вечер* etc (instrumental; collocates with *сегодня* etc.)

4.3.2.4.2.6 W can only be said to imply one class, that delimited by the accusative, since the others are 'idiomatic'.

4.3.2.4.2.7 WA does not have overlapping class membership in the examples, but the specifications of use, while detailed, are not mutually exclusive, since a 'season of the year' (instrumental' can also be a 'time through which the action is performed' (accusative). Although the former are further distinguished by being called 'adverbs', this does not, as discussed in §4.3.2.2, make sufficient sense to serve as a criterion.

4.4 SPAT

- 4.4.1 B:62 Instrumental as 'mode or medium of travelling'
 e.g. Они едут морем
 Мы едем поездом.
- D:30 Instrumental 'expresses place'
 e.g. ехать морем, идти лесом.
- W:56 Instrumental 'idiom'
 e.g. полем 'through the field'
- W:87 'Adverbs'
 'The instrumental of nouns to express . . . place'
 e.g. полем 'through, across the field(s)'.

W:69 Accusative 'expressions of distance'

e.g. Мы прошли одну милю.

WA:20 Accusative 'in expressions of . . place through which the action is performed'

e.g. Они молчали всю дорогу.

4.4.2.1 The full range of possible definitorial formulae is not used by any source, so that B's examples contain one true SPAT (more) and one non-SPAT (relevant accusative uses of поезд not possible).

4.4.2.2 W's treatment of 'idiom' has been criticised elsewhere.

4.4.2.3 Definition of the class is primarily dependent on the student's notion of 'place'.

4.5 NOM-6

C:127 has one example containing способность + infinitive.

No comment is made.

H:37-38 'The infinitive of the Russian verb has many uses. .'

глюкоза имеет способность подвергаться брожению.

W:229 'Use of the infinitive'

'When the noun . . . expresses possibility, reason or purpose'

e.g. возможность разделить . . .

No other source delimits this class.

4.6 NOM-2

B:51 Genitive 'possessive'

- e.g. дом доктора
вес металла
строение металлов
- C:39 Genitive 'possession and many similar relations'
e.g. масса куса чугуна.
- D & M:16 Genitive 'to denote possession or to describe'
e.g. место атома
атомный вес калия
поле битвы.
- D:28 Genitive 'expresses possession'
e.g. книга студента
- F:10 Genitive 'denotes the possessor of something'
книга профессора
конец лекции.
- H:7 Genitive 'possession, often indicated in English by the preposition of'
e.g. полюс аккумулятора
раствор соды.
- M:17 Genitive 'possessive or of'
e.g. свойства того растения.
- S & C:49 Genitive 'possession and of'
e.g. действие магнитного поля
теория Эйнштейна.
- T:32 Genitive 'possession'
e.g. вес металла.
- W:39 Genitive combinations translated with 'of' or apostrophe s contain mainly our NOM-2 items
e.g. вес тела
книга учителя.
- WA:17 Genitive a) 'possession' or b) 'definition or relationship'
e.g. a) книга студента
b) центр тяжести, точка замерзания.

4.6.2 Although our class NOM-2 is defined by its ability to take a dependent 'possessive' genitive, we point out (Chapter 3 §6.7) that this definition, as it applies to all Russian nouns, is only adequate when all other classes with dependent genitives of other types have been exhaustively delimited. This is not the case in any of the textbooks (see §4.7): the formulations quoted above in fact could be construed to apply to all Russian nouns, and thus do not define a class analogous to our NOM-2.

4.7 Of our remaining noun classes, none is clearly defined in any textbook. D:137 has in a drill sentence an example of овладение + instrumental, which is specially translated, with a note that "промышленностью" depends on овладение here', but no generalisation can be construed. W:107 gives some nouns taking dependent datives (сопротивление, сообщение, прозрачность, противоположность). These in fact can be distributed over a number of our classes, depending on their other complementational possibilities. However, since further complementational possibilities do not figure in WARD's system, we may say simply that a class NOM-D (+ dependent dative) is postulated. WA:19 has one instance of a dative 'in direct relationship to the verb'(sic), where the example appears to show a dative dependent on "объяснение" : "Сам Броун не нашел никакого объяснения броуновскому движению". WA:125 also has что as the complement of обстоятельство and разница : this is a defining feature of several of our noun classes; no other behaviour is specified for these nouns in WARING.

5. Verb classes V-1, V-2, V-3, V-6, V-7

5.1.1 Our verb classes V-1, V-2, V-3, V-6 and V-7 are all capable of taking the ending - ся, which affects their voice or transitivity. Our discussion in Chapter 4 §1 indicates that other sources typically subdivide verbs taking - ся on a basis which is partially semantic, and partially dependent on the form of the English translation in a given context. Since this approach is not compatible with our methodology (Chapter 2), we have adopted a fresh analysis which results in a unitary treatment of the morpheme - ся (see Chapter 4 §1). The textbooks, which follow the traditional analysis, therefore postulate several classes to our one.

5.1.2 As well as the morpheme - ся, an important feature of our classes V-1, V-2, V-3, V-6 and V-7 is the number and case of other members of sentence (see Chapter 4 §1 and §3). Their configurations are also dealt with in a unitary fashion, while other textbooks treat each member of sentence in isolation.

5.1.3 We shall deal separately with the two sets of information. §5.1.3 records the treatment of verbs in - ся ; §5.1.4 records the treatment of other members of sentence.

5.1.3.1.1 B:58

'The pronoun себя, in an old form ся, is used as a suffix to make verbs reflexive'

e.g. греть to warm греться to warm oneself

'some verbs in - ся express reciprocal action'

e.g. Такие тела притягиваются.
Мы часто встречаемся.

'Often -ся forms intransitives, i.e. verbs which do not take a direct object'

Урок кончается

'Such intransitives are mostly passive in meaning'

e.g. Как это называется?
Соль легко растворяется в воде.
Дом находится на горе.

D:38-40

'1. A verb is called reflexive if its subject and object refer to the same person, animal or thing. The object is expressed by a reflexive pronoun, ср: He (she) washes the car . . . He washes himself . . . '

e.g. мыться to wash (oneself)

'2. Verbs in -ся are either reflexive (as under 1) above) or belong to one of the following groups:

'i. The verb expresses interaction - two (or even more) people are involved. The reflexive particle is translated into English by 'each other' or some similar expression'

e.g. Я целуюсь с отцом
Мы целуемся.

'ii. An originally transitive verb without -ся becomes intransitive if -ся is added'

e.g. Урок начинается в десять часов.

'iii. An originally active verb without -ся becomes passive if -ся is added'

e.g. Профессор читает лекцию
Лекция читается профессором.

H:89-90

A reflexive verb is used

'(a) as the equivalent of an English passive'

e.g. получать to obtain
получаться to be obtained

'(b) to make a transitive verb intransitive'

e.g. двигать 'to move (transitive)'
двигаться 'to move (intransitive)
i.e. to move oneself'

W:50 'Reflexive verbs in Russian may express a 'passive' idea

e.g. книга читалась везде.

'or an action performed (voluntarily or involuntarily) by the agent or actor upon himself'

доктор ушибся о стол.

W:106 'when these verbs (which take a dative indirect object and require an accusative direct object, ph) are reflexive, the direct object is contained, as it were, in the reflexive particle, the indirect object being still in the dative case'

e.g. давать, дать and compounds, говорить, сказать, приписывать, приписать, сообщать, сообщить, подвергать, подвергнуть
Неудача приписывается поспешности.
Металл подвергается нагреванию.

WA:59-60 'All reflexive verbs are intransitive and the reflexive is regularly found making transitive verbs intransitive . . . When a verb is made intransitive this way, the subject is involved in the action of the verb. . . The passive voice reflexive and the intransitive reflexive have close affinities . . . and sometimes merge . . .'

e.g. Машина остановилась
аккумулятор заряжается 'charges'
аккумулятор заряжается от генератора
'is charged'
при соударениях с ядрами атомов
нейтроны замедляются
'slow down/are slowed down'

'Other Types of Reflexive'

'(1) Reflexive verbs proper, i.e. where the subject does something to itself'

e.g. мальчик умывается 'the boy washes'

'(2) Reflexives of mutual action'

e.g. Мы встретились совсем недавно.

5.1.3.1.2 Only WARD's formulation at all leaves open the interpretation of a unified functioning of -ся, as representing the accusative component of a transitive verb, with the 'passive' and 'intransitive' interpretations depending on the English context. The verbs listed belong to several of our classes (we give the imperfective only):
давать, приписывать, подвергать (V-1), говорить (V-2),
сообщать Va-1.

The delimitation of the class is somewhat defective, in that говорить and сказать *permit*, but do not 'require' an accusative. Furthermore, the possibility of a dative indirect object is presented rather restrictively, (see §5.2.2).

D also provides a cross-reference emphasising the relationship between nominative subject and instrumental agent, as shown in his examples.

5.1.3.2.2 The remaining sources are in broad agreement on the following picture:

- class a) reflexive (= translated by 'oneself')
- b) reciprocal (= translated by 'one another')
- c) intransitive (= without direct object)
- d) passive (= translated by passive form).

There is some confusion on the relationship between categories c) and d), which B and WA present as merging, while H wrongly has them as distinct. Clearly this arises from the use of English translation as a classifying criterion. In fact, the whole presentation overlooks the point that all Russian forms are intransitive, and only the English translations of categories a) and b) can be considered not to be intransitive. It thus makes little sense to pick out these two categories as in WARING, the absurdity of whose treatment is shown by the fact that both his examples are translated by an intransitive English verb form!

5.1.4.1 B:36 Accusative 'to express the direct object'

e.g. Это стоит копейку
Мы изучаем историю
Он читает новый журнал.

B:52 'Genitive with verbs'
'The object of (искать, требовать и др.)
and some others, goes in the accusative if
definite and concrete'

e.g. Он ищет дом
Он ищет помощи.

B:62 'The instrumental case is used . . .
To express an instrument, means, or agent'

e.g. Я пишу новым пером
Разбавлять раствор водой
Задача решается физиками.

B:79 'The dative is used to express the indirect
object of verbs of giving, sending, showing,
telling, and the like'

e.g. Я дал книгу сестре
Он показал мне статью
Мы пишем ему письмо.

- D:29 'Transitive verbs (i.e. verbs that normally have a direct object'
- D:30 'After transitive verbs the accusative expresses the direct object'
- e.g. Мы читаем газету
Она получила письмо
Он любит отца.
- D:136 One example of требовать + genitive in footnote.
- D:30 The instrumental 'denotes the person by whom the action is performed (i.e. in passive constructions)'
- e.g. Лекция читается профессором.
- D:29 'The dative without preposition is used, mainly after verbs (except verbs of motion), to express the person (recipient) for whose benefit the action is performed'
- e.g. Солдат пишет письмо матери.
- H:3 'The direct object of a verb stands in the accusative case'
- e.g. Молба содержит воду.
- H:11 'To indicate the means, or instrument, by which a certain action is carried out the noun is placed in the instrumental case'
- e.g. Сера очищается перегонной
Сера окисляется кислородом.
- H:11 'The indirect object of a verb is placed in the dative case'
- e.g. Углерод придает железу твердость.
- W:68 'The accusative case is used to express the direct object of an action'
- For the relationship between accusative and - ся , see previous quotations.

- W:43 The verbs искать, избегать, достигнуть and лишать are given as taking the genitive. In fact, the first three belong to our class V-3, and лишать to V-AG.
- W:55 Instrumental used 'To denote the means or instrument whereby an action is performed . . . or the agent by whom an action is performed'
- e.g. Студент писал синим карандашом
бомбардировать нейтронами
разбавлять водой
книга читалась везде
- W:56 The example "Мы занимались разными проблемами" is given as an instance of instrumental 'with certain other verbs', i.e. outside the 'instrument/agent' or the reflexive-intransitive systems. However, our analysis places this verb within class V-1 (see Chapter 3 §1).
- For the dative indirect object, see previous quotation.
- WA:16 'The indirect recipient of an action - the indirect object - . . . is in the dative case'
- e.g. сила сообщает телу ускорение

5.1.4.2 The component members of sentences containing verbs of the classes V-1, V-2, V-3, V-6 and V-7 are handled within a rhetorical, rather than a formal grammatical, framework, cf WARING 1967:9

'words arranged on the basis of . . . the distribution of their parts of speech according to their logical function in the sentence. For example, if a word is identified as being a noun, it is then necessary to determine whether it is the subject, object, complement, etc., of the sentence containing it'.

It is this philosophy which results in the fragmented approach seen in all the textbooks whereby, on one hand no complete account

is given of the behaviour of any verb, in terms of the complete list of required members of sentence, and on the other hand, the members of sentence which are nouns in various cases are deemed to have an independent 'logical' function, which may coexist with, but is not determined by, a given verb. Thus, we can distinguish, from the data offered in the textbooks, only three classes of verb:

- a) transitive verbs (those with accusative direct object). This actually includes two types, our V-1 and V-2, but the fact that some direct objects are optional and some not is not mentioned.
- b) verbs whose 'direct object' may be accusative or genitive (our class V-3).

The connection between the accusative possibility and the other complementational possibilities of transitive verbs is overlooked (but see c) below).

- c) verbs taking an indirect (dative) object.

Neither the optionality nor the extensiveness of the dative object is made clear, and only WARD makes any explicit attempt to integrate it into the wider system. However, the example sentences serve an integrative function, in that dative and accusative objects normally appear together, thus permitting the deduction that transitive verbs may have indirect objects. This would then suggest the widening of BERESFORD's postulated restriction of the indirect object to 'verbs of giving '.

5.2 V + sja

Our class requiring the complement ся in all forms, where mentioned, is handled in the same way as in the thesis, i.e. by note of its existence (B:58, W:50, WA:60).

5.3 V-4 and V-5

5.3.1 These verbs are definable by their inability to take an accusative (or other oblique case) object, and the possibility of an accusative TEMP- or SPAT complement (see Chapter 4 §3.3.3). The data from the textbooks are given under the headings TEMP and SPAT in §4. From that information, it may be seen that no textbook delimits these two classes: their existence emerges only from examples of usage in the drills etc.

5.3.2 One group which would fall into our classes V-4 and V-5 is, however, the so-called 'verbs of motion'. These are divided into two groups, described, as in the general class 'verb of motion', by their meanings:

5.3.2.1 B:44 'Certain acts of motion are denoted by a pair of verbs. . . The indefinite verb describes an act performed repeatedly and/or in more than one direction. The definite verb describes an act in one direction, normally towards a goal or destination'.

e.g. Он часто летает в Лондон.
Он теперь летит в Париж.

W:78 'A few verbs have two simple imperfectives, one with a 'generalised' meaning, the other with a 'specific' meaning'

e.g. ходить 'to go, come' идти 'to be going, coming'

WA:65 'Fourteen verbs denoting motion have two variants . . . one indicating movement in a single direction . . . , the other random movement . . . '

e.g. Он идет домой/по улице/на лекцию/
в лабораторию
Он ходит по комнате.

5.3.2.2 In our own work, the distinction between these verbs is treated essentially as one of lexis, in that they are all classed as V-4. (It may be in fact that syntactic differences can be detected between 'definite' and 'indefinite' verbs, but we were unable to establish this within the present work). It is arguable that the textbooks' presentation treats also of lexical distinctions. However, in view of the other definitorial formulae which are intended to be grammatical, but refer to the meaning of the item (e.g. instrumental as 'means, agent, instrument'), we must conclude that our sources probably consider their formulations to cover two classes of verb:

- a) 'definite' (идти etc.)
- b) 'indefinite' (ходить etc.)

5.4 V-6 - additional features.

Examples of V-6 complemented by an indirect question are found in BERESFORD under the heading 'indirect question', rather than as a feature of a verb-class.

B:144 'Indirect questions'

e.g. Он спросил меня, где я живу
Я спросил, едет ли он в Париж
Мы не знали, доктор ли он.

5.5

V-D, V-G

B:80

'Dative objects are required by some verbs whose English equivalents are transitive'

e.g. Шум мешает нам работать
Профессор помогал студенту
Это противоречит правилам логики
Он разрешил ей курить.

B:52

'Some verbs, especially of 'seeking', 'attaining', and 'avoiding', take a genitive object'

e.g. достигать, избегать . . .

B:58

Genitive object

e.g. Он боится смерти
Они добиваются успеха.

D:136

требовать + genitive is mentioned in footnote.

W:107-108

Dative 'with certain verbs which have only one object'

e.g. помогать, помочь, соответствовать, уступать, уступить, способствовать, удовлетворять, удовлетворить, противоречить, подлежать, принадлежать, служить, послужить, учить, научить, учиться, научиться, выучиться.

W:143

Genitive 'with many verbs . . . ' (which) 'express either the idea of aiming at or achieving a goal, or avoidance of or aversion from something'

e.g. искать, избегать, достигнуть, лишать.

WA:18

Dative with verbs 'expressing a real indirect relationship'

соответствовать, равняться, принадлежать.

verbs 'which require the logical direct object to be in some case other than the accusative

e.g. противоречить, требовать.

5.5.2 The same items are delimited by our sources as would be covered by our classes V-D and V-G. It may be observed that vague formulations such as 'certain verbs' are necessitated by the absence of a dictionary integrating grammatical information with the language's repertoire of lexical items. No source mentions the distinction between the dative 'obligatory object' (Chapter 4 §3.3.1) and the optional dative indirect object, nor are other complementational possibilities of the verbs discussed.

5.6 Verbs with an instrumental complement.

These are our classes COP, V-COP. V-I and some V-l.

5.6.1.1 COP (быть)

B:59 e.g. Было (будет) холодно
Надо было работать.

B:63 'The instrumental is . . . used to express the predicate of быть in the past or future . . . '

e.g. Он был инженером
Она будет учительницей.

H:61 'When the verb быть is used on its own, either in the future or past tenses, the complement to the subject stands in the instrumental case'

e.g. Реакция раствора будет кислой.

W:55 Instrumental with 'the verb быть and substitutes for this verb'

e.g. Он был профессором.

W:115 Non-presenttenses of 'expressions of obligation'

e.g. надо было, надо будет.

WA:20 'If the verb 'to be' is in the past, future, subjunctive etc., nouns and adjectives in the predicate are often in the instrumental case'

e.g. Это открытие не было полной неожиданностью для Менделеева.

WA:23 'Adverbial predicates with the verb 'to be' '

e.g. тепло, было легко.

5.6.1.2 All sources mention the uses of *быть* as a future and passive auxiliary. Only HOLT fails to give a complete definition (omission of PRED as a complement), that is, if we assume that by 'to be', WARING means ' *быть* '.

5.6.2.1 V-COP, V-7

B:63-64 'Some verbs take an instrumental object'

Я пользуюсь словарем

e.g. Мы интересуемся химией

Он занимается физикой

Она обладает талантом.

(information on *быть* follows, see 5.6.1)

(The instrumental) 'is likewise used for the predicate of *являться* to appear, which is mostly translated by the verb 'to be' '

Он является директором.

'and other link verbs'

e.g. казаться, считаться, служить

Этот элемент называется бором

Это число остается постоянным

Он считается хорошим доктором

Она кажется совсем здоровой

Это служит хорошим примером

Они хотят делать его секретарем.

H:23 (with являться) 'The complement of the subject always stands in the instrumental case'

e.g. Сера является металлоидом

(with называть and называться)
'the complement of the subject is placed in the instrumental case'

e.g. Это видоизменение называют ромбической серой
Это видоизменение называется ромбической серой.

H:34 'Following the verb служить the complement to the subject stands in the instrumental case'

e.g. Крахмал служит резервным веществом.

W:55 Instrumental with быть and 'substitutes for this verb'

e.g. являться

'with certain other verbs'

e.g. Ответ оказался неправильным
Мы занимались разными проблемами
Студент владел русским языком
Вы интересовались разными вопросами.

WA:21-22 'Substitutes for the verb 'to be' '

e.g. являться

'a number of other verbs'

называться, оказаться, получиться,
остаться, считать, назаться

5.6.2.2 BERESFORD's treatment is a classical illustration of the mixture of entities found under the heading of 'verbs taking the instrumental', and we shall therefore discuss this treatment.

5.6.2.2.1 The verbs интересоваться and заниматься are commonly

treated as separate verbs from their non-reflexive counterparts, apparently because of the different English translations of the two forms. From our standpoint, the two verbs fit the standard Russian transitivity system, and should be taken as part of the V-I complex, the translations being merely an idiosyncrasy of English (see Chapter 4 §1).

5.6.2.2.2 'обладать' is an instance of a 'true' V-I, that is, a verb having a compulsory instrumental object.

5.6.2.2.3 Делать belongs to our class V-7, the example fitting our defining transformation M), (Chapter 4 §3.3.7).

5.6.2.2.4 The remaining verbs fit the formula for V-COP (xxxiv) (Chapter 4 §3.3.8.1).

5.6.2.2.5 As is usual, no other complementational possibilities of these verbs are recorded (PRED complements of V-COP being a glaring omission). This appears to result from the treatment of the instrumental as an isolated feature shown by the form of the noun, rather than as a component of the verb complementation system.

5.7 Va - Vj

While the use of nouns in various case forms provides textbook authors with a convenient framework within which verbal complementation is illustrated as a by-product of discussion of 'use of cases', no such unified framework is exploited for discussions of the complement

types which we subsume under Va - Vj (Chapter 4 §2), since, as we have remarked before, the notion of 'verb complementation' is subordinated to that of 'morphological marker'. Thus, the majority of our sources discuss these features in a haphazard way.

- 5.7.1 Complementation with *чтобы* is frequently mentioned, apparently because it is associated with the 'subjunctive', i.e. with a specific *form* of the verb. It is then attempted to characterise the circumstances of use semantically, for example:

B:142 'After verbs of demanding and wishing'

WA:135 'After verbs or expressions of volition:
require, demand, request, etc.'

W:99 appears to distinguish between *чтобы*
expressing purpose

e.g. *чтобы автомобиль двинулся, надо
пустить в ход двигатель.*

and as a formal link:

'The word *чтобы* also occurs after certain verbs in Russian where the corresponding English does not have in order that, in order to'

*Хирург хотел, чтобы все студенты
слышали его
Сомневаюсь, чтобы это удалось
Медицинская сестра боялась, чтобы
больной не умер.*

Unfortunately, no formal definitions are given.

- 5.7.2 B:65 presents *как* + finite verb form after 'verbs of seeing and hearing', e.g. *я вижу, как брат стоит.* This corresponds to our class V-j.

5.7.3 Examples of verbs governing infinitives occur in all textbooks, but without special comment.

5.7.4 WARD, in a footnote, and WARING:135, mention как . . . бы не as complement of бороться.

6. Numerals

6.1.1 NUM-ORD

B:134 'Russian ordinals are adjectives'

D:61 Ordinal numerals 'agree with the noun they qualify in case, gender, and number'

H:99f list of ordinals given

W:150 'Ordinal numbers . . . are simply number-adjectives'

WA:92 'Ordinal numbers . . . are simply adjectives'

6.1.2.1 The student would probably conclude from HOLT, where items of one morphological class are generally presented as if they were of one syntactic class, that ordinals are adjectives.

6.1.2.2 WARD does not further define a 'number-adjective'.

6.1.2.3 Chapter 5 §1.2 shows that NUM-ORD are distinct from any of our adjective classes. Thus, ordinals are not 'simply adjectives'. No source states which of the multitude of possible adjective classes the ordinal numerals resemble.

6.2.1 NUM-1

- B:126 In the nominative and accusative (if identical) 'With один the whole phrase is in the nominative singular'
- B:127 In oblique cases 'numerals . . . agree with the noun (which remains in the singular after forms of один)'
- D:59 'Один agrees in case and gender with the noun it qualifies'
- D:62 'A compound numeral of which один is the last number (with the exception of 11) is followed by the noun in the singular'
- H:10 'Nouns or adjectives following один or its compounds . . . are always in the singular, their case being determined by their function in the sentence or the preposition by which they are governed'
- W:154 In the nominative, or accusative if identical, 'With the number один and its compounds . . . the entire phrase is in the nominative singular'
- WA:92 Unlike other numerals, один is not handled under 'cases after numerals' (p. 95), but only under 'gender':
'Один is in isolation, being an adjective with unusual endings: один стол, одна книга, одно окно'

6.2.2.1 Both B and W give the impression that phrases with один are in the nominative even when they are in the accusative.

6.2.2.2 BERESFORD's formulation is an extraordinarily complicated way of saying that один and its compounds agree with the associated noun, which must be in the singular if it has such a form.

6.2.2.3 WARING does not appear to give the necessary information. It may also be objected that of 24 possible endings for один , 20 are normal, common adjective endings, and the 4 'unusual' ones are found on short adjective forms, or on adjectives such as сестрин. What is unusual is the mixture of 'hard' (singular) and 'soft' plural (endings).

6.2.2.4 DRESSLER appears to imply that одиннадцать (11) ends in ' один'.

6.3 NUM-2, NUM-3, NUM-4, NUM-7, NUM-8, NUM-9, NUM-11, NUM-12, NUM-13,
NUM-14, NOM-GPL

6.3.1 All statements quoted apply to the nominative and accusative (where identical with the nominative) form of the numerals.

B:126 'With 2, 3, 4, полтора and оба the noun is in the genitive singular, but the adjective in the genitive plural (or nominative plural with feminines)'

B:127 'With composite numerals the last number determines the agreement'

D:62 'два/две три четыре (also:оба/обе . . полтора/полторы are followed by . . . the genitive singular'

'This also applies to compound numerals with 2, 3 or 4 as the last number (with the exception of 12, 13 and 14)'

H:101-102 'Nouns following два, три, четыре or their compounds stand in the genitive singular 'The adjective stands in the genitive case (and is) in the plural'

W:155 'With the number два/две, три, четыре and compounds ending in два/две, три, четыре the noun is in the genitive singular, while the adjective is in the nominative or genitive plural'

WA:95 'After два(две), три, четыре and compounds, . . . оба (обе), полтора (полторы), the genitive singular of nouns is used . . . Adjectives are in the genitive plural, but with feminine nouns after two, three and four the nominative plural may be found'

6.3.2.1 All sources correctly designate две, обе and полторы as feminine forms.

6.3.2.2 W neglects to restrict the nominative plural adjective to feminine noun phrases, while D and H ignore the nominative possibility altogether.

6.3.2.3 D once again confuses numeral symbol (12, 13, 14) with language item (два/две, три, четыре).

6.3.2.4 For further discussion see §6.7.

6.4 NUM-5, NUM-6, NUM-10, NUM-COLL

All statements quoted apply to the nominative and accusative (where identical with the nominative) form of the numerals.

6.4.1 B:126 'With other simple and compound numerals, also collective and indefinite, both noun and adjective are in the genitive plural'

- B:127 'Nouns of number (нуль, миллион etc.) are followed by the genitive plural'
e.g. до тысячи метров
- D:63 'All other simple and compound numerals . . . are followed by . . . the genitive plural'
- D:60 'Миллион and миллиард are masculine nouns'
- H:102 'Nouns following numerals other than those mentioned above stand in the plural'
- W:155 'After other numbers (including collectives) both noun and adjective are in the genitive plural'
- W:150 'there is the anomaly that тысяча used in purely numerical expressions has the instrumental singular тысячью, whereas when it is used as a noun it has the instrumental singular тысячей '
- WA:95 'After all other numbers . . . the genitive plural is used . . . Since тысяча, миллион and миллиард are nouns, only the genitive plural is used after them, irrespective of their case'

- 6.4.2.1 All sources correctly specify the genitive plural adjective form.
- 6.4.2.2 NUM-5 may follow NUM-6, but this feature is not specified.
- 6.4.2.3 NUM-6 may be followed by NUM-1, but this feature is not specified.
- 6.4.2.4 Uses of тысяча etc. as nouns and as numerals are not distinguished (see Chapter 5 §2.1).
- 6.4.2.5 The intended behaviour of 'indefinite' numerals is obscure.

6.4.2.6 No restrictions on the collocation of NUM-COLL with nouns are given.

(DRESSLER and HOLT do not mention these forms).

6.5 Fractions

We do not postulate a special class of fractions, since their syntactic behaviour, as described in B:137, D:62, W:151. WA:96, seems subsumable under general grammatical rules.

6.6 NUM-INDEF-1, NUM-INDEF-2

6.6.1 B:51 Genitive 'in expressions of quantity'

e.g. много случаев
мало тепла
немного воды.

B:126 'Indefinite numerals. Such are the pronoun-adverbs сколько, несколько and столько'

Also discussed are многие, немногие, 'corresponding to' много and немного, мало and немало.

Their intended status is not clear.

W:42 Genitive in 'expressions of quantity'

e.g. много материала
мало материала
немного материала.

W:155 'The rules given in the preceding two paragraphs also apply to много, немного, сколько, несколько'

The preceding two paragraphs read:

'If the number itself is in some case other than the nominative, then the entire phrase is in the same case . . .

This applies also to один and compounds ending in один, though the entire phrase remains in the singular . . . '

- 6.6.2 We allow the contradictions and inclarities here to speak for themselves.
- 6.7 It is impossible to postulate definite numeral classes from the presentation given in our sources, as two different types of grouping are used at once, neither being satisfactory.
- 6.7.1 The grouping 'cardinal numbers', 'ordinal numbers', 'fractions' results from the prevalent confusion between numbers as mathematical symbols, i.e. as representing ideas, and the words to speak of these ideas, i.e. linguistic items. The terms 'cardinal', 'ordinal' and 'fraction' are terms of mathematics, and 'collective' and 'indefinite' are added to them on the basis of the ideas represented by the linguistic items in question. Such a classification is unsatisfactory from a syntactic viewpoint, since the 'cardinal' class contains items of varied syntactic behaviour, the 'ordinal' class is supposed not to be syntactically distinct from an undifferentiated adjective class, which is not the case, the 'fraction' class is supposed to be distinct, but is not, and the 'collective' class is merged with some of the 'cardinal' class.
- 6.7.2 On the basis of the syntactic information given in our sources, the following syntactic classes could be postulated (assuming that 'ordinals' and 'fractions' are then merged into the general grammar, as no distinctive behaviour is ascribed to them):

All features described refer to nominative and identical accusative forms of numeral:

- a) один and its compounds (agrees with noun; must be singular if it has a singular form)
- b) два/две and their compounds, оба/обе, полтора/полторы (gender agreement with genitive singular noun)
- c) три, четыре and their compounds (with genitive singular noun)
- d) all other numerals, 'collective' numerals.

(It is not clear whether 'other' includes 'indefinite' in WARD. It does in BERESFORD, although his examples include genitive singular forms).

Our Chapter 5 shows that such a classification overlooks relevant syntactic features. This is confirmed by discussions such as WORTH 1959, which takes account of features which we were unable to accommodate.

7. Adjectives

ADJ-1, ADJ-5, ADJ-6, ADJ-7, ADJ-9, ADJ-10, ADJ-11, ADJ-12, ADJ-14, ADJ-17

- 7.1.1 B:34 'Many adjectives have short forms'
- B:114 'There are two types of comparative adjective'

- a) The compound type consists of the
adverb *более* and the positive
adjective
- b) The simple type, which is invariable'
- B:95 'Relative adjectives in -ий formed from
names of animals and persons'
- B:180 'Possessive adjectives are formed from
the names of persons'
- D:54 'Many Russian adjectives have two forms:
the long form . . . and the short form . . .'

'Russian, like English, adjectives, have
three degrees . . . '
- H:49 'There are some adjectives which do not
possess an abbreviated form'
- H:27 'One method of forming comparatives of
adjectives is . . . '
- W:91 'Very many adjectives have . . . 'short
forms' '
- W:92 'Some . . . 'relative' adjectives (that is)
adjectives derived from nouns denoting
animals and persons . . . do not have short
forms'
- W:93 'The 'possessive' adjective . . . is given
in Appendix I'
- W:121 'There are two types of comparative adjective
in Russian - a complex type and a simple
type'
- W:20 'Many adjectives in both positive and
comparative degrees have a special 'short'
form'
- WA:71 'Adjectives are of two kinds: relative
adjectives and adjectives of quality.
Adjectives of quality can express a greater
or lesser degree of an attribute, i.e. have
comparative and superlative degrees . .
Relative adjectives. . do not . . Russian
adjectives of quality have a short form'

WA:75 'The comparative has also a long and short form'

7.1.2.1 WARING is the only source which specifies which adjectives have short and comparative forms. The others do not permit a classification on this basis. However, WARING's specification is unfortunate. Firstly, 'expressing a greater or lesser degree of an attribute' (a semantic feature) is not equivalent to 'having comparative and superlative degrees' (a grammatical/morphological feature). Secondly, not every adjective traditionally called an adjective of quality actually has all these forms, as may be seen from our classes, based on information from Soviet sources. Thirdly, even Academy grammars admit that the relative/qualitative distinction is rather tenuous: "является в значительной степени условной и непостоянной" (VINOGRADOV 1952, I:303); "Деление прилагательных на качественные и относительные не является данным раз и навсегда" (ŠVEDOVA 1970:307).

7.1.2.2 The statement under WA:75 is rather puzzling. It refers to forms such as новее but no example of the usage meant is given. The discussion appears to refer to a distinction between более новый (long form?) and новее (short form), but it is not stated that "новее дом" and "Этот дом более новый" are impossible.

7.1.2.3 B:95 and B:180 implies that adjectives formed from the names of persons are simultaneously 'relative' (apparently in a narrower sense than that of WARING) and 'possessive'. W:92 seems to share

the definition of 'relative' adjectives. However, no item in his Appendix I is labelled 'possessive adjective'. We assume that the example "сестрин" is meant, in which case B and W agree on this dual classification. Since, however, no further clarification of the terms is given, we cannot say what relationship is envisaged.

- 7.1.2.4 The division of adjectives into 'simple' and 'complex' is presented as a question of morphology. In fact it is arguable that adjective classes could be established on this basis, in terms of modifiability by ADV-5 (более, менее). We have not elected to do this, since it would approximately double the number of our adjective classes, and the number is already rather large to accommodate a fairly small range of syntactic behaviour.

7.2 ADJ-2, ADJ-8, ADJ-13, ADJ-15, ADJ-16, ADJ-18

- 7.2.1 B:78 'Uses of dative'
'with various words whose English equivalents are followed by the preposition to'

e.g. Его имя известно нам
Эта постоянная равна единице
прямо пропорциональные длине.
- B:81 'The short forms of нужный . . . require the dative of the person, while the thing needed is expressed as the subject'

e.g. Мне нужна вода
Нам нужен телефон.
- W:107 Dative 'with adjectives whose English equivalents can be used with the preposition to'

e.g. аналогичный, пропорциональный,
знакомый, известный, равный,
невидимый.

WA:19 Dative 'after adjectives . . of the
sort 'equal to', 'parallel to' '

e.g. угол отражения равен углу падения.

7.2.2.1 All the adjectives above, except *нужен* are presented as if belonging to one class, our ADJ-2, since no other complementational possibilities are taken into account.

In fact, we would classify the items as follows:

известно	ADJ-15 (the dative complement is of the type which we exclude from our class criteria, see Chapter 6 §5.3; complement with <i>что</i> possible)
равна, пропорциональный, аналогичный	ADJ-2
знакомый	ADJ-7 (dative excluded, see Chapter 6 §3.3;
невидимый	comparative probably not possible)
нужен	ADJ-16

7.2.2.2 Other adjectives governing the dative, e.g. *рад* (ADJ-13), *должен* = 'owe' (ADJ-18) are not mentioned.

7.2.2.3 B's description of short forms of *нужный* (p. 81) makes them identical with that shown for *известно* (p. 78).

7.2.2.4 The criterion 'equivalent to English forms with 'to' ' is inaccurate and not strictly relevant..

7.3 ADJ-3, ADJ-4

7.3.1 W:42 Genitive 'with some adjectives'
e.g. *полный*, *достойный*

- 7.3.2 Достойный belongs to our class ADJ-3, полный to ADJ-4, since it can also have an instrumental complement, a possibility which is not mentioned in the textbooks.

8. Pronouns

Paragraph 8.1 presents and discusses pronoun classes in our usual way, while §8.2 discusses issues which pertain to all pronoun classes.

8.1.1 PRON-NEG-1, PRON-NEG-2

- B:53 'Negative pronouns . . . beginning with ни- require a negated verb'
e.g. ничто не интересуется нас
- B:96 'The pronouns никакой and ничей when governed by a preposition, are separated, thus making three words'
'The same applies to никто and ничто '
- D:50 'If никто and ничто are governed by a preposition, the particle 'ни ' is separated from the pronoun and the preposition stands between them'
- W:144 'When (никто, ничто) are used with a preposition, the original parts of the words are separated and the preposition occurs between the parts'
'The same phenomenon affects the pronominal adjective никакой '
- WA:41 (никто and ничто) 'the ни is separated by a governing preposition.' These are 'pronouns which substitute for nouns' (p. 39)

8.1.1.2.1 Никой and ничей fall within WARING's definition (p. 39) of the 'pronominal adjective': 'pronouns declining for gender, number and case', but are not mentioned.

8.1.2 PRON-REFL-1, PRON-REFL-2

8.1.2.1 B:57

'The reflexive pronoun-adjective
свой . . refers to the agent of the
verb, i.e. normally the subject of
the clause'

e.g. Я читаю свою статью
Мы просим лектора начинать свой доклад.

'The personal pronoun corresponding
to свой is себя . . . refers to
the agent of the verb . . . can never
be the subject and has no nominative'

e.g. Она всегда говорит о себе
Мы просим его говорить о себе.

D:48

'The reflexive pronoun (себя -PH) has
no nominative. The subject to which it
refers can stand in any person, gender
or number'

(свой) 'is used for all persons and
genders both in the singular and the
plural if it refers to the subject'

H:98

'The reflexive pronoun себя has a possessive
свой '

W:139

'The reflexive pronoun (себя - PH) . . .
has no nominative case, since it always
expresses the object of a verb or is used
with prepositions. It refers only to the
subject of the sentence or clause'

свой is classed under 'pronouns of the
adjectival type' (p. 140) and translated
(p. 141) 'belonging to subject of verb'

WA:40

себя 'all cases except the nominative . .
to refer actions back to the subject'

e.g. он говорил о себе
она попросила его налить себе чаю.

WA:82

'The reflexive свой '

'The sentence Он читает его книгу means 'he is reading his (i.e. someone else's) book'. To indicate 'he is reading his (i.e. his own) book', свой must replace его. The use of свой to denote possession by the subject of the sentence is therefore obligatory in third persons; it is usual in the other persons as well. Свой agrees in gender, number and case with the noun it qualifies . . . '

8.1.2.2 B:57 could imply that there are occasions when свой, себя do not refer to the subject of the clause. We have no evidence of such cases. The problem might be solved by a more rigorous definition of the uses of these forms, such as offered by current linguistic research. The demand for more rigour could equally be made of the other sources.

8.1.3 PRON-INTERR, PRON-INTERR-1, PRON-REL-1, PRON-REL-2, PRON-INTERR-2, PRON-INTERR-3, PRON-REL-3, PRON-INTERR-4, PRON-REL

8.1.3.1 B:95 'чей . . . agrees with the noun it qualifies'

'The relative pronoun который . . . (agrees) in gender and number with the noun to which it refers. Its case, however, is determined by its function in the dependent clause'

B:97 examples тот, кто понимает химию
те, кто был здесь

B:178 'Interrogative-Relative' pronouns: кто, что.

D:50 'Other pronouns' кто, что.

H:99 'The relative который . . . is declined . . . like an adjective'

W:141 'Pronouns of the adjectival type'
кто, что, чей

- W:142 'Pronominal adjectives' *какой, такой, который*
- WA:40 'Pronouns not showing gender' *кто, что*
- WA:79-80 'The main relative pronoun is *который* introducing an adjectival clause . . . Also used are *какой* and *чей* . . . As interrogatives, *какой* is chiefly used with the meaning of 'which, what kind of?' expecting an adjective in the long form as an answer . . . *который* asks about which of several the thing is. . . , *чей* asks 'whose' . . . *какой* has a short form *каков* , used both as an interrogative and relative pronoun. . . Other pronoun adjectives are *такой* . . . with a short form *таков* . . . *тот* 'that' . . . '
- WA:132 lists interrogative and relative pairs e.g. *тот, кто*

8.1.3.2.1 No source relates any of the items mentioned to a broader syntactic context; e.g. the functions of the INTERR items as complement of V-6 are ignored, and only B and WA touch on the relationship between the INTERR and REL items.

8.1.3.2.2 No source adequately distinguishes between *который* as PRON-REL and *который* as PRON-INTERR-2.

8.1.3.2.3 It cannot be maintained that any of our sources gives an adequate description of the syntax of these forms (see §8.2).

8.1.4 PRON-ADJ-1, PRON-ADJ-2, PRON-ADJ-3, PRON-ADJ-4

8.1.4.1 B:99 'The pronoun *самый* . . . functions like an adjective'

B:24 'Pronoun-adjectives' e.g. *наш, мой, этот*

B:178	'Possessive' pronouns мой, наш 'Demonstrative' pronouns этот, тот
B:179	'quantitative' pronouns весь
D:51	'Other pronouns' весь
D:49	'Demonstrative pronouns' этот, тот, сей
D:48	'Possessive pronouns' мой, наш, твой, свой, ваш, его, ее, их
H:98	'Possessive' его, ее, их 'Demonstrative pronouns' этот, тот
W:140ff	'Pronouns of the Adjectival Type' этот, тот, весь, ваш, наш, мой, твой . . .
WA:80-82	'Pronominal adjectives' самый, каждый, всякий, любой, другой, весь, тот, этот 'Possessive adjectives' мой, твой, наш, ваш, его, ее, их

8.1.4.2 For further discussion, we refer to §8.2.

8.1.5 PRON-PERS-1, PRON-PERS-2

8.1.5.1	B:177	'Personal pronouns' я, ты, он, она, оно, мы, вы, они
	B:24	'Pronouns are of the same gender as the nouns to which they refer'
	D:47	'Personal pronouns' я, ты, он, она, оно, мы, вы, они
	H:98	'Personal pronouns' я, ты, он, она, оно, мы, вы, они
	W:140	'Pronouns of the non-adjectival type' я, ты, мы, вы 'Pronouns of the adjectival type' он, она, оно, они
	WA:39	'Personal pronouns' я, ты, он, она, оно, мы, вы, они

8.1.5.2 Again, we refer discussion to §8.2.

8.1.6 PRON-2

- 8.1.6.1 B:100 'Indefinite pronouns' кто-то, кто-нибудь,
кто-либо, что-то, что-нибудь, что-либо
- W:143 'Compound pronouns' кто-то, что-то, кто-нибудь,
что-нибудь, кто-либо, что-либо
- WA:40 'Pronouns not showing gender'
- e.g. 'кто and что compounded with кое-,
-то, -нибудь and -либо '
- WA:41 'After an imperative only -нибудь
is possible'

8.1.6.2 See §8.2 for discussion.

8.1.7 SAM

- 8.1.7.1 B:98 'Emphatic pronouns . . . сам . . .
usually precedes a noun, but follows
a pronoun'
- D:49-50 'Сам . . is used for all persons.
It emphasises the fact that the action is
performed by the subject'
- W:140 'Pronouns of the adjectival type' сам
- WA:42 'The pronoun сам is used in apposition
for emphasis'

8.1.7.1 See §8.2 for discussion.

8.1.8 PRON-1, PRON-1a

- 8.1.8.1 W:143 'Compound pronouns' некто, нечто
- 'these words . . have only a nominative
case'

8.1.8.2 See §8.2 for discussion.

8.1.9 PRED-14

These are normally treated under 'pronouns'.

8.1.9.1 B:96 'The pronouns некого, нечего, некому, нечему &c (are separable PH) . . . They are used with an infinitive and their logical subject, if expressed, is in the dative'

e.g. Мне некому писать
Им не о чем говорить

W:144 Некого, некому etc. нечего, нечему etc. 'are used only in a special construction'

e.g. некого послать
не о чем писать

'If a logical subject is expressed it is used in the dative case'

WA:41 'Mention has been made in Chapter 2 about the force of stressed не added to pronouns and adverbs: он. ни о чем не думает 'he thinks of nothing' but ему не о чем думать 'he has nothing to think about'

The relevant part of Chapter 2 reads
'A series of adverbs with не (stressed) is used impersonally: здесь не с кем разговаривать '

8.1.9.2 B and W describe essentially the defining behaviour of our class, while WA relies simply on examples and the notion 'impersonal'.

8.1.10 NOM-1, NOM-1a

8.1.10.1 B:98 'A noun or adjective clause may depend on a verb or preposition. Since a whole clause cannot be inflected it is introduced by the antecedent pronoun то, expressed in the required case'

D:102 footnote to drill

'If the demonstrative pronoun 'ТО' (or any of its cases in the singular) is followed by a sub-clause introduced by *что* (also *чтобы*, *как* etc.), it is either not translated or rendered by some such auxiliary word as 'fact' . . .

H:54

'The verb *заклячатся* is used in the following type of construction'

Основание теории электолитической диссоциации заключается в том, что . . .

WA:130

'An oblique case of a noun clause is shown by the appropriate case of the neuter pronoun *то*, standing in front of the clause'

8.1.10.2.1 It is not clear what BERESFORD means by an 'adjective clause'. His examples all show instances where the dependent clause could be replaced by a noun, which presumably makes them noun clauses.

8.1.10.2.2 DRESSLER treats this use of *то* purely as a translation problem, i.e. a problem of lexis.

8.1.10.2.3 HOLT's treatment implies that this feature is a peculiarity of one verb, which is not so.

8.1.10.2.4 No source deals specifically with *NOM-la*.

8.2 General discussion of the treatment of pronouns.

8.2.1 It may be seen that no source has a unified syntactic basis for the treatment of pronouns. As our own discussion (Chapter 7) shows, this is probably because the class subsumes a very heterogeneous set of items. However, the treatment in textbooks is made

unnecessarily confusing by the fact that the authors obviously have not clarified what is meant by 'pronouns' and 'adjectives'. None of the facts presented in the textbooks enable one to progress beyond the statement that 'a pronoun is a pronoun'.

- 8.2.2 Having deemed certain items to be pronouns, whatever meaning is attached to the term, the textbooks proceed to assign further labels to items within the pronoun class, apparently on the basis of two not necessarily compatible criteria.
- 8.2.2.1 First, names such as 'personal' or 'demonstrative' are assigned to indicate the semantic or, perhaps better, the rhetorical function of the items. However, if such function in any way reflects itself in syntactic behaviour, this is not noted in the majority of cases.
- 8.2.2.2 Second, pronouns are grouped according to their declension patterns. This method of organisation has some advantage, since at least it broadly separates those pronouns which modify nouns (Chapter 7 §1) from those which fulfil some of the functions of nouns (Chapter 7 §2). However, since no syntactic distinction is made between 'pronouns' and 'adjective' in any of the textbooks, and morphological criteria for class membership are seen to be decisive throughout each textbook, the student who knows the traditional school definition of the pronoun as 'a word which stands instead of a noun' and the adjective as 'a word which describes a noun' is likely to be completely confused by the conglomeration of 'pronominal adjectives', 'adjectival pronouns', etc.

- 8.2.3 Students tend to regard Russian pronouns as 'a lot of boring things whose declension I can't remember', a conclusion which is amply supported by the textbooks.

9. Adverbs other than PRED

For the complete list of these classes, see Chapter 8.

9.1 B:133 'Multiplicative adverbs'

'To express multiplication or frequency'

e.g. дважды

'Used only in arithmetic'

e.g. пятью

H:49 sees as an adequate 'example of . . . usage' (sic) of an adverb, the following (quoted exactly) "медленно, хорошо, энергично"

WA:83 adverbs 'modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, participles and gerunds, and are indeclinable.' An adverb may actually affect the meaning of the word it modifies: 'he wrote slowly' or simply indicate the circumstances of the word: 'he wrote yesterday'.

WA:132 lists ADV-REL, ADV-INTERR pairs e.g. там где

- 9.2.1.1 The case of instrumental-case nouns functioning as adverbs is discussed in §4.3.2.2.

- 9.2.1.2 The use of the adverbs более and менее (ADV-5) to form the comparative is discussed in §7.1.2.4.

- 9.2.1.3 Interrogative adverbs (ADV-INTERR: Chapter 8 §5.5.1.2) are shown in various interrogative sentences, but their function as introducing the complement clause of a V-6 is not specifically mentioned.

- 9.2.1.4 ADV-NEG (Chapter 8 §5.5.1.1) are mentioned as requiring negation of other sentence elements, e.g. negated verb, replacement of other adverbs by their ADV-NEG counterparts.
- 9.2.2 Apart from the instances mentioned above, treatment of adverbs is entirely in terms of their etymology and their derivation from adjectives (e.g. WARD:85-87). This presentation is doubtless made necessary by the fiendish cunning of the adverb, which according to WARING:83 'can simulate most other parts of speech' Caveat lector!⁽¹⁾ No source offers the suggestion that adverbs may be distinguished by their syntactic function, even though WARING discusses them under the chapter heading 'The Modifier'. This defect stems from the approach exemplified most clearly in the quotation from HOLT:49 above; it is taken for granted that the part of speech membership of a word is something in its nature, which is obvious from inspection of the words. This approach, in turn, can be traced to the underlying grammatical theory of these textbooks (see §16).
- 9.2.3 'Used . . . in arithmetic' is perhaps not the most helpful characterisation of linguistic behaviour.
- 9.2.4 With regard to WARING's distinction between 'actually affecting' meaning or 'simply indicating the circumstances', we may suspect that a distinction between so-called 'qualitative' and 'circumstantial'

(1) WARING's assertion (p. 24) that 'The adverb may qualify any verb, adverb, adjective, participle or gerund' makes it unnecessary to sub-classify adverbs on syntactic grounds, but is demonstrably untrue, e.g. Он сильно очень любит ее is impossible, while Он очень сильно любит ее is acceptable.

adverbs (see Chapter 8 §1) is being hinted at. It is doubtful, however, whether any helpful conclusions can be drawn from the formulation given here.

10. PRED

- 10.1 B:35 'Adverbs in - о , when used as predicates, form impersonal expressions'
- e.g. легко, холодно, интересно, известно
- 'Other impersonal forms are:
- можно , нельзя, надо, нужно '
- B:81 'The subject of impersonal expressions stands in the dative'
- e.g. Ему холодно
Нам трудно видеть
Им надо было работать
Человеку нужно есть и спать.
- B:119 Comparative adverbs:
- e.g. Сегодня теплее, чем вчера
Здесь лучше, чем там.
- B:142 Subjunctive 'After impersonal expressions of necessity, impossibility, desirability etc.'
- e.g. Нужно, чтобы он пришел сегодня
Невозможно, чтобы это было так
Желательно, чтобы больной остался здесь.
- W:108-109 Dative 'In some . . . idiomatic expressions'
- e.g. Студентам тепло в комнате
Астроному холодно в обсерватории
Студентам физики необходимо (нужно, надо) знать первый закон термодинамики.
- W:114-115 'Expressions of Obligation'
- 'надо, нужно . . . combine with the dative case'

Past and future forms with **БЫТЬ** are shown.

'These expressions may also occur with the particle **бы**'

'**Нужно** is the short form neuter of an adjective **нужный**'

WA:22-23 'Impersonal expressions have no grammatical subject . . . truly impersonal expressions are all third person singular neuter . . . adverbial predicates with the verb 'to be' . . . adverbs ending in - о, e.g. тепло, было легко . Especially important are those used as modal auxiliaries: часто необходимо заранее знать сопротивление проводника'

WA:62-64 'Modal Auxiliaries'

'Adverbial predicates have the verb 'to be' understood in the present tense . . . , which verb appears in the past and future'

e.g. можно, можно будет, можно было
можно войти?

'Incumbent on people, necessity is expressed by . . . adverbial predicates: надо, нужно, необходимо: студенту надо (надо было, надо будет) сдать экзамен по физике'

'Prohibition and impossibility are expressed by the negatives of the expressions of permission and possibility'

e.g. не надо, не нужно, нельзя
'(the negative of можно)' with perfective infinitive

'Impossibility' невозможно, нельзя
with perfective infinitive

10.2.1 The assertion in B and WA that these forms are adverbs cannot, strictly speaking, be confirmed or disputed, since neither source provides a rigorous definition of the adverb. However, we refer

to our discussion in Chapter 8 §6.5, according to which these forms are distinct from adverbs (modifiers of the verb).

- 10.2.2 The possibility of a dative 'logical subject' is implied for all PRED; we have left open the possibility that the dative is not acceptable with some PRED (Chapter 8 §6.7.3).
- 10.2.3 Although several examples show an infinitive complement of PRED, such a possibility is not explicitly mentioned.
- 10.2.4 Other complementational possibilities of PRED are ignored.
- 10.2.5 As in other instances, WARD resorts to the explanation as an 'idiom', without giving the necessary full list of items which can be so used. The fact that such a list would be impossibly long is an indication that we are dealing, not with an idiom, but with a regular piece of grammar. Furthermore, WARD's treatment obscures the fact that the syntactic behaviour which is ascribed to надо, нужно is identical with that of тепло, холодно. It also makes unclear the status of 'expressions of obligation'. Since these have some members in common with 'idioms', are they to be regarded as idioms too?
- 10.2.6 The fact that нужно (PRED) is identical with one of the short forms of нужный (ADJ) is of little relevance.
- 10.2.7 No source mentioned the use of PRED with V-COP.

10.2.8 The widespread resort to a notional framework of 'obligation' in the case of PRED is somewhat puzzling. Such a framework is not imposed coherently over the whole grammar, for example, we do not find a section 'Expressions of Manner' containing e.g. 'adverbs of manner', instrumental forms such as 'громким голосом'. This treatment may be a reflection of the various traditional sources' sub-categories (e.g. ŠVEDOVA 1970: "Среди предикатов выделяются : а) слова с общим значением долженствования, необходимости, возможности"), in which case it is noteworthy that the apparatus of "категория состояния" and references to 'internal states' have not been taken over.

11. PREP-A, PREP-G, PREP-D, PREP-I, PREP-P

All sources simply state which prepositions govern which case forms. This is identical with the treatment in REID, and is not amended in the present work, although there is much scope for investigation of preposition use.

12. PART classes ('particles')

- 12.1 B:25 'The negative particle не directly precedes the word to which it refers'
- B:37 ' . . . the main word in the question comes first, followed by the particle ли '
- 'In indirect speech ли serves as a conjunction . . . and its use is obligatory'
- e.g. Он спрашивает, русская ли она
Я не знаю, доктор ли он.

- B:53 'A single *ни* is emphatic, expressing complete absence of something'
- e.g. *Ни один из нас не знает города*
Он не понимает ни одного слова.
- B:99 'The primary use of *же* is as an emphatic particle'
- Где же вы были?* Where ever have you been?
Он сегодня же умер. He died this very day.
Почему же солнце не остыло?
 Why then has the sun not cooled down?
- 'It also denotes identity'
- e.g. *так же* in the same way
там же in the same place, *ibid.*
- B:100 'The particles - *то* , - *нибудь* , and - *либо* are used to form indefinite pronouns . . . (and) indefinite adverbs'
- B:101 footnote "*Это и есть затмение солнца.* This is what a solar eclipse *is* '. The word *и* may emphasise the word before or after it'
- B:113 The use of *было* as a particle (unstressed), indicates that an action was abandoned or annulled.
- B:141 'The conditional . . . consists of the past tense and the particle *бы* '
- B:143 ' . . . *бы* following a pronoun or adverb and the verb preceded by the particle *ни* , here emphatic (= ever)'
- B:151 'Imperative mood'
- давайте* + 1st person plural future/
 imperfective infinitive
пусть/пускай + 3rd person present or
 future perfective

DRESSLER handles particles only as specific translation problems (except for 'the particle *ни* ' in the formation of *никто*, *ничто*, p. 50); a typical selection of the relevant footnotes to translation exercises follows:

'ли , if used in a direct question,
is not translated'

'Хотя это озеро и находится довольно
далеко от Сочи . . "и" here is
emphatic and is either not translated at
all, or is rendered by 'indeed', 'in fact'

'"или же" - 'or else''

"Арестовать же его лишь за то, что
он бывший дворянин . . .
"же" - 'but', 'however' '

'не . . ни один - not a single'

'ли - if, whether'

- H:24 'In any sentence in which there is a
negative such as never or nothing, the
verb is negated by the participle (sic) не '
- H:77 'The imperative of the 3rd person . . is
formed from пусть and the normal form
of the indicative of the verb'
- H:94 'The conditional is formed from the past
tense of the verb and the participle
(sic) бы '
- W:65 Note to drill sentence (' . он и куёт его ');
'The word и means and, also, as well, and is
also used as an 'emphatic participle' (sic), so
that (the above) . . could be translated
'and then he does forge it'
- W:80 Note 'же is an 'emphatic particle', here it
could be ignored. . ., or translated while'
- W:97ff 'The conditional particle бы '
- W:98 'Together with ни and pronouns and
adverbs, бы expresses -ever'
- WA:12 'The subjunctive is formed . . by putting the
invariable word бы with the past tense'
- WA:13 'A verb is made negative by putting the particle
не in front of it'

- WA:13 'The particle *ни* combines with pronouns and adverbs, e.g. *кто, никто . . . когда, никогда . . .* has another use, namely for emphasis: *что он ни говорит* '
- WA:13 'Questions are asked . . inversion and the particle *ли* '
- WA:26 'длится месяцы, а иногда и годы . . и means 'even' . . and is frequently so used for emphasis'
- WA:41 'The particles *-то, -нибудь, -либо*'
- WA:61 'The third person indirect imperative is . . the future tense preceded by . . *пусть (. . пускай)*'
- WA:131 'The particle *ли* of the indirect question is translated 'if' or 'whether' '
- WA:137 'The subjunctive after the particle *ни* is found in clauses such as *что бы он ни сказал* '

12.2.1.1 No definition is offered of the term 'particle', although it cannot be assumed to be self-evident to a British (all the textbooks examined are British) science student, at whom the text is obviously aimed. (One may assume that such students, besides English grammar, might have studied French, German or Latin, none of which is commonly presented as having 'particles'). The name is not self-explanatory, and may cause bewilderment if the student, as is not unlikely, associates it only with 'sub-atomic particles', and the like.

12.2.1.2 The misprint 'participle' for 'particle' is common in the twelve textbooks collected for this study. It is particularly unfortunate in that Russian has 'participles' as well, and a student who takes the misprint literally (and why should he not, if he does not even

know the notion 'particle'?) will be thoroughly confused by the rules for 'participles' (i.e. active and passive participles).

- 12.2.2 The items such as пусть, давайте, which play a rôle in ŠVEDOVA 1970:544's "категория синтаксического наклонения" are often not called 'particles', although the traditional grammars use the term. It is not clear whether this constitutes a deliberate decision, based perhaps on an awareness of syntactic function, or whether it is simply a consequence of an analytical technique which finds the translation of isolated words as adequate a treatment as the specification of their syntactic rôle.
- 12.2.3 The particles most frequently so designated are ли, же, и and ни. Our own experience confirms that these are among the most frequently-occurring members of the PART classes in scientific and technical texts.
- 12.2.4 B's examples do not seem to show that ни 'expresses the complete absence' of something: Он не понимает ни одного слова, suggests, on the contrary, the presence of quite a number of words. A syntactic specification would avoid this problem.
- 12.2.5 The use of бы with 'pronouns and adverbs' e.g. 'что бы он не сказал', is incorrectly formulated, since the majority of cases permitted by this formulation are impossible, e.g.

Нуда бы он ни шел. *Быстро бы он шел.

*

Ного бы вы ни видели. Меня бы вы ни видели.

12.2.6 B's declaration that *же* 'denotes identity' is not well illustrated by his examples, since, for example 'там же' could also be translated 'in that very place', and thus fit the type of example presented above as distinct 'He died this very day'. Again, the confusion results from reliance on translation rather than syntax. In general, *же* is not well handled, since the translations are hardly generalisable beyond the illustrated cases, while the notion 'emphatic particle' is uninformative.

12.2.7 B's explanation of the use of 'и' (p. 101) would permit his example to be translated '*This* is what a solar eclipse is'.

It may be said of all sources that their failure to deal with 'и' on a syntactic basis necessitates endless explanatory notes to ensure correct translation as 'and', 'also', 'even' or 'does (emphatic) do', without ever giving a workable general principle. It is doubtful whether the student will progress beyond trying all known translation equivalents and judging which seems most sensible.

12.2.8 The use of *ли* in a complement clause of V-6 is not made explicit.

13. Conjunction classes

13.1 B:25 simply translates the 'conjunctions' что, и, но and а

B:98 shows 'the antecedent то' in 'compound conjunctions'

e.g. до того как, после того как . . .

- B:100 'As a conjunction *же* means however, but'
e.g. Другие же растения погибли
- B:117 In connection with comparatives, 'the conjunction *чем*', and '*чем. . тем*' are shown
- B:142 '... purpose clauses introduced by *чтобы*' + subjunctive or 'infinitive if the subject of both clauses is the same'
- B:37 'In indirect speech *ли* serves as a conjunction'
- B:52 *ни . . . ни* + negated verb
- B:109 *что* with neuter short passive participles is shown in examples
- B:141 *если* in 'conditional sentences'
- Conjunctions appear in DRESSLER only in footnotes to passages for translation, where their English rendering is given, e.g.
- D:85 '"Но" (but) expresses antithesis, "а" (and) may express non-emphatic contrast'
- D:92 '*чтобы* . . *жилось* - 'so that life should . . .'
- D:102 '*ни* . . *ни* must be translated here as 'either . . . or' '
- D:115 '*или* . . *или* - 'either . . . or' '
- D:168 'The conjunction '*если*' + infinitive is translated either by 'if' + the present tense indicative . . . or by the passive'
- H:2 'The conjunction *а* is sometimes equivalent to the English but and sometimes to and'
- H:30 'The construction *чем . . тем* used with two comparatives is the exact equivalent of the English the . . the . . similarly used'
- H:42 'The conjunction *и* sometimes has the meaning of also'
- H:61-62 *если* + infinitive

- W:97 если + бы
- W:98-99 как бы, хотя бы, чтобы
are illustrated
чтобы 'is associated with the
infinitive or the past tense'
чтобы 'after certain verbs' see § 5.7
- W:156 Note 'либо . . либо = either . . or'
- WA:123 'Compound sentences . . are merely simple
sentences joined by conjunctions such as
и, но, а '

- 13.2.1 All sources mention the use of чем in comparisons.
- 13.2.2 WARING's treatment of subordinating conjunctions depends on his
classification of clauses, and concise quotation is not very
informative without critical commentary. We therefore deal with
this treatment separately in §13.2.4.
- 13.2.3 The majority of conjunctions are simply treated as vocabulary items
which are translated without comment. Only the following types of
case are specifically noted:
- a) those where the translation is slightly difficult,
 e.g. 'а' as 'and' or 'but'
 - b) those where a particular verb form is required, e.g.
 чтобы + subjunctive.

The relationship between conjunctions and verb-classes, as in our
classes Va - Vj (Chapter 4 §3) is ignored, except for the isolated
instances quoted in §5.

- 13.2.4.1 WARING, Chapter 10 (p. 123ff) starts from the notion of the complex sentence, that is, one which consists of a main clause and subordinate clauses, which may be introduced either by subordinating conjunctions, e.g. *хотя, если, что, чтобы, как, после того, как, потому что, для того, чтобы, etc.*, or by relative pronouns or adverbs (p. 124).

It is implied that three types of subordinate clauses exist: noun clause, adjectival clause and adverbial clause (p. 124). These may be identified by a substitution procedure. WARING:123 gives the example:

Фарадей доказал свою теорию

where the underlined noun can be replaced by a subordinate noun clause.

Фарадей доказал, что с помощью магнитного поля можно возбудить в замкнутом проводнике электрический ток.

- 13.4.2 We might expect, therefore, a treatment of conjunctions in terms of the type of clause they introduce. In fact, however, as soon as the necessary apparatus is set up, it is abandoned: WARING 124 - 125 states:

'The following classification . . . adopts the grammatical division of clauses into noun, adjectival and adverbial as far as this is helpful . . . where, however, strict grammatical division separates clauses which have other more obvious similarities, it is disregarded'.

- 13.4.3 Although one may feel that the grammars of Russian analysed here do abandon grammar at various points, it is very unusual to find a

professional language teacher and writer of grammars doing so explicitly, on the grounds that grammar is 'confusing'. It is not at all clear what advantage is thought to have been gained by this decision, since the organisation is decidedly confusing: 'Section A', we are told (p. 125), 'deals with clauses which may be noun, adjectival or adverbial; Section B with clauses (all adverbial) introduced by obvious conjunctions'.

But Section A has the following headings: 'Clauses in *что*', 'Clauses in *как*', while Section B is simply a list of 'two-word conjunctions', 'conjunctions which are also adverbs, but do not introduce noun clauses', 'composite conjunctions' (some of which consist of two words). The end of Section B is not indicated, but the list ending on p. 130 is then followed by paragraphs called 'Complications with Noun Clauses' and 'Complications with Clauses Introduced by Relative Pronouns and Adverbs'. These are followed by a paragraph on *чтобы* + subjunctive (p. 133), and two on 'The Subjunctive in Clauses not Introduced by *чтобы*' (p. 136) and 'The Conditional' (p. 137), by which time all mention of conjunctions has vanished.

13.4.4.1 The internal organisation of the various paragraphs is also unhelpful. For example, the section 'Clauses in *как*' mentions three types of clause:

- (i) those 'denoting the actual performance of an action: *мы нередко видим, как под лучами солнца тает лед*'

(ii) 'This (i.e. (i) PH) should not be confused with как, meaning 'how', in noun clauses: поясним, как такой детектор действует'

(iii) 'adverbial clauses, where как means 'as'; как показывают измерения . . . (sic)'

13.4.4.2 (i) as well as (ii) appears by WARING's own test (see §13.4.1) to be a noun clause, since we may substitute a noun; e.g. нередко видим воздействие солнца на лед or even nominalise the given clause: нередко видим таяние льда под лучами солнца. Other textbooks in fact say that the use of 'как' in (i) is, literally translated, 'how'.

13.4.4.3 The illustration of type (iii) does not include a main clause, so that one cannot even verify whether the clause in как is an adverbial clause; it could, for example, be a noun clause, or one 'denoting the actual performance of an action'.

13.4.4.4 Thus, we cannot clearly state, on the information given, exactly what range of syntactic behaviour WARING assumes как to have, and how this compares with other subordinating conjunctions, so that we cannot classify it.

13.4.5.1 The treatment of что informs us, correctly, that the что clauses in the two example sentences are, respectively, object and subject noun clauses: "Представим себе, что атом увеличен до размеров большой комнаты и что мы входим в эту комнату. Первым нашим впечатлением будет, что она совершенно пуста". As can be seen, it is not essential to know this to make sense of the

sentence'. 'The conjunctions *будто* or *якобы* replace *что* if the writer wishes to express doubt about the truth of the following clause' (WARING:125).

что introducing clauses functioning as complements of *обстоятельство*, *разница* is mentioned (loc. cit.); these appear not to be noun clauses, and are followed by examples of *что*= *который* i.e. adjective clause:

дорога, *что* идет вдоль реки.

We then have *что* introducing 'result clauses', a previously unmentioned type:

Нередко кристаллы бывают настолько малы,
что вещество кажется лишенным кристаллической
структуры.

Finally, noun clauses beginning with the conjunction *что* are contrasted with an example containing the pronoun *что* :

рассмотрим, *что* происходит при такой температуре.
(WARING:126).

13.4.5.2.1 WARING's stated policy of removing grammatical analyses which are unnecessary might be expected to result in the omission of information which it is 'not essential' to know.

13.4.5.2.2 Since the first example cited is labelled 'noun clause', it would be appropriate to make clear that subsequent clauses in the same section are not noun clauses.

13.4.5.2.3 The student is not given a valid method of distinguishing between the pronoun *что* and the conjunction *что*. The criterion of translation ('what' versus 'that') can only function ex post facto.

13.4.3 Thus, again one cannot provide a guaranteed correct account of WARING's analysis.

13.4.4 The relative pronouns and adverbs *кто, что, который, какой, чей, etc.; когда, где, куда, почему, как, сколько etc.* (p. 126) are handled rather more systematically, in that the division into adjectival, noun and adverbial clauses is carried out. However, it could with advantage be shown which of these pronouns and adverbs may introduce which types of clause; the implications for verb and noun classes of the availability of this type of complement are not discussed.

13.4.5 Section B (pp. 127 - 130) amounts simply to a list of conjunctions, whose arrangement into sections follows non-comparable criteria; e.g. '(b) Two-word conjunctions' '(c) Conjunctions which are also adverbs, but do not introduce noun clauses' (p. 128).

14. INTERJ

Interjections are not treated in our sources. This is a justifiable omission insofar as they do not occur in the scientific genre.

If they were handled in the manner characteristic of the textbooks, we assume that this would be on the basis of 'Russian item. = English item', e.g. *ax ! = oh!* Because of the syntactic independence of INTERJ, little difficulty can be anticipated from such a treatment.

15. PARENTH

15.1 W:115 'Expressions of Obligation'

The forms of *должен* 'must' are discussed. Later in the same paragraph follows:

'Note the expression *должно быть* (literally it must be). This expression remains constant, i.e. it is unaffected by changes of tense of person:

Он, должно быть, здесь
Должно быть, она была здесь
Они, должно быть, будут здесь'

WA:64 'Idiomatic uses of *должен*'

' 'I must have left the book at home . .'
 must be translated by the phrase *должно быть* inserted in the sentence: *я, должно быть, оставил книгу дома* (literally: 'I, it must be, have left the book at home')

15.2 Members of our class PARENTH, as discussed in Chapter 9 §6.2, are not separated in traditional sources from their homographs belonging to other parts of speech. This approach is echoed in W and WA, who firmly associate the only specimen of the class with which they deal with the item *должен* 'must', used as a short adjective + infinitive. We have shown elsewhere, e.g. Chapter 4 §0.4.2 that PARENTH can be distinguished from their homographs, and WARD indeed mentions the distinctive features of *должно быть* without drawing the conclusion.

- 16.1 Conclusions concerning the textbooks analysed.
- 16.1.1 On the basis of the information given in the textbooks, it is not possible to derive a set of syntactic word-classes.
- 16.1.2 Neither is it possible to derive a set of semantico-syntactic or other type of word-classes.
- 16.1.3 The reasons for this impossibility are as follows:
 - 16.1.3.1 no definitions of named functional entities are given or derivable, neither is a suitable lexicon available. (As the footnote to §1.1 indicates, the amount of information given in a traditional dictionary is not sufficient for the purpose, since it amounts only to a list with part of speech assignation, and does not generally label such functional entities as 'expressions of quantity' etc.);
 - 16.1.3.2 the units are not related to each other in all and only the relevant ways in which the words of the language are related to each other;
 - 16.1.3.2.1 in many instances, the full range of relationships possible for certain units is not given (e.g. §4.3.2);
 - 16.1.3.2.2 semantic features are held by the underlying theory to be relevant, as well as morphological and syntactic (see §16.1.5), and yet not all units are related to each other on all these levels.
 - 16.1.3.3 The full scope of rules is not always made explicit.

- 16.1.3.4 possible deduced applications of the rules in fact result in postulation of impossible Russian sequences (e.g. §4.3.2.4.2);
- 16.1.3.5 self-contradiction is not avoided (e.g. §13.4.4).
- 16.1.4 The inadequacies detailed in §16.1.3 are such as to prevent the formulation of Russian grammar offered in the textbook from being, in the strict sense, a grammar of Russian, since the requirements mentioned in Chapter 2 §1, applying both to a grammar and its units, are not adhered to.
- 16.1.5 It may be supposed that the following assumptions underlie the approach of these textbooks:
- 16.1.5.1 Language reflects reality, (cf NIKITEVIČ 1963:18: 'Грамматической основой категории рода, несомненно, послужили отношения, существующие в реальной действительности, как это присуще и другим грамматическим категориям' and the parts of speech correspond to various parts of this reality, viz. objects (nouns), processes (verbs), attributes of objects (adjectives), attributes of processes (adverbs). (cf SUNIK 1966:31: 'в основе частей речи . . . лежат глубокие семасиологические основания . . . предметность (имя существительное), атрибутивность, или качественный признак (прилагательное), процессуальность, или динамический признак (глагол) и.т.п.') "Служебные слова" reflect the relationships between these various segments of reality.

(cf SUNIK 1966:46: 'Особенность многих служебных слов в том и стоит, что они . . . служат своеобразными средствами связи знаменательных слов, а также их групп . . .'; ŠVEDOVA 1970: 311: 'служебные слова употребляются для связи слов, предложений или элементов предложения, участвуют в формировании синтаксических наклонений, а также служат для выражения разных оттенков субъективной модальности'; WARING 1967:100 'Prepositions are invariable words serving to denote more particular relationships between the parts of speech than can be expressed by the case system alone').

- 16.1.5.2 Lexical items serve as the individual names of these parts of reality; for example, 'стол' or 'table' are the names of certain entities. (cf DRESSLER 1965:14 ('When the word 'book' is seen or heard, it will produce in one's mind an image of the thing which in the English language is called 'book' '), possessing the grammatical category of "предметность". It is the fact of having "предметность" which is grammatically important; the two items 'стол' or 'table' do not of themselves have any properties such as ability to form syntactic connections: they are simply name-labels, and as much, are entirely equivalent between two languages. By virtue of its "предметность", however, the noun can possess other 'grammatical categories' (what SUNIK 1966:27 calls "частные грамматические категории").

- 16.1.5.3 Knowing how a word is translated into one's native language, in the way in which this translation is presented in a traditional dictionary, i.e. 'Item R = Item E (no syntactic context specified)', seems, because of the assumption detailed in §16.1.2, to be considered equivalent to knowing what this word *can* do.
- 16.1.5.4 What an item can do is reflected in the forms it has at its disposal. If, for example, it has singular and plural forms, it can *be* in the singular or the plural (and must be a noun, since only objects can exist as one or many) (SUNIK 1966:27: 'общеграм-матическому значению, "свойственному словам из категории существительного . . . могут сопутствовать такие частнограмматические значения, как число, падеж, род . . .') and this being in singular or plural is what constitutes its behaviour, since syntactic relationships are simply a function of object-process-attribute relationships. (cf DRESSLER 1965:14: ('cat bites dog' means) 'that an animal called 'cat' is doing something to an animal called 'dog'; 'cat' is the doer ('subject'), 'dog' is the sufferer (the 'object') of 'cat's' action'.) Similarly, being in a particular case or mood constitutes universally-valid behaviour (as indicated in the remark of FOURMAN 1959:9 that the four cases: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative are: 'the usual cases, common to Russian and other languages'), indicated by language-specific markers (e.g. case endings).
- 16.1.5.5 Thus, in order to translate, one must name the forms of the item; the naming process itself is then taken to be a valid description of

its function, and it remains only to replace the Russian name of the object or process or attribute by its English name. We illustrate by quoting from WARING 1967:25, where the sentence "Всякому¹ действию² одного³ тела⁴ на другое всегда соответствует равное и противоположно направленное действие второго тела на первое" is analysed by the following list (Numbers are given to all words in the sentence, and coordinate with the notes): '1. a pronoun adjective in the dative qualifying the indirect object; 2. a noun in the dative denoting the indirect object of the verb; 3. genitive of a cardinal numeral qualifying the following noun; 4. a noun in the genitive case defining действие (which action: the action of a body) . . . '

16.1.5.6 In the case of служебные слова the translation process is even simpler: there are no forms to be identified; one has simply to replace the 'name' of the relationship between 'full' parts of speech in one language with the corresponding 'name' in the other. Difficulty arises only when the 'names' do not correspond; e.g. 'a' may be translated as 'and' or 'but', and therefore requires a little discussion to ensure that both possibilities are known (e.g. BERESFORD 1965:25). 'Ho', on the other hand, is merely substituted by 'but' and thus presents no difficulty.

16.1.5.7 Since the sentence as a whole is supposed to constitute a complete thought (completeness being assessed in 'logical' terms, i.e. by congruity with perceived 'real-world' relationships, see, for example,

GALKINA-FEDORUK 1964 ; WARING 1967:9 'Language expresses thought by the meanings of words arranged on the basis of (a) their division according to their grammatical function into the parts of speech, and (b) the distribution of the parts of speech according to their logical function in the sentence', the sum total of the functions of items in a sentence has to be a complete set of congruent relationships, corresponding to those of the real world. Since syntactic functioning is not a criterion, the correctness of analysis of a sentence is to be guaranteed by the acceptability of its message as a possible message, and this acceptable message is achieved by adding together its component parts in a 'logically' (in the sense of the word explained above) correct manner. (For a detailed exposition of this theory, see, for example, ŠVEDOVA 1975). For this reason, it is not considered particularly important in the textbooks to integrate phrases (combinations of particular forms of words) into sentence structures: this can be done simply by a process of summation.

- 16.1.6 From the above it follows that only three aspects of the foreign language are not already known by the student by virtue of his ability to speak his native language: the precise names of items in the foreign language (i.e. the vocabulary), the particular morphological markers used in the foreign language (for example, WARING 1967:9 gives as the 'Principal Differences between the Parts of Speech in Russian and English': '(1) Russian has three genders . . (2) Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, participles and numerals have six

cases. The adjective, for example, has twenty-four endings . . .

(3) There is neither definite nor indefinite article . . .

(4) The verb has only three tenses, but has . . . 'aspect'.

'Aspect' is seen in traditional sources as a *morphological* category, see NIKITEVIĆ 1963:116ff), and the few 'eccentric' or 'idiomatic' usages of vocabulary items which do not fit the supposed universal framework. These latter 'idiosyncracies' in fact cover a large part of the basis of our syntactic word-classes.

16.1.7

It is theoretically even possible that a framework such as that outlined above could yield a grammar in the strict sense, given the necessary definition of 'objects', 'processes' etc., and a strict delimitation of all rules and units on all the required levels. As we have stated elsewhere (Chapter 2 §1.1.2), the setting of limits is in the last resort arbitrary; what is essential is that they should be rigorously defined. However, because of these assumptions of the universality and self-evident nature of the analytical basis, the underlying inadequacies remain either undiscovered or ignored⁽¹⁾.

16.1.8

We have to state, therefore, that traditional textbooks of Russian amount to manuals for identification of inflectional morphology; that even this task is not performed satisfactorily, we illustrate in Chapter 1 §4.2.1.

(1) The assumption of universality may, however, aid the student in those areas where English and Russian are alike.

- 16.2 Conclusions concerning IDS courses (such as REID and RR) and traditional courses.
- 16.2.1.1 In an IDS course, any syntactic feature which distinguishes one group of words from another forms the basis for establishing a distinct syntactic word-class, defined by that feature. This property results from the necessity to build chains of syntactic predictions (Chapter 2 §0.1, §2.3).
- 16.2.1.2 In a traditional course, syntactic features which distinguish a sub-group of words within one part of speech are as a rule treated as peculiarities or idioms, because the parts of speech are established on the basis of a shared 'abstract meaning' (cf ŠVEDOVA 1975) and, in some sense, on the mass of syntactic features held in common amongst the members (op. cit.), so that those features which are not in common are, for the underlying theory, unimportant 'quirks'.
- 16.2.2.1 In an IDS course, it is at present possible for inflectional morphology to play a subsidiary rôle, in the sense that, as long as the inflectional marker is identified, it does not matter what its concrete shape is, but only what it may signal as part of a syntactic prediction⁽¹⁾.

(1) Since we deal in left-to-right predictive chains, it may in fact be desirable to set up such chains systematically in respect also of stem + ending combinations; indeed, as our example in Chapter 1 §2.1.2.2 shows, such predictions do in effect occur, since only 'пол + hard ending' chains are assigned the interpretation 'floor', for example, while only 'пол + soft ending chains' receive the interpretation 'field'. However, this aspect is largely removed from further consideration by our axiomatisation of the word as our unit.

- 16.2.2.2 In a traditional course, inflectional markers are of vital concern, since they are signs of the "частные грамматические категории" (SUNIK 1966:27) whose presence is a consequence of part of speech membership, and thus "могут служить, особенно для лиц, практически не владеющих тем или иным из изучаемых языков . . . надежными опознавательными знаками для обнаружения соответствующих общеграмматических значений слова и, следовательно, для установления его принадлежности к определенной части речи" (SUNIK 1966:27).
- 16.2.3.1 In an IDS course, such characterisations as 'expressions of time', 'adverbs of manner' cannot be used as operative terms in the system, because they are items of a descriptive metalanguage, not features of a syntactic prediction.
- 16.2.3.2 In a traditional course, such expressions are taken to reflect actual properties of entities of the language, and are thus available to be used in the analysis.
- 16.2.4.1.1 In a traditional course, the sense of the sentence to be translated is, to an extent which varies from author to author, taken for granted before translation even begins. That is, the existence of 'objects', 'qualities' and 'processes', with certain relationships which can exist between them, is presupposed, and the translation process consists of 'unmasking' these preexisting entities and their relationships by discovering, through their morphological markers, their part of speech membership (see §16.1.5).

16.2.4.1.2 In an IDS course, on the contrary, nothing is presupposed about the content of the message. The only concern is with the establishing of a correctly-analysed chain, because the underlying grammar does not claim to encompass more than this.

16.2.4.2 As a brief illustration, let us take Sentence B and its treatment from pp. 7 - 8 of Reading Russian. The sentence, "Машину выпускает фирма" is 'inverted', that is, the accusative object precedes the verb. A 'traditionalist' approach to these sentences bases itself on the supposition that 'machines do not issue firms', and therefore, the presence of the accusative ending on "машину" is 'logical'; an IDS approach emphasises (and we should do so more strongly in subsequent versions than in RR) that the only way in which a complete chain of predictions can be set up and fulfilled is by the interpretation of машину and фирма as, respectively, object and subject of a verb which requires both; the fact that machines do not normally issue firms, i.e. that that message would be unacceptable in a normal scientific context, is a useful signal that the analysis of машину as subject would be wrong, but not a guarantee of correctness.

16.3 Conclusions concerning REID.

16.3.1 The set of syntactic word-classes postulated in REID is not sufficient to fulfil its declared purpose (Chapter 2 §2.2.3).

16.3.2 The definitions of the syntactic word-classes postulated in REID are inadequate in the following respects:

- 16.3.2.1 they may not indicate the full distinctive range of behaviour of a given class, e.g. the nouns designated TEMP (Chapter 3 §6.3)
- 16.3.2.2 they may postulate differences in syntactic behaviour which do not exist, e.g. the verb classes V-i, V-ii, V-iii, V-iv, V-vi (Chapter 4 §1)
- 16.3.2.3 they may use translation into English as a primary criterion for classification of Russian items, rather than the syntax of the Russian items, (e.g. PRED-2 in Chapter 2 §11.5, a); this contradicts the methodological basis of the REID technique (Chapter 2 §10.3)
- 16.3.2.4 they neglect to make many syntactic distinctions which should form the basis of several classes; e.g. only one adjective class and one adverb class is postulated, when there is a syntactic basis for many such classes
- 16.3.2.5 many items are misclassified, for example, МОЙ, ТВОЙ etc. are described as adjectives, when in fact, as shown in Chapter 7 §0.5.1.2, they are arguably quite distinct, except in morphology, from the items we should normally wish to call adjectives
- 16.3.2.6 the classifications are not always consistently applied
- 16.3.2.7 various errors, omissions, inconsistencies mean that it is not always possible to construct a coherent chain of predictions from beginning to end of the sentence (an example occurs in Chapter 2 §11.5 section c)).

- 16.3.3.1 The influence of traditional grammars and textbooks on the compilation of REID can be easily detected, for example, in the treatment of reflexive verbs, the recording of the complementational possibilities of nouns, the lack of detailed adjective and adverb classes.
- 16.3.3.2 To a great extent, REID can be seen as an attempt to reflect only the morpho-syntactic aspects of the information presented as relevant for Russian grammar by traditional textbooks.
- 16.3.3.3 As we have shown, a more profound analysis of this information would have revealed that such an attempt could not succeed, since the analytical bases of the two approaches are, in the last resort, incompatible.

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Note: Names originally in Cyrillic script have normally been transcribed with the International Standard Transcription. Where a publication has transcribed the author's name using some other system, that transcription has been retained here. Diacritic marks have been disregarded in ordering entries.

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