# Den' den'skoj: a Lexicographic Portrait of a Russian Microsyntactic Unit

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Abstract. Microsyntactic units (MSU), such as syntactic idioms and nonstandard syntactic constructions, present a significant yet not sufficiently investigated area of language phenomena. In this paper we focus on den'den'skoj (≈ 'day-to-day') - an MSU containing repeated elements. The study of den'-den'skoj construction illustrates a microsyntactic approach, which presupposes identification and full description of specific MSUs, as well as the development of two linguistic resources: a Microsyntactic Dictionary, and a microsyntactically marked-up corpus, where the MSUs are indicated and assigned particular meanings. A full lexicographic portrait of an MSU includes a lexicographic definition, a structured description specifying all morphological and syntactic parameters, valence properties, combinatorial possibilities and semantic features. Microsyntactic units with repeated elements present an outstanding kind of MSU's. On the one hand, they involve duplication of various types, which is often considered a lexical error. On the other hand, as duplicated expressions become fixed, some of them are no longer regarded as incorrect. Over time, they become naturally usable in various contexts, sometimes generating new idiomatic expressions.

Keywords: Russian, Microsyntax, Construction with Repeated Elements.

# 1 Introduction

This paper reports new results of research into Russian microsyntactic units (MSU). The research has been carried out for two decades at the Laboratory of Computational Linguistics of the Harkevich Institute for Information Transmission Problems of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

The very term "microsyntax" emerged from the idea that natural language syntax includes a subset of phenomena that stands out from the general realm of syntax. This subset involves specific lexical units or narrow classes of such units and reflects peripheral and clearly language-specific meanings, such as Russian *dat' otmašku* 'give the go-ahead', *v obšem* 'all in all', *vo vsjakom slučae* 'in any case'. The elements that make up the set of these phenomena are opposed to the "large" basic syntax of the language. Historically, this name goes back to the English term **minor type sentences**,

which gained some spread during the 1970s-1980s. For some time, this set of phenomena was referred to as "minor syntax", but the term "microsyntax" was considered more appropriate for its author, Leonid Iomdin. Besides the idea of a minor scale, it alludes to much more precise tools and methods of research to be used, just as microsurgery requires much more precise instruments than general surgery does.

Sure enough, the study of these phenomena is much older than the term "microsyntax". Thus, analyzing some representative types of Russian language constructions, Shvedova (1960) and Shmelev (1976) named them "phraseoschemata". Melčuk (1987, 1995), used the term "syntactic phrasemes", which echoed the concept of "syntactic idioms" (Jackendoff et al. 1997). For some of these constructions, Apresjan and Iomdin introduced the term "syntactic agglomerates" (Apresjan, Iomdin 1989). Later on, Iomdin proposed the term "microsyntax" to describe a wide range of syntactic-semantic phenomena and has actively worked in this field (Iomdin 2010, 2017).

The area of microsyntax embraces a large variety of units, each of which has its own unique structure and distinctive characteristics that reflect different lexical meanings or display hardly predictable syntactic properties.

A microsyntactic approach presupposes identification and full description of specific MSUs, as well as the development of high-quality linguistic resources that are integrally related to each other: a Microsyntactic Dictionary, which is largely based on the ideas of the Active Dictionary by Apresjan and his colleagues (2009), as well as a microsyntactically marked-up corpus, where the microunits are determined and assigned particular meanings. In the nearest future, a microsyntactically annotated corpus, SynTagRus, containing more than 36000 microunit entries, will become available through the website www.ruscorpora.ru, the Russian National Corpus.

According to the degree of lexicalization, we distinguish between two main groups of idiomatic linguistic units: 1) weakly lexicalized or lexically unaffected non-standard syntactic constructions (X X-u rozn'  $\approx$  'one X is different from another X': *čelovek čeloveku rozn'* 'people are different') and 2) lexically restricted syntactic idioms (*netnet da i* 'occasionally, from time to time', as in *devočka tut est'*, *sirotka: net-net da i navedaetsja* (Ivan Turgenev) 'There's a little girl here, an orphan; now and then she comes to see me' (RNC, Russian-English parallel corpus).

It is worth saying that there are no clear boundaries between the two types, and a considerable number of microsyntactical units are somewhere in the middle. Also, many constructions are equally related to microsyntax and to the area of classical phraseology, especially to the grammatical phraseology in its broader sense, including not only morphological, but also syntactic and lexical phenomena of natural language (Baranov, Dobrovol'skij 2008). The main criteria used to identify an MSU is its non-standard syntactical behavior and, frequently, irregularity of the ways of expressing grammatical meanings.

At the moment, the list of microsyntactic units presented in SynTagRus consists of a little more than 3000 different elements, and a considerable part of these are MSUs with repeated lexical elements such as *v konce koncov* 'in the end', *vremja ot vremeni* 'from time to time', *so dnja na den*' 'any day', *delo est' delo* 'business is business', *hudožnik na to i hudožnik* 'this is what an artist is for' etc.

Studies devoted to a variety of Russian repetitive expressions have been regularly published lately; however, the material has not received a systematic presentation yet due to its peripheral status in the grammar. The microsyntactic approach includes lexicographical description (or a lexicographical portrait – term coined by Apresjan (1995) for each microunit. This means a structured description with specification of all morphological and syntactical parameters, as well as its lexicographical definition, its valence properties, combinatorial possibilities and semantic features.

Pleonasms can be observed in all microsyntactic units with repeated elements. On the one hand, there is a duplication of some component of meaning and a repeated expression of the same meaning within one text segment, which is often considered a lexical error (*maslo masljanoe* 'oily oil / buttery butter'). On the other hand, some expressions of this kind become fixed and as such are no longer regarded as incorrect. What is more, they are sustainably used over time, finding their natural place in various contexts. Some of them encourage the emergence of new expressions: *čudo čudnoe* 'wonderful wonder' or *užas užasnyj* 'terrible terror'.

# 2 Syntactic idiom den'-den'skoj

*Den'-den'skoj* is formally constructed by the scheme X X-ovyj, like *čudo čudnoe / čudo čudesnoe* 'wonderful wonder'), *muka mučeničeskaja* 'anguished anguish'), *dali dal'nie* 'far far-aways' etc. In the scheme, the variable X represents a noun, and X-ovyj – a same root adjective agreed with X.

Some examples from the Russian National Corpus (RNC) illustrate the construction:

- (1) Čudnoe poistine mesto obryvistyj mysok nad vodoj, otkuda vidno tak široko i mnogo, čto **den' by den'skoj** sidel i gljadel by. 'It's a truly wonderful place a steep cape above the water, from where you can see so widely and so much that you would sit and look like that all day long.'
- (2) A den'gi gde vzjat', esli ne u materi? Vot i topaju den'-den'skoj, noč-nočen'skuju. Nogi opuhat' stali. 'And where could I get the money if not from my mother? So, I would stomp around all day long and all night long. My feet became swollen.'
- (3) Bez umolku den'-den'skoj šumel les, a pridët noč, zagorjatsja zvëzdy, i v zvëzdah, kak car', gudit les grozno, volnuetsja. 'All day long the forest roared, and when night would come, the stars would light up, and in the stars, like a king, the worried forest hummed menacingly.'

## 2.1 Morphological characteristics

The contexts where this construction occurs reveal that it is used exclusively in the accusative case, singular number, which is quite natural when denoting duration (discussed below). Some rare exceptions display a play of words or a stylistic device:

(4) Tak i korotaju **dni-den'skie**. 'And so I pass the days.' (ARC) or

(5) A za barhatom štor bušuet den'-den'skoj. 'And behind the velvet curtains rages the bright day' (RNC)

It seems that the constraints imposed on the syntactic position are more rigid than those imposed on the number. The phrase looks less acceptable when *den'-den'skoj* is functioning as a subject than when it is a complement of duration:

- ?? Den'-den'skoj prošël v hlopotah. 'The whole day was full of chores.'
- vs. ?Dni-den'skie ona provodit v hlopotah. 'She spends all day long in chores'

Unlike microunits type of *čudnoe*, *den'-den'skoj* is usually hyphenated. In Araneum Russicum corpus (ARC) [http://ucts.uniba.sk/aranea\_about/\_russicum.html], the hyphenated form occurs 9 times more frequently than the non-hyphenated form. This indicates a higher internal cohesion of the components, which, however, does not prevent the construction from being split:

Den'-to den'skoj ona u plity stoit 'All day long she is cooking'; or Den' že den'skoj ona valjaetsja na divane. 'All day long she is lying on the sofa'.

The element den 'skoj is an adjective, which is shown by its morphological features. As a result of the fixed word order (\*den 'skoj den") and a special adjectival form, which is never used apart from the noun den", the construction's degree of semantic idiomaticity is rather high. Note that XX-ovyj constructions, which are close in form, allow changing the word order and inserting not only particles but also verbs:

*žutkaja žut'*, 'terrible terror', *čudo slučilos' čudnoe* 'a wonderful wonder happened'. The microunit *den'-den'skoj* has a special suffix *-sk*, which, on the one hand,

removes the negative effect of tautology, and on the other hand highlights some, though not all, the components of meaning of the motivating noun *day*. Thus, expressions with the basic suffix -n like \*den'-dnevnoj or \* dnevnoj den' hardly occur in texts. The reason for that is that the conventional form of the adjective duplicates the motivating noun's sense, whereas the element *den'skoj* highlights the component of duration, limited only by the daylight hours, and does not correlate with the day in the meaning '24 hours'.

Basically, the grammar does not prohibit the construction to have other inflectional forms than genitive singular, eg.: *dni-den'skie* (nominative case, plural number), *dnej-den'skih* (genitive case, plural number), *dnjam-denskim* (dative case, plural number) etc. All these forms seem acceptable. The defective paradigm is caused by the syntactic restrictions. At the same time, cognate constructions built on the *XX-ovyj* pattern, are freely used in various cases:

- (6) «Nazovite čudom čudnym (DAT), nazovite, kak hotite», dobavila ona, vspomniv o svoej fraze, skazannoj v odnom iz prošlyh èfirov. "Call it a wonderful wonder, call it what you want,' she added, recalling her phrase from one of the previous broadcasts.' (RNC)
- (7) Zato kak otletit v dali dal'nie (ACC), v dumy tvorčeskie, to i ne vspomnit ni o kakom takom slučae, i ljudi radujutsja, gljadja na èkran ili na scenu: on li èto? 'But as soon as he flies off into distant places, into his creative thoughts, he wouldn't remember such an incident, and people would rejoice when they look at the screen or at the stage wondering if it is him.' (RNC)

#### 2.2 Semantic properties

The meaning of the XX-ovyj syntactic scheme can be described as intensification of the basic meaning of the noun, which is emphasized by the dependent same root adjective. Along with the intensification and emphasis there is often an element of slightly positive evaluation or empathy with the protagonist of the situation. Even constructions like žut' žutkaja 'horrible horror' or užas užasnyj 'terrible terror' mainly refer to emphasis rather than to an enhanced state of horror or terror. Moreover, in colloquial speech based on this scheme, constructions with more likely positive evaluations are built on the fly: e.g. krasota krasivaja 'beautiful beauty' and prelest' plelestnaja 'charming charm'. Rather, overtly negative connotation is evoked by constructions like X X-om, with the second instance of X appearing in the instrumental case: drjan' drjan'ju 'trashed trash', durak durakom 'foolish fool'.

Compared to XX-ovyj, the semantics of den'-den'skoj is more complex. It is close to the expressions celyj den', den'(dni) naprolët 'all day(s) long' and každyj den' 'from day to day'. Den'-den'skoj describes some long-lasting events or states that occur during the daylight time, sometimes with an emphatic meaning of regular repetition and routine. More often it implies actions unlikely to be completed in one day. The occurrences of this phraseme demonstrate that den'-den'skoj refers specifically to the events of daylight hours, and does not refer to nights or evenings. There are quite a few examples in the Russian National Corpus (https://ruscorpora.ru), where events characterized by the adverbial den'-den'skoj are contrasted with events of the night. Sometimes this gives rise to author's expressions like noč-nočen'skaja 'all night long', but more often expressions like 'all the night', 'at night' etc. are used in this context. However, there are frequent examples with no opposition to the night, yet containing explicit limitations of the day:

(8) Predstavim sebe, čto značit prorabotat' v takoj atmosphere den'-den'skoj, dopozdna. 'Imagine what how does it feel to work in such an atmosphere all day long, late into the night.' (RNC)

Beyond that, there is a component of exhaustive completeness in the microunit *den'-den'skoj*. While describing an event, lasting continuously from morning to evening, the speaker introduces a specific evaluation. Depending on the context and the verb used, compassion, approval, complaint or disapproval may be expressed:

- (9) *Kak ne ustaneš ty, njanja, den'-den'skoj deržat' na rukah Katjušu?* 'Nanny, how don't you get tired holding Katiusha all day long?' (RNC)
- (10) I dvuh trudodnej ne zahočeš, kak pobudeš s nimi den'-den'skoj, a on skrjažničaet, volčij zub! 'You won't desire even two workdays counted for one day's work, as you stay with them all day long, and he is skimping' (RNC, Sholokhov)
- (11) Počemu nedelikatno? **Den'-den'-skoj** sidit, ne vygoniš ego! Ja ego dnëm posylau guljat', a on na menja ogryazaetsja... 'Why indelicate? He's sitting all day long; you can't kick him out! I send him to take a walk during the day, and he just snaps at me ...' (RNC)

The lexicographical definition of the *den'-den'skoj* construction may look as follows:

Den'-den'skoj P =

- '(a) a situation P takes place;
- (b) P lasts all day long;
- (c) the speaker thinks that P takes a very long time'

Such an interpretation explains why the microunit *den'-den'skoj* is not occurring outside of a durative construction.

At the same time, cognate *X X-ovyj* constructions have syntactic functions which are typical for noun phrases in sentences.

## 2.3 Syntactic function

As already mentioned, the *den'-den'skoj* construction acts like an adverbial with a durative meaning. No phrases could be found in the Russian National Corpus or Araneum Russicum corpus with any elements dependent on the construction.

Apparently, *den'-den'skoj* is a predicate with a single valence denoting a durative process or state, so it is used in all contexts where such a situation can be specified by means of gerunds, habitual and repeated imperfective verbs, as well as many other ways, some of which will be discussed below. Perfective verbs rarely co-occur with the *den'-den'skoj* adverbial:

\*pojmal rybu den'-den'skoj, '\*caught fish all day long' but lovit rybu den'-den'skoj 'fishing all day long'.

Nevertheless, the perfective aspect may avoid the restriction once the verb is of delimitative or perdurative Aktionsart (this works for all durative constructions):

- (12) Pobegaet den'-den'skoj po delam, a domoj vozvraŝaetsja zloj i ustavšij. 'He runs errands all day long and comes back home angry and tired'.
- (13) On provaljalsja **den'-den'skoj** v posteli, tol'ko k noči prinjalsja za stat'ju. 'He lay in bed all day long, and only at nightfall started to work on the article'.

The same applies to potential situations with a verb in future tense or dative subject constructions with an infinitive, like construction *Z-u X-ovat* 'Z is to X':

- (14) Ne vsjakij vystoit **den'-den'skoj** za prilavkom. 'Not everyone will stand behind the counter all day long'.
- (15) *Ej li den'-den'skoj stojat' za prilavkom!* 'She should not have to stand behind the counter all day long!'

We should admit that in the cases above, the semantic component of a usual and typical action is not implied due to the verbal Aktionsart. (12) and (13) refer to one-time situations.

The verbs combining with *den'-den'skoj* unit can roughly be distributed among the following three types:

- 1. Verbs denoting low mobility activities, monotonous and poorly controlled processes and states with a human subject, such as *sidet'* 'sit' and its derivates (the most frequently used in combinations), *spat'* 'sleep', *ležat'* 'lie', *valjat'sja* 'rest lying', *torčat'* 'hang around', *ždat'* 'wait', *smotret'* 'look', *revet'* 'cry', *pilit'* 'nag', *glazet'* 'stare', *rashaživat'* 'stroll', *katat'sja* 'ride', *perekladyvat'* 'shuffle' etc.
- 2. Verbs denoting intense labor or physical activity with an animate subject: begat' 'run', hodit' 'walk', trudit'sja 'labor', rabotat' 'work', pahat' 'work hard', nosit'sja 'scamper', snovat' 'scurry', vertet'sja 'spin', igrat' 'play', rezvit'sja 'frolic' etc.

3. Verbs denoting any durative action of natural phenomena: *razdavat'sja* (o zvone) 'ring (bell)', *šumet'* (o vetre) 'blow (wind)', *tjanut'sja* 'go on', *plyt'* (ob oblakah) 'float (clouds)', *stučat'* (o dožde) 'patter (rain)' etc.

The semantic components 'duration from the morning till the evening' and 'routine' are common to all cases, as is anthropomorphism: if no human observer is implied, the construction can hardly be used: \*Na Venere den'-den'skoj žarko 'It is hot on Venus all day long'.

With the verbs of the first group, *den'-den'skoj* adverbial can additionally communicate a disapproval or a complaint. It can serve as an indication to pointless, boring or idle activities, making the statement more expressive when describing a hateful job or a bummer:

(16) V každom dome objazatel'no najdětsja neskol'ko samozabvennyh spletnic, provodjaŝih ves' den'-den'skoj u pod''ezda. 'In every house there are sure to be several selfless gossips who spend all day long sitting at the entrance.' (RNC)

With verbs of the second group, *den'-den'skoj* can introduce an empathy component. This happens in cases with the actant in the second or third person, but in cases of the first person, the empathy (with oneself) turns into a complaint:

Ona den'-den'skoj na nogah, na minutku daže ne prisela. 'She is spending all day long on her feet, she hasn't even sat down for a minute'

Ja den'-den'skoj na nogah, na minutku daže ne prisela. 'I spent all day long on my feet, I haven't even sat down for a minute.'

With verbs of the third group the attitude of the speaker is normally not expressed:

- (17) V zooparkah inogda ustraivajut ploŝadku dlja molodnjaka, na kotoroj samye raznye detënyši ot kozlov i krolikov do lisjat I medvežat den'-den'skoj igrajut grug s drugom. 'In a zoo, sometimes there is baby playground set up, where cubs, from little goats and rabbits to little foxes and bears, play all day long.' (RNC)
- (18)*I neugomonno den'-den'skoj* v golyh vetvjah berëz hlopotali belonosye grači. 'And the white-necked rooks were tirelessly buzzing about in the bare branches of the birches all day long.'(RNC)

Unlike quasi-synonymous expressions like *ves' den'* 'all the day' or *dni naprolët* 'days long', 'from day to day', the syntactic idiom *den'-den'skoj* is difficult to negate, although any other component of the sentence can be negated:

\*On ej pesni poët ne den'-den'skoj. '\*He is singing songs to her not all day long' On ej pesni ne poët den'-den'skoj. 'He is not singing songs to her all day long'

Ne ej on pesni poët den'-den'skoj. 'It's not her to whom he is singing his songs all days long'.

Considering the communicative structure of sentences in which this microsyntactic unit occurs, we should note that it cannot act as a topic. Even in cases of the initial position in a sentence, it is not a topic but a component of a rheme, like the adverb *davno* 'long ago' (Padučeva 1997), (Yanko 2001):

(19) **Den'-den'skoj** ne umolkaet suhaja treskotnja kuznečikov. 'The dry chirping of grasshoppers lasts all day long.'(RNC)

(20) **Den'-den'skoj** topajuŝemu v lesu da v pole, na holode, na vetru stroevomu komandiru pitanie nužno bylo krepkoe. 'The combat commander stomping in the forest and the field, in the cold wind all day long, needed good nutrition.' (RNC)

## 3 Conclusion

Russian repetitive expressions are widely used in colloquial speech and literature as a technique that makes an expression figurative, graphic, and emotional. There are at least three hundred constructions with repeated elements that may be regarded as microsyntactic units. The large number and great variety of such constructions indicate their importance and efficiency for conveying subtle meanings and emotions. Some of them are extremely frequent like *ele-ele* 'barely', *čut'-čut'* 'slightly', some of them are highly productive, like *XX-om*, *a / no* 'let *X* be *X*, but' (*dela delami*, *a sem'ja važnee* 'business is business but the family is more important'). The *Den'-den'skoj* unit considered in this paper is not very popular and at first glance may seem hardly remarkable. However, at a closer look, it reveals a unique set of very specific properties that distinguish it from other cognate constructions.

# 4 Acknowledgements

The reported study was performed with the support of a grant from the Ministry of Science and Higher education of Russia, No. 075-15-2020-793 «New generation Computational Linguistics Platform for Digital Documentation of the Russian Language: infrastructure, resources, scientific research». The author is grateful to her teacher Leonid Iomdin for the support and important advice in preparing this paper.

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