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Potential and actual word-formation lacunas in the system of Slavic Verbal Nouns

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Cz.:

Zvětšit (PFV) → *zvýšení* ‘increasing’
zvýšit (IPFV) → *zvvyšování* ‘increasing’

Pol.:

zbadać (PFV) → *zbadanie* ‘research’
badać (IPFV) → *badanie* ‘research’

Ukr.:

дослідити (PFV) → *дослідження* ‘research’
досліджувати (IPFV) → *досліджування* ‘research’

Rus.:

исследовать (PFV, IPFV) → *исследование* ‘research’

Srb.:

поновити (PFV) → *понављење* ‘repetition’
понављати (IPFV) → *понављање* ‘repetition’

verb stem + -ije

Inherited from the Proto-Slavic language and have suffixal elements of Indo-European (*-jo, *-bha, *-ta) (Melnychuk 1986:57).

'Repeating'

Russian

повторение

Ukrainian

повторення

повторювання

Bulgarian

повтoreние

повтаряне

Polish

powtórzenie

powtórzenie się

powtarzanie

powtarzanie się



What we know for sure about the Slavic Verbal Noun?

number of Verbal Nouns in dictionary

Polish

over **12 500**
almost unlimited

Ukrainian

about **10 000**

Russian

about **5 500**

Presence of verbal aspectual indicators

Noun “aspectual” pair

in Russian

in Czech

...

in Polish

in Ukrainian

less than 15%
of Verbal Nouns

спасание (from IPFV) – *спасение* (from PFV)
‘rescue’

almost unlimited
(if there's a pair)

40%
of Verbal Nouns

рятування (from IPFV) - *врятування* (from IPFV)
‘rescue’

Nominalization of the verb is in demand in colloquial speech:

(1) Czy ma na celu ograniczenie **kanibalizacji**? [Białystok] Restauracje - Wątek ogólny 24.08.2023]

Ukrainian military neologisms 2022-24 – Verbal Nouns:

(2) арестовлення / arestovlennia (from the name of the famous blogger Arestovich) ‘**appeasement**’

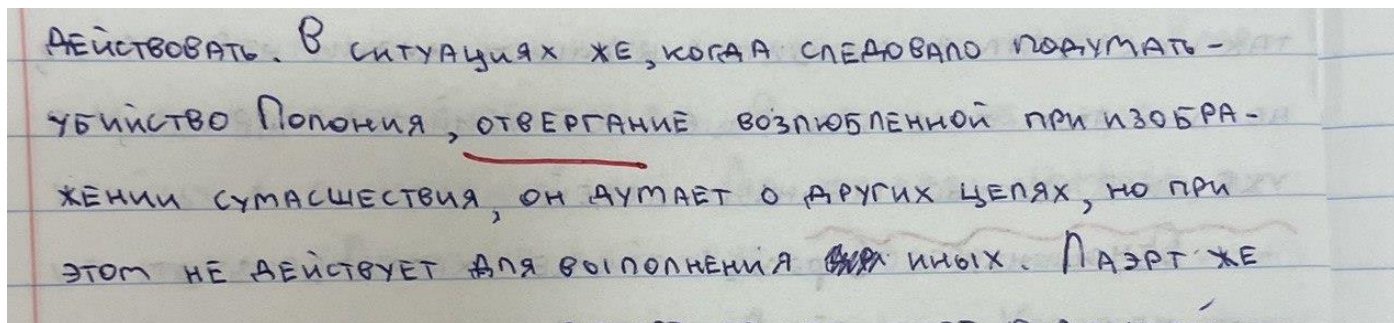
донатування / donatuvannia ‘**donating**’

українення – зукраїнення / ukrainennia – zukrainennia ‘**ukrainianization**’

хаймарсинг / highmarsing; байрактаринг / bayraktaring; леопардинг / leoparding

Many examples from the speech of Russian schoolchildren:

(3) отвергание / otverganie ‘**rejection**’ - that VN is not in the dictionary



Вітюк І., Кухарьонук С. (2023) Неологізми російсько-української війни conf.ztu.edu.ua/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/158.pdf

Пчелінцева Е. (2019) О резерве столов, улучшайзинге и сдаче нервов, или Семантические и прагматические причины выбора имени вместо глагола *Język_i_metoda. Język rosyjskwbadaniach lingwistycznych XXI_wieku. Krakow, wyd-wo UJ. 2019. S. 269–278*

Розина Р. (2010) Теория и реальность: номинализация глаголов в разговорной речи // Компьютерная лингвистика и Интеллектуальные технологии. Вып. 9 (16). М.: Изд-во РГГУ, С. 400–406.

We know that Slavic Verbal Nouns are poorly and rarely formed from Verbs

with modal or relational semantics

pol. mieć 'to have', móc 'to can', musieć 'to must', woleć 'to want',
rus. иметь 'to have', мочь 'to can',
ukr. мати 'to have', могли 'to can', мусяти 'to must' ets.

with meaning of position in space, permanent properties:

pol. sknerzyć 'be greedy'
rus. окружать 'to surround', граничить 'to border',
ukr. мати 'to have', могли 'to can', мусяти 'to must' ets.

with impersonal meaning:

pol. dzień 'to dawn', dżdżyć 'to rain'
rus. светать 'to light up'
ukr. вечоріти 'to darken'

infrequency of verbs

pol. frapować 'to intrigue', dzień 'to light up'
rus. блрести 'to wander', настрополять 'to set up, to customize' ets.

Panevová, Jarmila. 1980. *Formy a funkce ve stavbě české věty*. Praha.

Puzynina, Jadwiga. 1969. *Nazwy czynności we współczesnym języku polskim*. Warszawa

Pčelinceva, Elena. 2016. *Ot glagola k imeni*. Sankt-Peterburg

Pinchuk, O. 1975. *Slovotvirna struktura viddiieslivnykh imennykiv suchasnoi ukrainskoi literaturnoi movy // Morfolohichna budova suchasnoi ukrainskoi movy*. Kyev.



**But there are still
questions...**



**Verbal Nouns are less frequently formed
from perfective Verbs:**

**In Russian,
the ratio of Verbal Nouns formed from perfect verbs
to «imperfective» Verbal Nouns
is about 1 : 10**

**In Ukrainian,
the ratio «perfective» Verbal Nouns to «imperfective»
is about 1 : 3**

Some perfective Verbs do not form Verbal Nouns

- *попеть (два часа)* 'sing (for two hours)' → ???*попение??
- *попрыгать (немного)* 'jump around a little bit' → ???*попрыгание??
- *подумать (5 минут)* 'think for 5 minutes' → ??? *подумание??
- *прождать (3 месяца)* 'wait three months' - ?? *прождание??
- *пролежать (2 часа)* lie in bed all day - ?? *пролежание??
- *нагруститься* 'brood for too long' → ?? *нагрустение??
- *запрыгать* 'to start jumping' → ?? *запрыгание??
- *дотанцеваться* '≈ dance the hell out of' → ?? *дотанцевание??
- *переломать (все стулья)* '≈ to break all the chairs' → ??
*переломание?

But from other perfective Verbs the Verbal Nouns are formed normally:

- *покрасить* ‘to paint’ (PFV) → *покраска* ‘painting’
- *погасить* ‘to extinguish’ (PFV) → *погашение* ‘extinguishment’
- *прочитать* ‘to read’ (PFV) → *прочтение* ‘reading’
- *напечатать* ‘to publish’ (PFV) → *напечатание* ‘publishing’
- *завоевать* ‘to conquer’ → *завоевание* ‘conquest’
- *отомстить* ‘avenge’ (PFV) → *отмщение* ‘vengeance’
- *перегрузить* ‘to overload’ (PFV) → *перегрузка* ‘overloading’

ets.

Verbs with resultative meaning

Type of meaning	Number of Verb (dictionary data)	Number of derived Verbal Nouns (dictionary data)	Examples
prospective	62	76	<i>подготовка</i> 'preparation'
reproductive	225	167	<i>переписывание</i> 'rewriting' <i>перебелка</i> 'redrafting'
result-annulling, under-regulatory, partitive, over-normative ets.	Verbal Nouns are formed without restriction (unless there are other factors)		<i>отвоевание</i> 'reconquer' <i>дезорганизация</i> 'disorganization' <i>подсыпание</i> 'sprinkling' <i>недосмотр</i> 'oversight' <i>недоливание</i> 'underfilling'

Verbs with meaning of quantitative or temporal limit of action or process

Meaning	Number of Verb	Examples	Number of derived Verbal Nouns (dictionary)
delimitatives (<i>по-, про-, при-, вз-, пере-</i>)	≈ 300	<i>понузгать</i> – scare for some time <i>позубрить</i> – learn for some time <i>покипеть</i> – boil for some time	--
over-intensive overlong	≈ 150	<i>нагруститься</i> - grieve for too long <i>выгуляться</i> – walk too long	---
Other similar meanings: temporal limit of action, extreme limit on the intensity or repetition of an action...	≈ 2600	<i>пробежать (всю ночь)</i> – run all night <i>отстоять (три часа)</i> - stand for three hours <i>прокричать</i> – shout out <i>настряпать (много пирожков)</i> - make a lot of pies	---

Saloni, Z., Woliński, M., Wołosz, R., Gruszczyński W., Skowrońska D. (2012), *Słownik gramatyczny języka polskiego. Podstawy teoretyczne. Instrukcja użytkowania*. Warszawa: Sowa Sp. Z o.o.

“we describe with full conviction all forms of the modern lexicon contained in the system, including hypothetical ones” (Saloni, Woliński 2012: 14),

The dictionary “contains rare words, and even words whose uses we have not found, if <...> they are part of regular inflectional oppositions for other words that are stable in the language” (Ibid.: 19)

The Verb Noun with *nie* / *-cie* («odstownik») is specified for every (!) verb, and even in cases where there is no such formation in the language. For example, «*pachnienie**» 'smelling', «*mienie**» 'possession'

* except for the electronic grammatical dictionary compiled by Z. Saloni himself (Saloni, Woliński 2012)). In the authoritative works by J. Puzynina and K. Marzniakowa separately point out that in Modern Polish no deverbatives are formed from the verbs *pachnieć*, *boleć*, *mieć*, *musieć*, *wiedzieć* and some others (Puzynina 1969: 30; Marzniakowa 1993: 77).

Polish Verbs with the meaning of the **quantitative-temporal limit** of action or process

- Delimitative - *pobiegać (dwie godziny)*
- Perdurative - *przetrwać*
- Quantum limiting - *zakwakać*
- Excessively long - *zahulać*
- Intensive-amplifying - *zaperzyć się*
- Inceptive / Ingressive - *zakwitnąć*

and others

LANGUAGE	Number of Verb delimitatives with ΠΟ- (dictionary data)	Number of derived Verbal Nouns (dictionary data)	Use of Verbal Nouns (corpus data) tokens
Polish	236	228	85 ??
Ukrainian	515	-	-
Russian	530	-	-

DELIMITATIVES	Number of Verbs in dictionaries	Number of Verbal Nouns formed from Verbs in dictionaries	Number of Verbal Nouns in corpus
<p style="text-align: center;">PO-</p> <p><i>poszumieć</i> <i>pochorować</i> <i>poigrać</i> <i>pobadać</i></p>	236	<p style="text-align: center;">228</p> <p><i>poigranie</i> <i>pobadanie</i></p>	85

1. Verbal Noun is not present in the Corpus (143 lexemes)

pokoszenie (from *pokosić* ‘mow for a while’)

poigranie (from *poigrać* ‘play for a while’)

pobadanie (from *pobadać* ‘research for a while’)

pograbienie (from *pograbić* ‘rob for a while’)

pokarmienie (from *pokarmić* ‘feed for a while’)

podrzemanie (from *podrzemać* ‘doze for a while’)

pojeżdżenie (from *pojeździć* ‘drive for a while’)

ets.



2. Narrowing of verb aspectual semantics

(about 50 lexemes)

e.g. *popalić* → *popalenie*

I *popalić* 1. *spalić wiele, jedno po drugim, spalić coś w wielu miejscach*,
2. *pot. «sparzyć wiele czegoś, sparzyć coś w wielu miejscach»*

‘I to burn 1. to burn many, one by one, to burn something in many places. 2. col. to burn a lot of something, to burn something in many places’ **distributive meaning**

II *popalić* «*spędzić chwilę na paleniu*»

‘II spend some time smoking’ **delimitative meaning**

9 uses *popalenie* in the corpus:

(6) *Bo szkodliwa dla włosów, powoduje ich wysuszenie, a nierzadko nawet **popalenie*** (Dziennik Zachodni 2007-06-27)

‘Since (dye. - E. P.) is harmful to the hair, causes dryness and can even **burn it**’

only distributive meaning

3. Semantic drift towards substantivity and / or abstractness of meaning

examples of such *po*-Nouns with the meaning of abstract concepts, situations or states

posiedzenie ‘meeting’,

poruszenie ‘enthusiasm’

pomyślenie ‘thinking’

pogadanie ‘conversation’

pochodzenie ‘origin’

posłuchanie ‘audience’

podenerwowanie ‘excitement’

ets.

4. Usage in the delimitative meaning

pociskanie 'tossing, throwing for a while'

potrzymanie 'holding on for a while'

pobujanie się 'rocking for a while'

poskakanie 'bouncing / jumping for a while'

potaćnienie 'dancing for a while'



(7) *W trakcie pikniku firma ze Śląska prezentowała bardzo atrakcyjne Eurobangy, które to urządzenie pozwala na wykonywanie skoków na znaczną wysokość. Pięć minut takiego "poskakania" kosztowało 10 złotych [Gazeta Krakowska, 2003-10-06]*

‘During the picnic, a company from Silesia presented a very attractive Eurobangy, which is a device that allows you to jump to a considerable height. Five minutes of such “**jumping**” cost 10 zlotys’

(8) *Ostatnio na sprzedaż w domu aukcyjnym w Teksasie został wystawiony fotel bujany, kiedyś należący do Kennedy'ego. <...> Chociaż za «pobujanie się» na nim trzeba zapłacić ponad 100 tys. dolarów, chętnych do jego kupna nie brakuje [Super Express 2006]*

‘A rocking chair that once belonged to Kennedy was put up for auction <...> Although more than 100,000 dollars had to be paid for “**rocking**” on it, there was no shortage of people willing to buy it...’





4 scenarios could be possible:

- 1) complete absence of such Verbal Nouns in Corpora
- 2) reduction of verb aspectual meanings
- 3) semantic drift towards substantivity
- 4) language play

And what do we have in the living speech?

Linguistic survey:

- informants: students of Polish universities, native speakers
- period: 2024
- format: google form
- number: 26 persons

Four types of tasks

- Can Verbal Nouns be formed from the following verbs (+/-)
- Are there any of the following Verbal Nouns in Polish?
- Write a sentence with the proposed Verbal Nouns
- Continue the sentence using the word in parentheses.

Linguistic survey: example of task

1. Czy Twoim zdaniem możliwe jest utworzenie rzeczowników odczasownikowych od podanych niżej form czasowników (według wzoru: **ponosić** → **ponoszenie**)? Jeśli tak, wpisz wszystkie utworzone rzeczowniki odczasownikowe poniżej w komórce:

- pokropić
- pobadać
- poszaleć
- popalić
- pochorować
- poweseleć

Verb	Verbal Noun, that was proposed to be formed	VN Is in the dictionary	VN is in the corpus	Formed a VN (+) %	didn't form a VN (-) %
pokropić	pokropienie*	-	+	80	20
pochorować	pochorowanie*	-	-	30	70
poszaleć	poszalenie*	-	-	25	75
pobadać	pobadanie ?	+	-	30	70
popalić	popalenie ?	+	-	30	70
poweseleć	poweselenie ?	+	-	30	70

2. Czy są w języku polskim podane niżej słowa? Wybierz odpowiedź w polach po prawej stronie

- poigranie
- podrzemanie
- pobujanie się
- pograbienie
- pokoszenie
- pociskanie
- poruszenie
- polubienie
- pożycie

Linguistic survey

Verbal Noun	in the dictionary	in the Corpus	SURVEY: word exists (+) %	SURVEY: word doesn't exists (-) %
Podrzemanie*	+	0	30	70
poigranie*	+	0	54	46
pokoszenie*	+	0	38	62
pograbienie*	+	0	38	62
pobujanie się*	+	1	38	62
pociskanie*	+	2	45	55
polubienie	+/-**	22	100	-
pożycie	+	429	100	-
poruszenie	+	1863	100	-

*Single uses of the word found on social networks or Google sites

**The word does not appear in S. Dubish's dictionary

Conclusions

Analysis of corpus data as well as the results of linguistic surveys show that there are certain groups of verbs whose semantics prevents their nominalization.

This is aspectual semantics of quantitative or temporal limit of action, process or states.

In East Slavic languages this is reflected in the vocabulary, while in West Slavic (Polish) it is manifested at the level of usage.

Such Polish Verbal Nouns exist only in the dictionary, but are not living units of speech.

Consequently, they form a real lacuna.

What is the situation in the Czech? It's a plan for the future!

Děkujeme vám za pozornost

Дякую за увагу!

Благодарю за внимание!



Dziękuję bardzo za «posłuchanie», «pomyślenie»
i «pogadanie» 😊

SOURCES

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- Large academic dictionary of the Russian language (Большой академический словарь русского языка: 27 т. / ИЛИ РАН. СПб.: Наука, 2004—) <https://iling.spb.ru/dictionaries/344> (around 150 000 words)
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