

Gliederung

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1 Introduction

Participles

- have verbal properties: tense, aspect, voice
 - have adjectival properties: predicative and attributive use, usually agree with head noun in attributive use
- (1) ? die gestern intelligent-e Frau
the yesterday intelligent-CNG woman
- (2) der gestern verprügel-t-e Schüler
the yesterday beat.up-P2-CNG pupil
'the pupil that was beaten up yesterday'
- categorial status?
 - verbs, adjectives, own category
 - Struckmeier (2007:ch.1) suggests (for German) analysis as verbs for P1 and verbal P2 (possibly even “adjectival” P2, cf. (1) vs. (2))

Table 1: “Paradigm” of participial forms available in Russian

Example of the verb “čitat” - to read. The bracketed prefixes correspond to (the availability of) the perfective aspect.

	active ^a	passive ^b	
		long form	short form
1 present	čita-jušč-aja	čita-jem-aja	čita-jem-a
2 past	(pro)čita-všč-aja	(pro)čita-nn-aja	(pro)čita-n-a

adapted after Tauscher & Kirschbaum 1958:317

^aThese forms will be referred to as AP.

^bThese forms will be referred to as PP.

Participles in Russian

- short forms used predicatively
- long forms used predicatively, attributively and in nominalizations

- (3) a. čita-jušč-aja ženščina
to.read-AP.PRS-CNG woman
'the reading woman'
- b. pro-čita-všč-aja ženščina
PERF-to.read-AP.PST-CNG woman
'the woman that has read'
- (4) a. čita-jem-aja kniga
to.read-PP.PRS-CNG book
'the book that is just being read'
- b. pro-čita-nn-aja kniga
PERF-to.read-PP.PST-CNG book
'the book that was read through'

Participles in Russian - Relative position

- (5) ...reagiruja protiv dav-jašč-ego ikh patriotizm-a
...reacting against to.press-AP.PRS-CNG them patriotism-GEN.SG
pokoritelej...
conqueror-GEN.PL
'reacting to the patriotism of their conquerors that was pressing them'

(6) **ljud-i** spokojno **živ-ušč-ie** v svo-ix dom-ax
 people-PL quietly to.live-AP.PRS-CNG in their-PREP.PL house-PREP.PL
 ...

'people quietly living in their houses'

- attributively used forms may appear as well before (5) as after the head noun (6)

Participles in German

Table 2: "Paradigm" of participial forms available in German

The table is adapted after the translations given in Tauscher & Kirschbaum (1958:317).

	active	passive
present(imperfective)	les-end-e ^a	* gelesen werd-end-e
past(perfective)	* gelesen hab-end-e	ge-les-en-e ^b

^aThis is known as the first participle and will be glossed as P1.

^bThis is known as the second participle and will be glossed as P2.

(7) a. die les-end-e Frau
 the to.read-P1-CNG woman
 'the reading woman'

b. ?? die ge-les-en hab-end-e Frau
 the P2-to.read-P2 to.have-P1-CNG woman
 'the woman that has read'

(8) a. ?? das (gerade) ge-les-en werd-end-e Buch
 the (just) P2-to.read-P2 to.become-P1-CNG book
 'the book that is just being read'

b. das (durch)ge-les-en-e Buch
 the (through)-P2-to.read-P2-CNG book
 'the book that was read through'

Participles in German - Relative position

(9) ... mit sein-em auf die Spitze **ge-trieb-en-en**
 ... with his-DAT.SG to the peak[DAT.SG] P2-to.push-P2-DAT.SG
Staatsfanatismus...
 state fanaticism

'...with his state fanaticism carried to the extreme...'

(10) * der **Raum** gestern von mir **auf-ge-räum-t-e**
 the room[NOM.SG] yesterday by me PRTCL-P2-to.tidy.up-P2-CNG
intended: 'the room that was cleaned up by me yesterday'

- attributive use is possible prenominally (9), but not postnominally (10)
- Struckmeier (2007) proposes a uniform analysis for attributes
- based on CNG affix as head responsible for attributive interpretation and agreement

Sum up

Russian attributive participles

- have more positional freedom than their German counterparts
- offer higher expressional force through their larger number

Hypothesis

Attributive participles occur more frequently in Russian than in German.

1. The overhead in Russian participles is largely made up of postnominal participles.
2. The larger number of participles in Russian accounts for a higher expressional force, resulting in a higher frequency of participles than in German.

2 The Investigation

The Investigation

- 3 parallel corpora
- enables deeper investigation of influencing factors than unrelated corpora
- analyzed manually

- locate all attributival participial constructions and sort according to:
 - (mis-)match between languages
 - corresponding structures in mismatching cases
 - types of participles (P1,P2 etc.) for “paradigmatic gaps”
 - complexity of participial construction - simple participle vs. has arguments

Corpora

- Universal Declaration of Human Rights (udhr)
 - translation for both languages
 - 1577 words in Russian
- excerpt from Lev N. Tolstoy (1900): “Patriotizm i pravitel’stvo”
 - German translation by Wladimir Czumikov(1900): “Patriotismus und Regierung”
 - 1811 words in Russian
- excerpt from Rudolf Rocker (1949): *Nationalismus und Kultur*, ch.15: “Nationalismus als politische Religion”
 - Russian translation by *Ndejra* (2008): “Nacionalizm kak političeskaja religija” from <http://www.a-read.narod.ru/rocker-nazicult.pdf>
 - 1691 words in Russian

3 The Data

3.1 General

General usage

- 76 instances of participles
- 53% in both languages
- 45% only in Russian
- 3% only in German (2 instances)
 - both in udhr corpus
 - one of them German *zu+PI* expressing necessity in passive

- in OT terms: technically *ineffable*(Fanselow & Féry 2002) in Russian - hence expressed by RC
- negligible impact on distributional facts

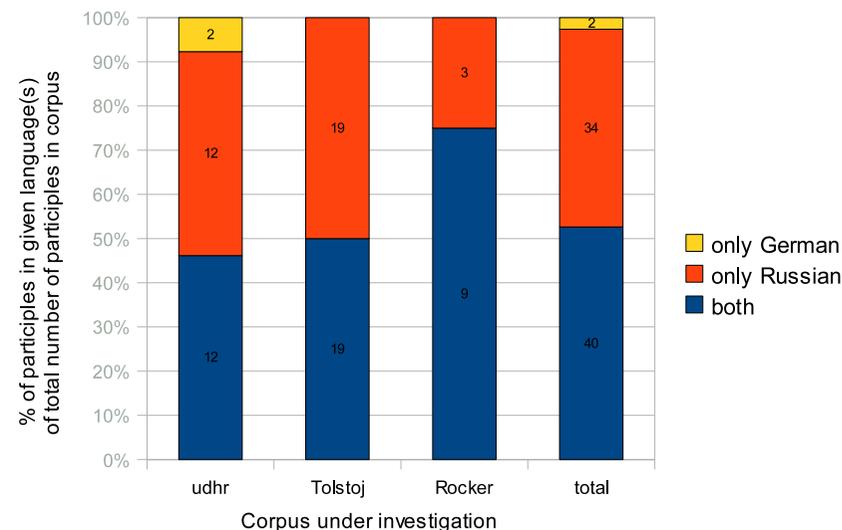


Figure 1: Relative frequency of participial constructions in German and Russian

→Participles do occur more often in Russian than in German.

3.2 Correspondence

Corresponding Structures

- relation of Russian pre-/postnominal participial constructions to respective German structures
- based on 74 instances (i.e. all excluding the “German only” ones)
- Russian pre-nominal participle
 - 87% match
 - 10% other structures (nominalizations, infinitives)

- 1 instance of RC
- Russian post-nominal participle
 - 65% RCs
 - 19% other (nominalizations, infinitives)
 - 17% prenominal participles

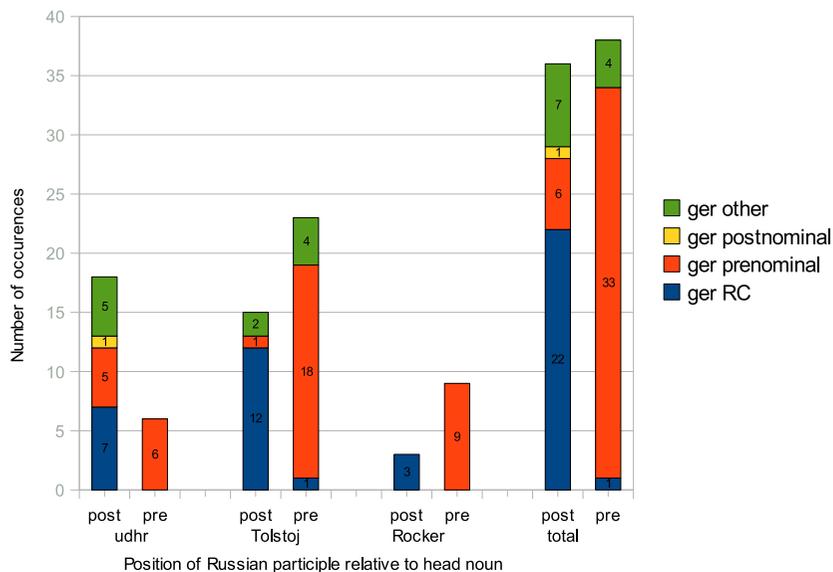


Figure 2: Russian participles and their corresponding structures in German

- note: Rocker has 1:1 correspondence between Russian postnominal and German RC
 - small database, but translation German→Russian
 - no account here for principles governing choice between RCs and participles in Russian (needs different approach)
- Russian postnominal participles tend to correspond to German RCs.

3.3 “Paradigmatic gaps” vs. postnominality

“Paradigmatic gaps” vs. postnominality

What influence does the smaller number of participles in German have as compared to the postnominality issue?

- database: 34 mismatches (“only Russian”)
- 79% postnominal
- 32% “paradigmatic gap” (i.e. Russian participial form has no direct German counterpart)
 - 82% of those in the postnominal set

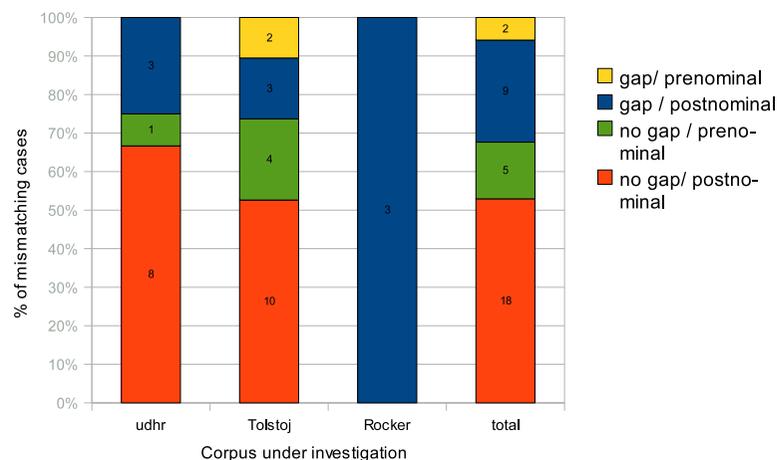


Figure 3: “Paradigmatic gaps” in German and participle position in Russian

- positional facts seem to have more influence
- but note the two gap/prenominal cases in Tolstoj

→The inavailability of the postnominal position in German accounts for the majority of mismatches.

→The lack of German counterparts to Russian participles is another cause for the higher relative frequency of the latter.

3.4 Complexity

Complexity

“complex”

construction containing verbal complement(s)

“simple”

construction containing just participle alone or possibly an additional adverbial modifier

- analyzed for languages separately (base: German - 43 participles, Russian - 74)
- Russian: 72% complex
- German: 58% complex

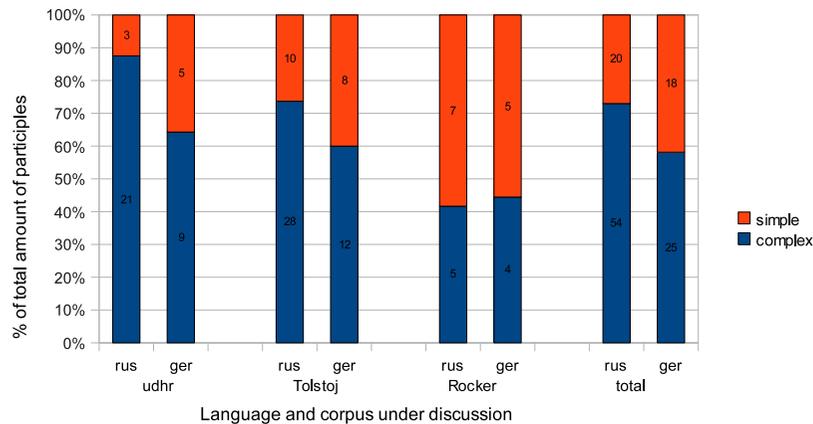


Figure 4: Ratio of simple and complex participles within each language

→ Russian participial construction are complex more frequently than German ones.

Complexity Russian - close up

- closer scrutiny of Russian data: complexity x position
- “simple” participles only used prenominally

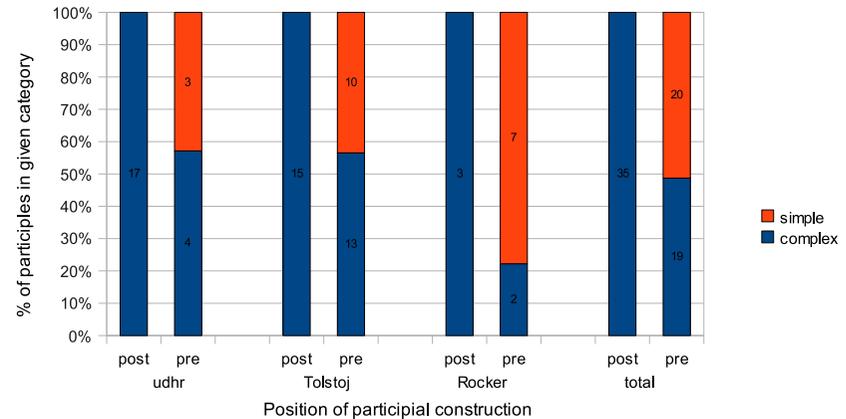


Figure 5: Relationship between complexity and position in Russian participles

- postnominally only “complex” participial constructions

Prenominal - Example

(11) ...reagiruja protiv **dav-jašč-ego** **ikh** patriotizma
 ...reacting against to.press-AP.PRS-CNG them patriotism
 pokoritelej...
 conqueror-GEN.PL
 'reacting to the patriotism of their conquerors **that was pressing them**'

Postnominal - Example

(12) ...patriotizm est' čuvstvo [...] **pričinja-jušč-ee** **bol'suju dolju**
 ...patriotizm is feeling to.cause-AP.PRS-CNG great-ACC portion-ACC
tekh bedstvij ot kotorykh stradajet čelovečestvo
 that-GEN.PL calamity-GEN.PL of REL-GEN.PL to.suffer-3sg humankind
 'patriotism is a feeling (...) that is causing a great portion of the calamities from
 which humankind suffers (...)'[0.3cm]

(both Tolstoj)

- possible position depends on size of participial constructions
- bigger constituents tend to appear towards end of sentence (*Law of Increasing Terms*, cf. Behaghel 1909)
- structural or phonological “weight”

→*The size of participial constructions has a significant impact on their position in Russian.*

4 Conclusion

Conclusion

Results

Attributive participles are used *more frequently in Russian* than in German

1. *main reason*: inavailability of postnominal position in German interacting with (possible) size of participial constructions
2. *another reason*: smaller number of participial forms in German (“paradigmatic gaps”)

Questions

Why does Russian allow postnominal attributes where German does not?

- differing lexical properties of CNG-head in German vs. Russian? (cf. Struckmeier 2007)

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