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What Swedish Prepositional Constructions Reveal about Russian Converb Meaning

a Corpus-Based Study

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For Saul and Dora
My Italian-Swedish bilingual children

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Many years ago, I promised the Swedish Institute that I would express my gratitude for the opportunity I was given in 2001 to spend a semester in St Petersburg, should I ever achieve anything in the future that could be connected to that semester. This is my attempt to fulfil that promise.

During that semester, I studied literature at Herzen University. However, I was also eager to take a course in linguistics and was therefore recommended to attend a *спецкурс* (special course) taught by A.V. Bondarko at St Petersburg State University, on the foundations of functional grammar. While most of the course content was already familiar to me from my studies in general linguistics at Stockholm University, one topic was entirely new: the notion of 'taxis', a concept I had never encountered before.

Many years later, I met Bondarko's student Nadezjda, now my professor. She suggested that I undertake a study of the secondary meanings of Russian converbs by contrasting them with their Swedish counterparts in translation corpora. She had observed that meanings implicit in Russian converb constructions are often forced to become explicit in Swedish translations. Studying these correspondences would therefore make it possible to investigate the very emergence of meaning in converb constructions. Roman Jakobson (1957) coined the term 'taxis' in relation to Russian converbs; originally, it covered not only ordering relations such as 'anteriority' and 'simultaneity', but also more contentful relations, such as 'cause' and 'consequence'.

I would like to thank the Swedish Institute for granting me the opportunity to stay an additional semester in St Petersburg back in 2001. I am also deeply grateful to Nadezjda Zorikhina Nilsson for proposing this stimulating research idea and for entrusting me with this task. Thank you for following my work with interest while allowing me the freedom to pursue the research in the directions I found most fruitful. I would also like to thank Per Ambrosiani for his professional leadership and editorial expertise, and for guiding me through the project with great patience.

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Contents

Figures and tables

Abbreviations

Ad	directed to, related to
Adj	adjectival derivational suffix
ACC	accusative case
DAT	dative case
CP	complementiser phrase
CVB	converb
CVB_{by}	by converb (instrumental/effective factor)
CVB_{manner}	manner converb
$CVB_{temporal}$	temporal converb
CVB_{thus}	thereby converb (consequence/purpose)
DEF	definite form
DEL	delimitative
DIM	diminutive
D_{od}	deepričastie obraza dejstivija (manner converb)
$D_{tem\ samym}$	deepričastie tem samym (consequence/purpose)
$D_{tem,\ čto}$	deepričastie tem, čto (instrumental/effective factor)
D_{v}	deepričastie vremeni (temporal converb)
DSTR	distributive
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive case
i	co-reference index
INF	infinitive
IMP	imperative
INSTR	instrumental case
IPFV	imperfective aspect
IP	inflectional phrase

LOC	locative case
M	masculine gender
N	noun
NOM	nominative case
NP	noun phrase/nominal phrase
P	preposition
p	converb in a relation to matrix verb
PASS	passive
PRT	particle
PTCP	participle
PL	plural
PP	prepositional phrase
PFV	perfective aspect
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
q	matrix predicate in relation to a converb
REFL	reflexive postfix
S	sentence
SG	singular
ST	source text
TT	target text
VP	verb phrase
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

Abstract

This thesis investigates the meanings and uses of Russian converbs, with particular focus on resultant state meanings and teleological relations between converbs and matrix predicates. The study adopts a contrastive, corpus-based approach, using Swedish prepositional constructions as search cues to identify corresponding meanings expressed by converbs in Russian.

The analysis is grounded in Boguslavskij's (1977) distinction between 'manner adverbials', which are interpreted within the temporal domain of the matrix predicate, and 'temporal adverbials', which introduce a temporal domain for the matrix. This distinction is compared, where relevant, with Klein's (1994) notion of 'topic time'.

The first part of the thesis examines converbs expressing 'resultant states'. It is shown that these usages function as 'depictives' in the sense of Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2005), patterning with predicatively used comitatives and participles and denoting temporary properties with continuous relevance to the subject. These constructions are analysed as manner-type adverbials: the converb does not introduce its own temporal domain but is interpreted using the time of the matrix predicate. Such readings are favoured by intransitive configurations and by constructions that establish reference to the subject's body, including inalienable body parts and functionally equivalent items.

The second part of the thesis analyses converbs involved in a teleological division of labour between means and end ('instrumental action' and 'purpose'). It is argued that these relations fall within the domain of 'complementary coincidence' (Růžička 1980). Instrumental converb constructions are shown to vary with respect to temporal interpretation: some behave like manner adverbials, specifying the method by which an action is carried out, while others pattern more closely with temporal adverbials by providing a correlate for an evaluative or interpretative judgment expressed by the matrix predicate.

The interpretation as either 'means' (method/effective factor) or 'end' (purpose/consequence) depends on the relative method-neutrality of either the converb or the matrix predicate. This also accounts for the observed convertibility between 'means' and 'end' interpretations in translation.

Overall, the thesis provides new corpus-based evidence for previously underdescribed converb constructions in Russian and proposes constructional generalisations that integrate semantic, temporal, and teleological dimensions of converb meaning.

Sammanfattning på svenska

Den här avhandlingen undersöker vissa betydelserelationer som kan uttryckas med ryska gerundier (*deepričastija*) och hur dessa betydelserelationer uppstår i samverkan mellan gerundier och andra ord. Jag har undersökt dessa betydelserelationer genom att jämföra dem med svenska prepositionsuttryck. Det visar sig att ryska gerundier kan uttrycka betydelserelationer som uttrycks med ***för att***, ***genom att*** eller ***med*** på svenska. Det handlar om betydelserelationerna *mål*, *medel* och *samförekomst*.

Ryska gerundier är en verbform, ett slags aktivt particip med adverbiell användning som påminner om engelskans *ing*-form i adverbiell användning eller om svenskans presensparticip- och supinumformer (*görande*/*gjort*). De finns i två former som beror på ryska språkets verbaspekt. Gerundier bildade från imperfektiva verb (som betecknar pågående, vanemässiga eller upprepade handlingar) får ändelsen *-a* (som ofta stavas *-ja* (*я*)) eller i vissa fall *-uči*. Gerundier bildade från perfektiva verb (som i regel betecknar fullbordade handlingar) får ändelsen *-v* (med varianterna *-vši*/*ši* och *-a*/*-ja* för verb med infinitiv på *-ti*).

Gerundiernas semantiska betydelser uppstår i samspelet mellan gerundiets och huvudverbets betydelser. De ryska gerundiekonstruktionerna specificerar betydelserelationen mellan ett huvudverb och ett gerundium, men dessa betydelserelationer är inte explicita. Här finns en intressant paradox: hur kan man uttrycka något utan att vara explicit? Man kan tänka att gerundiet är predisponerat för att uttrycka en relation till matrisverbet men att relationens natur måste uppstå ur verbformernas respektive betydelser. Här spelar aspekt och ordföljd in, aspekten berättar om huruvida en handling är fullbordad (perfektiv aspekt) eller pågående, vanemässig eller upprepad (imperfektiv aspekt) medan ordföljden ordnar verbformerna i en följd som ofta tolkas som händelsernas kronologiska ordning. Matrisverbet lokaliserar hela meningen i förhållande till talögonblicket medan gerundiet specificerar relationen mellan sig själv och matrisverbet. Nedan gör jag en jämförelse med de svenska presensparticipen och supinumformen å ena sidan och de ryska perfektiva och imperfektiva gerundierna å andra sidan, där jag använder ordet *göra* (ryska *sdelat′* i perfektivt gerundium ***sdelav***; och *delat′*, i imperfektivt gerundium ***delaja***). Om gerundiet står före matrisverbet anger det ofta en tidsföljdsrelation, antingen sekvens (anterioritet) eller samtidighet:

1)	***sdelav*** *p* (perfektivt gerundium) gjort p	*ona delala* q (matrisverb) hon gjorde q
2)	***delaja*** *p* (imperfektivt gerundium) görande p	*ona delala q* (matrisverb) hon gjorde q

Om gerundiet däremot står efter matrisverbet anges ofta en relation rörande sätt eller medföljande omständighet:

3) *ona delala q* (matrisverb) ***delaja** p* (imperfektivt gerundium)
hon gjorde q görande p

4) *ona delala q* (matrisverb) ***sdelav** p* (perfektiv gerundium)
hon gjorde q gjort p

På svenska kan kombinationen som representeras av (3) fungera som uttryckt med enbart particip, till exempel *hon arbetade sittande* eller *hon stickade nynnande*. De övriga funktionerna kräver oftast andra sorters konstruktioner eller att man sätter in förtydligande markörer som *medan*, *när hon hade*, *efter att ha*, *varvid*, *därmed* med flera. Med sådana markörer kan man forma meningar som ***sittande** kunde hon sticka fortare; **efter att ha arbetat** klart satte hon sig; Hon stickade sista maskan och **hade därmed tillverkat** en tröja*.

Eftersom många betydelserelationer inte går att uttrycka med enbart svenska particip- eller supinumformer så används ofta mer explicita markörer vid dessa betydelserelationer i svenska översättningsmotsvarigheter. Därför är det möjligt att använda de svenska markörerna i parallellkorpora (det vill säga sökbara databaser med översatta texter som är länkade mening för mening eller avsnitt för avsnitt) för att hitta de ryska gerundiumanvändningarna. När man samlat tillräckligt många exempel på varje betydelserelation kan man studera olika mönster och iaktta hur betydelserelationerna uppstår.

Jag har undersökt några gerundiumanvändningar som inte är lika förutsägbara utifrån aspekt och ordföljd som de man vanligen ser i läroböcker.

Den första betydelsen som har undersökts är ’resulterande tillstånd’, där en fullbordad handling har en fortsatt relevans mot bakgrund av en annan handling. Det handlar om en samförekomst av två händelser vilket uttrycks med prepositionen *med* på svenska: *han satt med fötterna i kors*. Samma betydelserelation kan också uttryckas med predikativa particip: *han stod lutad*.

De övriga betydelserelationerna som undersökts är teleologiska medel-mål-relationer: man gör en handling *genom att* eller *för att* uppnå ett resultat.

På ryska kan man uttrycka betydelserelationerna ’resulterande tillstånd’, ’syfte’ och ’medel’ med gerundier utan explicita markörer (som *med* eller *genom att* eller *för att*). För att samla ihop så många konstruktioner som möjligt med den betydelsen som ska studeras har jag använt parallellkorpora där jag har sökt på den svenska betydelsen genom att använda prepositionsuttryck med *med*, *genom att* eller *för att* och på det sättet hittat den ryska motsvarigheten uttryckt med gerundium. Sedan har jag undersökt det datamaterial som jag samlat ihop

för att studera hur dessa betydelserelationer har kunnat uppstå utan explicita markörer i ryska.

Den första studien använder det svenska konstruktionsschemat [*med* + substantivfras + prepositionsfras], typiska exempel är ***med** armarna i kors, **med** blicken i golvet, **med** ett glas i handen*. Analysen av dessa exempel visar att kroppsdelsord är avgörande för att gerundier ska användas. Men också kroppsdelsordets placering spelar roll. Om substantivet i substantivfrasen i konstruktionsschemat betecknar en kroppsdel motsvaras exemplet ofta av en konstruktion med gerundium på ryska: *Hon satt med benen i kors; Ona sidela **skrestiv** nogi*. Om ett kroppsdelsord däremot befinner sig i prepositionsfrasen motsvaras exemplet ofta av en *med*-konstruktion även på ryska, det vill säga av en rysk konstruktion med prepositionen *s/so* 'med' som styr instrumentalis: *hon stod **med** ett glas i handen*: *Ona stojala **so** stakanom v ruke*. Detta mönster med olika ryska konstruktioner beroende på placeringen av kroppsdelsord var slående. Mönstret kan förklaras ontologiskt genom olika typer av samförekomst: samförekomst av handlingar eller samförekomst av entiteter. Eftersom ens egna kroppsdelar är samförekommande per definition (de följer alltid med kroppen om de är den egna kroppens (oförytterliga) kroppsdelar) så ligger fokus inte på att kroppsdelarna följer med, utan på vad som *hänt* med dem: benen har lagts i kors. Detta uttrycks gärna med perfektivt gerundium på ryska, en avslutad handling har lämnat ett resultat som har fortsatt relevans. Den fortsatta relevansen är en konsekvens av att kroppsdelen följer med kroppen, det resulterande tillståndet följer också med: *ona sidela **skrestiv** nogi; hon satt **med** benen i kors*. Om kroppsdelen däremot befinner sig i prepositionsfrasen så är det något annat föremål som samförekommer eller följer med. I exemplet *med ett glas i handen* är glaset i fokus och handen garanterar att glaset följer med kroppen. På svenska ser prepositionen *med* ut att användas friare än ryskans komitativa preposition *s/so*. På svenska använder man ofta *med* (i tvåledade konstruktioner) för att uttrycka inte bara att personer eller föremål följer med, utan också för samförekommande omständigheter eller sakförhållanden: ***med** min hustru **borta** har jag inte mycket glädje kvar i livet; **med** barnen **på gården** kan jag koncentrera mig på matlagningen*. Kombinationen av prepositionen *med* och något frånvarande kan framstå som en paradox. Resultaten från undersökningen och den tidigare litteraturen pekar på att en sådan användning inte är lika utbredd i ryskan, men det måste dock undersökas närmare med andra metoder innan det kan fastslås med säkerhet.

De övriga undersökningarna rör teleologiska medel-mål-relationer. Dessa kunde sökas fram genom de svenska prepositionerna ***genom*** och ***för*** följt av infinitivkonstruktioner med infinitivmärket *att*. De ryska gerundie-konstruktionerna som motsvarar dessa visar ett intressant mönster. Det visar sig att det finns en lexikalisk arbetsfördelning mellan olika verbuttryck så att den ena

formen uttrycker en mer konkret handling och den andra verbformen uttrycker ett mer abstrakt resultat. Det handlar om den relativa graden av metodspecifikation hos verbuttryck. Vissa verb betecknar ett tydligt resultat eller en konsekvens medan andra verb betecknar *hur* resultatet eller konsekvensen uppnås, vilken metod som används. Till exempel kan man *hämnas* på många olika sätt, det finns ingen metod specificerad för det verbet, det är situationen eller fantasin som begränsar vad en hämnd kan bestå av. Andra metodneutrala verb betecknar en kvalitativ förändring hos objektet, men säger inte så mycket om på vilket sätt handlingen som åstadkommer förändringen utförs, till exempel *rengöra*, eller *förstöra* kan man göra på olika sätt. På ryska kan man använda gerundier utan förtydligande markörer för att uttrycka mål- och medel-relationerna. Jag visar några förkortade exempel från den ryska nationalkorpusen och från den tidigare gerundieforskningen. Nedan syns två exempel med ordet *mstit'* 'hämnas'. Gerundierna är markerade med fetstil:

5)	*[…]*	***mstja***(p)	*drug drugu […]*	*rubjat*(q)	*xvosty*	*koškam.*
	hämnandes		varandra:DAT	hugger:3PL	svansar[ACC]	katter:DAT

'För att hämnas på varandra hugger de svansen av katter.'

6)	*[…]mstit*	*vragam,*	***otstrelivaja***	*každyj den' po*		*odnoj*	*[…]ovce*
	hämnas3SG	fiender.DAT	skjutande	varje	dag	DISTR ett:DAT	får

'Han hämnas på fienderna genom att skjuta ett får varje dag.'

I det första exemplet har ordet *mstit'* – som är metodneutralt – gerundiumform, då får det betydelse av mål (syfte eller konsekvens). I det andra exemplet är det matrisverbet som är metodneutralt, därför bidrar gerundiet med metoden: *otstrelivaja* 'genom att skjuta'.

Om svenskan skulle kunna uttrycka detta med particip skulle det bli ungefär: ***hämnandes*** *hugger de svansen av katter; han hämnas* ***skjutande*** *ett får om dagen*. Men detta bruk är inte konventionaliserat i svenska, i stället används konstruktioner med *för att* och g*enom att*. I italienskan kan gerundier fungera för den instrumentella genom-betydelsen (Pusch 1980).

När jag har arbetat med motsvarigheterna till *för att* och *genom att* och den systematiska arbetsfördelningen mellan verbformerna har jag också sett hur andra aspekter av detta fenomen har beskrivits i litteraturen. Det har därmed blivit möjligt att göra en systematisk genomgång av många olika typer av arbetsfördelning mellan medel och mål eller orsak och verkan.

De aktuella användningarna varierar i fråga om både ordföljd, aspekt, informationsstruktur och verbtyper. Betydelserelationen ‘konsekvens’ uttrycks av metodneutrala perfektiva gerundier som placeras efter matrisverben:

7)	*[…]nabit'*	*emu*	*rožu,*	***otomstiv*** *takim*		*obrazom […]*
	Slå	honom.DAT	käft:ACC	hämnats	sådant:INSTR	sätt:INSTR

‘Slå honom på käften så att man på det sättet hämnas [sina mödosamma år].’

Ytterligare varianter av den beskrivna arbetsfördelningen mellan medel och mål eller orsak och verkan rör relationer där en handling beskrivs som en orsaksfaktor till ett värderande omdöme:

8)	*Ona*	*postupila*	*pravil'no,*	***stav***	*vračom*
	Hon	gjorde	rätt	blivit	läkare

‘Hon gjorde rätt när hon blev läkare.’

Här är inte handlingen att bli läkare informationens fokus, utan i stället fokuserar man på vad någon tycker om den handlingen.

Den här studerade lexikala arbetsfördelningen har benämnts ”komplementär koincidens” av Růžička (1980) som främst undersökte anaforiska relationer och pro-verb som *postupit' (pravil'no)* ’göra/förfara (rätt)’ vilka fungerar som ett slags platshållare för mer innehållsrika verb. I den här avhandlingen systematiseras och beskrivs fältet ”komplementär koincidens” hos ryska gerundiekonstruktioner ytterligare. Syftes- och medelbetydelser som uttrycks med ryska gerundiekonstruktioner kan ses som ganska perifera och icke-frekventa betydelserelationer, men om man ser till hela fältet av komplementär koincidens visar det sig att detta begrepp kan beskriva en mer omfattande del av de ryska gerundiekonstruktionernas betydelsepotential. På samma sätt visar det sammantagna studiet av gerundiekonstruktioner som motsvarar *med*-konstruktioner och predikativer att ’resulterande tillstånd’ utgör en viktig del av de ryska gerundiekonstruktionernas uttrycksmöjligheter.

Ett viktigt resultat av studien är iakttagelsen att gerundierna har olika typer av temporala beroendeförhållanden till sina matrisverb. När det gäller ’resulterande tillstånd’ gäller detta tillstånd under matrisverbets förlopp. Om man säger *on sidel opustiv golovu* ‘han satt med huvudet böjt’ hävdar man att huvudet är böjt just under sittandets förlopp, det är inte så att han alltid har ett böjt huvud utan det är en tillfällig egenskap som bara gäller under matrisverbets tid. Om man däremot säger ona *postupila pravil'no stav vračom* ’Hon gjorde rätt när hon blev läkare’ så fungerar det temporala beroendeförhållandet på motsatt sätt.

Gerundiet ger en tid till matrisverbet: det var när hon blev läkare som hon gjorde rätt. Dessa typer av temporala beroendeförhållanden har beskrivits av Boguslavskij (1977) för ryska gerundier. Han kallar dem preliminärt för 'sättsadverbial' respektive 'tidsadverbial'. I avhandlingen sätter jag dessa typer i samband med Kleins (1994) begrepp 'topic time', det vill säga den tid som talarens påstående begränsas till. Jag sätter också dessa tidsrelationer i samband med forskningen om 'depictives', det vill säga fria predikativer, vilka också brukar karakteriseras som tidsmässigt begränsade av matrisverbets tid (Himmelmann och Schultze-Berndt, 2005).

Den föreliggande avhandlingen har bland annat gjort iakttagelser om hur referens till kroppen kan påverka grammatiska strukturer, hur matrisverb och gerundier kan dela på arbetet att uttrycka mål och medel och hur matrisverb och gerundier kan använda varandras tidsreferens. Dessa iakttagelser hoppas jag kan inspirera framtida forskning.

List of papers

1. Article I. Mellquist, S. (2022) Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite comitatives. *Language: Codification. Competence. Communication*, 1, (6–7), 62–91. https://doi.org/10.2478/lccc-2022-0004
2. Article II. Mellquist, S. (2024) Russian correspondences to Swedish purposive *för att* + infinitive constructions. *Polyarnyj vestnik,* 27, 1–37. https://doi.org/10.7557/6.7494
3. Mellquist, S. (To appear). A Corpus Exploration of Construction Frames for Russian 'Resultant State' Converb Constructions. *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Slavica Wratislaviensia*, 131–147.
4. Article IV. Mellquist, S. (submitted). Russian correspondences to Swedish instrumental *genom att* + infinitive constructions.
5. Article V. Mellquist, S. (2025). Complementary coincidence, division of labour between means and end-denoting expressions. *VVIIe Congrès international extraordinaires des slavistes. Livre des résumés 1 Linguistique*. Paris: Institut d'études slaves. Section 1.5, 126–129. (442–445).

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Here I print my original author's manuscript, on which this contribution is based.

1. Introduction

> *Реализация значений языковых единиц самой различной природы ограничена большим или меньшим числом условий, иногда весьма сложных и интересных. Как правило, эти условия еще очень мало изучены, и углубление в эту проблематику сулит лингвистике подлинные находки и открытия*. (Апресян 1983: 338)

> *The realization of the meanings of linguistic units of the most diverse nature is limited by a greater or lesser number of conditions, sometimes highly complex and interesting. As a rule, these conditions are still very little studied, and delving into these problems promises linguistics genuine findings and discoveries*. (Apresjan 1983: 338)

This section provides an introduction to the present study with a discussion of Russian converbs. This includes an examination of previous studies of their meaning relations and a discussion of where the present study contributes new knowledge regarding Russian converbs. The quotation above constitutes the concluding remarks of a 1983 article by Jurij Derenkovič Apresjan. The article treats Russian converb meaning and inspired the present study of factors that condition Russian converb meaning.

The Russian language includes a verb form labelled 'converb'. In Russian, this form is referred to as *deepričastie*, which is derived from the Russian term *pričastie* (which is a calque of the Latin *participium*, which, in turn, is a calque from Koine Greek *metokhḗ*, an abstract noun derived from *metékhō* 'participate, take part in'). The Russian term includes *deje-*, taken from the verbal root *dej* in *dejstvovat'*, 'to act'. The Russian term *deepričastie* thus corresponds to 'action participle'. This Russian verb form has also been referred to as 'verbal adverb', 'adverbial participle', or 'gerund' in Slavic linguistics. However, a commonly used term to refer to this class of verb in contemporary linguistics is 'converb'. This term has been primarily used in typological studies, but it has also been applied in studies of individual languages.

Since Russian converbs can express various semantic relationships in sentences, the aim of the present study is to explore these relationships in detail by contrasting them with the linguistic means used to convey the same semantic relationships in Swedish.

The Russian converb is an indeclinable non-finite verb form, which (unlike the infinitive) is not used for complementation. Instead, Russian converbs have adjunct functions. Since they are non-finite, converbs are syntactically related to a finite verb form or a non-finite form that depends on a finite verb form. This

(prototypically) finite form is called *opornaja forma* 'the support form' (Xrakovskij 2009: 22).[1]

The meanings of Russian converbs are sometimes divided into 'primary meanings' and 'secondary meanings'. The meanings that are considered 'primary' are the meanings of 'relative tense' ('taxis', see Jakobson 1984[1957]; Akimova & Kozinceva 1987; Xrakovskij 2016, 2024), and aspect. Xrakovskij et al. (2009) treat the secondary meanings of converbs under the heading of fonovyj taksis 'background taxis', implying that the relative tense meanings are present as a background in the more specific meanings.[2]

Taxis markers signal a temporal order relative to the support form but not relative to the time of speech (absolute tense), see (1) below. Until the twentieth century, a tense opposition in the Russian converb forms existed, with different converb suffixes for (relative) 'preterite' and 'present', which could be combined with either imperfective and perfective verb stems. However, this opposition has been lost (Brecht 1976, Dobrušina 2009). In normative contemporary written Russian, imperfective forms are (in most instances) combined with the 'present' (relative) tense marker (suffix), whereas perfective forms are (mostly) combined with the 'preterite' (relative) tense marker (suffix). These combinations of stems and suffixes are referred to as 'imperfective converbs' and 'perfective converbs' (or imperfective/perfective 'converb forms') in contemporary accounts. Consequently, the suffixes are viewed as (redundant) aspect markers in conjunction with their function of signalling converb status (See section 2.2).

In the literature, there is a broad agreement that imperfective converbs are associated with the relative tense (taxis) meanings of 'simultaneity' or 'temporal overlap', whereas perfective converbs are associated with the sequential relations of 'anteriority' and (less frequently) 'posteriority'. Thus, Barentsen and Zorixina-Nil′sson (2024: 63 ff., 94 ff.) observe that simultaneity is standardly expressed with imperfective converbs (although perfective converbs with 'resultant state' meanings may also be analysed as expressing 'simultaneity'), and that perfective converbs may express all three temporal orders ('anteriority', 'simultaneity', and 'posteriority'). However, they also argue that 'anteriority' is the 'basic' (*osnovnoe*) meaning of perfective converbs and that the other meanings are only expressed under specific supplementary conditions.[3]

[1] This support form is referred to as the 'finite verb' or 'matrix verb (predicate)' in the following text.

[2] Xrakovskij (2016: 4) writes that in the original formulation of Jakobson (1957), the notion of 'taxis' was intended to cover not only the ordering of events, but also other relations between situations, for example, "different types of relations to the independent verb — simultaneity, precedence, interruption, concession, etc."

[3] These statements are, however, cautiously formulated. It is difficult to find statements regarding overlap as coded meaning of imperfective converbs although there exist statements about imperfective converbs being 'marked' for overlap and perfective converbs being 'unmarked' (unspecified), for example, (Brecht 1976), see Section 2.2.)

The relative tense usages of Russian converbs are shown in (1). Note that the relative tense meaning of 'anteriority' is not affected by the absolute tense meanings of the finite verbs, which vary in the following sentences:

(1) a. ***Sxodiv*** *za vodoj, Petja rabotal v sadu.*
go(PFV)CVB for water:INSTR, Petja work(IPFV)PST in garden:LOC
'(After) having fetched [went for] water, Petja was working in the garden.'

b. ***Sxodiv*** *za vodoj, Petja porabotal v sadu.*
go(PFV)CVB for water:INSTR Petja DEL.work(PFV)PST in garden:LOC
'(After) having fetched [went after] water, Petja carried on working in the garden (for a while).'

c. ***Sxodiv*** *za vodoj, Petja rabotaet v sadu.*
go(PFV)CVB for water:INSTR Petja work(IPFV)PRS in garden:LOC
'(After) having fetched [went for] water, Petja is working in the garden.'

d. ***Sxodiv*** *za vodoj, Petja budet rabotat' v sadu.*
go(PFV)CVB for water:INSTR Petja will(IPFV)PRS work.INF in garden:LOC
'(After) having fetched [went for] water; Petja will work in the garden.'

e. ***Sxodiv*** *za vodoj, Petja porabotaet v sadu.*
go(PFV)CVB for water:INSTR Petja DEL:work(PFV)FUT in garden:LOC
'(After) having fetched [went for] water, Petja will carry on working in the garden (for a while).'
(Adapted from Xrakovskij 2016: 32, translations and glosses added by the author.)[4]

In addition to the suffix-based or aspect-based distinctions between 'simultaneity' and 'anteriority' or 'overlap' and 'sequence', there is consensus about Russian converbs as being 'contextual' rather than 'specialised', or 'narrative' (V. Nedjalkov 1995: 108, König 1995, Weiss 1995). The realisation of the meanings of 'contextual' converbs is subject to certain conditions being satisfied, i.e., their position relative to the support form, lexical classes, etc. Consequently, this class of converb meanings is not viewed as directly morphologically encoded.[5]

[4] To enable comparison, the Russian examples in this text are given in italics, with the converb forms in bold italics. The glossing protocol follows the Leipzig glossing rules but is applied selectively to enhance readability. In many instances, the words in the glosses are simply translated as a corresponding English word form. Converbs are glossed as (PFV)CVB and (IPFV)CVB, thus treating aspect as a lexical category and the converb form as following the aspect. If no language is indicated in an example, the language is Russian.

[5] Krave (2010) claims that there is a morphological codification of relative tense in Russian converbs. This claim is, however, supplemented with numerous exceptions. Other claims regarding coded meaning (whether it be based on suffixes or on aspects) are more cautiously formulated, and refer to an association between usages rather than coded meaning. In most treatments in the literature, we

Another important meaning distinction, which cuts across distinctions made by different suffixes and aspects, is a distinction between 'temporal locational' meanings—where the converb functions syntactically as an adverbial indicating time, similar to *kogda* ('when' clauses)—and 'manner' meanings, which elaborate on the way an action is performed (*obraz dejstvija*) (Boguslavskij 1977, Apresjan 1983, Rjabova 1992, among others).[6] In this context, the 'temporal adverbial' function is often associated with the preverbal placement of the converb, whereas the manner function tends to be realised when the converb is in a postverbal position (Boguslavskij 1977, Apresjan 1983). Another important factor to take into consideration is prosodic integration. Note that 'temporal adverbial' usages of converbs are generally marked with a pause in spoken Russian, whereas 'manner' meanings are not (Apresjan 1983, Rappaport 1984).[7, 8] In terms of minimal pairs, the positional contrast and the prosodic contrast are also associated with differences in information structure. The preverbal position is considered more 'rhematic' (Akimova & Kozinceva 1987, Rjabova 1992). Rappaport (1984) and Ružička (1980) observe presupposition contrasts, where preverbal and/or detached converbs may denote presupposed content (see section 2.4.2.6 for an extended review of these insights).[9]

There are thus two principal ways to distinguish between different converb usages. One approach treats temporal ordering (sequence vs. overlap, or anteriority vs. simultaneity) as the primary principle of classification, with 'manner' and 'accompanying circumstance' functioning as subordinate categories. Alternatively, the other primary classificatory principle is to contrast between 'temporal-locational' and 'manner', with temporal orderings serving as subcategories within this overarching dichotomy. The first approach is represented by Barentsen and Zorixina-Nil′sson (2024) and Krave (2010), who conduct detailed investigations of temporal ordering relations. The second

find reference to observed tendencies rather than direct statements. For example, Švedova *et al.* (1980: 1589) observe that converbs with imperfective aspect often (Ru. *obyčno*) denote 'simultaneity'. The exact status of this claim remains unclear. Boguslavskij (1977) and Apresjan (1983) argue that certain meanings are grammatically encoded (Ru. *jazykovye značenija*), where certain conditions make specific meaning relations 'inevitable' (see Section 2.4. and its subsections.)

[6] In this context, the meaning 'temporal' does not invoke the inevitable dimension of time, which, of course, is also present also in 'manner' adverbials, but a certain type of 'temporal conditioning' (Akimova & Kozinceva 1987) or 'temporal dependency' (cf. Boguslavskij 1977). This is essentially a syntactic difference. In (1), above, the presence of a perfective *-v* suffix (a formal preterite marker, i.e., a morphological parameter) and the presence of a 'temporal adverbial' (syntactic parameter) coincide.

[7] Scholars working within the 'taxis' investigation framework outlined by Xrakovskij (2000, 2000, 2024), for example, Barenten and Zorixina-Nil′sson (2024), investigate basic temporal meanings and treat other meanings as 'secondary'. This distinction is subject to ongoing discussion. In this framework, 'temporal' meanings are also analysed for the presence of 'manner' meanings.

[8] The prosodic pauses referred to here correspond to some degree to the usage of commas in written texts (Boguslavskij 1977). This correspondence is not perfect since there is a widespread habit (and perceived norm) of putting a comma after almost every converbs (or converb phrase).

[9] The notion of 'presupposition' in relation to Russian converbs most often means that the Speaker assumes that the information is shared with the Listener, cf. Rappaport 1984: 101).

approach is represented by Boguslavskij (1977), Rappaport (1984), Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), and Rjabova (1992). The analyses offered in the literature do not fully align with each other, a point addressed in section 2.4.2.6.

The meaning relations expressed by Russian converb constructions range from fundamental temporal relations ('temporal overlap', 'anteriority', and 'posteriority') to highly specific relations, sometimes resembling logical connectives: conjunction, and ∧ (p ∧ q) and implication,→ if, (then) (p → q).[10] In the notation, the converb clause is referred to as 'p' and the support form (matrix predicate) clause is referred to as 'q':[11, 12]

(2) **Simultaneity 'temporal location' (while/when p, q)**

Stupaja	*meždu*	*spjaščimi*		*soldatami* (p)	
Step(IPFV):CVB	between	sleeping		soldiers:INSTR,	
komandir	*prodolžal*	*dumat'*	*o*	*predstojaščem*	*boe* (q)
commander	continued	think	about	upcoming:LOC	battle:LOC

'(While, when) stepping between the sleeping soldiers, the commander continued to think about the upcoming battle.'

(Apresjan 1983: 335, English added)

(3) **Conjunction ('accompanying circumstance '≈ simultaneity)(q ∧ p)**

(…)ona	*skazala*(q)	***ulybajas'*** (p)
(…)she	said	smile(CVB)IPFV

'She said smiling/She said and smiled.'

(RNC)

(4) **Manner ≈ simultaneity ≈ conjunction (q ∧ p)**

On	*xodit* (q)	*prixramyvaja* (p)
He	walks	limp(IPFV)CVB

'He walks with a limp.'

Boguslavskij (1977: 280)

(5) **Anteriority (after p, q)**

Podumav	*nemnogo* (p),	*on*	*rešil*	*otvetit'*	*tak* (q)	.
think(PFV)CVB	a.little	he	decided	respond	so	

[10] Logical implication and conjunction differ in natural language in several respects. See L.T.F Gamut (1991: §1.2; §2.2, and Chapter 6). The analogy with logical connectives is primarily used for illustrative purposes.

[11] By 'converb constructions' I refer to configurations that include converbs and matrix predicates. In this text, 'converb' sometimes substitutes for 'converb clause', i.e., converbs and their dependents.

[12] This list is illustrative only and should not be regarded a comprehensive inventory of Russian converb meanings.

'After thinking for a while, he decided to answer like that.'

(Birzer 2010, English added)

(6) **Posteriority (after q, p)**

On	*rasskazal*	*mne*	*vsë*	*delo*, (q)	***pribaviv***, (p)(…)
He	told	me	whole	thing	add(PFV)CVB

'He told me the whole thing, (and then) adding that (…)'

(Birzer 2010: 102, English added.)

(7) **Implication (Condition) (p → q)**

Poterjav	*dve*	*treti*	*boevogo*	*sostava* (p),
Lose:CVB:PFV	two[ACC]	thirds[ACC]	combat:GEN	personnel:GEN

podrazdelenie	*dolžno*	*otojti*(q)
the.unit	must	retreat.

'Having lost two-thirds of its combat strength, the unit must retreat.'

(Apresjan 1983: 337, English added.)

(8) **Cause (Reason) (because of p, q)**

Ljubja	*lest'* (p),	*on*	*okružil*	*sebja*	*podxalimami* (q)
Love(PFV)CVB	flatter[ACC]	he	surrounded(PFV)	himself(ACC)	toadies:INSTR

'Loving flattery, he surrounded himself with sycophants.'

(Apresjan 1983: 337, English added.)

(9) **Concession (in spite of p, q)**

Naxodjas'	*soveršenno*	*otkryto* (p),
Being.situated(IPFV)	completely	openly

oni	*kakim-to*	*čudom*
they	some	miracle:INSTR

uceleli	*ot*	*neprijatel'skix*	*snarjadov* (q)
survived(PFV)	from	hostile:GEN	missiles:GEN

'Despite being completely exposed, they somehow miraculously survived the enemy shelling.'

(Rjabova 1992: 20, English added.)

(10) **Purpose (in order to p, q)**

On	*vsë-taki priexal*	*v*	*Moskvu*	*i*	*v*	*konce*	*sentjabrja,*
He	after.all arrived	to	Moscow:ACC	and	in	end:LOC	September:GEN

vetrennym	*dnëm,*	*šagal*	*po*	*pereulkam* (q),
wind:INSTR	day:INSTR	walked(IPFV)	on	side.streets:DAT

otyskivaja	*kvartiru*	*Lidii* (p).
trying.to.find(IPFV)CVB	apartment:ACC	Lidia:GEN

'He ended up coming to Moscow after all, and on a windy day in late September, he was walking through the side streets, searching out Lidia's apartment.'

(Rjabova 1992: 19, English added.)

(11) **Consequence (q so that (thus) p)**

[...]*vstala,*	*v*	*dverjax, (q)*	***zagorodiv***	*soboj*	*vyxod.* (p)	
stood.up	in	doors:LOC	obstruct(PFV)CVB	self:INSTR	exit[ACC]	

'[the woman] stood up in the doorway, blocking the exit.'

Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), English added.

(12) **Means/instrumental action (by p, q)**

Ja	*uspokoil*	*eë,* (q)	***ob''jasniv,***	*v*	*čëm*	*delo.* (p)
I	calmed	her	explain(CVB)PFV	in	what:LOC	thing

'I calmed her by explaining what was going on.'

(Padučeva (2004: 365, italics and English glosses added, numbers altered)

(13) **Resultant state (with p done/having done p, q)**

—Nu,	*da,—* ***opustiv***	*golovu* (p),	*priznalsja*	*on.* (q)	
Well	yes	let.down(PFV)CVB	head:ACC	confessed(PFV)	he

'"Well, yes," he admitted, his head lowered.'

(Birzer 2010: 103, English added.)

Some of the 'contextual' meanings of converbs may be viewed as associated with particular 'temporal adverbial' meanings. For example, a 'reason' meaning may arise as a contextual by-effect or as an implicature of a temporally adverbial meaning in the same way that a temporal conjunction may acquire a causal nuance. Consider, for example, *since*, which may have both a purely 'temporal' and a 'reason' reading. So-called 'C-relations', 'cause', 'condition', 'concession', and 'contrast' are explored in Couper-Kuhlen and Kortmann (eds) 2000. As shown by Birzer (2006, 2010: 50), the meanings of 'cause' and 'condition' may both be seen as a by-effect of the adverbial meaning of 'simultaneity':

(14) Russian (Birzer 2010: 50)

Guljaja	*na*	*svežem*	*vozduxe,*	*mal'čiki*	*prostužajutsja*
walk	on	fresh:LOC	air:LOC	boys	get.cold(IPFV):3PL:PRS

'[Because of/in spite of] walking in the fresh air, the boys are getting a cold.'

Example (14) gives rise to a 'simultaneity' interpretation along with a 'cause' interpretation or a 'concessive' interpretation. We note that the influence of the former eventuality on the latter, as well as the nature of this influence (fresh air causes cold, fresh air strengthens the body and protects against cold), is regarded as belonging to world knowledge.[13, 14]

The present study explores several of the less frequently investigated contextual meanings of Russian converbs. These are not the C-relations of 'cause', 'concession', and 'condition', but instead, I investigate specific subtypes of 'manner' or 'accompanying circumstance' relations. The research consists of four sub-studies, each reported on in its own academic article. In addition, a theoretically oriented conference paper is included in this compilation thesis.

The first sub-study (Article I) investigates the 'resultant state' meaning relation (do p *having done* q/*with* q *done*), the second sub-study (Article II) investigates the 'purposive' converb meaning (do p *in order to* do q). The third study (Article III) explores prototypical instances of the Russian 'resultant state' converb construction using two different construction templates: (i) constructions with transitive verbs and inalienable objects, and (ii) constructions with intransitive verbs (do p *having done* q/*with* q *done*). This study builds on the results of the first sub-study. The fourth study (Article IV) investigates 'instrumental' meaning relations (do p *by* doing q) and the type of instrumentality or 'means':'end' ('cause':'effect') dynamics that give rise to a conversion possibility between 'means':'end' ('purpose') or 'cause':'effect' ('consequence') between matrix verb and converb depending on the (degree of) method-specification (or method-neutrality) of the respective expression. The fifth paper comprises an extended abstract for the XVIIth International Congress of Slavists in Paris 2025. The paper systematises the observations made in Article II, Article IV, and various works on 'consequence' meanings and 'interpretational' verbs (Mixeev 1974, Apresjan 1980, Akimova & Kozinceva 1987, Rjabova 1992). This abstract constitutes a shortened version of section 2.4.2.7, which is included in this compilation thesis text.

The method used in this thesis is called 'contrastive parallel corpus studies'. In translation correspondences between Swedish and other languages, or from other languages to Swedish, the implicit meaning relations become visible and thus are retrievable in corpora.

In Swedish, the meaning relations under investigation are often marked by explicit markers. This is due to the lack of converb forms in Swedish that have a

[13] Under a generic reading of the matrix predicate, a conditional interpretation is possible: 'If they walk in fresh air, the boys get a cold.' Apresjan (1983: 336) notes that such interpretations (at least certain versions of the 'reason' meaning) may be by-effects of taxis meanings, see section 2.4.1.2.
[14] I follow the practice of using the term *eventuality* as a cover term for all Vendlerian predicate types.

similar distribution to Russian converbs.[15] Swedish is, therefore, a suitable language to contrast with Russian in order to examine the meanings of converbs. A language that includes converb forms like English is less suited to this task since the English *-ing* form exhibits a similar distribution in adverbial uses. Consequently, the contrastive method using Swedish–Russian parallel corpora is well-suited for detecting the relational meaning and for collecting sets of examples that are large enough to draw valid generalisations from. Research on converbs has often been geared toward exceptions. In the search for invariant meanings or necessary and sufficient conditions, certain idiosyncratic examples have been recycled in virtually every academic work on Russian converbs.[16] Corpus investigations of converb meanings that have not been subject to intense investigation may thus contribute to an understanding of the form that goes beyond the mere recycling of old examples. The sub-studies included in this thesis provide in-depth investigations of specific meaning relations, drawing on data sets consisting of several hundred example sentences for each meaning relation. Since some of the meaning relations are not very frequent, these relations have not been investigated on such a large scale before. In fact, some of the relations have been judged as non-existent or impossible due to the unavailability of relevant data material. However, the present study provides new empirical evidence that challenges several previous conceptions about the meaning of Russian converbs. It is acknowledged that to draw valid theoretical conclusions or make predictions, robust empirical insights are necessary.

The contrastive parallel corpus method also offers researchers the opportunity to study the implicit Russian meaning relations expressed by converbs from two perspectives: from the point of view of the Speaker and from the point of view of the Listener. Translators of texts have dual roles in this respect. I argue that implicit meaning relations expressed by converbs can be detected in Russian source texts by means of their correspondences in Swedish target texts. The investigation thus explores the Swedish translators' interpretations of the Russian implicit meaning relations, as they appear as explicit correspondences in the Swedish target texts.

[15] Swedish has two indeclinable verb forms that can be compared to Russian converbs, namely, the 'present participle' and the 'supine'. These verb forms are described in section 2.3.3. In English, the instrumental relation is expressed with the *-ing* form, but in most instances, it must be accompanied by the preposition *by*.

[16] For instance, Apresjan (1983) uses examples from Boguslavskij (1977) and Arbatskij (1980). Birzer (2010) contains an investigation of converbs that (may) express posteriority with examples from previous research. Barentsen and Zorixina-Nil′sson (2024: 169) note the example: *On brosil papirosku na zemlju, rastoptav ee dvumja sliškom sil'nymi udarami nogi.* 'He threw the cigarette on the ground, trampling it with two too strong kicks' (M. Gorky) has been used in multiple academic studies. In this introductory text, multiple well-known examples are similarly mentioned.

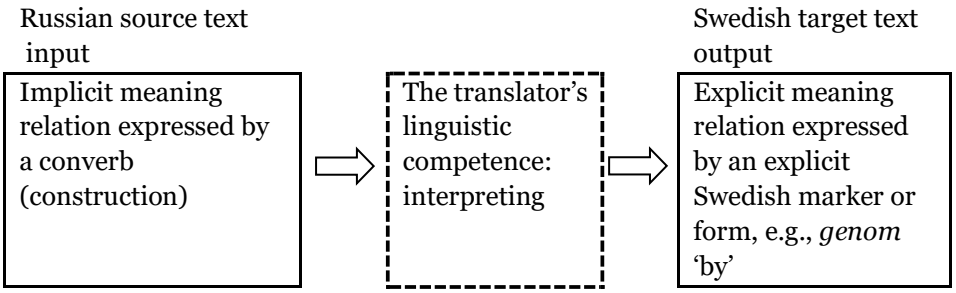

Figure 1. Model of the translation process in explicating implicit meanings.

A necessary caveat applies: inferences about the translator's interpretation may be fallible, and the risk of misinterpretation cannot be entirely eliminated. It is therefore essential to utilise broad corpora that encompass the work of multiple translators.[17] However, if a correspondence is found in a Russian target text, the meaning relation is already explicit in the Swedish source text. In such instances, the researcher can study how specific meaning relations are deliberately implicated in Russian converb constructions.[18] This enables us to study *interpretation*: the work of a translator who reads Russian and interprets implicit meanings and explicitly encodes these meanings in Swedish; and *implicature*: the work of a translator who reads explicitly Swedish coded meanings and translates them into Russian as implicit converb meanings. This model is illustrated in Figure 2:

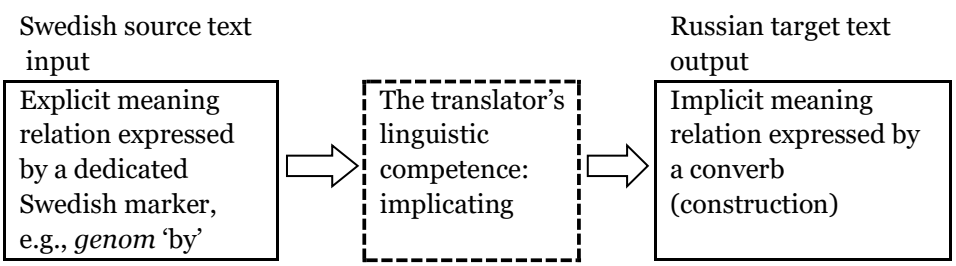

Figure 2. Model of the translation process in making explicit meanings implicit.

17 Bjørn (1979: 169) goes as far as to exclude translations from Russian in her contrastive study on Danish-Russian translation correspondences of Russian converbs in an effort to ensure that the translators included in her study were not influenced by what has been written about Russian converbs in grammar books. "Valget av et materiale fra dansk til russisk og ikke omvendt er truffet i den hensigt at undgå oversættere, der er påvirket af, hvad der står om gerundier i grammatikkerna." ('The choice of material from Danish into Russian, rather than the reverse, was made with the intention of avoiding translators who are influenced by what the grammars say about gerunds.')

18 I use the terms *implicate* and *implicature* provisionally in this text and in the articles. The exact status of the constructions exhibiting the meaning relations may vary. I have not carried out, for example, cancellation tests for implicature. (See section 3.1 for an extended discussion of this issue.)

The contrastive parallel corpus investigations were performed in both translation directions. Article III, which builds on Article I, does not use a parallel corpus since the main part of the Russian National Corpus was used.

The aim of the research project is not to exhaustively map the field of every possible meaning relation that can be expressed by Russian converb clauses or to state some invariant meaning associated with the converb form. These problems have been addressed by, *inter alia*, Růžička (1980), Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), Rjabova (1992), Krave (2010), and Birzer (2010). Instead, in line with Apresjan's (1983) suggestion, the aim of this study is to interrogate the converb category in case-studies that shed light on the very formation of meaning relations as they emerge in language use. This approach should provide us with a more complete overview of these implicit adverbial relations. To this end, data samples were collected that are large enough to reveal relevant patterns.

1.2 Aims and research questions

The aim of the research study is to identify and investigate the factors that give rise to specific meaning relations between finite verb clauses and converb clauses in Russian sentences. Apparently, the most frequent meaning relations are 'simultaneity' ('overlap') and 'anteriority', or alternatively 'temporal locational' and 'manner'. These meaning relations are described in most works on Russian converbs. In contrast, several specific meaning relations receive very different treatment(s) in the literature; some meaning relations recur in most studies, whereas some meaning relations are judged as non-existent or impossible by some scholars. Note that some of these 'impossible' meaning relations are acknowledged as 'possible' by other scholars. For the sub-studies included in this thesis, several of these less frequent specific meanings have been chosen as objects of investigation.

General research question:

- What factors (parameters, contexts, co-textual constellations, dynamics, or relations) give rise to specific relational meanings expressed by converb constructions in written contemporary standard Russian?

More specific research questions appear in the different sub-studies.

1.3 Thesis outline

The introductory section outlines the research field, the research questions and the aims of this research study (section 1). This is followed by a background section (section 2), which provides additional information about the contemporary, historical, and typological characteristics of Russian converbs (subsections 2.1 – 2.3.3). This is followed by a review of previous research on Russian converb meaning (2.4). This section includes multiple subsections and focuses on: (A) the types of meanings associated with Russian converbs (section 2.4.1) and (B) the factors that influence Russian converb meanings (section 2.4.2). Considerable attention is devoted to dichotomies that have been observed by several scholars. These dichotomies are compared and analysed in section 2.4.2.6. One section is devoted to the phenomenon of 'complementary coincidence', which is the focus of three of the articles included in this thesis. Section 2.4.2.7 positions the insights from these articles within the larger context of 'complementary coincidence'. Section 3 summarises the theoretical assumptions made in this thesis, and section 4 describes some of the methodological choices made in the included articles. Section 5 includes summaries of each of the articles, and section 6 provides a summary of the insights gained from the research study and presents prototypical versions of the relevant converb constructions schematically. They are presented as construction frames containing empty slots with subscripts.

2. Background and previous research

2.1. Russian converbs

This section provides an overview of the morphology of contemporary Russian converbs. I do not discuss Russian converbs within the broader paradigm of Russian verbs, encompassing dimensions of tense, aspect, mood, and voice. Nor do I discuss other non-finite forms, such as participles and infinitives.

2.1.1 Converbs in modern standard Russian

The Russian morphological converb inventory comprises two forms: the imperfective converb and the perfective converb. There is some variation in the realisation of suffixes on these forms, but the majority of imperfective verbs have converb forms ending in *-а* (or the orthographical variant <*ja*>: *я*), whereas most perfective converb forms end in *-в*. See Dobrušina (2009) for an overview.

Table 1. Inventory of converb suffixes in contemporary standard Russian.

Imperfective aspect	Perfective aspect
Suffix *-a/-ja/* (less frequently, *-uči*) appended to the present stem	*-v/-vši/-ši* appended to the infinitive stem (less frequently, *-a/-ja* appended to the present stem)

In contemporary normative use, the formerly 'present' suffixes are appended only to the present stem of imperfective verbs (except for some perfective verbs like *vojti*, 'enter', and *najti*, 'find'). The former 'past' converb suffixes are appended only to the infinitive stem of perfective verbs.[19] The following section describes how this minimal system has developed over time.

2.2. Historical background

This section is a short overview of the development of Russian converbs from the short forms of active participles. I provide some examples of what the participles and their paradigms looked like at different time points and discuss what traces of their former morphology remain in contemporary Standard Russian converbs. I primarily focus on the tension between tense and aspect as reflected in the use of the converb suffixes.

In his tables of Russian converbs and particles, Weiss (1995) notes that Russian converbs have a 'vernacular origin' (Weiss 1995: 240). They derive from short forms of active participles borrowed from Old Church Slavonic. These short forms showed agreement with their subject nouns in terms of case, gender, and number. (The number distinction was threefold since it included a set of dual forms.) The paradigm also differed for different verb conjugation classes. In the formation of converbs from participial short forms, a process of de-adjectivisation took place: the number/case/gender distinctions in the endings of the participles were lost and reduced to (relative) tense markers, which, in turn, are now associated with verbal aspects. Consequently, some researchers argue that the distinctive tense forms have also been lost, leaving the aspect distinction as the only remaining distinction (cf. Brecht 1976).[20]

[19] The deviations in the paradigm do not influence the usages of the converbs. Perfective converbs in *-a/-ja* do not have other usages than perfective converbs with regular suffixes.

[20] In contemporary Russian, the passive participial short forms ('*pričastie*') along with all other adjectival short forms have lost their case endings. However, they have retained their number and gender endings. The short forms are only used predicatively and the passive preterite forms are frequent in passive formation. There are no surviving short forms of active participles (as described above, these have been transformed into converbs ('*deepričastie*').

The complexity of this paradigm is illustrated by the present active singular and past active singular short forms of participles derived from the verb *nesti* 'to carry' in Old Russian. This is presented in Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2. Part of the declension paradigm for the short forms of active present participles of the Old Russian verb *nesti* 'to carry', adapted from Le Guillou (1972: 76). Transliteration added by author.

	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Nominative sg.	*nesa*	*nesa*	*nesuči*
Accusative sg.	*nesučĭ*	*nesuče*	*nesuču*
Genitive sg.	*nesuča*	*nesuča*	*nesučě*
Locative sg.	*nesuči*	*nesuči*	*nesuči*
Dative sg.	*nesuču*	*nesuču*	*nesuči*
Instrumental sg.	*nesučĭmĭ*	*nesučĭmĭ*	*nesučeju*

Table 3. Part of the declension paradigm for the short forms of active preterite participles of the Old Russian verb *nesti* 'carry', adapted from Le Guillou (1972: 91). Transliteration added by author.

	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Nominative sg.	*nesŭ*	*nesŭ*	*nesŭši*
Accusative sg.	*nesŭšĭ*	*nesŭše*	*nesŭšu*
Genitive sg.	*nesŭša*	*nesŭša*	*nesŭšě*
Locative sg.	*nesŭši*	*nesŭši*	*nesŭši*
Dative sg.	*nesŭšu*	*nesŭšju*	*nesŭši*
Instrumental sg.	*nesŭšemĭ*	*nesŭšemĭ*	*nesŭšeju*

These short participle forms were declined in terms of case, gender, and number. The development of the forms from active participial short forms to converbs is a complex process. Over the centuries, these declensions were lost in a stepwise fashion as described by Bjørnflaten (2009, 2010) and Birzer (2010).[21] Syncretisms in the paradigms led to a steady erosion of formal distinctions. In Bjørnflaten's (2009, 2010) description of the relevant changes, the first step included plural forms shifting from *-e* to *-i*, which caused homophony in the case

[21] Birzer (2010) presents a fuller and partly different overview of the diachronic development of the Russian converbs compared to Bjørnflaten's (2009) analysis.

of feminine singular forms. In a second step, masculine singular forms that referred to feminine singular matrix subjects were present, which can be seen as a way of recovering the number (agreement) distinctions at the cost of the gender distinction. What was left from the formally rich morphological inventory was a system of converbs with tense markers, comprising two present tense converb forms ending in *-a* and *-učи* and two past tense converb forms ending in *-v* and *-vši*.[22] According to Bjørnflaten (2009), the present tense ending, *-a*, was originally a masculine nominative singular ending, whereas the present tense *-i* ending (*-učи*) derives from either the feminine nominative singular or the masculine nominative plural, where the ending *-e* was replaced by *-i*. The past (perfective) converb endings derive from short forms of the past active participle.

This process resulted in a four-member system in which the tense distinction was present for both aspects. Table 4 shows a four-way system as described by Jakobson (1984[1957]):

Table 4. The older four-way system of Russian converb forms as presented in Brecht (1976). Examples from Jakobson (1984[1957]).

	Imperfective aspect	Perfective aspect
Present tense	*vstrečaj-a* ***Vstrečaja*** *druzej, on radovalsja/raduetsja.* 'When meeting friends, he was/is delighted.'	*vstret'-a* ***Vstretja*** *vas, ja (pri ėtom) ne poveril (ne xotel poverit') svoim glazam.* 'Having met you, I did not believe (did not want to believe) my eyes.'
Preterite tense	*vstreča-v (vši)* ***Vstrečav*** *ee v rannej molodosti, on snova uvidel ee čerez dvacat' let.* 'After having met her repeatedly in his early youth, he saw her again twenty years later.'	*vstreti-v (vši)* ***Vstretiv*** *ee v rannej molodosti, on snova uvidel ee čerez dvacat' let.* 'Having met her (once) in his early youth, he saw her again twenty years later.'

[22] The *-v* forms came from verbs with stems ending in vowels and are hence not shown in Table 2 and Table 3. These forms emanate from masculine and neuter nominative singular preterite active participle forms like *pisa-vu* '[one who] has written' and *zna-vu* '[one who] has known'. These examples are from Old Russian, Schmalstieg (1995: 98). As in Tables 2-3, *-u* transcribes short *ŭ* (ъ).

In such a four-way system, the aspect meanings (for example, 'iteration', 'habitual use', and 'completed actions') could be formally distinguished from the taxis (temporal order) meaning relations. The tense markers (present and preterite) marked (i.e., 'is changed into an opposition of') temporal overlap ('simultaneous eventualities' or 'nearly simultaneous eventualities') and 'sequence', respectively. (See the examples in Table 4.) If the converb followed the matrix verb in the present perfective, a consequence relation could emerge. For example, *On upala,* ***povredja*** *(pri ėtom) sebe rebro* 'She fell and thereby hurt a rib.' However, these present perfective forms were rare, and there was a tendency to replace them with the preterite form and thereby abolish the distinction between 'sequential' and 'overlapping' (or 'concursive') meaning, for example, as in *On zažëg spičku, osvetiv* (substituted for *osvetja*) *na mig komnatu* 'He stuck a match and thereby lit up the room.' For distributive or repeated actions, the imperfective present had to be used, as in *On zažigal spičku, kazdyj raz osvečaja* (**osvečav*) *na mig komnatu* 'Each time he struck a match, he lit up the room for a second.' Jakobson (1984[1957]) describes a further distinction within the 'sequential' (i.e., the preterite form). For the "Moscow speech of my generation", Jakobson (1984[1957]: 52) observed a distinction between a 'consequential' meaning, which signalled an inner connection between the eventualities, and a 'non-consequential' meaning, which did not imply such a connection. This 'inner connection' is coded by the suffix *-ši*, as in ***Vstretivši*** *ego, ona gusto pokrasnela* 'She blushed scarlet because of having met him.' It was possible to replace a *-ši* form with a form that was not marked with *ši-*, but not the other way around, for example, as in ***Snjavši*** (*snjav*) *pal'to, ja počuvstvoval pronizyvajuščij xolod* 'When I took off my coat, I (consequently) felt a piercing cold.' and ***Snjav***(*-ši) *pal'to, ja sel na stol* 'After having taken off my coat, I sat down at the table.'

This system was seen as archaic at the time when Jakobson (1984[1957]) wrote about taxis. Brecht (1976) describes a stepwise deterioration of the four-way system, also referring to the description provided by Jakobson (1984[1957]). First, as described by Jakobson, the tense distinction was lost for the perfective aspect as its present tense fell out of use.

Table 5. The older three-way system of Russian converb forms as presented in Brecht (1976), based on Jakobson (1984[1957]).

	Imperfective aspect	Perfective aspect
Present tense	*vstrečaj-a*	-
Past tense	*vstreča-v (vši)*	*vstreti-v (vši)*

Brecht describes that the diachronic change described above resulted in a situation where the 'markedness' relation within the system was altered. In the four-way system, the perfective was marked for 'anteriority', whereas the

imperfective forms were left unmarked for 'anteriority'. In the three-way system that resulted from the perfective present form being lost, the imperfective forms became marked for 'overlap' (or 'simultaneity'), whereas the perfective form became the unmarked form. As Brecht (1976) points out, this state of affairs also holds for the contemporary two-way system, as outlined in Table 6. [23]

Table 6. The contemporary two-way Russian converb system, adapted from Brecht (1976).

	Imperfective aspect	Perfective aspect
Present tense	*vstrečaj-a*	-
Past tense	-	*vstreti-v (vši)*

This relation based on markedness seems to be reflected in many observations of imperfective converbs expressing 'simultaneity', while perfective converbs are less restricted in their expressive potential (Švedova 1980, Barentsen & Zorixina-Nil′sson 2024). Brecht (1976) describes a reanalysis process involving a possible ambiguity between absolute and relative tense interpretations of the converb forms. (I do not recapitulate this analysis here, but see Brecht (1976: 277 ff.).

Brecht argues that the tense distinction in Russian converbs has been lost altogether:

> Indeed, imperfective VABs [verbal adverbs, i.e., *converbs*, S.M.] in *-a* and perfective VABs in *-v* normally represent actions that occur, respectively, simultaneously or sequentially with the main predicate. However, this is not a function of any temporal meaning in the VAB form itself. Rather, it is a natural consequence of the fact that two imperfective actions are normally interpreted as occurring simultaneously, and two perfective actions logically arrange themselves sequentially. (This, of course, follows from the perfective meaning of completion and its consequence, the obligatory use of imperfective aspect for actions in progress.) (Brecht 1976: 286).

The contemporary two-way system, as shown in Table 1 and Table 6, conflates the parameters of aspect and relative tense in such a way that aspect is the dominant parameter. There are example sentences containing perfective converbs that tend to be compatible with 'anteriority' or 'sequence' or give rise to such interpretations as its basic interpretation. Similarly, converbs with imperfective aspect tend to correlate with 'simultaneity'/'overlap' interpretations (for example, Švedova (1980) and Barentsen and Zorixina-Nil′sson (2024)). However, there is no absolute rule concerning these interpretations. Dobrušina

[23] Here, what is understood by *marked* is the degree of function specification, where the term *marked* indicates a narrower specification. In this thesis, the term *underspecification* is preferred. It is interesting to note that a reverse marking pattern for aspect in the language as a whole has been stated, for example, by Maslov (1959), who, according to Dickey (2020)"[…] resort[s] to the idea that the imperfective is unmarked for the meaning of the perfective […]"

(2009) notes that the loss of the tense distinction is an ongoing change currently in progress. Some forms that are excluded by the two-way system continue to be used, albeit marginally.

2.3. Typological status

2.3.1 The definition of converb

This section situates Russian converbs within a typological context, considering both their form and function. This section presents their typological context with a focus on points that have immediate bearing on the phenomena under investigation. Notwithstanding this, the discussion that follows does not pretend to be exhaustive.

The Russian *deepričastie* (known in English as 'verbal adverb', 'adverbial participle', or 'gerund') can be defined as a typical converb. The term converb has been defined by Haspelmath (1995: 3) and Nedjalkov (1995: 98):

> A non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination.
>
> (Haspelmath 1995: 3)

> As a first approximation, we can define a converb as a verb form which depends syntactically on another verb form, but is not its syntactic actant, i.e., does not realize its semantic valencies. Thus, a canonical (i.e., noncombined) converb can occupy (1) the position of an adjunct, i.e., an adverbial, but cannot occupy the positions: (2) of the only predicate of a simple sentence (without additional auxiliary elements); (3) of nominal attributes; (4) of a clausal actant (i.e., it cannot depend on verbs such as *begin*, *order*, etc.); (5) of a nominal actant (i.e., it does not occur in subject and object position) [references omitted].
>
> (Nedjalkov 1995: 98)

These definitions have been very successful in the literature, especially Haspelmath's intuitively understandable definition, which was followed by another, even more intuitive definition in the same text: "Another way of putting it is that converbs are verbal adverbs, just like participles are verbal adjectives" (Haspelmath 1995). This definition is widely used in the field, but it has also been criticised. Almost 30 years after his original definition, Haspelmath (2024: 1, 11) formulated a new definition:

> A converb is a form that consists of a verb stem and a special affix but no subject person indexing and that can occur as the predicate of a subordinate clause

> that is neither a relative clause nor a complement clause. (Haspelmath, to appear, Haspelmath, 2024)

The new definition, in part, is formulated in negative terms and is thus similar to Nedjalkov's definition. Russian converbs fit all definitions of converbs in other languages.[24] The Russian converb is, in many senses, a basic model of the converb since it is formally distinct from participle forms.

Haspelmath (to appear) makes a helpful distinction between 'descriptive categories' used for particular languages, on the one hand, and 'comparative-concept terms', on the other.[25] The converb definition from 2024 is a 'comparative concept', but it is also a 'retro definition' designed to capture most phenomena described by converbs, while simultaneously providing rigour and distinctness to the category that can be used as a point of departure if one wishes to demonstrate the multi-dimensional nature of linguistic phenomena. The retro-definition of *converb* is a 'comparative-concept term' and, as such, it is useful for "[t]alking about salient differences among languages" (Haspelmath 2024: 4). While the Russian *deepričastie* (which is a 'descriptive category') may fit the definitions of a converb above, English or Swedish 'present participles' (also a 'descriptive category') match the converb definition only in specific usages (i.e., when used adverbially "as the predicate of a subordinate clause that is neither a relative clause nor a complement clause"). The wording "can occur" in the definition specifically enables the 'comparative concept' to also cover instances where adverbial modification is not the only function of the form in question.

2.3.1.1. A related notion: 'Co-eventive adjuncts'

A concept related to converbs is presented in Fabricius-Hansen and Haug *et al.*'s (2012) anthology, where they discuss 'co-eventive adjuncts'. This category was developed to enable comparison and discussion of certain grammatical phenomena in Indo-European languages in Europe. A short definition of co-eventive adjuncts is found at the beginning of the anthology:

> In the introduction we presented co-eventive adjuncts (CE-adjuncts, CEAs) as non-finite predicate- or clause-like adverbal phrases introducing an

[24] In the Russian tradition, however, a converb is not always considered a predicate. Furthermore, a converb phrase is not always considered a clause in the same sense that subordinated or coordinated clauses are labelled as such. These terminological differences belong to different descriptive traditions. These differences are what Haspelmath (2024) aims to subsume with the term *descriptive category*. The articles included in this thesis sometimes employs the term *converb* as shorthand for *converb clauses*, or as an equivalent to the Russian term *deepričastnyj oborot* 'converb phrase'. The term *converb construction* is reserved for configurations comprising both a matrix clause and a converb clause.

[25] Here, the term *descriptive* is contrasted with the technical terms *explanatory/ theoretical/typological* in linguistics and not to the term *prescriptive*.

> eventuality that is understood as spatio-temporally co-located and participant-connected with the eventuality described by the matrix clause/VP (the host event), i.e., as a non-finite means of event-elaboration.
>
> (Fabricius-Hansen & Haug 2012: 21)

The notion of open or closed 'co-eventive adjuncts' may be a valuable tool for navigating linguistic fields where traditional descriptive categories make cross-linguistic comparison difficult.

2.3.1.2 Syntactic types of converbs

Nedjalkov (1995: 98-99) lists three types of converbs according to the syntactic function they fulfil. The first is an adverbial in a simple sentence. The second functions as a secondary or coordinate predicate, and the third type functions as a predicate of a subordinate clause (with a separate subject). Nedjalkov (1995: 98) states that these are 'ideal types' and that "in reality, it seems, most converbs combine several of these functions". These syntactic types are well-suited to describe languages such as Nivkh, where converbs occur more frequently than finite verbs in sentences with multiple verbs.

2.3.1.3 Semantic types of converbs: Contextual converbs in contrast to specialised converbs or narrative converbs.

In typological overviews (König 1995: 58, Nedjalkov 1995: 108), the semantic type of Russian converbs is considered 'contextual' rather than 'specialised' or 'narrative'. This means that Russian converbs are underspecified and acquire their meanings from the context (or rather, form meaning relations together with the meanings present in the co-text/context). This position differs, for example, from the claim that they provide predictable, stable meanings to the surrounding words in the sentence, i.e., morphologically coded meaning. Specialised converbs, in contrast, signal what relation holds between the matrix and the converb. Narrative converbs denote a smaller number of meanings than contextual converbs and are used when more than two events are involved. Narrative converbs thus contribute to the progression of the narrative (Nedjalkov 1995: 108). The terminology is sometimes used to describe Indo-European languages. See section 2.4.2.6.6 for a discussion of narrative types observed in Ancient Greek and their similarity to certain types of Russian converbs.

2.3.2 Russian converbs in contrast to converbs and related categories in other Indo-European languages in Europe

Russian differs from many European languages in two important respects regarding the morphological inventory of its converbs: (i) Russian verbs have two aspects, the imperfective and perfective, with their associated converb suffixes (see Sections 2.1 and 2.2 for a discussion of the suffixes) and (ii) Russian adverbial converbs are formally distinct from attributive (i.e., adnominally used) deverbal forms.[26] In English and Swedish, so-called 'present participles' (which are indeclinable) can be used both adverbally and adnominally. Furthermore, there are significant differences in the distribution of these forms. For example, Russian converbs, unlike English 'present participles' or Italian '*gerundi',* do not form composite tenses, as evidenced by the progressive. Unlike English or Swedish 'present participles', Russian converbs are not used attributively.

The following schema adapted from König and van de Auwera (1990: 347) shows how a core "adverbial participle" (i.e., a converb) with same subject adverbial use in secondary predications (0)) differs from other uses of participles along the dimensions of (1) *primary* predicate instead of secondary predicate; (2) *object* instead of subject; (3) separate secondary *subject*; and (4) *adnominal* (attributive) rather than adverbial.

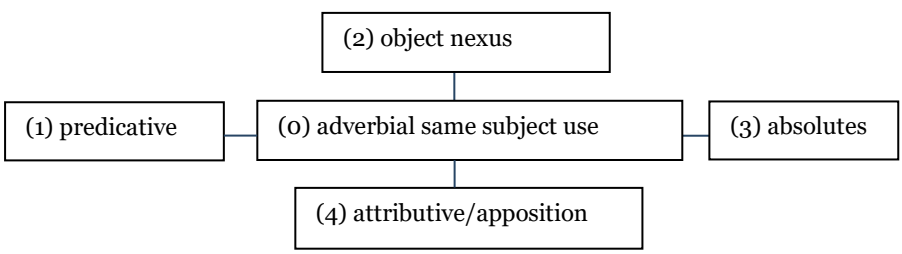

Figure 3. Constructions related to core converb constructions, based on König and van der Auwera (1990), with numeral indices added.

Examples of these related constructions are given in König and van der Auwera (1990). (1) English and Italian examples of predicative use are *I am **flying***. and *Sto **volendo***. Such usages are not possible in Russian, although certain converb forms have become adverbs used in conjunction with the copula, as in *On byl vypivši.* 'He was drunk/had drunk.' (See Birzer 2010). The converb has also developed into a marker of the perfect tense in Russian dialect varieties, such as

[26] See Barentsen and Zorikhina-Nilsson (to appear) for an overview of converbs in the Slavic languages.

the Pskov dialect (Bjørnflaten 2019). (2) An English example of object nexus is *I saw him **listening** to Turandot the other day*. This usage is not possible with converbs in Russian, since there is a strict same-subject requirement for converbs. (3) An English example of an 'absolute' construction is *His father **being** a sailor, John knows all about boats*. Again, usage is not possible in Russian because of the same-subject requirement. (4) An English example of an adnominal attributive use or apposition (reduced relative clauses) can be found in *The man **standing** at the corner is my brother*. This usage is not possible in Russian because of the copula in the matrix clause.

These comparisons of forms across functions are relevant to the contrastive analysis of Russian converbs and their Swedish corresponding forms. One of the corresponding forms, which at first appeared to be odd, can be found in the schema above. I refer to Swedish bipartite comitatives (see Article I, Mellquist 2022, section 5.1.1), which can be analysed as 'absolutes', and which correlate with Russian converbs in a systematic manner (See subsection 2.3.2.1 below). Some usages in the middle of the schema, ((0) adverbial with the same subject), also give rise to interesting correspondences, for example, when converbs are used on a par with depictives, thereby conveying secondary predicates that have a strong relationship with the subject. In such instances, we observe a functional overlap with adjectival participles since the converbs denote properties (see subsection 2.3.2.2 below).

2.3.2.1 Absolutes and related constructions

Absolutes are found in position (3) in the schema in Figure 3. Converbs and absolutes are often treated together in a unified manner (cf. Stump 1985, Kortmann 1991). For example, the English *-ing* form is used in both constructions (and in the other constructions in Figure 3). In this way, typological studies—and studies of English—provide a theoretical bridge for the study of the (at first glance) diverse phenomena of Russian converb constructions and Swedish comitatives. Nedjalkov (1995: 102) admits that the precise typological position for absolute constructions with participles and certain related phenomena is "hard to determine". Weiss (1995) claims that there is a "ban on absolutes" in Russian converb usage. The 'absolutes' referred to by Weiss are concerned with converbs with a different subject, compare (3) in Figure 3.

Swedish bipartite constructions that use the comitative preposition *med* 'with' and their Russian correspondences are investigated in Article I and Article III. The analysis in Article I (Mellquist 2022) essentially confirms Weiss's remark concerning a "ban on absolutes" in Russian, even when augmented absolutes are considered. The article investigates Swedish bipartite comitatives, which can be analysed as 'absolutes'. Fabricius-Hansen and Haug *et al.* (2012) define such constructions as 'augmented closed adjuncts'. The feature of being closed

depends on the secondary subject, and the augmentation refers to the presence of a preposition, such as *with*. Swedish bipartite comitatives have the structure [*med* 'with' + secondary subject + predicate]. In the investigation reported on in Article I, the structure is [*med* + NP+PP], which is exemplified with *med fötterna på bordet* 'with feet-DEF on table-DEF. Article I (Mellquist 2022, section 5.1.1) shows that a converb construction instantiates the most frequent Russian translation correspondence when the first (subject) part of the structure includes an inalienable body part: *položiv nogi na stol* 'having put one's feet on the table' (put-CVB feet-ACC on table-ACC). In contrast, when reference to the inalienable body part is located in the second part of the bipartite structure, the Swedish comitatives frequently correspond to bipartite comitatives in Russian. Thus, Swedish *med ett glas i handen* 'with a glass in hand-DEF' corresponds with Russian *so stakanom v ruke* 'with glass-INSTR in hand-LOC'.

2.3.2.2 Depictives

Another concept that can serve as a theoretical bridge in comparing categories and functions across languages is the concept of 'depictives'. Depictives fall partly under the definition of 'adverbial same subject use' but differ from other such usages in that they convey *properties* that may be ascribed to the subject and thus have an adjectival function. Depictives are also defined as 'co-predicates', 'secondary predicates', 'predicative attributes', or 'predicatives' and are usually concerned with (secondary) predicative adjectives or participles. Depictives may denote either the object, as in (3) in Figure 3, *I saw him **listening** to Turandot the other day*. or the subject, as in *I worked **listening** to Turandot the other day*. The type relevant to the subject is pertinent to the examination of Russian converbs.

Depictives are distinguished from 'predicative complements', which are obligatory for some verbs (typically *nazyvat'sja* 'be called', *rabotat'* work (as)). In Russian, predicative complements (15) and depictives (16) typically take instrumental case when expressed with nouns or adjectives/participles:

(15) *On* *rabotaet* ***inženerom***
He works engineer:INSTR
'He works as an engineer.'

(16) *On* *prišël* ***pjanym***
He arrived drunk:INSTR
'He arrived drunk.'

In addition, the primary predicative use of adjectives with the copula overtly marked (in past tense) uses the instrumental case along with the nominative case.

Participles and adjectives used in primary predication, furthermore, have dedicated short forms for primary predicative use.

(17) *Televizor* ***vključën***
Television on.switched(PFV):PTCP:PASS:M:SG
'The television is switched on.'

(18) *On tol'ko čto byl* ***razbužen*** *gromkim* *golosom* (…)
He just that was awakened loud:INSTR voice:INSTR
'He had just been awakened by a loud voice.'

Notably, this pertains only to passive participles. Note that active Russian participles do not have short forms, as these have been transformed into converbs.

There is functional overlap between Russian converbs and participle depictives (relating to the Subject) in specific contexts. In English, the 'present participle' and the indeclinable *-ing* form cover both attributive and adverbial usages (along with usage in the progressive). However, in Russian, there is a strict morphological difference between participles (*pričastija*) and converbs (*deepričastija*). In Russian, participles are used attributively, whereas converbs mark adverbial subordination of various types. The 'depictive' usages form an intermediate category between these functions, and this gives rise to a functional overlap. Thus, the Russian converb usage in *On sidel zadumavšis'*. can be translated into English with a participle 'He sat *lost* in thought.' or a construction with a present participle 'He sat, *having lost* himself in thought.' In the Swedish translation, a passive participle constitutes the best translation option *Han satt förlorad i tankar*. 'He sat lost in thought.'

The analysis of participles used on a par with converbs is presented in Krave (2010: 24 ff.), who observes that a class of unaccusative participles (which are defined as intransitive verbs whose subject does not assume an agentive role) may be used adverbially, cf. *privykšij* '[being] used to' (participle) *privyknuv* 'having become used to' (converb).

(19) Russian: Krave (2010) constructed examples, transliteration and glosses adapted.
a. ***Privykšij*** *k poxvalam (*on) student spokojno vyslušival učitelja (attributive)*
'The student (*he) accustomed to praise calmly listened to the teacher.'

b. ***Privykšij*** *k poxvalam, on/student spokojno vyslušival učitelja (adverbial)*
'Accustomed to praise, he/the student calmly listened to the teacher.'

c. ***Privyknuv*** *k poxvalam, on/student spokojno vyslušival učitelja (adverbial)*
'Having become accustomed to praise, he/the student calmly listened to the teacher.'

The depictives discussed in the present study (primarily in Article III) concern another construction, namely, the 'resultant state' construction.

Russian converbs used in the 'resultant state' construction can be paraphrased with participles in Russian. (Vaseva-Kadynkova 1961, Deribas 1962, Akimova & Kozinceva 1987, Birzer 2010). Article I and Article III investigate resultant state usages of Russian converbs. See section 5.1.1 and section 5.1.3.[27]

The functional domain of depictives has been investigated typologically by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004) and Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005).[28]

Their core observations regarding depictives are:

(1) They provide a further characterisation of the subject without narrowing down its reference in a restrictive way (which distinguishes depictives from attributively/adnominally used adjectives/participles),

(2) They "[...] do not form a complex predicate in the way serial verbs or periphrastic predicates do." (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004: 59); and

(3) "The state of affairs expressed by a depictive holds true specifically at the time that the eventuality expressed by the matrix predicate takes place." (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004: 60).

The third point aligns nicely with the 'manner' type of temporal dependence identified by Boguslavskij (1977) (See section 2.4.2.6.1). The property that is ascribed to the clausal subject is claimed to hold only at the time of the matrix expression. In *He left the party* ***angry***., the subject's anger holds only at the time when he left the party. We thus observe that the matrix verb restricts the reference of this property of 'being angry', as a temporary property. This temporal dependency relation is also shared by converbs used as 'manner' adverbials and as so-called 'accompanying circumstances'.

2.3.3 Swedish converb-like deverbal forms

This section presents the Swedish verb forms that are most similar to the Russian converbs. For the sake of completeness, the Swedish forms that structurally correspond to the Russian converbs should also be presented. Note, however, that these forms do not necessarily correspond to Russian converbs in translation. The

[27] Richardson (2007) and Ivanova (2022) observe that Russian converbs are not infrequently preferred over participles in the depictive function.

[28] Their inquiry began with the observation that German, unlike English, does not mark the depictive use of adjectives and participles separately from their adverbial use. In German, the depictive use is made distinct from the attributive use by the absence of agreement. However, there is no formal difference between the depictive and adverbial use in German.
English: *The angry lady left. The lady left angry. The lady left angri**ly**.*
German: *Die wütend**e** Dame ging. Die Dame ging wütend. Die Dame ging wütend.*

Swedish converb-like deverbal forms consist of two participles and the supine form. The participles have all the functions that adjectives have (Teleman *et al.* 1999).[29] The supine form is invariably used with the auxiliary *ha* 'have' (which is sometimes elliptical) and is found in compound tenses (perfect and pluperfect) and infinitive phrases headed by prepositions, for example, *efter att ha sprungit* 'after having run', *utan att ha sprungit* 'without having run'. The properties of being active and indeclinable render the present participle and supine forms comparable to the Russian converbs (*deepričastija*).

Table 7. Swedish converb-like deverbal forms.[30]

	Active	Passive
Present	**Present participle** Indeclinable Both adverbial and adnominal usages. *springande* 'running'	-
Past	**Supine** Indeclinable Only verbal or adverbial use, in composite tenses and infinitive phrases. *har sprungit* 'has run; *hade sprungit* 'had run'; *efter att ha sprungit* 'after having run/after running', *utan att ha sprungit*; 'without having run/without running'	**Perfect participle** Agrees with nouns in gender and number. Adnominal use only. *Är sprungen (ur)* 'emanates from' [literally 'is run/sprung out of']

The Swedish present participle may be 'verbal' or 'adjectival'. In Mellquist (2017), predicatives (depictives), predicatively used participles or adjectives, constituted 10 percent of the translation correspondences between Swedish and Russian in Swedish target texts and 7 percent of translation correspondences in Swedish source texts. Constructions with the supine form did not figure in the predicative (depicitive) usages but did figure in temporal or negated usages. In such cases, they were always marked by an explicit relational marker, like *när/då* 'when', *efter* 'after', *och* 'and', or *utan* 'without'. In contrast with, for example, predicative participles in the Russian ***sklonivšis'*** *nad stolom […] stojal* (*stod* ***lutad*** *över*

[29] In the Swedish Academy grammar, adverbs derived from adjectives with the suffix *-t* are regarded as neutral adjectives (used adverbially) rather than adverbs.
[30] This scheme shows only the most basic distinctions. Additional parameters, such as transitivity and unaccusativity and unergativity with intransitive verbs are not represented.

bordet 'stood leaning over the table'), examples translated by supine forms did not constitute the correspondence by themselves, i.e., unaugmented. For example, consider the Russian ***Prodelav*** *ėtu složnuju manipuljaciju vosem' raz* [...] (***Efter att ha gått*** *igenom hela proceduren åtta gånger* '[After] having gone through this complex manipulation eight times.')

Regarding converb forms in Swedish, König (1995) makes the following statement:

> Swedish and German converbs, like most Germanic languages other than English, make only parsimonious use of converbs. In these languages, converbal constructions can never express purely sequential relations, but only circumstantial relations. (König 1995: 72).

The Swedish converb-like forms thus have limited potential for use as correspondences to Russian converbs.

2.4. Meaning relations expressed with Russian converbs: Parameters and binary oppositions

2.4.1 Overview of converb meanings mentioned in previous research

This section summarises previous research on Russian converbs in a way relevant to the contributions made in the articles included in this thesis. The literature on Russian converbs is particularly extensive, and only a relevant selection of that literature is presented here. Specific meaning relations and the factors contributing to these meaning relations are focused on here. Special attention is also given to statements about the distinction between converbs used as temporal adverbials or clause-modifying adverbials, on the one side, and converbs used as manner adverbials or accompanying circumstance adverbials, on the other. Before delving into the factors and parameters presented in the literature, I discuss two attempts to systematise the semantic field of Russian converbs. I first discuss Apresjan's (1983) account of the factors (and combinations thereof) that give rise to specific meaning relations. Second, I present Birzer's (2010) additions to this inventory of factors and her decision tree for determining Russian converb interpretations.

2.4.1.1 Ordered conditions (uslovija realizacii) for the realisation of converb meanings I: Apresjan (1983)

Apresjan (1983) discusses Russian converb meanings and finds that they are conditioned by certain syntactic, morphological, and semantic conditions, often

in an intricate interplay with each other. His aim is to formulate conditions that, if fulfilled, make a particular meaning inevitable. He claims that only in such instances (where his conditions hold and predict the desired outcome) does the converb meaning constitute an independent unit in the semantic system of the language and can thus be regarded as grammatically encoded (*jazykovoje značenie*) (Apresjan 1983: 335)/ (See also section 2.4.2.3.) Notwithstanding this claim, Apresjan (1983: 335) does not exclude the possibility that any of the converb meanings could be expressible in other ways. His list of primary conditions is based on the inventory provided in Arbatskij (1980) and does not pretend to be exhaustive. While hitherto unknown conditions may exist (*eščë ne izvestnyj kompleks uslovij*), Apresjan (1983) warns of the possibility of other types of linguistic encoding (i.e., lexical encoding) or contextual conditioning that can play a role in this semantic field. The present study aims to identify and describe some such 'unknown conditions'.[31]

The first condition he mentions is syntactic in nature. The preverbal position provides a strong discriminating force with regard to the meaning of the converb, while the postverbal position is a position of neutralisation.

The second condition is valence. Some predicates may demand the presence of an adverbial, which may be realised as a converb. In such instances, Apresjan argues, the converbs do not realise specific meanings:[32, 33]

(20) Apresjan (1983: 335) (English added by author)[34]
Vy zabluždaetes' (ošibaetes'), ***utverždaja****, čto rabota zaveršena.*
'You are mistaken (wrong) when you say that the work is done.'

The third condition identified by Aprejan states that the matrix predicate and the converb should not be members of the same semantic class. If they do, then the converb expresses a general meaning (*naibolee obščee značenie*) of 'manner' or 'accompanying circumstance':[35]

[31] Many other conditions have been added since Apresjan (1983), mainly by Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), but also by Rjabova (1992) and Biirzer (2010), among others. The most recent contributions to this area have been made by Barentsen and Zorixina-Nil′sson (2024).
[32] The converbs should be adjuncts (*sirkonstantnaja zavisimost')* and not complements (*aktantnaja zavisimost'*). In Apresjan's view, predicates like *ošibat'sja* 'be mistaken', *zabluždat'sja* 'be mistaken' have valence for converbs as actants. I refer to his work on 'interpretative verbs' (Apresjan 1980, 2004).
[33] In my analysis, 'instrumentality' is present in this and similar examples, as well as a division of labour between means and end or cause and effect. See also Kustova (1996), (2016) and V. Apresjan (2014).
[34] All of the examples in this subsection are taken from Apresjan (1983). English glosses and translations as well as forms in italics have been added by the author.
[35] The condition where the verbs' semantic class is the same class seems to be correct at predicting 'manner' but not 'accompanying circumstance', cf., (3) the example provided in the introduction *skazala ulybajas'* 'said smiling', where the verb classes are different. In (21b), furthermore, the

(21) a. ***Stupaja*** *meždu sjaščimi soldatami, komandir prodolžal dumat′ o pred stojaščem boe*. (odnovremennost′)
'(While, when) Stepping between the sleeping soldiers, the commander continued to think about the upcoming battle. ('simultaneity')

b. ***Stupaja*** *meždu spjaščimi soldatami, komandir probiralsja k dveri.* (obraz dejstvija ili soputstvujuščie obstojatel′stva)
'(By) Stepping between the sleeping soldiers, the commander made his way to the door. ('manner or accompanying circumstance')

In (21a), the semantic classes do not coincide ('stepping' vs. 'thinking') and the resulting meaning is 'simultaneity', according to Apresjan (1983). In (21b), the semantic classes ('stepping' and 'making his way') coincide, and hence the meaning, according to Apresjan (1983), is 'manner' or 'accompanying circumstance'.

When these three primary conditions are fulfilled (preverbal position, non-valence, and non-coincidence of semantic classes), more specific conditions for specific meanings can be formulated. For example, the conditions for the meaning of 'anteriority' to arise are the following:

a) The matrix predicate should have the semantic feature of an 'action' or a 'process' (semantic condition).
b) There should not be any negation particles or any other particles in the sentence (syntactic compositional condition).
c) The converb should be in the perfective aspect (morphological condition).

Apresjan states that if the above conditions are fulfilled (in conjunction with his three primary conditions), the converb phrase can be interpreted as conveying 'anteriority' independently of any other meaning nuances that it may also have:

(22) ***Perepravivšis′*** *čerez reku, vsadnik povernul (povoračival) napravo.*
'(After) Turning across the river, the rider turned to the right.'

(23) ***Stav*** *masterom svoego dela, on ne sčitaet zazornym učit′sja u drugix*.
'Having become a master of his craft, he does not consider it shameful to learn from others.'

meaning is better analysed as 'method/instrumental action' since it may be translated with a *by*+gerund in English, i.e., *[He] made his way* ***by*** *stepping between the sleeping soldiers*. While the verb meanings partly coincide thematically, they differ in terms of their method-specification. (See section 2.4.2.7.)

(24) ***Podumav*** *nemnogo, on rešil otvetit' tak.*
'After thinking for a while, he decided to answer like that.'

For the meaning of 'simultaneity' to be present, the three primary conditions and the first two specific conditions pertaining to the 'anteriority' meaning (a) and (b) must be fulfilled.[36] The morphological condition requires the imperfective form; otherwise the sentence will express 'anteriority'. To demonstrate this, compare (22) above to (25), below. Apresjan also observes that such sentences must have actual 'ongoing' meaning (*aktual'no dlitel'noe značenie*) or a 'habitual' (*uzual'noe značenie*) meaning, otherwise the converb phrase may lose its 'simultaneity' meaning. Compare (26), which has a 'potential' meaning.

(25) ***Perepravljajas'*** *čerez reku, vsadnik posmotrel napravo.*
'Crossing the river, the rider looked to the right.'

(26) *Svobodno* ***čitaja*** *po-ispanski, on deržal svoix druzej v kurse sobytij v Barselone.*
'Reading Spanish fluently, he kept his friends up to date with events in Barcelona.'

Note that only preverbal converbs are analysed as conveying 'temporal ordering' (taxis) in Apresjan's (1983) treatment. The meanings of 'manner' and 'accompanying circumstance' are thus not analysed as 'temporal', despite the possibility of varying temporal orders between the eventualities denoted by the matrix and converb clauses. This is a consequence of Apresjan's (1983) adoption of Boguslavskij's (1977) distinction between 'temporal' and 'manner' adverbial usages of Russian converbs, which depend on a temporal dependency relation and thus constitute a partly syntactic distinction (see sections 2.4.2.6.1–2.4.2.6.7).[37] Apresjan also formulates conditions for 'causal' (reason), 'conditional', and 'place' meanings. He excludes other meanings for two reasons: (i) they are grammatically encoded (*jazykovye*) by categories other than the converb form (this pertains to the meaning relations of 'purpose' (*cel'*) and 'means' (*sredstvo*), which he attributes to the converb's lexical class, or (ii) they are not grammatically encoded at all but arise contextually (for example, as secondary nuances added to the meanings of 'anteriority' and 'simultaneity' (see (23), where a 'causal' nuance is added to the meaning of 'anteriority'). Such cases

[36] Here, Apresjan also mentions a prosodic condition, the insertion of a pause after the converb phrase (see sections 2.4.2.6.1 and 2.4.2.6.2).
[37] This approach to temporal meanings differs from Xrakovskij *et al.'s* (2009, 2016, 2024) framework for studying taxis, which regards all types of temporal relation, whether they be grammatically encoded or contextual. In their framework, inclusion relations may vary; the matrix is temporally included in the converb or the converb is temporally included in matrix. However, a clear hierarchical syntactic dependency is not needed —although such a syntactic dependency relation can accompany the inclusion relations, it is not crucial to their annotation scheme.

fall outside the scope of Apresjan (1983).[38] I will not discuss 'place' in this presentation since it is the meaning that is subject to the largest number of conditions. The meaning of 'cause' (*pričina*) is interesting in that, according to Apresjan, it may be either grammatically encoded or contextual. When the meaning is contextual, it functions as a meaning nuance that accompanies the temporal meanings (see (23)). When the 'causal' meaning is grammatically encoded (*jazykovoe značenie*), it is conditioned by the three primary conditions and a series of additional conditions, most of them semantic. These additional conditions are the following:

a) The verb that has converb form must have a 'stative' meaning (*ljubit'* 'love', *gordit'sja* 'be proud of', *znat'* 'know', *sčitat'* 'consider', *žaždat'* 'crave', *želat'* 'wish', *imet'* 'have, own', *raspolagat'* 'have at one's disposal').
b) The converb is in the imperfective form.
c) The converb must have 'actual ongoing' (*aktual'no dlitel'noe*) or 'processual' meaning.
d) The matrix predicate is used in expressing either the primary meaning of the perfective aspect or a historical-present meaning of the imperfective aspect.

Consider the following example sentences:

(27) ***Ljubja*** *lest', on okružil sebja podxalimami.*
'Loving flattery, he surrounded himself with sycophants.'

(28) ***Sčitaja*** *razgovor okončennym, on vstaët i idët k dveri.*
'Considering the conversation over, he gets up and goes to the door.'

The 'conditional' meaning is associated with 'habitual' meaning and generic reference. A permanent (im)possibility or necessity must be denoted by the matrix predicate that the converb depends on:

(29) ***Pretenduja*** *na ėtu dolžnost', nado obladat ' talantom.*
'Applying for this position, (one) needs to have talent.'

[38]I question the statements about 'purpose' and 'means' in Article II, Article IV, and Article V. The statement that valence-bound converbs do not have specific meaning must also be questioned since they can express relations that require explicit coding in other languages, notably the 'instrumental action' ('means') meaning, which is marked with *by* in English and *genom* in Swedish.

(30) ***Naprjagši*** *sily, čelovek samyx srednyx sposobnostej možet dobit'sja (dobivaetsja) čego ugodno.*
'Exerting his strength, a person of the most average ability can achieve (achieves) anything.'

(31) ***Poterjav*** *dve treti boevogo sostava, podrazdelenie dolžno otojti.*
'(If it has lost/) Having lost two-thirds of its combat strength, the unit must retreat.'

Apresjan (1983: 337) remarks that if the permanent feature is absent, no conditional meaning appears:

(32) ***Poterjav*** *dve treti boevogo sostava, podrazdelenie dolžno bylo otstupit'.*
'Having lost two-thirds of its combat strength, the unit had to retreat.'

The treatment of 'accompanying circumstance' deserves further commentary. This category is grouped with 'manner' in a catch-all category, which is not further described. The temporal orders of the eventualities denoted by such converb usages are not discussed. This is an interesting lacuna in Apresjan's treatment of converbs, likely prompted by Boguslavskij's (1977) theories on a fundamental distinction between 'manner' and 'temporal' adverbial usages of Russian converbs, as discussed in section 2.4.2.6.1.

2.4.1.2. Ordered conditions for the realisation of converb meanings II: Birzer (2010)

Birzer (2010) further develops Apresjan's (1983) method of listing inventories of conditions relevant to the calculation of converb meaning by introducing several exceptions and additions. The inventories are also summarised in a decision tree (see Figure 4, below). Birzer (2010) employs various tests, primarily the applicability of the temporal markers *odnovremenno* 'simultaneously', *predvaritel'no* 'in advance', *bystro* 'quickly', *zatem* 'after that, then' in sentences containing a converb. If the converb example does not accept any of these temporal markers, then two other tests are applied. These tests consist of checking whether the verb that the converb is formed from is a 'subject-resultative' verb, or whether the converb or the matrix predicate belongs to the class of 'interpretative' verbs. Birzer (2010) presumably uses informants with native speaker intuition when applying these tests, thereby allowing her to classify 'primary converb meanings' and present them in a decision tree.

The first novel contribution in her treatment of the synchronic status of Russian converbs consists of her statement of conditions for 'posterior' meaning. This meaning is not treated by Apresjan (1983). The main condition for this meaning is the converb's post-verbal position. Two subcases are identified: (i) 'partial simultaneity' (33), which is characterised by the applicability of test words

for ‘simultaneity’ but not for ‘posteriority’. The semantic condition applicable to these sentences is that there be a hierarchical relation between the eventualities expressed by the sentence such that the converb denotes an integral part of the eventuality denoted by the matrix clause (cf. *zakryv dver′* ‘closing the door’ as an integral part of *pokinul kvartiru* ‘left the apartment’), as shown in (33):

(33) Russian, adapted from Birzer (2010: 103) transliteration and English added.
Saša pokinul kvartiru, (odnovremenno / bystro / *predvaritel′no / *zatem) ***zakryv*** *dver′ na nižnij zamok.*
‘Sasha left the apartment, (simultaneously / quickly / *in advance / *then) closing the door with the lower lock.’

‘Posteriority’ meanings are characterised by the applicability of test-words for ‘posteriority’, for example, *zatem* ‘then’. The relevant morphological condition is that either both or at least the matrix verb be in the perfective form. The relevant syntactic condition is the converb’s postverbal position. Semantically, the two verb forms should either share a partly coinciding meaning or the converb should denote an eventuality that functions as a presupposition for the converb. In the absence of these semantic conditions, the meaning of the relationship between the two eventualities may emerge due to world knowledge.

(34) *Komandir otdelenija dvaždy s intervalom 15 min izmeril s pomoš′ju DP-ZT urovni radiacii,* ***opredeliv*** *zatem vozrast produktov radiokativnogo raspada i vremja jadernogo vzryva.*
‘The squad leader measured radiation levels twice with an interval of 15 minutes with the help of DP-ZT, then determining the age of radioactive decay products and the time of the nuclear explosion.’

The second novel contribution made by Birzer (2010) is her statement of conditions for the ‘concretisation of action’ meaning in the presence of ‘interpretative verbs’ in either the matrix clause or the converb clause. Building on Marszk (1996), who, in turn, builds on Apresjan (1980), Birzer broadens the concept of ‘interpretative verbs’ to include not only subjective or evaluative statements (which are described by Apresjan (1980)), but also more concrete descriptions adhering to the ‘dictum’ plane, like blocking an entrance:

(35) *Miša zakryval soboj kvartiru,* ***stoja*** *prjamo pered nej.*
‘Misha was blocking the apartment by standing directly in front of it.’

Such ‘interpretative situations’ involving *inter alia* ‘concretisation of action’ are the theme of Article II, Article IV, and Article V (see section 5.1.2, 5.1.4, and 5.1.5, Mellquist 2024, 2025, in preparation). I refer to this phenomenon as ‘complementary coincidence’ following Růžička (1980). Instead of

'interpretation', I emphasise 'method-neutrality'. A brief overview of this position is found in section 2.4.2.7.

Birzer (2010) finds that 'interpretive situations' are not compatible with her temporal test words:

(36) Russian, adapted from Birzer (2010: 104), transliteration and English added.
Boec zakryl svoim telom ambrazuru, (*predvaritel′no / *bystro / *odnovremenno / *zatem) ***obespečiv*** *podrazdeleniju prodviženie vperëd.*
'The soldier covered the embrasure with his body, (*in advance / *quickly / *simultaneously / *then) ensuring the advance of the unit.'

(37) Russian, adapted from Birzer (2010: 104), transliteration and English added.
On sygral na ruku pravym, (*predvaritel′no / *bystro / *odnovremenno / *zatem) ***perenesja*** *srok obsuždenija zakonoproekta.*
'He played into the hands of the right, (*preliminarily / *quickly / *simultaneously / *then) postponing the discussion of the bill.'

Birzer further notes that several observations made by Boguslavskij (1977) can be transformed into a test condition. She notes that (i) if a converb is formed from an interpretive verb, *tem samym* 'thus' can be inserted into the converb clause, and (ii) if the interpretative verb is constituted by the matrix clause, then the converb clause can be reconstructed into a subordinate clause by means of using *tem, čto* 'by the fact that':

(38) Russian, adapted from Birzer (2010: 104), transliteration and English added.
Boec zakryl svoim telom ambrazuru, (tem samym) ***obespečiv*** *podrazdeleniju prodviženie vperëd.*
'The soldier covered the embrasure with his body, (thus) ensuring the movement of the unit forward.'

(39) Russian, adapted from Birzer (2010: 104), transliteration and English added.
On sygral na ruku pravym ***tem, čto perenës*** *srok obsuždenija zakonoproekta.*
'He played into the hands of the right by the fact that he postponed the discussion of the bill.'

Birzer (2010: 104) notes that both aspects of either the matrix and converb are possible for the realisation of the 'concretisation of action' meaning, but that imperfective verbs are rare. She also notes that if the interpretative verb is a converb, then the converb must be in the postposition. If the interpretative verb is the matrix, the converb may be in either position.[39]

[39] These statements can be questioned when the results of my articles are considered. When an 'interpretative' ['method-neutral'] converb denotes a 'purpose' instead of a 'result', then imperfective

The third contribution that Birzer (2010) makes involves 'resultatives' (*rezul'tativy*), a meaning category borrowed from Nedjalkov's (1983) typological work concerned with primary predicates (see section 2.3). Birzer notes an affinity between the 'resultant state' converb construction and attributive usages of participles or the use of participles in composite tenses. 'Resultant state' usages of Russian converbs are the theme of Article I and Article III. Birzer proposes that this meaning is dependent on the verb class of 'subject-resultative' (*subjektno-rezul'tativnye*) verbs.[40]

(40) Russian, adapted from Birzer (2010: 103), transliteration and English added.
Medved'… šël spokojno (*predvaritel′no / *bystro / *odnovremenno / *zatem) ***opustiv*** *golovu.*
'The bear… walked calmly, (*in advance / *quickly / *simultaneously / *then) having lowered his head.'

(41) Russian, adapted from Birzer (2010: 103), transliteration and English added.
— Nu, da, — ***opustiv*** *golovu, priznalsja on.*
'"Well, yes," he admitted, lowering his head.'

Like the 'interpretative situations' and the meaning relation of 'concretisation of action', the converbs with 'resultant' meaning are not compatible with the temporal test-words, as shown in (40). The morphological condition for expression of this meaning relation is perfective aspect, but there is no syntactic condition.

One notable affinity between the two classification systems in Apresjan (1983) and Birzer (2010) is that both rank the position of the converb as the first condition. This echoes the distinction between 'temporal' and 'manner' use of converbs presented in Boguslavskij (1977).[41] This distinction is interesting and recurs in different forms in different scholarly work on Russian converb meaning.

verbs are used and the converb's preverbal position is possible, see section 2.4.2.7.1. When an 'interpretative' converb is the matrix and the converb specifies a 'means' ('instrumental action'), then imperfective aspect is quite frequent (somewhat more frequent than perfective converbs). See Article IV (Mellquist, in preparation) and section 5.1.4.

[40] This solution is not satisfactory. The construction features neutral verbs *otkryt'* 'open', *zakryt'* 'close', and *položit'* 'place/put' that are not specifically associated with body parts. Note the use of *opustit'* 'lower, let down' in (102), Section 5.1.1. Therefore, I emphasise the feature of 'inalienability' in Article I and Article III, instead. Furthermore, the class of 'subject-resultative' verbs is not easily identified. Birzer is, however, correct in identifying the semantic field of 'body-position', 'clothing', etc. This is also discussed by Akimova and Kozinceva (1987).

[41] In Birzer (2010: 106), the condition is formulated slightly differently: "Can a given converb only figure in postverbal position?"

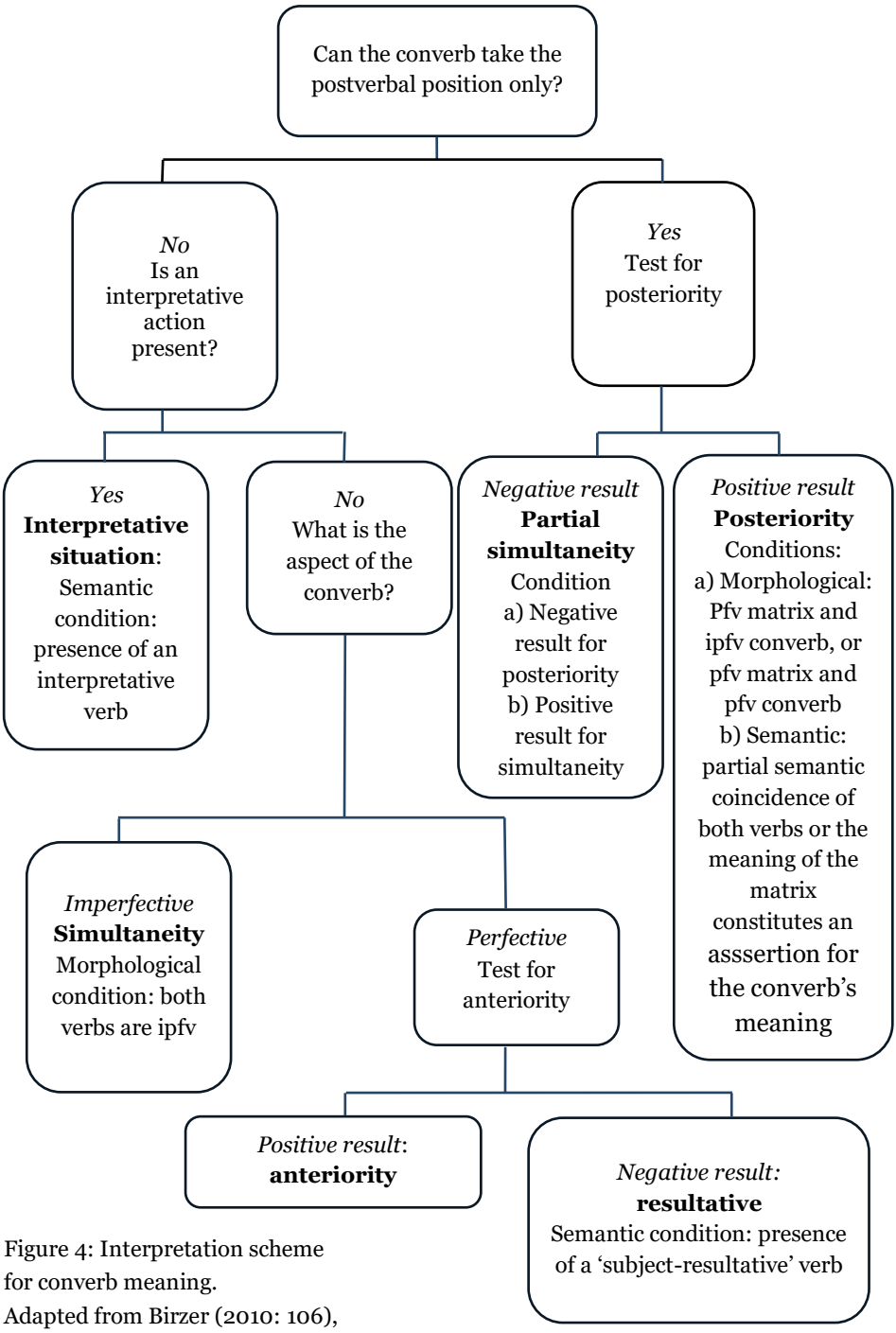

Figure 4: Interpretation scheme for converb meaning.
Adapted from Birzer (2010: 106), translations added.

2.4.2 Parameters in the study of Russian converb meaning

Converb meaning is a complex phenomenon that is influenced by a wide range of factors. Specific factors have been highlighted as having a strong potential to influence the converb's meaning. Apresjan (1983) emphasises the role of a converb's preverbal position and, to some degree, the role prosody plays in determining the converb's meaning. However, other factors have also been emphasised. For example, Rappaport (1984) speaks of 'detachment' as a decisive factor, whereas Rjabova (1992) highlights the 'directness' (*prjamaja, neposredstvennaja svjaz'*) or 'indirectness' (*kosvennaja, oposredovannaja svjaz'*) of the relation between the converb and the clausal subject. In this section, I discuss the most important factors that have been mentioned in the literature. Many, but not every factor, can be formulated as a binary opposition that subdivides the semantic field of converb meaning.

Sections 2.4.2.1 through 2.4.2.5 outline several overarching, principal questions concerning the meaning of Russian converbs. Section 2.4.2.6 describes several taxonomies based on dichotomies and other distinguishing factors. Section 2.4.2.7 discusses the field of 'complementary coincidence'.

2.4.2.1 Aspect vs. (relative) tense

As described in section 2.2, the paradigm governing the form of Russian converbs has developed into an aspect opposition in which two former tense markers are associated with one aspect each, see Table 8. This development is described as an ongoing process (cf. Dobrušina 2009). Given this, we ask (i) whether the meanings of relative tense should be analysed as *encoded* by the converb suffixes (or combinations of stem+suffix), even though these meanings can be overridden in the presence of certain other factors, or (ii) whether they should be regarded as *default interpretations* of 'simultaneity' vs. 'anteriority'. The incomplete paradigm illustrated in section 2.2 leaves us in a situation where aspect and relative tense may be seen as competing factors with regard to converb interpretation. In Xrakovskij's (2009, 2016, 2024) framework, the relative tense meanings are explicitly referred to as 'primary' (*osnovnoj*), whereas the specific meaning of the converb is formed against the background of these primary taxis meanings, 'background taxis' (*fonovyj taxis*).

2.4.2.2. Verbal vs. adverbial function

Arbatskij (1980: 108) points out that the functional-semantical field that is instantiated by Russian converbs is a function of the combined features of 'processuality' (inherited from the verb stem) and 'adverbiality'. It is argued that this 'processual adverbiality' is scalar in the sense that different degrees of 'processuality' or 'adverbiality' are possible. Arbatskij outlines an ongoing

weakening of the verbal traits and a strengthening of the adverbial traits of the Russian converbs (Arbatskij 1980: 110). The Russian Academy Grammar from 1980 states that Russian converbs constitute a hybrid category between verb and adverb that has both the meaning of 'action' and an 'adverbial-attributive' meaning (*značenie dejstvija i obstojatel'stvenno-opredelitel'noe značenie*) (Švedova *et al.* 1980, §1589). Bjørn (1979) opposes this analysis, arguing that only a small subclass of 'manner' adverbials like *molča slušat'* 'listen silently' have lost their verbal traits, and claims that the Russian converbs "first and foremost express predicativity" (Bjørn 1979: 167).

2.4.2.3 Grammatically encoded or contextual meanings?

Boguslavskij (1977) and Apresjan (1983) argue that there exists an opposition between grammatically encoded meanings (*jazykovoe značenie*) and contextual meanings (*situativno obuslovlennye raznovidnosti odnogo invariantnogo značenija*, i.e., 'situationally determined variants of one invariant meaning' (Boguslavskij 1977: 270). The grammatically encoded meanings are part of the linguistic system of contrasts, whereas the contextual meanings belong to language usage. Apresjan (1983: 335, see section 2.4.1.1) proposes that the meanings that are conditioned by conditions regarding a form's position, lexical class, and the like, where the meaning is *inevitable*, belong to the linguistic system of differences, whereas other meanings do not.[42] Boguslavskij (1977: 274) observes that it is necessary to identify the moments (*točki* 'points') "where the language treats [or converts] different converb meanings differently" and that "[t]he presence of such moments is a sufficient basis for considering the corresponding meanings to be grammatically encoded."[43] Boguslavskij's prime example of such a 'moment' is based on his observation of the difference in the temporal dependence relation with the matrix verb that obtains between the matrix and 'manner adverbial' or 'temporal adverbial', respectively (see section 2.4.2.6.1). Another such moment is realised by converbs with *thus*-meaning (*tem samym*), (see section 2.4.2.7 about 'complementary coincidence').

Boguslavskij (1977: 270) refrains from considering constructions involving both converbs and matrix verbs as the locus of meaning. These constructions are rejected because "[…] intuitively this construction does not seem to be

[42] Поэтому при описании семантики деепричастий становится вдвойне важным указывать для каждого выделяемого значения деепричастной формы такие языковые условия реализации, в которых оно не может не проявиться (Apresjan 1983: 335). This is reminiscent of the classic test for conversational implicature, i.e., that it can be cancelled explicitly or that the implicature is not inevitable in all contexts. (Grice, 1989[1975]: 44).

[43] В ходе такого описания должны выявиться все точки, в которых язык по-разному обращается с разными по значению типами деепричастий. Наличие таких точек служит достаточным основанием для того, чтобы считать соответствующие значения языковыми (Boguslavskij 1977: 274–275).

idiomatic".[44] In the same vein, Apresjan (1983: 333–334), rejects meanings that disappear if the matrix verb is changed. Nevertheless, he does state conditions regarding the matrix verb for the realisation of specific meanings which are claimed to be inevitable, or 'grammatically encoded' (*jazykovye značenie*). Boguslavskij (1977: 271) clearly states that converb meaning is established in the grammar rather than in the lexicon.

2.4.2.4 Conventionalisation and grammaticalization

It is well-documented that converbs can grammaticalise or lexicalise into other categories. Typical examples of this process are the conjunction *xotja* 'although' (literally 'wanting') and the adverb *zrja* 'in vain' (literally 'watching'), see Birzer (2010). Consider, too, the expression *vypivši* ('after having drunk'), which has developed into a predicative expression with obligatory connotations of drinking alcohol and of being inebriated. To invoke a neutral reading of 'having drunk' (for example, water or tea), the form *vypiv* 'having drunk' is used. The form *vypivši* is categorised as an adverb (*narečie*) in modern dictionaries (e.g., Kuznecov 2000). The historical development of the form *vypivši* has been investigated by Birzer (2010: 120).

2.4.2.5. Control

Russian converbs are prototypically controlled by the subject of the matrix verb. There are, however, several exceptions to this rule, some of which are considered normative, some that are considered non-normative, and some with a status that remains under debate. (See Rappaport (1984), Rjabova (1992), and Weiss (1995) for overviews of this phenomenon). The control of Russian converbs has been subject to numerous prescriptivist or normative interventions, dating back to Lomonosov's 1755 work (Haspelmath 1995: 30).

One prominent exception to the rule is found when converbs are controlled by the Speaker. Another exception is represented by subject-like constituents, for example, dative experiencers. Another type of control is revealed by examples where the subject reference is mediated by the matrix verb, see section 2.4.2.6.4. See Glovinskaja (2000) and Birzer and Mayer (2023) for more recent discussions about control and prescriptivism.

[44] Вторую возможность, состоящую в том, чтобы считать носителем соответствующих значений всю деепричастную конструкцию в целом (деепричастие + глагол /причастие/ деепричастие), видимо, также следует отвергнуть, поскольку интуитивно эта конструкция не кажется идиоматичной.

2.4.2.6 Taxonomies, dichotomies, and subdivisions within the field of converb meaning

Converb meanings are not infrequently subdivided into dichotomies. These are given different labels in the literature and are also delineated by using different parameters. One primary dichotomy is between (A) converbs functioning as (or on par with) subordinated clauses (primarily as temporal adverbial clauses) and (B) converbs functioning as (or on par with) manner adverbials. Statements of dichotomies within the domain of converb meaning appear in almost every scholarly work on converb meaning. Sections 2.4.2.6.1 through 2.4.2.6.7 review these dichotomies. In some of these sections, I provide schematic taxonomies that are constructed on the basis of the previous accounts. The taxonomies are provided to give the reader an overview of the statements made in the literature and to facilitate a thoughtful comparison of these statements.

2.4.2.6.1 Manner adverbials vs. temporal adverbials

Boguslavskij (1977) and Apresjan (1983) comment on the difference between converbs with a 'temporal' adverbial meaning (*obstojatel'stvo vremeni*) and converbs with a 'manner' adverbial meaning (*obstojatel'stvo obraza dejstvija*), henceforth $\text{CVB}_{\text{temporal}}$ and $\text{CVB}_{\text{manner}}$, respectively. Boguslavskij observes that these two types of converbs display different temporal dependency relations with their main predicates, as illustrated in example (42):

(42) Boguslavskij (1977: 275)
$X_{(V)} + Y_{(\text{CVBtemporal})}$ = 'When Y, X.'
$X_{(V)} + Y_{(\text{CVBmanner})}$ = 'When X, Y.'

Boguslavskij illustrates these schemas with the following minimal pair:[45]

(43) a. ***Perevodja*** [X = Deepričastie$_{\text{vremeni}}$], *on pol'zuetsja* [Y = V] *slovarëm*.
In (when) translating [X = $\text{CVB}_{\text{temporal}}$], he uses [Y = V] a dictionary.

b. *On perevodit* [X = V], ***pol'zujas'*** [Y = Deepričastie$_{\text{obraza dejstvija}}$] *slovarëm*.
He translates [X = V] using [Y = $\text{CVB}_{\text{manner}}$] a dictionary.

[45] All examples in this section are from Boguslavskij (1977). The English translations are the author's. English translations that use the present participle *-ing* forms are used in most instances. In some instances, however, the original Russian sentence may prompt an interesting translation choice, notably in Russian negated clauses which can be translated by using *not* in some instances and *without* in others. This area of translation science deserves further research.

A converb functioning as a 'manner' adverbial inherits its temporal reference from the matrix verb, whereas a converb temporal adverbial provides a temporal reference to the matrix verb. Boguslavskij (1977: 275) further argues that if the converb with the meaning of a 'manner' adverbial were preverbal, the temporal dependency would be altered and the synonymity in (43) would disappear:[46]

(44) ***Pol'zujas'*** [X = D_v] *slovarëm, on perevodit*.
'(when) using [X = $CVB_{temporal}$] the/a dictionary, he translates.'

This difference in converb function is paralleled by differences in punctuation and word order. Boguslavskij (1977: 276) notes that 'manner' adverbials can tolerate the absence of a comma in written Russian, whereas a comma is mandatory with 'temporal' adverbials. 'Temporal' adverbials are associated with a preverbal position, whereas 'manner' adverbials are associated with a postverbal position.

In certain combinations, word order can be used to distinguish between 'manner' and 'temporal' meaning (provided no prosodic means or the context indicates otherwise):

(45) a. ***Volnujas'*** [D_v], *on xodit po komnate. = Kogda on volnuetsja, on xodit po komnate.*
'Worrying [being nervous] [$CVB_{temporal}$], he walks around the room.' = 'When he isnervous, he walks around the room.'

b. *On xodit po komnate,* ***volnujas'*** [D_{od}] = *On xodit po komnate s volneniem*.
'Worrying ('being nervous')[CVB_{manner}], he walks around the room.'
= 'He walks around the room with nervousness. [nervously]'

The converb can take up a postverbal position when there is no risk of ambiguity. For example, in (46), we note that 'to approach the square' cannot be interpreted as a 'manner' adverbial characterising the sound that the trams made:

(46) a. ***Podletaja*** [D_v] *k ploščadi, tramvai oglušitel'no zveneli.*
'Approaching [cvbtemporal]the square, the trams were clanging deafeningly.'
Tramvai oglušitel'no zveneli, ***podletaja*** [D_v] *k ploščadi.*
'The trams were clanging deafeningly, approaching [cvbtemporal]the square.'

Certain word order considerations may force a temporal converb to a postverbal position:

(47) a. ***Begaja*** [D_v] *k sel'sovetu i obratno, ona videla mnogo strašnogo*.
'Running [$CVB_{temporal}$] to the village council and back, she saw many terrible things.'

[46] Boguslavskij (1977) also presents another type of sentence pairs where the synonymity is preserved. He provisionally calls these '*by*-converbs' (*tem, čto*) and '*thus*-converbs' (*tem samym*). These examples belong to the phenomenon of 'complementary coincidence' and is discussed in section 2.4.2.7 and in Article II, Article IV, and Article V, section 5.1.2, 5.1.4, and 5.1.5, respectively.

b. *Ej zaxotelos′ čego-to, gorazdo bolee strašnogo, čem ona videla,*
begaja [D_v] *k sel′sovetu i obratno.*
'She wanted something much more terrible than she had ever seen,
running [$CVB_{temporal}$] to the village council and back.'

c. *Ej zaxotelos′ čego-to, gorazdo bolee strašnogo *, čem,* ***begaja*** [D_v] *k sel′sovetu i obratno, ona videla.*
'She wanted something much more terrible than *'... than, running [$CVB_{temporal}$] to the village council and back, she saw.'

Boguslavskij (1977) also analyses how 'temporal' and 'manner' converbs interact with meaning-clarifying anaphoric expressions, such as *pri ėtom* 'at the same time', information structure, and negation.

A clarifying anaphoric expression (*projasnjajuščie slova*) will have a different placement in the sentence depending on the type of converb. For 'temporal' adverbial usage of a converb, the expression is placed in the matrix clause, reflecting the fact that the 'temporal' converb is an antecedent for the anaphoric clarifying expression:

(48) ***Govorja*** ($CVB_{temporal}$ = antecedent) *do six por ob analize i sinteze v svete zadač avtomatičeskoj obrabotki tekstov, my ne zatragivali* ***pri ėtom*** (clarifying anaphoric expression) *voprosa ob ix simmetričnosti.*
'Speaking so far of analysis and synthesis in the light of the problems of automatic text processing, we have not touched upon the question of their symmetry.'

(49) *Do six por my govorili* (Finite verb = antecedent) *ob analize i sinteze v svete zadač avtomatičeskoj obrabotki tekstov, ne* ***zatragivaja*** (CVB_{manner}) ***pri ėtom*** (clarifying anaphoric expression) *voprosa ob ix simmetičnosti.*
'So far, we have talked about analysis and synthesis in the light of the problems of automatic text processing, without touching on the question of their symmetry.'

For 'manner' adverbial converb usages, the anaphoric clarifying expression is placed inside the converb clause, reflecting the fact that the matrix predicate functions as an antecedent. Note that the position of anaphoric pronouns is subject to a word order constraint, namely, they must be placed after their antecedent. Boguslavskij argues that such pronouns are also constrained by converb type, observing that a clarifying anaphoric expression cannot be placed in the converb clause if the converb is temporal, even if the converb is postverbal:

(50) **my ne zatragivali* (finite verb= antecedent) *voprosa o simmetričnosti analiza i sinteza,* ***govorja*** [$CVB_{temporal}$] ***pri ėtom*** (clarifying anaphoric expression*) o nix v svete zadač avtomatičeskoj obrabotku tekstov.*
'We have not touched upon (finite verb= antecedent) the question of the symmetry of analysis and synthesis, (while/when) speaking [$CVB_{temporal}$] of them at that

(time) (clarifying anaphoric expression) in the light of the tasks of automatic text processing.'

Since the topic of *information structure* is complex, Boguslavskij (1977) bases his treatment of the broader classes of 'temporal' and 'manner' adverbials, not solely converbs. He concludes that 'manner' adverbials differ from 'temporal' adverbials in that they can constitute the 'rheme' on their own, and that they can form a rheme together with the matrix clause. A 'temporal' adverbial cannot form a 'rheme' together with the matrix. A 'manner' adverbial, furthermore, cannot form a 'theme' unless it is licensed by a contrastive context:

(51) ****Medlenno*** *on xodit ≠ 'To, čto on delaet medlenno, est' xod'ba*. (medlenno=Tema)
'Slowly he walks.' ≠ 'What he does slowly is walking.' (slowly is theme).

(52) ***Medlenno*** *on tol'ko xodit = 'To, čto on delaet medlenno, est' tol'ko xod'ba. = '... est' xod'ba, a ne čto-nibud' drugoe*. (medlenno = Tema)
'Slowly, he only walks.' = 'What he does slowly is only walking.' = 'It is walking and not anything else.'

Negation is also a complex topic, and one of Boguslavskij's (1977) relevant observations is that a 'manner' adverbial, in contrast to a 'temporal' adverbial, can be negated when positioned as a 'rheme':

(53) *On xodit,* ***prixramyvaja***. [D_{od}]
'He walks with a limp.' [CVB_{manner}]
Neverno, čto (53). = *On xodit,* ***ne prixramyvaja*** [D_{od}].
'It is not true that (53).' = 'He walks without limping [CVB_{manner}].'[47]

(54) *On zabyvaet o svoëm gore,* ***rabotaja*** [D_v] *v sadu*.
'He forgets about his grief while working [$CVB_{temporal}$] in the garden.'
= To vremja, kogda on zabyvaet o svoëm gore, est' vremja, kogda on rabotaet v sadu.
'That time, when he forgets about his grief, is the time when he works in the garden.'

Neverno, čto (54) = *To vremja, kogda on zabyvaet o svoëm gorje, ne est' vremja, kogda on rabotaet v sadu.*

It is not true that (54) ='that time when he forgets his grief, is not the time when he works in the garden.'

[47] In the English translation of negated manner adverbials, *without* is used instead of *not*. This translation pattern is also observed for Danish, where *uden* at 'without' is used, specifically for non-occurrences of expected actions (Bjørn 1979: 174).

≠ *On zabyvaet o svoëm gore,* ***ne rabotaja*** *v sadu.*
≠ 'He forgets about his grief not working in the garden.'[48]

For Boguslavskij (1977: 280), these examples demonstrate that temporal adverbial converbs cannot take negation.[49]

When the negation is placed before the matrix, CVB_{manner} and $CVB_{temporal}$ have different patterns. CVB_{manner} may fall outside of the negation (55a), but it may also be negated along with the matrix predicate, such that the association between the action and the manner is established, or be negated altogether (55b).

(55) a. *On ne pomogal ej,* ***prikryvajas'*** [D_{od}] *otsutstviem vremeni.*
'He did not help her, hiding behind [CVB_{manner}] lack of time.'
= [*ne pomogal*], ***prikryvajas'*** *otsutstviem vremeni.*
'[did not help], hiding behind the lack of time.'
= *prikryvalsja… i ne pomogal.*
= 'He was hiding… and did not help.'

b. *On ne otkazyvalsja ej pomoč',* ***prikryvajas'*** [CVB_{manner}] *otsutstvyem vremeni.*
= *ne* [*otkazyvalsja…,* ***prikryvajas'****…]*
He did not refuse her help, hiding [CVB_{manner}] behind lack of time.
'…did not [refuse…, hiding…]'
= *ne prikryvalsja… i ne otkazyvalsja.*
= 'He did not hide behind the excuse of time… and did not refuse.'

For [$CVB_{temporal}$], the most normal sentence pattern is where the 'temporal' adverbial converb falls out of the scope of the negation (56a). However, it is possible for a [$CVB_{temporal}$] to fall within the scope of the negation together with the matrix predicate. Notwithstanding this, Boguslavskij (1977) states that such sentences are very limited and sound artificial (56b):

(56) Nina ne dumaet o rabote, **zanimajas'** [D_v] *uborkoj.*
'Nina does not think about work, doing [$CVB_{temporal}$] cleaning.'

a. *[ne dumaet o rabote],* ***zanimajas'*** *uborkoj* =
'[doesn't think about work] (while) cleaning' =
= *kogda zanimaetsja uborkoj, ne dumaet o rabote.*

[48] Boguslavskij does not identify what meaning this sentence should have. I provide his examples verbatim. It is probable the contrasts are self-explanatory for Russian native speakers (cf. ?[…]without working in the garden. ?[…]by refraining from working in the garden). Boguslavskij merely notes that this sentence is not comparable with typical 'temporal' meaning, which can be expressed by a *kogda-* ('when-') clause: *On zabyvaet o svoëm gore ne togda, kogda rabotaet v sadu.* 'He does not forget his grief when he is working in the garden'. It may be the case that a ''means-end' nuance interacts with negation in ways that substantially influences the interpretation of this type of sentence (See Paducheva 2014). This alternation would benefit from a contrastive investigation since the interactions and alternations in form are reflected in translation choices.

[49] A contrastive context may allow a negated $CVB_{temporal}$. For example, *On zabyvaet o svoëm gore, ne rabotaja* [Dv] *v sadu, a naveščaja* [Dv] *staryx druzej*. 'He forgets about his grief, not (when/while) working [CVB_{manner}] in the garden, but (when/while) visiting [CVB_{manner}] old friends.'

‘When she is engaged in cleaning, she does not think about work.’

b. *ne [dumaet o rabote,* ***zanimajas′*** *uborkoj]*
‘does not [think about work while cleaning]’
= *ne imeet mesto fakt dumanija o rabote vo vremja uborki*
‘There is no fact of thinking about work during cleaning.’
= *ili nikogda ne dumaet o rabote, ili nikogda ne zanimaetsja uborkoj, ili dumet i zanimaetsja, no ne odnovremenno.*
‘or never thinks about work, or never cleans, or thinks and cleans, but not at the same time.’

Boguslavskij provides two examples where a preverbal adverbial falls within the scope of negation. The sentences are subject to a special intonation contour, and the matrix clause must have contrastive stress. In such instances, a presupposition holds for the [$\text{CVB}_{\text{temporal}}$] but not for the [$\text{CVB}_{\text{manner}}$]:

(57) ***Zanimajas′*** [D_{v}] uborkoj↗, *Nina ne dumaet o rabote*
= *Nina, esli i dumaet o rabote, to ne togda, kogda zanimaetsja uborkoj.*
‘Doing [$\text{CVB}_{\text{temporal}}$] cleaning↗, Nina doesn’t think about work.’
= ‘Nina, if she at all thinks about work, then not when she is engaged in cleaning.’

(58) ***Vykladyvaja*** (D_{od}) *vse sily*↗, *Sergej ne stanet tebe pomogat′.*
= *Sergej, esli i stanet tebe pomogat′, to ne budet vykladyvat′ vse sily.*
‘Giving ($\text{CVB}_{\text{manner}}$) all his strength↗, Sergey will not help you.’
= ‘Sergey, if he after all begins to help you, he will not give all his strength.’

From (57) with a [$\text{CVB}_{\text{temporal}}$], one may conclude that Nina does clean sometimes, but it is impossible to conclude from (58) with a [$\text{CVB}_{\text{manner}}$] that Sergey will put all his effort into the job.

Apresjan (1983: 333) develops Boguslavskij’s observation about ‘temporal’ converbs and ‘manner’ converbs. He states that the absence of a comma is associated with a shorter pause in spoken language, whereas the presence of a comma is associated with a longer pause.

Boguslavskij (1977: 281) concludes that the differences manifested by [$\text{CVB}_{\text{manner}}$] and [$\text{CVB}_{\text{temporal}}$] reflect a difference in closeness in the converb’s relation to the matrix. It is this feature that enables [$\text{CVB}_{\text{manner}}$] to be written without a comma, form a rheme together with the verb, and motivates the tendency for this species of converb to fall within the scope of a negation that belongs to the finite verb. These observations have inspired a great deal of work in this area, specifically Rappaport’s (1984) work on ‘detachment’.

2.4.2.6.2 Detached and non-detached converbs

Rappaport (1984) examines the prosodic partition of sentences that contain converbs. His analysis results in (A) a focus and (B) a presupposition (≈ background) part of the sentence, where focus largely corresponds to 'non-detachment' and background corresponds to 'detachment'.[50] The concept of 'detachment' is influenced by Potebnja (1888) and Peškovskij (1928), and the notion *obosoblenie* ('isolation', 'comma-intonation'). Rappaport further notes that:

> Descriptive work in this area has shown that a detached constituent is set off by pauses, has a phrase stress, and is characterized by a convex pitch contour, peaking on the vowel with the phrase stress. The pitch at that peak and throughout much of the detached constituent exceeds the pitch level of the surrounding constituents. (Rappaport 1984: 13). [51]

A non-detached converb can be focused and lie within the scope of a p-function like sentential negation. A non-detached converb, furthermore, forms the 'functional core' together with the matrix verb. A detached converb clause, on the other hand is "[A]s external to (or autonomous of) its matrix as a superordinate or independent clause." (Rappaport 1984: 13).

For some usages, the detachment contrast results in different interpretations, in other usages, only one of the contrasting intonation types is possible and the other results in an anomaly.[52] Example (59) belongs to the first type, and example

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[50] Apresjan (1980) refers to similar phenomena as 'assertion' and 'presupposition' in his account of interpretative predicates (Apresjan 2004). The 'presupposition' notion in these approaches can be defined as a *pragmatic cooperation effect*, i.e., it constitutes the information that the Speaker takes for granted that the Listener shares with him in the common ground. The 'focus' part, in contrast, is the "the information in the sentence that is assumed by the speaker not to be shared by him and the hearer" (Rappaport 1984: 101). See Sæbø (2016b) for an updated discussion regarding information structure and presupposition.

[51] Rappaport notes that this description is somewhat simplified and that variations exist within the domain under investigation. Unfortunately, he does not follow up on this. Given information is normally described as de-emphasised (Krifka 2008), which contradicts the description in the quote. Rappaport (1984) uses informants and constructed examples. Thus, his method must be considered experimental. Rappaport (1984: 16) writes regarding converbs that change meaning depending on their detachment "[…] the method is straightforward: *we simply construct the relevant context*, put the two types of AvPrt clauses in it, and observe the resulting interpretation." (Emphasis added.) For converbs that cannot present with both types of detachment, Rappaport (1984: 17) states "[t]he way to do this, of course, *is to try to force each of the objects to exhibit Q*. If this is possible, then the object belongs to the set X, if this is not possible, then the object belongs to Y." (Emphasis added.) It is apparent that most of Rappaport's experiments are performed on existing material (sentences quoted in previous research) that has been modified. However, some of his example sentences are probably original sentences.

[52] Any discussion of prosody in written texts is inherently problematic. The concept of 'detachment', for example, does not correspond in a one-to-one manner with the use of commas, since the use of a comma after a converb or converb phrase is sometimes taught as an obligatory rule at school. Notwithstanding these challenges, according to Rappaport, the concept of 'detachment' or 'non-detachment' is always present in every written use of a converb. Rappaport (1984: 16) states that if disagreement regarding the prosodic status of a clause or sentence appears, this can always be resolved through acoustic evaluation. The investigations included in this thesis, which relies on corpus

(60) belongs to the second type. The notation "(,)" means that the example was constructed for reading both with and without detachment:

(59) Rappaport (1984: 193)
[*On*] *udalilsja* (,) ***skonfuzjas'***.
'He left (,) confused.' ["having become confused"]

On the detached reading of (59, above), there is a clear causal interpretation (the leaving was due to confusion), whereas the non-detached reading merely states that the state of confusion holds at the time of the leaving.[53]

(60) Rappaport (1984: 95)
Ja sklonen doverjat' ėtomu čeloveku (,) ***znaja*** *ego v molodosti.*
'I am inclined to trust this person (,) having known ["knowing"] him as a youth.'

When read without detachment, Rappaport's informants judged this example (60) as anomalous. Rappaport analyses this fact as a consequence of the rule that non-detached converbs must have a simultaneous interpretation (see below). The prepositional phrase *v molodosti* 'in (his) youth' contradicts this rule, and non-detachment is incompatible with sequentiality. In Rappaport's view, the form *znaja* 'knowing' does not have a tense [i.e., taxis] meaning in this sentence. If the converb phrase in (60) were substituted by *daže ne znaja ego* 'without even knowing him', a non-detached reading is possible.

An important part of Rappaport's investigation examines entailments under negation. He shows that detached converbs tend to escape the scope of negation; consequently, the meaning of the detached converb in (61) is entailed:

(61) *Vitja ne stoit v koridore,* ***robeja***.[54]
'Vitja is not standing in the corridor, feeling timid.'

The sentence negation in (61) does not take scope over the converb, i.e., it "[…] cannot entail that Vitja is not feeling timid […] Quite to the contrary (53[61]) asserts that Vitja is feeling timid and perhaps for that reason is not standing in the corridor (Rappaport 1984: 118)."

data, do not invoke the parameter of prosody (apart from some isolated statements I make about intonation in Swedish in Article I). The acoustic parameter relevant to the interpretation of converbs could be investigated using modern speech synthesis technology in an experimental study.

[53] Paducheva (2014) argues that this assertion/presupposition (≈ focus-background) partitioning under negation is the normal scenario in Russian, but that certain circumstances may change this pattern. Rappaport (1984) and Růžička have different views regarding whether the matrix verb is always in the scope of negation and whether a converb can be in the exclusive scope of a negation placed before the matrix verb, see also Paducheva (2014). Presumably, further experimental evidence is needed to clarify this question.

[54] All examples in this section are form Rappaport (1984).

In contrast, examples with non-detached converbs reveal that the converb falls within the scope of sentence negation, for example, and no sentence anomaly arises if only the converb is negated:

(62) *Vitja stoit v koridore, a on ne stoit tam* ***posvistyvaja***.
'Vitja is standing in the corridor, but he is not standing there whistling.'

Rappaport's distinction between 'detached' and 'non-detached' follows Boguslavskij's (1977) distinction to a large extent, since 'temporal' converbs tend to be 'detached', whereas 'manner' converbs tend to be 'non-detached'. There is, however, an important difference that emerges when entailments under negation are observed. For Boguslavskij's (a) and (b) examples in (56a) and (56b) in section 2.4.2.6, Rappaport (1984: 115) judges that the b-variety is 'non-detached'. This is the version where a 'temporal' converb lies in the scope of the negation particle: *ne [dumaet o rabote, zanimajas' uborkoj]* 'does not [think about work while cleaning]'. Presumably the 'manner' converb in (55a): *[ne pomogal], prikryvajas' otsutstviem vremeni* '[did not help], hiding behind the lack of time' would therefore be judged as 'detached' by Rappaport (1984). However, no such statement is made. The important observation is that inferences under negation serve to show when the converb is more connected to the matrix verb and when it is more remote, functioning as an adverbial that modifies the whole clause rather than the verb.

Rappaport's analysis can be summarised in terms of a number of 'autonomy properties' that characterise detached converb usages. The analysis situates the different uses of converbs at varying syntactic layers, depending on their distance from the matrix verb. Detached converbs are more sentence-like and function like 'p-functions' that relate to propositions rather than verbs. Non-detached converb uses, on the other hand, are less autonomous and belong to the 'functional core' of the sentence. Non-detached converb usages are either 'predicate modifiers' (manner adverbials) or 'predicate arguments' (obligatorily selected). Detached converbs display the semantic role of 'background', while non-detached converbs display the semantic role of 'accompaniment'.[55]

Regarding the interpretation of converbs, Rappaport (1984: 98) states that non-detached converbs are dependent on the matrix verb for their temporal reference, whereas non-detached converbs are free, and "[are] conditioned in part by such extra-linguistic factors as semantic context and knowledge of the real world". This condition also pertains to control properties, for example, the

[55] One should differentiate this sense of 'background' from a figure-ground configurations, which are sometimes described as a phenomenon pertaining to all non-finite forms *qua* non-finite (König 1995: 92). This sense of 'background' as an invariant meaning component of a detached converb should also be differentiated from 'background' that is positioned relative to some 'focus', which is also mentioned by Rappaport.

reference of the implicit subject of a converb. This approach aligns with Boguslavskij's (1977) observation regarding manner converbs being dependent on the matrix for their temporal reference (Rappaport 1984: 97).

The temporality of non-detached converbs is "severely restricted" according to Rappaport (1984: 95): a non-detached converb must always be simultaneous with its matrix verb, regardless of aspect. For perfective converbs, this results in perfect interpretations: "A non-detached perfective AvPrt [adverbial participle = converb] almost invariably has a perfect sense" (Rappaport 1984: 97). Such examples convey 'simultaneity' in the form of a past event with continuing relevance. The 'temporal deixis' of detached converbs, on the other hand, is free from the matrix, albeit not in an entirely unconstrained manner. A temporality constraint called 'the consequent constraint' dictates that when a converb denotes a posterior or consequential eventuality, the word order must match the chronological or teleological order. A detached converb with a 'posteriority' or 'consequence' interpretation must, therefore, always be postverbal. If such a converb is preverbal, then an 'anteriority' meaning is forced:

(63) a. *On xlopnul sebja po šee, **ubiv** komara*.
'He slapped himself on the back, killing a mosquito.'
b. ***Ubiv** komara, on xlopnul sebja po šee*.
'Having killed a mosquito, he slapped himself on the back.'

Similar to Boguslavskij (1977), Rappaport (1984) concludes that one type of converb is more dependent on the matrix verb than the other. For Rappaport, non-detached converbs are more dependent on the matrix verb than detached converbs.

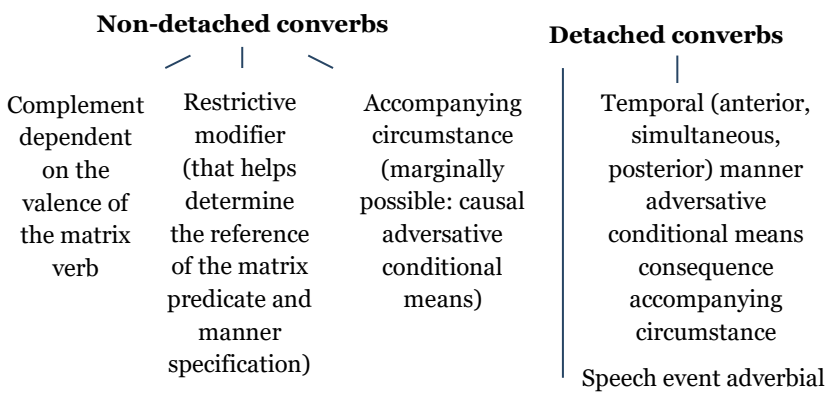

Figure 5. Taxonomy of Russian converb meanings and functions, constructed on the basis of Rappaport (1984: 205) and the references to semantic inventories mentioned therein.[56]

[56] The concept of 'restriction' can be problematic. In the taxonomy constructed on the basis of Rappaport (1984), it is applied to 'manner' adverbials that serve to narrow down the reference of the matrix predicate, making it more specific (for example, 'to walk stumbling'). The concept of

Some points remain unclear in Rappaport's analysis of converb meanings. For example, it is unclear whether examples that express 'accompanying circumstances' can be detached. Rappaports lists two examples of detached accompanying circumstances; one is given below:

(64) Rappaport (1984: 184)
[On] *razgovarival,* ***podbrasyvaja*** *i* ***lovja*** *mjač.*
'He was conversing, tossing a ball and catching it.'

Such examples render it unclear whether 'detachment' can discern between every 'background' usage of a converb from every 'accompaniment' usage. Rappaport's (1984) account of Russian converbs differs from Boguslavskij's (1977) account in several respects. While Boguslavskij's account seems to be semantically motivated, Rappaport's account is grounded in the prosodic difference of detachment, which is a coded property.

2.4.2.6.3 Conditioning and non-conditioning converbs

Akimova and Kozinceva (1987) provide a classification and a taxonomy of 'aspectual taxis situations' (*aspektual'no-taksisnye situacii*) in Russian. Their analysis is very detailed and granular, resulting in numerous subtypes for each type of aspectual taxis situation. They devote special attention to aspectual dynamics. Their primary distinction lies between (A) relations with elements of 'conditioning' (*obuslovlennost'*) and (B) relations without such elements. In the

---

'restriction' is, however, sometimes used to explain examples from the opposite category, i.e., detached adverbials. In this context, Müller-Bardey (2005: 107) writes:

> Consider the following example from Stump (1985: 99):
>
> *Drunk, John drives very dangerously.*
>
> Here, driving dangerously is related to a multitude of situations, hence some sort of quantification obtains. We can conceive of this as brought about by a covert habitual or generic operator residing in the Simple Present. However, this quantification is overtly restricted. It is the depictive *drunk* which brings this restriction about. Thus, the sentence is interpreted as 'When he is drunk, he drives very dangerously'.

In Stump's/Müller-Bardey's explication, the concept of 'restriction' is reminiscent of Akimova and Kozinceva's notion of 'conditionality' (*obuslovlennost'*). Presumably, the interplay between the matrix and the converb in the temporal dependency difference described by Boguslavskij (1977) plays a role here. Manner adverbials can be used as antecedents for certain modal operators, like 'verbs of (in)ability/possibility' or verbs with generic reference. In contrast, Rappaport's concept of 'restriction' involves his idea about pauses and non-restrictive relative clauses, hence this concept of 'restriction' operates on an immediate lexical level, narrowing down the reference of a word, but leaving claims regarding its time span or the domain of quantification/evaluation untouched. Note that Swedish *när*-clauses ('when'-clauses) are analysed as restrictive relative clauses in Teleman *et al.* (1999, Vol IV: 507). These clauses typically have 'presupposed facticity' (Swe. *presupponerad facticitet*) (Teleman *et al.* 1999: 594, c.f. the notion of 'existential closure' in Sæbø 2016b). Dik (1989: 235) refrains from using the term *restriction* for place or time adverbials that modify core predications, since "the primary function of a predication is not to refer, but to predicate something, and thus create some SoA [state of affairs], which once it has been created, can then be referred to."

conditioning type of converb relations, the converb clause is not only connected in time with the matrix clause but also determines the implementation of the eventuality denoted by the matrix clause. These relations are explained semantically and based on correlating paraphrases that employ other grammatical means. 'Conditioning' converb clauses can often be paraphrased as subordinated clauses with conjunctions specifying the relation, for example, *kogda* 'when' and *tak kak* 'since, because'.

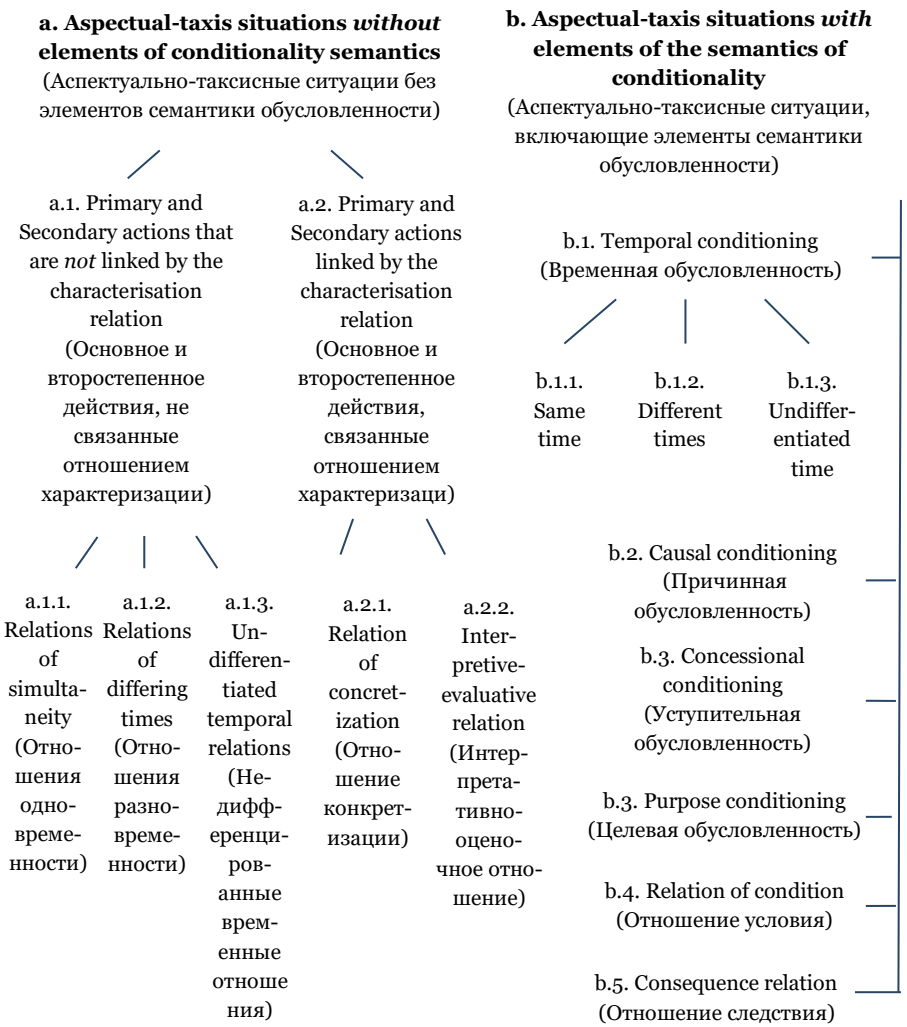

Figure 6. Taxonomy of Russian converb usages, constructed on the basis of Akimova and Kozinceva (1987: 267–274), following their headline structure, numeric indices added.

Consequently, we observe that both Rappaport (1984) and Akimova and Kozinceva (1987) attempt to determine the large-scale tendencies that inform intuitions behind the binary division of converbs into 'temporal adverbials' and 'manner adverbials'. Although there are many affinities between their respective classifications, there are also several differences and instances that do not readily fit into the large-scale distinctions they make.

Under each heading in their categorisation schema, Akimova and Kozinceva (1987) make several thoughtful observations about how the aspect of both matrix and converbs and their relative order vary. An important difference to Rappaport's (1984) treatment is constituted by Akimova and Kozinceva's categories of 'non-conditioning' and 'non-characterising' converbs expressing 'different time'. This category contradicts Rappaport's (1984: 97) statement that perfective non-detached converbs "almost invariably have a perfect sense". It should be noted, however, that there is no statement regarding 'non-detachment' in Akimova and Kozinceva's description of non-conditioning converbs. They merely remark that they are 'rhematic' and correlate with coordinated constituents in paraphrases. The examples included in this category (a.1.2. in Figure 6) may have a 'perfect' nuance, but this nuance may also be absent. The 'rhematic' feature and correlation with coordinated verbs or clauses make 'non-conditioning' converb clauses pattern with 'non-detached' converbs instead of with 'detached' converbs (ignoring their prosodic status, which is not noted).

(65) *Ona,* ***vzjav*** *u Valerii grebešok, stala rasčësyvat' kosu.*[57]
'She took Valeria's comb and began to comb her braid.'

(66) ***Polučiv*** *"Annu Kareninu", načal čitat' soldatam vslux ėtot roman.*
'Having received Anna Karenina, he began to read this novel aloud to the soldiers.

In some of these usages, Akimova and Kozinceva (1987) state that the resultant state denoted by the converb constitutes a preparatory stage for the action denoted by the matrix predicate:[58]

(67) *Otec Paisij,* ***vyjdja*** *iz svoix pokoev, napravilsja v trapeznuju.*
'Father Paisius, leaving his chambers, went to the refectory.'

(68) [...] *dalee moj sosed, mužik v izodrannoj svite ne vyderžal i,* ***udariv*** *kulakom po stolu, voskliknul* [...]

[57] All of the sentence examples in section 2.4.2.6.3 come from Akimova and Kozinceva (1987: 257–274).
[58] Compare the concept of 'independent rheme' in section 2.4.2.6.6.

'then my neighbour, a peasant in a tattered retinue, could not stand it anymore and, striking the table with his fist, exclaimed [...]'

.

cp. *udaril kulakom po stolu i voskliknul* [...]
cf. '[...]struck the table with his fist and exclaimed [...]'

Some instances of a 'perfect' feature can be analysed as an effect of bodily (or mental) presence. This feature is present in (65), (66) and (67) but not in (68). A result of a previous action retains continuous relevance if it is accompanied by a body (or mind). Consequently, this nuance often appears with verbs denoting movements of body parts, actions of receiving or taking, and changes in bodily or mental states. Article I and Article III, Mellquist (2022) and Mellquist, forthcoming, see sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.3, discuss this connection. It must be pointed out, however, that not every converb with a perfect nuance denotes a 'resultant state', which is the theme of Mellquist (2022) and Mellquist, forthcoming; a 'resultant state' correlates with comitative constructions or depictives in translations and paraphrases. Constructions like the ones in (65) and (68), on the other hand, correlate with coordination.[59] Zorixina-Nil′sson (2001) observes that similar converb usages have a 'perfect' nuance but correlate with coordinated verbs in Swedish. As paraphrase correlations to coordinated verbs, they are 'rhematic', conveying new information. Being 'rhematic', such usages of converbs are also reminiscent of 'narrative' converbs, since they help in advancing the plot without providing background information or modification of other predicates. In this sense, this usage may be seen as less 'adverbial' than other converb usages. (See also section 2.4.2.6.6 and the notion of 'independent rheme'.)[60]

In contrast to Rappaport's (1984) distinction between detached and non-detached converb usages (which is encoded prosodically), Akimova and Kozinceva's distinction between conditioning and non-conditioning converb usages is not described as overtly coded. Instead, they claim that the effects of conditioning emerge in usage and may have different positional and information structural properties.

[59] The correlations with comitatives and coordinations is attested between languages, for example, between Swedish and Russian in Mellquist (2022) and Zorikhina-Nil′sson (2001), respectively. The paraphrase possibilities have been observed within Russian, by Akimova and Kozinceva (1987).
[60] The 'perfect' feature is also present in instances of 'temporal conditioning' when 'different' times are described (b.1.2. in Figure 6). In these constructions, perfective converbs give rise to consequences which are relevant for subsequent eventualities. Some of these are reflexive and of the unaccusative type discussed by Filiouchkina-Krave (2010), cf. (19) section 2.3.2.2:

Russian (Akimova and Kozinceva 1987: 269)
Prosnuvšis', *on zaxotel kvasu* [. . .] (A. Platonov)
'When he woke up/Awake again, he wanted kvass [. . .]'

(69) *Vsled za nej, čto-to* ***burča*** *sebe pod nos, vošël loxmatyj bosonogij starik* […]
'Following her, muttering something under his breath, came a shaggy barefoot old man.'

The muttering of the man is seen as a background (*fon*) eventuality which accompanies the man's walking or entering, but does not provide a temporal interval for the matrix predicate (as in 'when he muttered, he followed'). Akimova and Kozinceva describe this converb usage as the 'communicative point of departure of the utterance' (*kommunikativno isxodnyj element vyskazyvanija*), serving as background. This background element is not assumed by the Speaker to be shared by the Listener in the common ground. Instead, it is asserted as a background eventuality that accompanies the matrix eventuality. From this example, and example (64) in section 2.4.2.6.2, it is evident that preverbal position or detachment do not automatically or obligatorily result in the difference in temporal dependency outlined in section 2.4.2.6.2. Akimova and Kozinceva's (1987) overview contains several usages under each point in the taxonomy, thereby demonstrating the broad expressive potential of Russian converbs.

2.4.2.6.4 Converbs with a direct or indirect relation to the subject

Rjabova (1992) makes a distinction between converbs with a 'direct' or 'indirect' relation to the subject (*prjamaja, neposredstvennaja svjaz'* or *kosvennaja/oposredovannaja svjaz'*). The 'indirect' usages relate to the subject through the matrix predicate. The converb usages that have a direct relation to the subject parallel the notions of 'temporal', 'detached', or 'conditioning' in the preceding sections (2.4.2.6.1; 2.4.2.6.2, and 2.4.2.6.3). Like Rappaport, Rjabova (1992) states that these modify propositions. She associates this function with preverbal position.

The 'indirect' relation to the subject is demonstrable in Rjabova's (1992) special category of 'periphrastic' (*perifrastičeskoe*) meaning (relation). Akimova and Kozinceva refer to similar instances as 'interpretative' (a.2.2 in Figure 6). In such meaning relations, the converbs further elaborate on a concrete eventuality denoted by the matrix predicate, giving it a subjective interpretation.

(70) Rjabova: 1992: 30
Židko dymili truby, ***sozdavaja*** *vpečatlenie, čto sudno stoit na jakore i ničto emu ne ugrožaet.*
'The chimneys were smoking liquidly, giving the impression that the ship was at anchor and nothing threatened it.'

In this example, Rjabova argues, it is not *the chimneys* as the subject that relates directly to the converb (it is not that *the chimney* gave the impression) but,

instead, the activity of the chimneys (*the chimneys' smoking liquidly* gave the impression).

This phenomenon is also observed for English *-ing* forms:

(71) Behrens (1998), quoted in Sæbø (2019: 536)
A passenger train carrying Kenyans and hundreds of tourists from abroad to the coastal port of Mombasa derailed at high speed on Wednesday, ***killing*** *at least 32 people, including five foreigners.*

Sæbø (2019) argues that "the subject PRO is in such cases an event PRO, controlled by the main clause event and equal to the unspecified causing event". It was not the train itself that killed the passengers, but the derailment event.[61]

In Rjabova's account, most 'manner' (*obraz dejstvija*) meanings have an indirect relation to the subject. Manner adjuncts are often bound by the matrix verb's valence or display the same semantic type and therefore restrict (specify) its reference. According to Rjabova (1992), converbs with the meaning of 'accompanying circumstance' are only mediated by the matrix verb when occurring in ('rhematic') postverbal position.

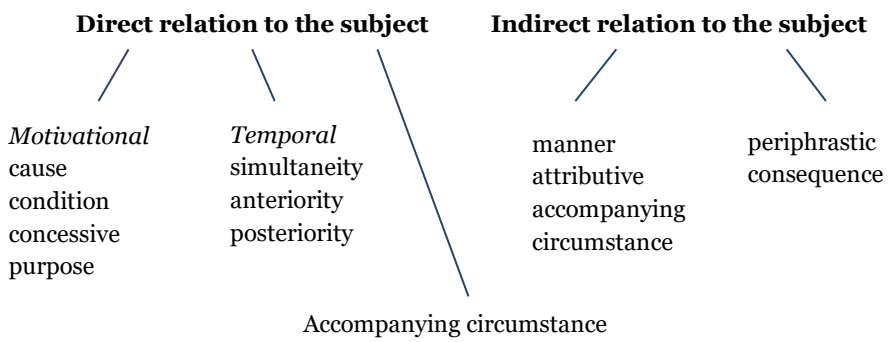

Figure 7. Taxonomy of Russian converb usages, constructed on the basis of Rjabova (1992).

Like Boguslavskij (1977) and Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), Rjabova (1992) also mentions information structure and the bipartition into 'theme' and 'rheme' as a significant factor in the dichotomy between converbs with a 'direct' and 'indirect' relation to the subject, respectively. The main difference between this and the other taxonomies is that Rjabova places the meaning of 'consequence' and its

[61] PRO is a silent subject pronoun in non-finite clauses, introduced by Noam Chomsky in *Lectures on Government and Binding* (1981) and is now widely used in syntactic theory to represent unexpressed subjects.

interpretative counterpart 'periphrastic' together with 'manner', 'attributive', and 'accompanying circumstance' meanings. This is a consequence of how her parameter of 'mediated relation to the subject' functions. In Akimova and Kozinceva's (1987) treatment, examples that exhibit meanings that resemble Rappaport's 'consequence' meaning is found in two instances: among 'conditioning converb' usages (b.5), and among 'interpretative' usages (which are associated with non-conditioning usages, (a.2.2)). The 'interpretative consequence' meaning is identical to Rjabova's (1992) 'periphrastic meaning'. Rappaport's meaning of 'simultaneous consequence', moreover, partly overlaps with Rjabova's concept of 'purpose'. These meaning relations are discussed in section 2.4.2.7 in relation to the phenomenon of 'complementary coincidence'.

2.4.2.6.5 High or low adjunction of converbs and other adverbials

In their investigations into 'co-eventive adjuncts' (see section 2.3.1.1 for a brief introduction to this topic), Fabricius-Hansen and Haug *et al.* (2012) frequently refer to 'high' and 'low' adjunction sites for the adjuncts under study.

There is an ongoing discussion in the literature about the syntax of adjuncts. Ernst (2004[2001]) states that there is consensus amongst scholars "[t]hat the most important determinants of distribution are semantic, on some level." He summarises what has been said in the literature concerning the association between semantic types and syntactic positions in the following scheme, where 'high' positions are located to the left and 'low' positions to the right:

a.	[SPEECH-ACT CP	[PROPOSITION IP	[EVENT VP?	[EVENT-INTERNAL V]]]] VP
b. Jackendoff 1972	----speaker-oriented----		subject-oriented	manner
c. Quirk et al. 1972	conjunct	----------disjunct----------		process adjunct
d. McConnell-Ginet 1982	--------Ad-S--------		Ad-VP -------	Ad-V
e. Frey and Pittner 1999	frame	proposition	event	process
f. Various works	framing	clausal negative time	-----aspectual-----	

Figure 8. Associations between semantic adjunct types and syntactic positions, Ernst (2004[2001]:10).

In his own study on the syntax of adjuncts, Ernst (2004[2001]: 448) finds that many types of adverbials can take up variable positions in the sentence. He presents these potential positions in a more detailed figure. He postulates a fundamental opposition between 'event internal' adjuncts and 'event external' adjuncts, along with a specification of the ranges for their possible 'base positions' (which may vary within these ranges). In his scheme, the 'high' positions are associated with the Speaker's voice, modal/evaluative, evidential, or speech act modifications, whereas 'low' positions are associated with, for example, 'manner' and 'means'. Ernst (2004[2001]: 334 ff.) mentions that there are reasons to

believe that adverbials denoting 'locational time' should be hierarchically higher than 'manner' adverbials.

An interesting phenomenon in this context is Speaker-oriented speech-act adjuncts, which are often expressed by converbs in Russian, for example, *čestno* ***govorja*** 'honestly speaking'. These adjuncts refer to the Speaker and the Speaker's speech act rather than the subject and the matrix verb in the sentence that they are found in. Rappaport (1984: 47 ff.) discusses various Speaker-oriented converb usages as instances of 'detached' converbs.[62]

Many aspects of the syntax of adjuncts have not been conclusively investigated. The corpus material which includes Russian converbs evidently fits the pattern of variable syntactic position and is subject, at least in part, to semantic determination.

2.4.2.6.6 'Frames', 'elaborations', and 'independent rhemes'

Bary and Haug (2011), Haug (2012), and Pompei (2024) have investigated participles in Ancient Greek that are used adverbially.[63] Their findings are relevant to the study of Russian converbs for at least two reasons. The first reason is that contemporary Russian converbs are derived from Old Church Slavonic participles, which are historically related to the Greek participles described by Bary and Haug.[64] The second reason is that Bary and Haug discuss discourse functions and incorporate concepts related to information structure into their account. The different functions of Russian converbs also depend on information structure and presupposition patterns, as observed by Boguslavskij (1977), Apresjan (1980, 2004), Ružička (1980, 1983), Rappaport (1984), Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), and Rjabova (1992). Pompei (2024) also employs the typological terminology introduced by Nedjalkov (1995).

Bary and Haug (2011) observe three significant usage patterns for adverbially used participles in Ancient Greek. These patterns are called 'elaborations', 'frames', and 'independent rhemes', respectively. 'Frames' and 'elaborations' correspond to the functions of 'temporal adverbial' and 'manner adverbial'

[62] Rappaport (1984) presents a syntactic presentation of Russian converb usages, this is coined in an early version of Chomsky's 'Government and Binding' framework.

[63] Bary and Haug (like Viti (2024) and Pompei (2024)) refer to 'Ancient Greek' broadly as an umbrella term, although their focus seems to be on Koiné Greek, the variety used in the New Testament. This is the variety relevant for the translations into Old Church Slavonic.

[64] Weiss (1995: 240) notes that the Russian participles are borrowed from Church Slavonic. Viti (2024: 281) questions whether Old Church Slavonic participles were borrowed from Ancient Greek as a 'syntactic calque'. She cites Gasparov (2001: 184) and Huntley (1993: 171) in her analysis of the 'syntactic calque' opinion, which she notes is a "traditional interpretation". Viti argues that, when one compares different Indo-European languages, the transference of grammatical forms is a rather unusual consequence of Bible translations. The other reason why one might refrain from analysing the Slavic participles as a syntactic calque from Ancient Greek is the prevalence of participles and converbs in the subsequent stages of the Slavic languages.

respectively, in Russian. They differ in terms of their information structure and temporal relations. 'Frames' contain given information:

> Temporally, frames depend on the context for their own temporal reference since they refer to events that are either previously mentioned or easily inferable. Their anaphoric nature enables them to set the stage for and so provide temporal anchoring for the matrix event.
>
> (Bary & Haug 2011: 8:13)

(72) Ancient Greek (Bary & Haug, 2003: 12, glosses and translation original).

Mête	***nikôn***	*amphadên*	*agalleo,*
not	winning.IPFV.PTCP.NOM	publicly	boast.IPFV.IMP.MED.2SG

mête	***nikêtheis***	*en*	*oikôi*
not	being won over.PFV.PASS.PTCP.NOM	in	house.DAT

odureo.
lament.IPFV.IMP.MED.2SG

'Do not boast publicly when you win, nor lament at home when you lose.' (Archil. 128.4)

Example (72) shows clear parallels with 'temporal/detached' usages of Russian converbs with regard to the presupposition effects under negation (as described by Boguslavskij (1977) and Rappaport (1984), see sections 2.4.2.6.1 and 2.4.2.6.2). In (72), the negation does not affect the participle; it does not mean "not winning" or "not being won over". We note that the negation particle forms a unit with the two imperatives: "do not boast, do not lament". The participles function as 'frames' which restrict the temporal spans over which the eventualities denoted by the imperatives apply.

Participles of the other type, namely, 'elaborations', contain new information and are temporally dependent on their matrix verbs: "The type of discourse subordination induced by elaborating participles makes them temporally dependent on their matrix verb […]."

(73) Ancient Greek (Bary & Haug, 2003: 10, glosses and translation original).

Eipe	*de*	***meidêsas.***
say.PST.PFV.3SG	PRT	smiling.PFV.PTCP.NOM

'He said, smiling.' (Ant. Gr. 12.126.3)

The difference in terms of temporal dependence and information structure between 'frames' and 'elaborations' in Ancient Greek clearly mirrors the distinction between (A) 'temporal' adverbials (≈ detached ≈ conditioning ≈

displaying a direct relation to the subject) and (B) 'manner' adverbials (≈ non-detached ≈ non-conditioning) in Russian. 'Temporal' adverbials provide a time frame against which the matrix verbs are interpreted; in 'manner' adverbials, in contrast, the converb is temporally dependent on the matrix verb.

Bary and Haug (2011) also describe a third type of participle construction: 'independent rhemes', which are temporally independent of the matrix verbs but still provide new (rhematic) information.

(74) Ancient Greek (Bary & Haug, 2003: 10, glosses and translation original).

En	*têi*	*hêmerai*	*ekeinêi*	***exelthôn***	*ho*
on	the.DAT	day.DAT	that.DAT	going-out.PFV.PTCP.NOM	the.NOM

Iêsous	*ek*	*tês*	*oikias*
Jesus.NOM	from	the.GEN	house.GEN

ekathêto	*para*	*tên*	*thalassan.*
sit.PST.IPFV.3SG	by	the.ACC	sea.ACC

'On that day, Jesus went out of the house and sat by the sea.' (Mt. 13:1)

These 'independent rhemes' are analysed as coordinated to the matrix verb rather than subordinated to the matrix verb. They are also likened to 'serial verbs' or 'narrative converbs'. While such usages are attested for Russian converbs, they do not fully conform to the definition of the 'accompanying circumstance' use of Russian converbs, since these are often described as temporally dependent on the matrix verb and considered a specific instance of 'elaboration'. Nevertheless, the description of 'non-conditioning different time-ness' (*raznovremennost'*) by Akimova and Kozinceva (position a.1.2. in the taxonomy in Figure 6, section 2.4.2.6.3), or the narrative sequences described by Zorixina-Nil′sson (2001), may fall under the same category. The notion of 'independent rheme' does not, however, have much bearing on the topics addressed in the articles included in this thesis.

Pompei (2024) has also investigated converb-like usages of participles of Ancient Greek and has arrived at a similar set of conclusions. She adopts the typological terminology of Nedjalkov (1995) (see section 2.3.1) and suggests that usages similar to those labelled 'independent rhemes' by Bary and Haug (2011) can be analysed as 'narrative' converbs. For the distinction between instances reminiscent of Bary and Haug's (2011) 'frames' and 'elaborations', Pompei (2024) uses Dik's (1997) Theory of Functional Grammar and analyses them as 'predication modifiers' vs. 'predicate modifiers'. This analysis reflects the fact that 'elaborations' ≈ 'predicate modifiers' are closer to the matrix predicates, whereas 'predication modifiers' ≈ 'frames' are more distant from the matrix predicate and

may modify the matrix predicate along with its (predicate) modifiers. This terminology aligns with the layered analyses presented by Rappaport (1984) and with more recent accounts of the broader field of 'adjuncts' by Ernst (2004 [2001]).

2.4.2.6.7 Summary and discussion of proposed taxonomies

This summary compares and discusses the dichotomies presented in section 2.4. I summarise the background assumptions that have informed the study and examine some areas that remain unclear.

The literature review on the classification of Russian converb meanings revealed a preference for sorting converbs into dichotomies. Such dichotomies are noted by most scholars, but formulated in different terms. Boguslavskij's (1977) dichotomy between 'temporal' and 'manner' adverbial usage is shown to be informed by a structural difference regarding temporal dependency. This difference can be thought of as being partly coded by the sentence's word order. It may also be thought of as an emergent effect of discourse properties, including anaphoric reference to already-mentioned temporal points or intervals, for example. Similarly, Akimova and Kozinceva (1987) describe converb constructions with or without elements of 'conditionality semantics' (*semantika obuslovlennosti*). Their dichotomies do not form absolute oppositions, since a subset of converbs may have both readings, whereas others are confined to one type. Rappaport's 'detachment' feature is an overtly coded complex (perhaps variable) prosodic structure that (Rappaport claims) correlates with specific 'autonomy properties'. The detachment feature helps establish the difference in meaning category in contexts where the position contrast fails to do so. The method of constructing example sentences, forcing them to have the intended prosody and then testing them on informants does not reflect actual usage, however. As indicated by Boguslavskij (1977), structural ambiguities tend to be avoided. In written language, prosody is not the preferred coding strategy. The use of commas is widespread, even for 'manner' and 'depictive' usages of Russian converbs.

The use of converbs to fulfil a temporal adverbial function appears to be widespread. The ability to employ aspect differences that are conflated by former tense markers to mark 'anteriority' or 'simultaneity' (primarily with preverbal converbs) is widely used in Russian. Consequently, this is perceived as the basic meaning of these forms. Krave (2010) bases her analysis on this usage pattern. The paraphrase option that uses *kogda* 'when' is cited by many Russian scholars (Boguslavskij 1977, Akimova & Kozinceva 1987). Like Russian converbs, *when*-clauses are essentially relative: the relative adverb that heads the clause (Russian *kogda*, Swedish *när*, and English *when*) does not denote a specific time (unlike words like *segodnja* 'today', for example). Another characteristic that is shared

across many usages of 'temporal' converbs and *when*-clauses is based on the observation that they denote presupposed eventualities (i.e., pragmatically 'taken for granted', cf. Sandström (1994: 203) for English; Teleman *et al.* (1999: 507) Vol. IV, for Swedish).[65] Similar to temporal locational usages of Russian converbs, *when*-clauses often relate to eventualities that are given in the preceding context or to eventualities that are easily accommodated.

The dichotomies identified by the scholars cited in this thesis do not overlap completely. Their analysis gives rise to grey zones and intermediate types, for example, sequential accompanying meanings, such as 'independent rhemes'. Notwithstanding the absence of complete accord among their analyses, distinct prototype usages nevertheless emerge. It is not entirely straightforward to identify which decisive factors mark Boguslavskij's (1977) temporal dependency relation. Presumably, different contextual cues, the co-text, and the immediate communicative situation aid in establishing which verbal expression (the matrix or converb) serves as the temporal anchor point for the other.[66, 67]

Table 8. Summary of proposed factors for 'temporal' ≈ 'detached' ≈ 'conditional' versus 'manner' ≈ 'non-detached' ≈ 'non-conditional' usages of Russian converbs.

Paraphrase with *kogda-* 'when' clauses Translation correlation with *when*-clauses (*når* in Norwegian, *när*/*då* in Swedish)	Paraphrase with *i-* 'and' coordination, manner adverbials, comitatives or participles in Russian Translation correspondences with coordinations, manner adverbials, comitatives or participles
Prosodic detachment/obligatory comma	Non-detachment/possible absence of a comma
Given ≈ background ≈ topic ≈ theme (may refer to previous context)	New information ≈ focus ≈ rheme (may include anaphoric pronouns referring to the matrix clause)

[65] See Sæbø (2016b) for an updated discussion about the notion of presupposition in information structure.

[66] By *temporal anchor point*, I refer to the temporal dependency structure outlined by Boguslavskij (1977) (See section 2.4.2.6.1) and not, for example, finite forms that provide a temporal anchor for non-finite forms by virtue of explicit tense marking that relates the matrix clause to the speech event.

[67] The Prague School concepts of 'theme' and 'rheme', which are adopted by Boguslavskij (1977) and Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), only partly correlate with the phenomena described by the dichotomies included here. According to Krifka (2008: 41), the Prague School concept of 'theme' conflates the senses of 'givenness' as something that the Speaker assumes is shared by the Listener as known and 'aboutness topics', i.e. (possibly new) entities to be elaborated on. The idea of something 'given' is used by Rappaport (1984) for 'background' as opposed to 'focus'.

Presupposed facticity, resists negation	May be alone in the scope of negation and other sentence adverbials
Outside the matrix predicate, modifying the predication, the clause, the proposition or the speech event	Modifying the matrix predicate at a closer level ('predicate modifiers', 'event-internal adjuncts')
Provides a temporal location for the matrix clause	Uses the time frame established in the matrix clause
Not valence-bound	Possibly valence-bound

It is no easy task to establish whether the dichotomies are semantically or syntactically motivated. For example, seemingly manner-indicating converb usages may have a function that shares properties with 'temporal' usages. Furthermore, converb usages reminiscent of manner functions may operate as circumstantial modifiers that delimit the scope of certain modal operators.

(75) Russian, Boguslavskij (1977) (Sentence (58) repeated here to enable comparison.)
Vykladyvaja (D$_{od}$) *vse sily*↗, *Sergej ne stanet tebe pomogat'*.
= *Sergej, esli i stanet tebe pomogat', to ne budet vykladyvat' vse sily*.
'Giving (CVB$_{manner}$) all his strength↗, Sergey will not help you.'
= 'Sergey, if he does, after all, begin to help you, he will not give his all / will act only half-heartedly.'

(76) Russian, Apresjan (1983) (Sentence (30) repeated here to enable comparison.)
Naprjagši *sily, čelovek samyx srednyx sposobnostej možet dobit'sja (dobivaetsja) čego ugodno*.
'Exerting his strength, a person of entirely average ability can achieve anything.'

Although the converb phrases in these two examples are formally parallel, their interpretations diverge. In Boguslavskij's (1977) example (75), the converb is understood as an elaboration of the manner of the subject's action ('if he helps you, he will not give his all' ≈ 'he will help half-heartedly / sparingly'). In Apresjan's (1983) example (76), in contrast, a superficially similar converb construction functions as the antecedent of a conditional clause, thereby delimiting the domain of the modal operator. This usage is compatible with manner usages, but the dependency relation is more characteristic of temporal converbs. Note that the converb constrains the temporal and modal parameters of the matrix predicate, rather than being temporally anchored by it. These two types show the same difference as the two usages of *pol'zyjas slovarëm* 'using a

dictionary' in (43a) and (43b). However, the conditional usage differs from the temporal usage. In addition, the temporal locational usages differ from each other, some behave more like 'frames' that signal that the content only holds for a specified period, while others simply locate a general time frame. Usages of converbs as speech act adverbials, like *strogo govorja* 'strictly speaking', differ from 'temporal locational' or 'conditional' usages. On the other side of the dichotomy, 'accompanying circumstances' usages differ from 'manner' usages. In future research, the field of Russian converbs should be investigated using a wide range of methods, including comprehensive corpus investigations, investigations involving syntactic tests, experimental studies of prosody and position, and contrastive analyses.

Certain converb phenomena cannot be accommodated within the dichotomies outlined here. For example, converbs denoting sequential actions that are not given or presupposed and function as background are not adequately captured by any of the dichotomies. Presumably, such converb usages belong to the notion of 'independent rheme' (Bary & Haug, 2003) or 'narrative' converbs (Pompei 2024). The notion of 'accompanying circumstance' is also of interest since it is described as 'independent' by Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), but as 'dependent' by Rappaport (1984), who treats this class of converb usage along with 'manner' usages.

Other types of converb usage that cannot be accommodated by the dichotomies are usages subsumed under the notion of 'complementary coincidence' (a concept from Růžička (1980)). These usages may be either 'presupposed or 'non-presupposed. We note that they seem to depend on lexical interdependency, and they do not follow the pattern of other usages regarding temporal relations. Section 2.4.2.7 presents this phenomenon in greater detail.

The temporal dependency relation outlined by Boguslavskij (1977) is appealing for several reasons connected to the present study. First, I assumed such a relation in my work on the 'resultant state' construction. In this construction, the converb clause functions on par with 'depictive' adjectives or a participle, for example, *He left the party* ***angry***. The defining characteristic of a 'depictive' usage is that "[t]he state of affairs expressed by a depictive holds true specifically at the time that the eventuality expressed by the main predicate takes place." (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004: 60). Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004: 62) also suggest that this temporal relation holds for manner adverbials. The establishment of such a temporal dependency relation could thus serve as a theoretical tool that could explain affinities between different grammatical forms.

The second reason Boguslavskij's (1977) temporal dependency relation is appealing is supported by my work on the converb meanings of 'purpose' and 'means'. As shown in section 2.4.2.7.5 , in Article IV and in the summary in section

5.1.4), there is a difference in the presuppositional structure between (A) different 'instrumental' meanings, i.e., those that function as correlates to interpretative predicates that have a meaning of presupposed facticity ('thematic', 'given'), which are on par with 'detached' or 'temporal adverbial' usages of converbs, and (B) the concrete instrumental meanings, which are similar to 'manner' ('non-detached', 'rhematic') usages. Converbs in this category are also described as valence-bound by their (interpretative) matrix predicates (Apresjan 2004). This observation conflicts with Rappaport's (1984) claim that valence-bound converbs are non-detached.

Another way to understand the opposition between 'temporal' and 'manner' usages of Russian converbs, and the temporal dependency difference, is to invoke Klein's (1994) notion of 'topic time', defined as follows: "TT is the time span to which the speaker's claim on this occasion is confined." (Klein 1994: 4).

(77) ***Perevodja*** [X = Deepričastie$_{vremeni}$], *on pol'zuetsja* [Y = V] *slovarëm*.
'In (when) translating [X = CVB$_{temporal}$], he uses [Y = V] a dictionary.'

In (77), the converb provides a time span for the claim made in the matrix clause.[68]

In contrast to (77), the other variety (78) shows that the matrix verb provides the time span for the claim:

(78) *On perevodit* [X = V], ***pol'zujas'*** [Y = Deepričastie$_{obraza\ destvija}$] *slovarëm*.
'He translates [X = V] using [Y = CVB$_{manner}$] a dictionary.'

Regarding the above, Boguslavskij's formula reflects a temporal dependency structure that transcends mere inclusion relations. In both sentences, the eventualities overlap with each other, and the same verb, *perevodit'* 'to translate', is used to provide the topic time. However, the difference between the two examples lies in whether the converb clause or the matrix clause serves as the temporal anchor.

Under the reading where the topic time of the converb is used as the temporal anchor for the matrix eventuality (e.g., typical 'temporal adverbial' or 'detached' usages), the aspectual meanings of the Russian converbs are generally congruent with the relative tense suffixes (*-v* for anteriority, *-a* for overlap). This is the case because a completed eventuality that is used as a temporal anchor is naturally interpreted as anterior to the matrix eventuality, and a processual eventuality used as a temporal anchor is interpreted as taking place simultaneously with the

[68] This analysis is found in Krave (2010: 56).

matrix eventuality. This congruity may be seen as a reason for the reduction of the paradigm described in section 2.2, Tables 4–6.

Table 9. The contemporary two-way Russian converb system, adapted from Brecht 1976.

	Imperfective aspect	Perfective aspect
Present tense	*vstrečaj-a*	-
Past tense	-	*vstreti-v (-vši, -ši)*

The congruity of forms may also explain the alleged 'basicness' of these meanings. However, when the matrix is used as an anchor for the converb eventuality, the relation between the relative tense markers (*-v* and *-a*) and aspect becomes less straightforward.[69] Notably, Apresjan (1983) does not consider 'manner' or 'accompanying circumstance' usages as denoting time at all.

The phenomena studied in this thesis are not 'temporal locational', but lie closer to 'accompanying circumstance' and 'manner', since they do not show temporal relations that are predictable from the forms' suffixes. The first topic addresses 'resultant state' interpretations of perfective converbs, which are comprehended as 'simultaneous' rather than 'anterior', which would be predicted from the suffixes. The second topic of the thesis explores the 'complementary coincidence' usages of converb denoting means or end ('instrumental action'-'purpose/simultaneous intentional consequence', or cause and effect). Like the 'resultant state' usages, the converb usages in this domain also deviate from the suffixal taxis-meanings to a large degree.

2.4.2.7. Complementary coincidence, division of labour between means-and-end-denoting expressions

One of the main contributions of this thesis lies in my systematisation and unified account of the field of 'complementary coincidence'. The phenomenon of 'complementary coincidence' involves pseudo-simultaneity (Poljanskij 1987) and convertibility between these descriptions. Along with his distinction of 'manner' and 'temporal' Russian converb usages, Boguslavskij (1977) also discusses another pair of usages:

(79) Russian, Boguslavskij (1977: 271), English translation Rappaport (1984: 184), boldface and angle brackets in translations added by the author.
a. *On sygral na ruku pravym,* ***perenesja*** <tem, čto perenës> *srok obsuždenija zakonoproekta.*
'He played right into the hands of the right-wingers, delaying <by the fact that he delayed> the discussion of the legislation.'

[69] Most of the examples illustrating 'sequential' or 'concursive' (but not 'consequential') converb usage in Jakobson (1984[1957]) are preverbal, see section 2.2.

b. *On perenës obsuždenije zakonoproekta,* ***sygrav*** <tem samym> *na ruku pravym*.
'He delayed the discussion of the legislation, playing <thus/thereby> into the hands of the right-wingers.'

In both examples, the same situation arises, namely, delaying the discussion benefits the right-wingers. The convertibility between these two sentences is due to the method-neutrality inherent to the expression *igrat' komu-nibud' na ruku* ('playing into the hands of somebody'). This feature lacks specification of *how* the effect is achieved. This specification is often filled in by converb forms describing the 'method' (or if non-intentional, the 'effective factor'), such as delaying a discussion.

Boguslavskij notes that there exists a similar regularity regarding how clarifying anaphoric expressions in these relations function as in 'temporal' and 'manner' usages of converbs (compare (48) and (49) in Section 2.4.2.6.1). Boguslavskij provisionally calls the relational meanings in (79) *thus – by* relations (*tem samym – tem, čto).* These relations correspond approximately to 'consequence'-'means'. The clarifying anaphoric expression must be placed after its antecedent, but either the converb or the matrix verb may function as an antecedent:

(80) Russian. Boguslavskij (1977: 277)
a. *Kardinal Mazarin ves'ma iskusno naxodil* (finite verb= antecedent) *nedostatki v naibolee blestjaščix operacijax voenačalnikov,* ***prinižaja*** [$D_{tem\ samym}$] *tem samym* (clarifying anaphoric expression) *ix zaslugi i* ***izbavljaja*** [$D_{tem\ samym}$] *korolja ot neobxodimosti ix voznagraždat'*.
'Cardinal Mazarin very skilfully found faults in even the most brilliant military operations, thereby diminishing [CVB_{thus}| the commanders' merits and sparing [CVB_{thus}| the king the need to reward them.'

b.*Ves'ma iskusno* ***naxodja*** [$D_{tem\ čto}$] (converb = antecedent) *nedostatki v naibolee blestjaščix operacijax voenačalnikov, kardinal Mazarin tem samym* (clarifying anaphoric expression) *prinižal ix zaslugi i izbavljal korolja ot neobxodimosti ix voznagraždat'*.
'By very skilfully identifying [CVB_{by}]faults in even the most brilliant operations of the military commanders, Cardinal Mazarin thereby diminished their merits and spared the king the need to reward them.'

In Russian, the 'means'-'end' ('cause'-'effect') relations pertaining to 'complementary coincidence' can be expressed by converbs without the need for clarifying expressions. In contrast, some languages must resort to explicit coding of such relations. For example, Swedish uses an infinitive preceded by *genom* ('through'), for *by*-relations ('means'/'method') and the markers *för att* 'in order

to' or *så att* 'so that' for the *thus*-relation ('consequence'/'purpose').[70] English often needs to explicate 'means'-'end' relations with the *-ing* form with the preposition *by* for 'instrumental' relations and (*in order*) *to* and *so that* for 'purpose' and 'consequence', respectively. However, Italian, like Russian, uses the converb (*gerundio*) without explicit expressions for the 'instrumental' meaning, see Pusch (1980). The 'instrumental' usages of converbs can be seen as instances of semantic valence and informational deficit, as discussed by Apresjan (1980) and Sæbø (2016a, 2018). The converse phenomenon, which involves descriptions of consequences or intended outcomes ('purposes'), is not as readily described in terms of valence. Notwithstanding this, the same dynamics are in play in these usages as in the 'instrumental' usages.

The insights from studies on 'purpose' and 'instrumental action' (Mellquist 2024, Mellquist in preparation, respectively, see section 5.1.2 and section 5.1.4) have enabled my preliminary systematisation of the field of 'complementary coincidence', a concept coined by Růžička (1980), who notes the deviant behaviour regarding taxis meaning in some examples of Russian converb use. In some examples, the preverbal position does not result in the expected 'anteriority' interpretation. This is the type of usage that Boguslavskij described as '*by*-converbs' (*tem, čto*):

(81) Russian. Růžička (1980: 176), italics and translation added, numbering altered.
a. *Ona* {*byla prava/ postupila verno/ne ošiblas'*}, ***stav*** *vračom*.
'She {was right/did the right thing/didn't make a mistake} (in/by) becoming a doctor.'
b. ***Stav*** *vračom*, {*ona postupila verno/ne ošiblas'/byla prava*}.
'(In/by) becoming a doctor, {she did the right thing/was not mistaken/was right}.'

In (81b), the preverbal position does not result in an 'anteriority' interpretation. Instead, the clauses express 'simultaneous' meaning. Růžička (1980: 176) refers to this special type of simultaneity as 'complementary coincidence' and, in referential semantic terms, as 'maximal integrative co-reference'.[71]

Růžička (1980) notes that there are limitations in the convertibility of particular matrix and converb forms. Preverbal position may disrupt (and perhaps destroy) the evaluative-interpretative nuance in certain instances where the converb can be interpreted as 'detached' and somewhat parenthetical, as if it refers not to the matrix verb, but refers back to a previously mentioned antecedent. This is apparent in (82b):

[70] Non-explicit expressions of 'means and end' ('cause and effect') meaning relations also exist in Swedish, primarily in asyndetic and coordinated constructions. See Croft's (2010) discussion of these phenomena in English.
[71] Poljanskij (1987: 250 ff.) refers to the same phenomenon as 'pseudo-simultaneity' (*pseudo-sovremennost'*).

(82) Russian. Růžička (1980: 182), italics added, numbering altered and removed, translations added.

a. *Ja ne xoču uprekat' učënyx v tom, čto **sozdav** svoj jazyk, oni lišili bol'šinstvo ljudej vozmožnosti sledit' za ix rabotoj.*
'I don't want to blame the scientists for depriving most people of the opportunity to follow their work by/in creating their own language.'

b. **Ja ne xoču uprekat' učënyx v tom, čto **lišiv** bol'šinstvo ljudej vozmožnosti sledit' za ix rabotoj, oni sozdali svoj jazyk.*
(A 'complementary coincidence' interpretation is intended)
??'I don't want to blame the scientists for having deprived most people of the opportunity to follow their work by creating their own language.'
(A forced 'anteriority interpretation')
??'I don't want to blame the scientists for that they after having deprived most people of the opportunity to follow their work, created their own language.'

c. *Ja ne xoču uprekat' učënyx v tom, čto oni lišili bol'šinstvo ljudej vozmožnosti sledit' za ix rabotoj, **sozdav** svoj zazyk.*
'I don't want to blame the scientists for depriving most people of the opportunity to follow their work by/in creating their own language.'

d. *Ja ne xoču uprekat' učënyx v tom, čto oni sozdali svoj jazyk, **lišiv** (tem samym) bol'šinstvo ljudej vozmožnosti sledit' za ix rabotoj*
'I don't want to blame the scientists for creating their own language, thus depriving most people of the opportunity to follow their work.'

In addition, (82b) illustrates a clash (German: *Zusammenstoß)* between the content of the states of affairs denoted by the matrix and converb clauses and the positional order. Essentially, this example violates the *teleological* order of the described events. The 'depriving action' referred to in the example cannot be a means of creating a language, nor can the action of creating a language normally function as an evaluation of a 'depriving action'. A 'depriving action' may, however, be a consequence (82a) and (82d) or an evaluation (82c) of the action of creating a language. A means (cause) may precede the consequence (effect), but a consequence cannot precede the means (neither in position, nor in its teleological chronology). Růžička (1980) notes the positional and chronological aspects of this constraint and highlights that preverbal position forces an 'anteriority' interpretation. However, he does not note the means-end division of labour and focuses primarily on evaluative anaphoric co-reference relations. The anomaly demonstrated by (82b) is in accordance with Rappaport's

(1984: 88) 'consequence constraint', which, informed by Valimova (1940), takes teleology into account. In Růžička (1980), this feature remains obscure.[72]

In my analysis, resulting from my studies of converbs corresponding to the Swedish explicitly 'purposive' ('intentional') and 'instrumental' ('means') infinitive phrases preceded by the prepositions *för att* 'in order to' and *genom att* 'by', respectively, the overarching principle is a division of labour between predicates, expressing either 'means' or 'ends' (or 'cause' and 'effect' or 'non-intentional' eventualities).[73] Essentially, the meanings that I identify are determined by the lexical feature of 'relative method-specification'. The forms of the converbs contribute aspectual features only (such as 'processuality', 'habituality', and 'completion', etc.). The lexical division of labour between 'means' and 'ends' is similar to the 'manner/result' complementarity described by Levin and Rappaport (2013). Result verbs denote scalar changes, while manner verbs denote non-scalar changes. Method-neutral predicates denote 'results', while method-specified predicates denote the 'means' or 'method' of change. I present the field of 'complementary coincidence' as having two poles: (A) a 'means' pole and (B) an 'end' pole for teleological relations, (or as the poles of (A) 'cause' and (B) 'effect' for non-intentional relations). Regarding 'complementary coincidence', Russian converb clauses complement their matrix clauses, with either method-neutral predicates representing the 'end'-pole or method-specified predicates representing the 'means'-pole. Sæbø (2016a, 2018) notes that method-neutral predicates can be described as 'abstract', referring to event *types* rather than *tokens*, a feature also noted by Poljanskij (1987) in relation to Russian converbs. Furthermore, Sæbø (2018) associates 'abstractness' with 'unsaturatedness', referring to the existence of an empty slot for a missing clausal argument. Birzer (2010: 104) refers to a similar phenomenon as 'concretisation of action' (*konkretizacija dejstvija*). Similarly, Růžička (1980: 178) notes certain

[72] Růžička (1980) identifies logical order, contents of states of affairs, and certain states of affairs being prerequisites for others. However, there is no clear formulation of 'means-end' (or 'cause-effect') relationships in his treatment of 'complementary coincidence':

> Denn auch die Darstellungsweisen, etwa *faktuell-deskriptiv* gegenüber *bewertend-interpretierend*, sind relevant für den syntaktisch-semantischen Zuordnungsmechanismus. Man könnte sie vielleicht als metakommunikative Prädikaten-Variable erfassen, die in die Funktion (51), (52) in einer mir noch unklaren Weise aufgenommen werden.
>
> 'The modes of representation themselves—for instance, *factual-descriptive* versus *evaluative-interpretative*—are also relevant to the syntactic-semantic assignment mechanism. One might perhaps conceive of them as metacommunicative predicate variables, which are integrated into the function(s) (51), (52) in a manner that remains unclear to me.' (Author's translation).
>
> Růžička (1980: 182)

[73] The principle of 'means and end' is not always as clearly discernible in evaluative expressions like (81) and should better be referred to as 'cause and effect'. However, certain 'interpretative' ('evaluative') predicates identified by Apresjan (1980) and Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), there may be teleological components present. The difference is not always clear cut.

'PRO-verbs' that instantiate a blank space in the clause structure (German: *Leerstelle*) for a propositional argument. This situation pertains to verbs like *postupit'* (*pravil'no*) 'act (in the right way)' or *udivit'sja* 'become surprised'.

Sæbø (2016a: 3182) notes a cline in abstractness since method-neutral predicates can modify other method-neutral predicates. Similarly, in Mellquist (2024), I observe that the feature of 'method-neutrality' is relative and scalar. In (79), above, the action of postposing a discussion is not very concrete but is still more objectively observable than 'playing into the hands of somebody', which is a subjective evaluative judgement. Von Wright (1971) emphasises the relative nature of expressions that denote 'means and end':

> The distinction between result and consequences is in an important sense *relative*. When I say that I ventilate the room by opening the window, the result of action here is that the window opens (is open). When I say that I open the window by turning the handle, *etc.*, the change in position of the handle, etc., is the result, the change in position of the window the consequence. Such chains always and necessarily terminate in something I do, not *by doing* something else, but *simpliciter*. Actions of which it would not be true that they are performed by doing something else, I shall call *basic actions*.
>
> (von Wright 1971: 68), original emphasis

The types of Russian converb usages relevant to 'complementary coincidence' are summarised in Table 10. The predicates that are relatively more 'method-neutral' ('abstract') than the predicates they are related to are found in the shaded areas. Each type will be briefly described below.

Table 10. Russian converb meanings within the field of 'complementary coincidence'. The shaded areas indicate relative 'method-neutrality' and alignment with the 'end' ('effect', 'result') pole.

Meaning	Matrix clause	Converb clause	Converb aspect
Purpose/ Intended consequence	*opërsja o dver'*, 'leaned against the door'	***uderživaja*** *ravnovesie* 'to hold/holding his balance'	ipfv
Consequence	*zadel lapoj moë pravoe plečo* 'touched my right shoulder with its paw'	***razodrav kombinezon*** 'tearing my overall'	(ipfv) pfv
Interpreted consequence	*slegla v postel' i umerla*	***prinesja*** *svoju žizn' v žertvu*	(ipfv) pfv

	'became seriously ill and died'	'sacrificing her life'	
Instrumental action	*svalil* 'pulled me over'	***podstaviv*** *podnožku* 'tripping me'	ipfv/pfv
Correlate to interpretative predicate	*ona menja oskorbila* 'she offended me'	***priglasiv*** *moego sopernika* 'inviting my rival'	ipfv/pfv

2.4.2.7.1 'Purpose'/'intended consequence'

The meaning of 'purpose', or 'intended consequence', has been discussed by Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), Rjabova (1992), and Mellquist (2024). See Section 5.1.2.

An imperfective converb describes the intended outcome of the matrix predicate. If the converb has a 'conative' feature, the 'purposive' nuance is stronger. Since the 'purposive' nuance involves mental states, they are not readily observable and are thus often provided with evidentiality markers like *kak by* 'as if', thereby emphasising the character of 'guesses of intent'.

(83) Akimova and Kozinceva (1987: 266), English added.
[…] *no vdrug Fedja obratilsja k Iljuše i,* ***kak by vozobnovljaja*** *prervannyj razgovor, sprosil ego* […].
'[…] but suddenly Fedya turned to Ilya and, as if to resume the interrupted conversation, asked him […].'

(84) Akimova and Kozinceva (1987: 272), English added.
Pavel […] ***spasajas'*** *ot polnoj degradacii, pripolz sjuda*.
'Pavel, saving/to save himself from complete degradation, crawled here.'

(85) Rjabova (1992: 19), italics altered, English added.
Ubivaja *vremja, ja izučaju fotografii lučšix ljudej cexa*.
'Killing time, I'm studying photos of the section's best people.'

As seen from these examples, converbs expressing 'purpose' or 'intentional simultaneous consequence' can occur preverbally. This feature distinguishes them from 'consequence' expressed by perfective converbs, which must occur postverbally to avoid the expression of 'anteriority' meanings or a sentence anomaly (Mixeev 1974, Růžička 1980, Rappaport 1984). (See (63b), (82b) and (89c)).

A subtype of the 'purposive' converb construction involves mental verbs or 'verbs of trying' followed by infinitives. In such instances, the mental act of

intending (*wishing*, *trying*, etc.) is explicitly mentioned in Russian. There is some overlap in meaning between 'reason' and 'purpose' in such instances, but when the meaning has forward reference, for example, as a strategy rather than a reaction, the 'purpose' reading is stronger. In such instances, the sequence of [converb + infinitive] instantiates 'complementary coincidence'. Regular *čtoby-* 'in order to' clauses can also give rise to complementary coincidence, but they have a broader application. Importantly, the 'end' dimension does not need to correspond to an 'achieved result'. Note, too, that 'attempts' pertain to the 'end' dimension of 'complementary coincidence'.

(86) Akimova and Kozinceva (1987: 266), English added.
— Gm! — promyčal Obnoskin, ***kak budto želaja*** *podraznit' eščë bolee djadju.*
'"Hm!" Obnoskin grunted, as if wanting to tease his uncle even more.'

In Apresjan's (1983) view, the 'purpose' meaning is wholly dependent on the lexical meaning of the converb. This claim is refuted in Article II, Mellquist (2024). I argue that the important parameter is 'relative method-neutrality'. The characteristics of the matrix predicate are also relevant to the meaning that is realised. (See Article II and the summary in section 5.1.2.)[74] An interesting feature of the 'purposive' usage is that it attracts focus (i.e., is marked as new, non-derivable or contrastive) and does not seem to be presupposed. Consequently, it does not pattern with 'temporal' ('temporal', 'detached', or 'conditioning') converb usages. The 'purpose' often constitutes new, (rhematic) information. In some examples, evidentiality markers mark assumed evidentiality and function as a device for the author (or translator) to avoid a temporal reading ('*when'* or '*while also*' apologising):

(87) a. Swedish. (Mellquist 2024: 27)
Han la sin hand på min ***för att*** *be om ursäkt.*
b. Russian
On dotronulsja do moej ruki, ***slovno prosja*** *izvinenija.*
'He touched my arm [to apologise/as if apologising].'

In (87b), the marker *slovno* 'as if' is added in the Russian target text despite its absence in the Swedish source text.

2.4.2.7.2 'Consequence'

This meaning relation is described in Mixeev (1974), Rappaport (1984), and Rjabova (1992). See also the examples from Jakobson (1984[1957] in Section 2.2.

[74] The data from Mellquist (2024) are available at: https://doi.org/10.5878/9td4-d139.

The present study does not provide new empirical data in this area but relies on previous research. A perfective converb (or less frequently, an imperfective) clause denotes the 'result' or 'consequence' of the eventuality denoted by the matrix predicate. Imperfective converbs may also give rise to this interpretation, primarily in the instance of inanimate subjects. There is a tendency for perfective converbs to signal an 'unintended consequence', whereas imperfective converbs signal an 'intended outcome/purpose'. However, this tendency is not absolute.[75] For (88), no statement of intention is remarked on in the literature:

(88) Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), English added.
[…] *ženščina* […] *vstala, v dverjax,* ***zagorodiv*** *soboj vyxod.*
'the woman stood up in the doorway, blocking the exit.'

The meaning of (89) may overlap with 'purpose/intended consequence' to some degree, but in this example, the primary meaning discriminating features are 'intention' and conation, which are largely contextual. Note also that a change in aspect can distinguish between these meaning relations, as 'purposive' relations strongly correlate with imperfective converbs (Mellquist 2024). In iterative contexts and contexts with inalienable subjects, the interpretation of an imperfective verb may be less 'purpose'-like. The 'consequence' relation is expressed by method-neutral postverbal imperfective verbs. Mixeev (1974) demonstrates the convertibility between 'instrumental' (89d, 89e) and 'consequence' (89b) meanings and that a manner-neutral perfective verb cannot occur in a preverbal position while still preserving the 'consequence' reading (89c).

(89) Mixeev (1974: 125), English glosses added.
a. *zažëg spičku i osvetil lico*
'lit a match and illuminated the face'
b. *zažëg spičku,* ***osvetiv*** *lico*
'lit a match, illuminating-CVB.PFV the face'
c. *?****osvetiv*** *lico, zažëg spičku*
?'having illuminated the face-CVB.PFV, lit a match'
d. ***zažëgši*** *spičku, osvetil lico*
'by lighting a match-CVB.PFV, illuminated the face'
e. *osvetil lico,* ***zažëgši*** *spičku*
'illuminated the face by lighting a match-CVB.PFV'

In (89c), the permutation results in a sentence anomaly since the teleological order is not iconically matched (cf. Rappaport (1984) and section 2.4.2.6.2). An

[75] Both Mixeev (1974) and Rjabova (1992) observe 'unintended consequences' interpretations in examples in either aspect. But the majority of their examples follows the pattern of imperfective denoting 'intention' and perfective denoting 'unintentional consequence'. The demarcation between 'purpose' and 'consequence' partly coincides with aspect but seems to crucially depend on 'intention'. This question deserves further research.

'anteriority' reading is forced, which does not make sense for the expression ***osvetiv*** *lico, zažëg spičku* 'having illuminated the face lit a match' unless a special context (for example, an order to light a match after the face is illuminated) is provided. In this example, the 'means-end' relation cannot be maintained.

2.4.2.7.3 'Interpreted consequence'

This relation is discussed by Boguslavskij (1977), Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), and Rjabova (1992).

A perfective or imperfective converb can denote a (unintentional) 'consequence' which is subjectively interpreted instead of being readily observable.

(90) Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), English added.
Ona postojanno vorčala i kurila trubku, ***napominaja*** *starogo soldata.*
'She was constantly grumbling and smoking a pipe, resembling an old soldier.'

As mentioned in Section 2.4.2.6.4, this type of converb has special control features in that it can function as the subject together with the eventuality denoted by the matrix clause, i.e., the clause that gives rise to the 'effect' denoted by the converb.

(91) *S Veroj Petrovnoj ona pozdorovalas' tože nebrežno, minut pjat' žalovalas' na skuku monastyrkuju i ušla pereodevat'sja,* ***ukrepiv*** *neprijatnoe vpečatlenie Klima.*
'She also greeted Vera Petrovna carelessly, complained for five minutes about the boredom of the monastery and went off to change clothes, reinforcing Klim's unpleasant impression.'

Example (79b), "playing into the hands of the right-wingers", also belongs to this meaning relation, as do the examples labelled 'periphrastic' (Rjabova's 1992 category, cited in section 2.4.2.6.4).

2.4.2.7.4 'Instrumental action' ('means')[76]

The meaning relation of 'instrumental action' is seldom mentioned in the literature on converbs. Weiss (1995) mentions it in passing, without providing an

[76] Weiss (1995: 251) refers to the 'instrumental' meanings and compares it with English *by* + gerund or German *indem* + subordinate clause. In the following passage, however, he focuses on what he calls subgroups (types) of 'instrumental' meaning: correlates to interpretative predicates and 'manner' adverbials. The statement that a converb construction is the only means by which 'instrumental

example, but claiming that a converb is the only means of conveying this meaning in Russian. For Rappaport (1984), who writes in English, the meaning nuance is evident, since English requires the preposition *by* before 'instrumental' *-ing* forms. Article IV and Mellquist (in preparation) provide an in-depth empirical study of the 'instrumental' meaning, using a contrastive method with parallel corpora.[77],[78]

With regard to 'instrumental action', a converb of either aspect can denote an action that functions as the 'means' or 'method of obtaining a result' denoted by a method-neutral matrix predicate. Preverbal and postverbal position of the converb is possible. The converbs can be focused, in that it can be used to convey new, non-derivable or contrastive information. The possibility to convey focused information differentiates the 'instrumental' usage from converbs functioning as correlates to interpretative predicates, since such converbs tend to convey 'given' or 'maintained' information. Akimova and Kozinceva (1987) provide examples of sentences with converbs that convey an 'instrumental' meaning, associated with the imperfective aspect. These examples demonstrate the non-conditioning, non-characterising instances of 'simultaneity' (without mentioning 'means' or 'instrumental action' meaning). These scholars note that in such examples, the matrix predicate should be an 'accomplishment' in the Vendlerian understanding, or a '*sveršenie'* in Bulygina's (1982) classification.

(92) Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), English added.
Proizvodja *v ume složnoe arifmetičeskoe dejstvie, ja vyčislil, čto každyj čas moego prebyvanija na postu soderžit v sebe 3600 sekund.*
'By performing a complex arithmetical operation in my mind, I calculated that each hour of my tenure contains 3,600 seconds.'

Apresjan (1983: 335) subsumes an 'instrumental' example under the more general concept of 'manner' (*obraz dejstvija*).

(93) Apresjan (1983: 335), English added.
Stupaja *meždu spjaščimi soldatami, komandir probiralsja k dveri.*
'(By) stepping between the sleeping soldiers, the commander made his way to the door.'

action' can be expressed is enigmatic considering the widespread use of instrumental deverbal nouns in this function. Article IV (Mellquist, in preparation) corroborate Weiss' claim, showing that converbs constitute the largest individual correspondence category to the Swedish instrumental construction: *genom att* 'by' (*through*) + infinitive clause.

[77] "Instrumental' converb uses in other languages is discussed by Pusch (1980) on Italian converbs (*gerundi*) and Kearns (2003) and Sæbø (2016a, 2018) on English *–ing* forms with the preposition *by*.

[78] Rappaport describes 'means'-'consequence' convertibility and refers to Valimova (1940). I have not been able to locate this work.

Rappaport (1984: 189), in contrast, refers to examples like (79a) delaying the discussion as 'means'. But since it does not refer to an action of intending to "play in the hands of the right-wingers" but rather to a causally effective factor, I refer to such instances as 'correlates to an interpretative predicate'.

2.4.2.7.5 'Correlate to an interpretative predicate'

This is the most well-described converb meaning listed here. Apresjan (1980) describes these converb occurrences as specified by the valence of 'interpretative predicates'. These predicates involve scalar changes across different parameters, for example, 'moral' and 'utilitarian'. According to Apresjan (1980), these converbs are presupposed. In Apresjan (1983), examples of these converbs are described as not possessing a specific meaning.

Concerning the meaning, 'correlate to an interpretive predicate', a converb in either aspect can denote an action that functions as the 'means' or 'method (effective factor) of obtaining a result in cases where the result is mostly unintended or somewhat non-agentive, as in 'win the race' and is denoted by a method-neutral matrix predicate. The matrix predicates often have a subjective nuance of valuation or judgement, and the eventualities they denote are seldom directly observable. The converb may have background intonation (detachment) and is generally presupposed such that the eventuality denoted by the converb is assumed by the Speaker to be shared by the Listener in the common ground. In (94), the converb clause includes an anaphoric pronoun *ėtom* 'that:LOC' that bears witness to an antecedent in the previous context. The content that that is judged as 'wrong to tell' must be shared between Speaker and Hearer as given information.

(94) Akimova and Kozinceva (1987), English added.
Ja byl neprav, ***rasskazav*** *ej ob ėtom.*
'I was wrong in/when telling her that.'

V. Apresjan (2014) notes that some converbs that correlate with interpretative predicates are not presupposed. They behave differently in that not only the valuation but also the action may be negated. Some verbs can give rise to either interpretation. Not every correlate to an interpretative verb can be negated. V. Apresjan (2014) relates this difference to the degree of control and intentionality of the events denoted by interpretative predicates. Some predicates, like *ošibat'sja* 'be wrong', are strange under an intentional reading. Other predicates, like *grešit'* 'sin', may involve control of the action but not over the result. Others may involve complete control over the action and the result. These are referred to as instances of 'indirect nomination' (*kosvennaja nominacija*) and are comparable to the 'instrumental' examples above. Example (95) is of this category. Note that in this example, the negation takes scope over the converb:

(95) V. Apresjan (2014: 20), English added.
a. *Ona ne nakazyvala syna,* ***stavja*** *v ugol.*
'She did not punish her son by putting him in a corner.'
b. *Ona ne stavila syna v ugol.*
'She did not put her son in a corner.'

(95b) represents an inference that can be made based on the negated example. Examples where both presupposed and non-presupposed readings are also present include:

(96) Based on V. Apresjan (2014: 21), English added.
a. *On ne grešil,* ***govorja*** *nepravdu.*
'He did not sin, telling a/the lie.'

b.*On ne govoril nepravdu.* (otricanie dejstvija)
'He did not tell a lie.' (negation of the action)

c.*On govoril nepravdu, no ėto ne grex.* –(otricanie interpretacii)
'He did tell a lie, but it is not a sin.' (negation of the interpretation)

V. Apresjan (2014: 21) associates this feature, where both presupposed and non-presupposed readings are present, with partial control. One's behaviour is controllable, but not its evaluation by another person. Interestingly, the verb and the converbs fall jointly in the scope of negation when the actions are negated in the examples of V. Apresjan. Note that her investigation concerns verb meaning and not adjuncts. The 'instrumental actions' investigated in my own investigations (Article IV, see 5.1.4) in most instances appear to be focused as new, non-derivable or contrastive information. As such, they can be negated with a negation particle that is placed immediately before the converb rather than in front of the matrix verb, see (53) in Section 2.4.2.6.1 and the discussion about displaced (*smeščënnoe*) negation in Padučeva (2014). An exhaustive investigation of negation patterns lies, however, outside the scope of the present investigation.

2.4.2.7.6 Summary of 'complementary coincidence'

The phenomenon of 'means'-'manner' complementarity that is associated with some converbs lies behind pairs of converses, such as (79a, 80a) and (79b, 80b) or (89d,e). This is similar to converse pairs like *buy* and *sell*, *give* and *take* or even any 'negative'-'positive' relation. In this context, translation transformations occur between, for example, 'purpose' meanings (*in order to*) and 'instrumental action' meanings (*by*). The difference between 'instrumental' and a 'correlate to interpretative action' depends on factors related to background (≈ 'theme') versus

focus (≈ 'rheme') usage, reminiscent of the dichotomies presented in section 2.4.2.6. This preliminary attempt at a unified approach to the distribution of these meanings needs to be supplemented by further research.

3. Theoretical perspectives

This research project has been performed within a loosely defined functional-typological-cognitive grammatical tradition (i.e., a non-reductionist framework), with a particular emphasis on usage-based theory. The investigations conducted here are usage-based, relying on empirical evidence from parallel corpora. The typological perspective is important since it helps bridge the gap between the diverse phenomena of Russian converb constructions and their Swedish correspondences (as examined in the articles, including bipartite 'comitative' constructions and infinitive phrases headed by prepositions). From a larger typological perspective, the differences become more explicable. The literature review, however, was not limited to any one particular theoretical framework. Since this research thesis concerns linguistic meaning and semantic relations, numerous relevant analyses have been found in the literature on compositional semantics, generative syntax, and philosophy.

The contrastive method provided insight that linguistic meaning and functions are best illuminated and detected by means of comparison. Russian converb meanings are relational and implicit, and therefore are challenging to describe exhaustively. The method of contrasting implicit meanings with less implicit meanings in another language enables the researcher to explore patterns that would otherwise remain hidden from view. The parallel corpus of the Russian National Corpus (ruscorpora.ru) contains a large number of texts, allowing for the identification of patterns in the distribution of converbs with statistically significant frequencies.

3.1 Construction grammar and usage-based theory

Construction Grammar (CG) approaches and a usage-based perspective constitute an important foundation for the research reported on in this thesis. Constructionists, for example, Goldberg (2003) view grammar as a continuum extending from the lexicon to syntax, encompassing lexically specified simple structures to fully schematic complex structures, and every possibility in between, such as partially filled, semi-idiomatic constructions with open slots for variable elements (Hoffman & Trousdale, 2013). Constructionists do not view constructions as compositional in the sense that the whole is a sum of the parts. Instead, each element contributes to the meaning of the whole by actively infiltrating each other's meaning potential (see Raxilina and Testelec (2016: 14)

on the legacy of Fillmore in this context). From the CG perspective, the elements of a construction cannot be seen as mere replaceable building blocks since there are often severe semantic restrictions on what elements are possible in a particular construction. This theoretical restriction also applies to the specification of very general constructions, such as [Subject-Verb-Object] constructions, since verbs suited to this construction must be transitive, for example. Many different compositional elements are involved in the realisation of converb meaning, including idiosyncratic elements. Given this, a usage pattern may spread to contexts where it conflicts with something formerly perceived as a coded meaning.[79]

Usage-based accounts refute the idea of an absolute opposition between *langue* and *parole* in the Saussurean sense or *competence* and *performance* in the Chomskyan sense. In contrast, the language system is viewed as crucially dependent on language usage since it is constantly changing and adapting to its environment:

> As the term implies, the object of study in Usage Based Theory is not only the native user's competence, which resides in the cognitive representation, but all the perception and production processes that are brought to the task of using language (Kemmer & Barlow 2000 [Barlow & Kemmer 2000, S.M.]). Thus the data considered applicable to formulating and testing hypotheses can be very broadly drawn from experiments, child language, acquisition, language change and large corpora representing natural language. The latter source of data (now much more available than in the past) partially supplants the use of native speaker intuitions. (Bybee 2013:50)

The systematic character of a language is viewed as the result of frequency effects of repetition and convention. Linguistic generalisations arise from entrenchment in the memories of the Speakers of a language. It is traditionally held that idioms need to be 'stored in the lexicon' while frequent syntactical patterns are not 'stored', but are a result of innate parameters being 'switched on'. The usage-based perspective and constructionist approaches challenge this view. Recurring frequent patterns give rise to broad generalisations, and the most frequent patterns are entrenched in the Speaker's memory. Syntactic structures are nothing but extremely frequent schematic patterns. More recent accounts challenge the dichotomy between (stored) lexicon and (innate) syntax.

[79] This applies to the preposition *med* 'which' usually codes co-presence, but which can also be used to encode accompanying circumstances, such as an absence, which contradicts the (original) co-presence meaning. (See Jespersen (1951[1924]: 124), Article I, Mellquist (2022), and section 5.1.1). If perfective converbs are taken to encode 'anteriority' as their basic meaning, then 'resultant state' constructions which denote simultaneous eventualities or 'consequence' or 'purpose' usages which refer to subsequent eventualities or results may conflict with this 'anteriority' meaning. The idea of 'anteriority' as a basic meaning of perfective converbs has not been adopted by every scholar, however. (See section 1 and section 2.)

The grammatical/semantic meanings or functions of Russian converbs may be seen as implicit, requiring the Listener/Reader to infer them. They can be seen as having predefined (conventionalised) usage templates carrying specific meanings. In many cases, these inferences seem to be part of the construction, in the sense of a prefabricated structural setup; the contextual or pragmatic information has been repeated sufficiently to be entrenched in the memory of the language's Speakers. Bybee (2013: 56) writes:

> The conventionalizing of implicature (or from the hearer's point of view, inference) is also well-known from grammaticalization research (Bybee 1988[1987 ? S.M.]; Traugott 1989; Bybee *et al.* 1994; Traugott & Dasher 2002). It is thought that the frequent co-occurrence of an inference with a particular construction can lead to that inference being taken as part of the meaning of the construction. The originally inferential meaning can even replace the earlier meaning. (Bybee 2013: 56)

Thus, converb constructions can be said to have specific functions. There might be a form function pairing between specific uses and specific schematic templates, i.e., constructions which, unlike idioms, are not lexically fixed. These templates become automatised, and an associated inference is no longer dependent on the context (i.e., pragmatic context or world knowledge), as much as it depends on co-textual structure and lexical interaction between features in the matrix and converb clauses. Slots in fixed positions demand fillers that meet specific semantic requirements. The interaction of syntactic and semantic structuring of a construction forms patterns that, if repeated frequently enough, will signal a specific meaning relation. As noted by Apresjan (1983), the meaning relations expressed by Russian converbs manifest both loosely inferable meaning relations and conventionalised meaning relations (see section 2.4.1.1).

3.2 Contrastive linguistics

Contrastive linguistics is a rapidly growing discipline which is rooted in applied linguistics (mainly mapping differences between pairs of languages to contribute to the field of second language acquisition research). In recent decades, in conjunction with the emergence of digital corpora, the discipline of contrastive linguistics has gained larger independence and is viewed as a research field that bridges (A) typological studies, which investigate samples of multiple languages and often rely on reference grammars or other kinds of secondary sources of information and (B) monolingual analyses of individual languages, which often enjoy their own national descriptive and analytical traditions. In contrast, contrastive linguistics endeavours to engage in in-depth studies of at least two languages. To this aim, access to the national and international linguistic literature of both languages is invaluable. The intermediate position occupied by

contrastive linguistics provides the researcher with access to at least two national description traditions and to primary language data from two languages (i.e., directly from corpora rather than from reference grammars, albeit with native speaker intuition in only one of the languages), while simultaneously maintaining the benefits of comparison.

Fabricius-Hansen and Haug (2012: 6) observe the potential of contrastive studies and of contrastive corpus explorations in particular as a methodological tool for many types of linguistic study. In the present study, contrastive linguistics is regarded as a method rather than a research field.

3.3 Semantics vs. pragmatics

An important question to consider is whether the Russian converb usages examined in this thesis can be analysed as grammatically encoded relational meanings or as contextually prompted inferences (or implicatures) that are made anew every time a converb appears in a sentence. Presumably, the Russian converbs examined in this thesis fall somewhere on a scale between fully coded form-function pairings and pragmatic, *ad hoc* inferences (implicatures). These differences are discussed by Apresjan (1983), see section 2.4.1.1. Apresjan (1983) describes several 'inevitable' converb meanings that are stable across different usage contexts. These 'grammatically encoded' (*jazykovye*) meanings may acquire layers of other, more ephemeral meanings. For example, a temporal 'anteriority' meaning may acquire the meaning of 'cause' (or 'reason'), as seen in examples (14), and (23). This thesis does not aim to resolve this question and does not measure the degree of conventionalisation or cancellability of implicatures. The first question that must be answered before any such tests can be performed is: What is the basic meaning that a cancelled conversational implicature can fall back on? The question about basic meanings for Russian converbs is debatable. For example, is it the relative tense meanings inherent in the suffixes (*-v* for 'anteriority' and *-a* for 'simultaneity', or *-v* for sequence and *-a* for 'overlap')? Or is it the basic dichotomy between 'temporal adverbial' or 'manner adverbial' (detached vs. nondetached, conditional vs. non-conditional, etc.) that provides 'basic' meanings?

The stable, grammatically encoded meanings identified by Apresjan (1983) are formed under specific configurations of semantic, syntactic, and morphological factors. The meaning relations identified in this thesis are not congruent with several of Apresjan's (1983) statements. For example, this includes his statements regarding 'purpose' and 'means' meanings being

contingent on the lexical content of the converb alone, and his claim that converbs selected by the matrix verb's semantic valence are void of content.[80]

Nevertheless, this thesis is informed by Apresjan (1983), who describes Russian converb usages as specific configurations of semantic, syntactic, and morphological factors. What I call a 'converb construction' is based on recurring relation patterns that can be described in a notation using empty slots with subscripts for specific semantic and grammatical factors. These relation patterns are assumed to be conventionalised.

The place and role of pragmatics and context in usage-based linguistic investigations and constructionist approaches to grammar vacillate between (A) being acknowledged as something of foundational importance while running the risk of (B) being ignored or taken for granted. This problem is discussed by Cappelle (2017) and Desagulier and Monneret (2023). One well-known heuristic for determining whether a construction incorporates pragmatic reasoning or if this reasoning is entirely external to the construction is the test provided by the contrastive method. Concerning this, Cappelle (2017: 118) writes:

> […] we can make an educated guess about the stored status of a combination's pragmatically derivable reading by checking whether *another language* would express that reading in a very similar way. (Cappelle 2017: 118).

This criterion is also discussed by König (1995) regarding the meaning of converbs in European languages. König states that:

> Furthermore, there are language-specific constraints on interpretation, which are quite plausibly linked to certain formal properties of converbs in a language. The French *gérondif*, for example, does not permit a resultative, a purposive or a comparative interpretation (Halmøy 1982: 222). (König 1995: 72)

For example, consider the difference in applicability of the converb 'instrumental action' construction in Italian (Pusch 1980) and Russian (Mellquist, in preparation). In English, this meaning is preferably denoted explicitly, with the overt marker *by* preceding the *-ing* form.

The other meaning relations investigated in this thesis, namely, 'resultant state' constructions, are clearly contingent on language-specific Russian factors, such as the presence of a perfective aspect and converb morphology that is distinct from participial morphology. In one of the studies, Article I, (see section 5.1.1, Mellquist (2022)), grammatically similar constructions are contrasted. In Article I, I demonstrate that 'bipartite comitative' constructions, which take the

[80] The first of these statements is refuted since the meanings of 'means' and 'purpose' depend on an interplay between matrix and converb meanings and other factors, such as aspect (ipfv for 'purpose') not on the lexical classes of the converbs alone. The second statement is refuted since it can be shown that certain 'valence bound' converbs have meanings that require overt coding in other languages, specifically 'means' that must be marked with *by* in English or *genom* in Swedish.

form [comitative + NP + PP], differ between Russian and Swedish. In Russian, speakers tend to avoid using inalienable nouns in the first part and likewise avoid using alienable nouns in the second. This tendency is analysed as a difference in the degree of conventionalisation of the predicative potential that resides in the comitative preposition, see section 5.1.2 and Article I (Mellquist 2022).[81]

It is always difficult to distinguish a language-specific conventionalisation of pragmatic influence from other language-specific factors. One indicator of language-specific idiosyncrasy is the ease or difficulty of learning certain patterns for second-language learners. I have experienced that the 'resultant state' construction is perceived as somewhat counter-intuitive for intermediate learners (cf. *sidel zakryv glaza* 'was sitting after having closed his eyes'/'was sitting with his eyes closed'). Language learners need to make a Gricean inference in order to make sense of the construction on meeting it for the first time. Notwithstanding this, the apparent awkwardness of the 'resultant state' construction may be an effect of grammar books emphasising the association between perfective converbs and 'anteriority' interpretations.

One example of a 'purposive' interpretation in Article II (Mellquist 2024) shows that there is a risk of obtaining a 'non-purposive' interpretation. This risk is removed by the addition of an evidentially used comparison marker that would make no sense under a 'non-purposive' reading:

(97) a. Swedish (Tunström, 1978)
Han la sin hand på min ***för att be om ursäkt.***
He lay REFL:POSS hand on mine for to ask about apology
'He put his hand on mine in order to apologise.'

b. Russian (Dobronickaja, 2004)
On dotronulsja do moej ruki,
He to.touched to my:GEN hand:GEN

slovno prosja *izvinenija.*
like ask(IPFV)CVB apology:GEN
'He touched my arm [to apologise/as if apologising].'

If *slovno* ('like') is omitted, (97b) runs the risk of being interpreted as an instance of 'simultaneity'. In the presence of the marker, this interpretation becomes anomalous ('as if when'/'while').

The constructions included in this thesis may appear idiosyncratic due to their lack of specific markers. However, my investigations have revealed that these

[81] The tendency is not absolute, and Russian informants make different judgements. One informant denies that it is possible to say: *s rukami v karmanax* 'with (one's) hands in (one's) pockets'. However, an example from Tolstoy with these exact words is found in the RNC. Another native-speaker informant judged it impossible to say *s mužem mërtvym* 'with (one's) husband dead' as this would imply the presence of a ghost.

constructions are highly compositional; they consist of verb forms that relate to each other in configurations where the lexical meanings work together in an intricate interplay. The lexical meanings are present, relate to each other, and are not hidden. When one examines sample sets comprising several hundred examples, the relation patterns appear to be stable and conventionalised. However, for distinct patterns to emerge, a critical number of examples must be collected. This was made possible by using the contrastive method.

4. Methods and data

This section discusses the contrastive method and the methodological choices made in this study.

4.1 The contrastive method

The method used in the empirical work included in this thesis consisted of a series of corpus investigations. In most instances, this entailed parallel Swedish-Russian/Russian-Swedish corpus investigations, but I also conducted an explorative corpus study of Russian only. The subject of these investigations was implicit converb meaning, that is, the identification of relational meanings where the converb clause, rather than the matrix clause, is the bearer of the meaning that specifies the meaning relation. Meaning specification in implicit forms raises an intriguing paradox. The meanings are, in a certain sense, underspecified, yet they are undoubtedly present. It is no surprise that important insight regarding the implicit meanings of Italian, English, or French converbs is gained by scholars who are not native speakers of the languages in question. Consider the work done by Pusch (1980) (a native German speaker) on Italian, and Kortmann (1991) (another native German speaker) on English free adjuncts and absolutes. I suggest that a foreign language serves as a natural reference point, assisting the researcher in sorting a mass of implicit meanings into defined (explicit) categories. A precondition for this is that the native comparison language does not possess the same grammatical category that gives rise to implicit meanings. Thus, a contrastive investigation between Italian or English, on the one hand, and Russian, on the other, would not yield the same approach to category classification. Following Apresjan (1983), my hypothesis is that the relational meanings are composed by the presence of specific syntactic, semantic, and morphological features in specific configurations. The nature of these configurations has not been explored exhaustively. The methodology in this thesis involves contrasting explicit Swedish prepositional constructions with Russian and observing to what extent they correlate with converbs. In this way,

some of the relational meanings are revealed and subject to further descriptive and explanatory analysis.

4.1 Different solutions in the implementation of the contrastive method

My work with the contrastive comparison of Swedish prepositional expressions and Russian converbs prompted me to make several choices that were both practical and methodological in nature. In this section, I discuss some of the principal choices made for the investigations.

4.1.1 Query language

One important decision was to start from Swedish in the queries, as the presence of Russian material in the queries made the analysis too heavily geared towards Swedish. In the first attempt at retrieving material for Article I, I used information from Mellquist (2017) to formulate a query in Russian. I already knew which aspect and word order configuration yielded most Swedish 'comitatives' as correspondences. The query was successful in that it resulted in over 50% comitatives as Swedish correspondences. The analysis work was, however, somewhat unproductive as it became too focused on an analysis of Swedish coordinations and other correspondences and less focused on an analysis of the Russian material, the primary subject of my investigation.

I thus employed the reverse approach: I used a Swedish comitative construction as the query. By doing this, I obtained very interesting Russian data that yielded clear results. This put me in a good position, since I planned to write a compilation thesis, and journals tend to favour clear (and positive) results. Another advantage of using explicit Swedish markers in the queries is that the links between Russian converb usages and these Swedish markers are produced by native Russian speakers, who actively encode comparable meaning relations through their use of converbs in the Russian target texts, rather than by non-Russian translators making interpretive guesses. (See Figure 1 and Figure 2 in the introduction, section 1). I have used Swedish queries in each of the investigations except for the queries in Article III, which were performed in Russian in the main part of the RNC. Importantly, the searches were performed in both translation directions, *from* Swedish prepositional expressions and *to* Swedish prepositional expressions.

4.1.2 Bilingual searches

In the investigation for Article II, on 'purposive' meaning relations, I decided to use bilingual searches. I searched for [*för +att* +infinitive] in the Swedish layer of the parallel Swedish-Russian corpus in the RNC and simultaneously for [converb] in the Russian layer of the RNC. I was compelled to do this because of the relative infrequency of the correlation. If every match were to be considered, then the relevant matches would have been obscured by the large number of *čtoby*-clauses. I initially tried this option, but it was particularly time-consuming and, more importantly, I noticed no apparent difference between *čtoby*-clauses and converbs. Nevertheless, there was a lot of noise in the retrieved material that I needed to sort out manually since the Swedish parallel partition of the RNC is not disambiguated. The search for imperfective matches yielded over 600 matches, whereas the search for perfective matches produced fewer than 20 matches. In these procedures, it was necessary to sift through over a thousand examples; thus, the option of bilingual searches facilitated this work, but it did not automate it altogether.

4.1.3 Russian-only searches

For Article III, I searched the main partition of the RNC. This partition has a lot more functionality than the parallel partition. I chose an aspect-and-word-order configuration that was associated with 'resultant states' in previous research, viz [V_{IPFV} + CVB_{PFV}]. Two varieties were investigated: one with accusative subjects denoting inalienable body parts, and one with converbs formed from intransitive verbs. The main partition of the Russian National Corpus contains more functions than the parallel partitions. For the searches used in Article III, the frequency function was chosen. This is an n-gram function that allows one to specify some constituents of the query as lemmas. This feature enabled me to let the declensions and forms of the matrix verb vary, thus capturing a larger number of usages. The frequency function across these usages measures the most recurrent lexical combinations and therefore facilitates rapid inspection of the combinations in the top 10 or 100 most frequent lexical combinations. For usages with nouns denoting body parts in the accusative, the first negative result was found very low in the list; in fact, it was the six-hundred-and-ninety-eighth most frequently recurring combination.

The procedure of checking word order, aspect, and lexical combinations as queries is a preliminary test of the validity of Apresjan's (1983) idea of converb meanings as *partly filled patterns or configurations*. As the search engine in the RNC corpus is constantly being updated with new functionalities and features, such as semantic tags, other types of meaning relations expressed by converbs

can be extracted in the main partition of the RNC using cues used in contrastive studies like the present study.

4.2 Methodological limitations

One important methodological limitation of this research study is that the contrastive parallel corpus method does not provide a great deal of negative evidence. It is not possible to obtain ungrammaticality statements from a corpus study (albeit evidence against such statements would constitute an interesting corpus finding).[82] Many previous investigations on Russian converb meanings relied on stepwise permutations with native speaker assessments of grammaticality (Růžička 1980, Rappaport 1984, Apresjan 2014, and others). In the present study, the minimum use of such resources was made. Instead, my investigations rely primarily on frequency distributions of the relevant constructions in corpora. This procedure has significant advantages and drawbacks. Using corpus data has the advantage that the evidence is based on attested usage rather than on an individual researcher's own constructed examples, irrespective of whether she is a native speaker of the language or not. Moreover, because the corpus contains a large number of texts by different authors and translators, the findings are less dependent on any single individual's intuitions or stylistic habits. A significant drawback of the corpus method is the lack of negative evidence. Negative evidence, such as statements concerning the ungrammaticality of a sentence, is, however, frequent in the previous research on converbs. In fact, many investigations are built on such observations and test these observations empirically. Another type of evidence that is difficult to obtain without native speaker assessment is inference patterns under negation. Negated statements are in the corpora, but they are not extremely frequent. That said, such investigations rely to a certain degree on native speaker assessments. Native speakers were consulted throughout the studies included in this thesis. The native speaker assessments were not carried out in a scientifically rigorous manner, however. One might argue that the number of different native speakers was too small. Note also that no measures were taken to exclude effects from second or third languages, such as Swedish or English, even though my informants, who were born in Russia and have Russian as their native language, presently reside outside Russia. Two important points of my research rely on native speaker assessments. One is my formulation of the "*while also*"-test in Article II, which is translated into Russian as "*v to vremja kak* (*ja*/*on*) *tože*". I state that this test should be viewed as a preliminary formulation since it does not rely on

[82] Teacher-annotated learner corpora constitute an exception to this rule.

assessments from multiple informants. The second point concerns the acceptability assessments of specific 'comitative' constructions in Russian. This point is not entirely clear, as different informants provide varying assessments, and no clear consensus was reached. Consequently, no judgment regarding this construction was published in the text. It merely functioned as part of the research that informed the formulation of the research questions. Only skewed frequency patterns and poorly attested types are presented in the results. I state in the article that this point deserves further research.

Another type of negative evidence, or contrastive evidence, in this research study is my treatment of minimal pairs. This was considered in most of the articles, since it was necessary to delimit the semantic relations in question ('resultant states', 'purpose', and 'means') from the broader taxis relations of 'overlap' and 'sequence' (mainly 'anteriority') and 'manner'.

5. Summaries of the articles

This section contains summaries of the articles that constitute the compilation thesis. The summaries serve several purposes. First, they provide shorter, less detailed versions of my studies where the empirical examples are transliterated and, in some instances, glossed, enabling readers who are not proficient in Russian or Swedish to follow the content of my argument more readily. Second, the summaries of the earliest articles offer some afterthoughts and responses to the criticism these published articles have received. In addition, any errors I may have made are noted. Third, the summaries also place the articles within the broader context of the compilation thesis as a whole.

5.1 Overview of the articles

In the following list, the articles are presented with full titles, with information about the publication date and corresponding sections numbers of the summaries included in this compilation thesis.

1. Article I. Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite comitatives, (Mellquist 2022, section 5.1.1)
2. Article II. Russian correspondences to Swedish purposive *för att* + infinitive constructions, (Mellquist 2024, section 5.1.2)
3. Article III. A corpus exploration of construction frames for Russian resultant state constructions, (Mellquist 2025, section 5.1.3)
4. Article IV. Russian correspondences to Swedish instrumental *genom att* + infinitive constructions, (Mellquist submitted, section 5.1.4)
5. Article V. Complementary coincidence, division of labour between means and end-denoting expressions, (Mellquist 2025, section 5.1.5).

5.1.1 Article I: Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite comitatives

The aim of Article I was to study the 'resultant state' construction of Russian converbs, i.e., Russian converbs used to convey temporary properties in a way that is reminiscent of 'depictives'. Consider, for example, *Ona stoit* ***opustiv*** *golovy* 'She is standing (with her) head down.' In this example, her head is down at the time of standing, but it is not a permanent property. Instead, it is restricted by the temporal span of the matrix verb. This usage is reminiscent of adjectival or participial depictives, such as John left the party angry (cf. the discussions about 'depictives' in 2.4.2.1 and the discussion about 'manner' adverbials and 'topic time' in 2.4.2.6.1).

My initial intention for this article was to use cues from previous studies (Mellquist, 2017; Akimova & Kozinceva, 1987). These included the aspect and word order configuration of imperfective finite verbs followed by perfective converbs, which showed a strong correlation with Swedish comitative *med-* 'with' constructions. I used these features in a corpus query and observed the output in a parallel corpus. However, this procedure made the investigation too focused on the analysis of Swedish material, since this search approach resulted in approximately 50% *med*-constructions but also other constructions, for example, coordinations. Therefore, in an effort to obtain more diverse Russian material for the analysis, I started with Swedish in the corpus query. In this way, the Swedish structural frame would be fixed, and the variation for the study would be exclusively Russian.[83]

Article I investigates Russian correspondences to Swedish bipartite comitatives. Bipartite comitatives are structures where there is a clear predicativity despite the absence of a verbal element. In the Swedish academy grammar, these constructions are called *flerledade fraser* 'multipartite phrases' (cf. Teleman *et al.* (1999: 697 ff.)). The precise structure that was chosen as a search query was the preposition *med* 'with' followed by a noun phrase followed by a prepositional phrase: [V+*med*+NP+PP]. Importantly, only non-adnominal instances were considered (i.e., adclausal and adverbial instances) since adnominal instances do not regularly correspond to Russian converbs.

The study goes beyond the examination of Russian converb constructions (which is a dominant correspondence category) since it sheds light on certain limitations of the use of the Russian comitative preposition *s* 'with'. I show that the use of the comitative preposition *s* (when constructed in the bipartite frame) is limited to the expression of the relation of accompaniment between entities

[83] The original idea about testing predefined aspect and word order configurations is used for Article III instead (with additional observations obtained from Article I).

(things, people) rather than accompaniment between eventualities or states of affairs to a higher degree than Swedish *med* 'with'.

Stolz *et al.* (2006: 20) describe comitatives as having (an implicit) predicative function of asserting that something exists in the same place: "[…] and (x) is there, in the same place too […]" (cf. Coseriu (1970: 218-220), Seiler (1974: 220). Jespersen (1951[1924]: 124) describes how this predicative potential, referred to as "nexus as the object of a preposition […] becomes particularly clear when the adnex neutralizes the usual meaning of *with*: *with both of us absent* […]" (italics added).

A key observation from this investigation is that languages differ in their ability to use the predicative potential inherent in 'comitatives'. In English and Swedish, this potential is primarily utilised in grammar. For example, a person denoted by a noun embedded in a *with*-construction can be followed by a participle that is the focused constituent of this *with*-construction: *Then we had to go home with Mathias almost naked*. In such a sentence, a natural interpretation is that it is Mathias who was almost naked, not the subject (*we*). In German, however, this is a possible, yet odd interpretation. This is demonstrated by a German example from an overheard utterance found in Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004: 74), which is quoted as exceptional:

(98) German Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2004: 74), glossing and translation original, co-reference marked with indices. Indices added in translation.

Da	*mussten*	*wir*	*dann*	[***mit***	*Matthias*$_i$]	[*quasi*	*nackig*]$_i$
then	must	1PL.NOM	then	with	M	so.to.speak	naked

nach	*Hause*	*laufen* (overheard utterance)
to	home	walk

'We then had to walk home with Matthias$_i$ naked$_i$, so to speak.'

The interesting point is that Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004: 73) note that this sentence can be judged as ungrammatical in the interpretation *Then we had to go home (with (Mathias$_i$ almost naked$_i$))* and that the standard interpretation is *Then we$_i$ had to go home (with Mathias) almost naked$_i$*. The first interpretation of this German sentence is acceptable in speech but not in writing.

The problem that this type of example demonstrates is the presence of a property that is predicated of the noun within the *with* (*mit*)-phrase. This makes the *with*-phrase bipartite (cf. Jespersen's notion of 'nexus'). German has evidently not conventionalised the predicative potential of comitatives in such constructions, whereas English and Swedish have conventionalised it to a high

degree.[84] Another example of this phenomenon can be seen with verbless bipartite structures within *with*-constructions.

(99) English. Prozorov (1998), Chapter 10, cites an example from G.B. Shaw, first quoted in Jespersen (1940: 41), italics and parentheses added.
a. *Do you expect me to sleep **with** you in the room?*
b. *(Do you expect me to sleep **with** you) in the room)?*
c. *(Do you expect me to sleep (**with** you in the room))?*
d. Russian, suggested translation, Prozorov (1998: ch. 10)

Neuželi	*vy*	*dumaete*	*čto*	*ja*	*mogu*	*spat',*
Really	you	think	that	I	can	sleep

kogda	*vy*	*naxodites'*	*v*	*komnate?*
when	you	are	in	room

'Do you really expect me to sleep, when you are in the room?'

The example originates from a Russian textbook in translation, and students are cautioned about the potential for syntactic ambiguity in similar English examples. Example (98) and (99) demonstrate different degrees of conventionalisation of the predicative potential of comitative constructions in European Indo-European languages.

Article I investigates the structure present in (99c): a non-adnominal bipartite comitative with a noun (phrase) followed by a prepositional phrase [*med* + NP + PP]. My investigations show that the distribution of Russian translation correspondences can be largely predicted by the presence and position of NPs referring to inalienable body parts. When the second (PP) part contains a reference to a body part, for example, a bipartite *med*-construction with an inalienable in the second part, then the Russian comitative *s* 'with' construction constitutes the most frequent correspondence form:

(100) a. Russian

Maša	*v*	*čërnom*	*plat'e*,
Maša	in	black:LOC	dress

so	*šljapkoj*	*na*	*kolenjax*
with	hat:DIM:INSTR	on	knees:LOC

sidit	*i*	*čitaet*	*knižku*, [...].
sits	and	reads	book:ACC

b. Swedish

MASJA,	*i*	*svart*	*klänning*,
Masha	in	black	dress

[84] This is a topic that deserves further research.

sitter med hatten i knät och läser en bok
[…].Sits with hat:DEF in knee:DEFand reads a book
'Masha, in a black dress, is sitting with her hat on her lap, reading a book.'

When the first part of the construction (NP) contains a reference to an inalienable body part, then the most frequent translation correspondence is a converb construction:

(101) a. Swedish
Han vankade omkring ***med*** *händerna på ryggen (…).*
He wandered around with hands:DEF on back:DEF

b. Russian
[…] *On razgulival vzad i vperëd,*
he around.walked back and forth

založiv *ruki za spinu […].*
back.put(PFV):CVB hands[ACC] behind back:ACC
'He wandered back and forth with his hands on his back […].'

The figures that illustrate this tendency are listed in Table 11 and Table 12:

Table 11. Part of result table from Mellquist (2022).

Russian source texts					
Correspondence categories	alienable	inalienable	n.a.	Total	%
s+instrumental constructions	36	2	8	46	27%
perfective converb constructions	2	37	1	40	23%

Table 12. Part of result table from Mellquist (2022).

Russian target texts					
Correspondence categories	alienable	inalienable	n.a.	Total	%
s+instrumental constructions	123	5	15	143	31%
perfective converb constructions	20	92	14	126	28%

The observation regarding the correlation between reference to inalienable body parts and converb constructions is not new. Vaseva-Kadynkova (1961: 22) noted that the presence of a body part as the object of a converb form may alter the

meaning relation of the converb from relative tense ('anteriority') to a 'resultant state':

(102) Russian. Vaseva-Kadynkova (1961: 22), English translation, italics and glosses added.

a. *On* *vyšel,* ***opustiv*** *štory.*
he exited lower(PFV)CVB curtains[ACC]

(*t.e.* *opustil* *štory* *i* *pošël*[sic!])
i.e., down.pulled curtains[ACC] and went
'That is, pulled down the curtains and went.'

b. *On* *vyšel,* ***opustiv*** *ruki*
He exited:PFV lower(PFV)CVB arms/hands[ACC]

(T. e. *Vyšel* ***s*** ***opuščennymi*** ***vniz*** ***rukami***.)
That is, out.went with lowered:INSTR down arms/hands:INSTR
'That is, [he] went out with his arms down.'

The affinity between converb constructions with 'resultant state' meaning and 'comitatives' is also noted by Akimova and Kozinceva (1987) and Deribas (1962). In addition, Recker (2007[1947]: 133) and Orekhova *et al.* (2019: 120) have noted the affinity between English 'absolutes' (i.e., verbless bipartite constructions) and their translatability with Russian converbs that include an inalienable body part as the 'subject' (first part) of the English absolute.

In Mellquist (2022), the affinity between converbs with inalienable body parts as objects and comitatives is related to the type of accompaniment in question. In the Swedish comitatives that correlated to Russian comitatives in the investigation (i.e., comitatives with inalienables in the second part), for example, (100a) *with the hat on her lap*), we note that the important accompanying entity is the hat. In comitatives with an inalienable in the second part, like (101b), for example, *with his* ***hands*** *on his back*, the important accompanying entity is not *his hands* nor *his back*, since these body parts inherently accompany him at all times. What is important is the placement of his hands on his back. Interestingly, the specification about the nature of the placement is left implicit in Swedish verbless bipartite comitatives with the structure [*med* + NP+ PP], whereas the corresponding Russian converb specifies this, i.e., something has been done to these body parts. It is the result of this eventuality that accompanies the subject

in the form of a 'resultant state'. The verbs involved in these constructions are often verbs of putting or placing, bowing, rising, lowering, etc.[85]

The 'resultant state' meaning relation can be explained in terms of an accompaniment related to something inalienable. The 'resultant state' usage of converbs is often described as having a 'perfect' meaning in the sense of 'continuous relevance'. This 'perfect' sense, however, should not be regarded as a grammatical phenomenon but, instead, as semantic.[86] The 'continuous relevance' is contingent on the inalienability of the body part(s); any manipulation of a body part necessarily accompanies the body in the following time span. Of course, this reasoning applies only to unidirectional and non-punctual eventualities; the eventuality must have a result. Consequently, semelfactives do not form resultant state relations.

Manipulations performed on body parts, for example, lowering the head, raising the arms, putting the feet somewhere, inherently have continuous relevance because the subject retains the result of such manipulations, precisely because these inalienable parts are attached to the body. The resultant states are non-permanent, temporary (stage-level) properties that hold for the time specified by the matrix predicate. In many instances, the matrix predicate is de-emphasised and used as a semi-copula. In some instances, the same-subject control requirement for converbs is relaxed:

(103) a. Russian (Mellquist 2022, see information about authors there)

Papa	*ležal*	*v*	*grobu,*	***složiv***	*ruki,*	*kak*	*pain'ka.*
Dad	lay:(IPFV)	in	coffin:LOC	fold(PFV)CVB	arms[ACC]	like	good.boy

b. Swedish

Pappa	*låg*	*i*	*kistan*	***med armarna***	***i kors***	*som*	*en*	*duktig*	*pojke.*
Dad	lay	in	coffin.DEF	with arms:DEF	in cross	as	a	good	boy

'Dad lay in the coffin with his arms crossed, like a good boy.'

In (103), it was probably not the deceased father himself who had crossed his own arms on his chest. If there is a different subject, a passive participle is the correct form: *Ruki u nego byli* ***složeny*** *(krestom).* 'His hands were folded (in a cross)'. The example with a converb (103) could be analysed as an attempt to produce a

[85] Certain meaning relations cannot be captured by the Swedish verbless construction. For example, expressions such as *zakryv glaza* '(with one's) eyes shut' requires a participle in Swedish: *med ögonen stängda* 'with one's eyes shut'. Participles were not included in the corpus search query as it would bias the investigation too much towards converbs as correspondences. The study was designed to investigate the co-variation between comitatives and converbs in Russian.

[86] Akimova and Kozinceva (1987) mention many types of 'perfect' nuances in different converb constructions. Some, but not all, involve inalienable body parts.

comic effect but can also be viewed as an initial step towards the grammaticalization of the depictive function of converbs in 'resultant state' constructions.

Article I also investigates the temporal dependency difference described in section 2.4.2.6. Like Russian converbs, the Swedish comitatives may have different temporal dependency relations with their matrix. In particular, they can behave either as depictives or as a domain for a modal operator. In (103b), the matrix verb restricts the time span for which the temporary state of the hands being on the back holds. In other configurations, however, this temporal dependency may be reversed:

(104) a. Swedish (Mellquist 2022, see information about authors there)

[…]	***med***	***Putin***	***vid***	***rodret***	***i***	***Moskva***
with		Putin	at	helm:DEF	in	Moscow

är	det	viktigt	för	Sverige	att	spionera	i	Ryssland
is	it	important	for	Sweden	to	spy	in	Russian

b. Russian

(…) *kogda*	*v*	*Moskve*	*u*	*rulja*	*stoit*	*Putin*,
(…)when	in	Moscow:LOC	at	helm:GEN	stands(IPFV)	Putin

Švecii	*važno*	*tože*[sic!].
Sweden.DAT	important	also

vesti	*špionskuju*	*dejatel'nost'*	*v*	*Rossii*
conduct	espionage:ADJ:ACC	activity[ACC]	in	Russia:LOC

'[…] with Putin at the helm in Moscow, it is important for Sweden to carry on espionage in Russia.'

In (104), the 'comitative'/*when*-clause specifies the temporal span for which the claim in the matrix clause holds. In the literature on Swedish bipartite comitatives, the different temporal dependency varieties are referred to as *nexuspredikativ* and *nexusadverbial,* respectively (Körner 1956: 153 ff.). This example is translated as a *kogda* 'when'-clause in Russian, not as a bipartite comitative. My research has shown that this type of configuration (two states of affairs or alienable entities joined together in a bipartite comitative) is generally avoided in Russian. No Russian source text examples were found, and only a few Russian target text examples were found. One of these was Swedish: […] *med far i släptåg* 'with father in tow' rendered in Russian as: *s otcom v kil'vatere* 'with (her) father in (her) wake'. Nichols (1978: 124) provides the example*: s saxarom ėtot čaj nevkusnyj* 'with sugar, this tea isn't tasty'. In these examples, however, there is a marked proximity between the entities. In Article I (Mellquist 2022), I state that 'proximity' is an important parameter for Russian bipartite 'comitatives'. I stated this cautiously, as an observation deserving further

research. This observation has met some critique, and counterexamples have been found: *S Trampom u rulja v Amerike buduščee mesto dlja Ukrainy stalo bolee složnym*. 'With Trump at the helm in America, the future place for Ukraine has become more complicated.' (Google, 15 October 2025). Evidently, this type of construction is not impossible. Notwithstanding this, the translation patterns I identified in my investigation show that the bulk of Russian bipartite comitatives conforms to the pattern of proximity that is secured in constructions with an inalienable in the second part.

In my analysis, I relate different configurations of the Swedish bipartite comitatives and the correspondence patterns they yield to different ontological accompaniment types. An accompaniment of entities is rendered as a bipartite comitative in Russian, while an accompaniment of manner is rendered as a bare instrumental in Russian. Similarly, an accompaniment of eventualities is rendered as a converb construction, and an accompaniment between states of affairs is rendered as a subordinate clause. The following four types were identified as a result of this analysis:

(105) [med + NPalienable + P + NPinalienable] > Russian bipartite comitative
Accompaniment between entities
Ona stojala na lestnice, ***so*** *stakanom v ruke.*
was standing on the stairs with a glass in her hand.'

(106) [*med* + NPinalienable + P + NP] > converb construction
Accompaniment between eventualities
Ona xodila ***založiv*** *ruki za spinu.*
'She was walking with her hands behind her back.'

(107) [*med* + NPinalienable + P + NP] > Russian bare instrumental
Accompanying manner
On stojal ***spinoj k publike.***
'He was standing with his back to the audience.'

(108) [*med* + NPalienable + P + NPalienable] > Russian subordinate clause
Accompaniment between eventualities
[…] ***kogda*** *v Moskve u rulja stoit Putin, Švecii tože važno vesti špionskuju dejatel'nost' v Rossii.*
'[…] when Putin stands at the helm in Moscow, Sweden also needs to carry on espionage in Russia.'

In this summary of Article 1, an unfortunate mistake must be reported. An important negation is missing from the text in one of the discussions. The missing

negation results in an anomaly. In Article I, Mellquist (2022: 82), the following passage is found

> "These examples were contrasted to another series of examples in which the second part, according to Sakakaibara, could be omitted:
>
> (29) English. Sakakibara (1982: 84), italics added.)
>
> a. They stood with their hats off.
>
> b. He stood with his back to the fire.
>
> c. He sat down with his back against a tree."
>
> Mellquist (2022: 82)

The correct wording should be: "These examples were contrasted to another series of examples in which the second part, according to Sakakaibara, could ***not*** be omitted." In the article, I claim that the possibility of omitting the second part is governed by inalienability. In the quoted text, the examples contain inalienables or clothing pieces (used on par with alienables).[87] The Russian correspondence patterns confirm Sakakibara's analysis that comitatives with non-omittable second parts are different from comitatives with omittable second parts. I analyse this difference (following Jespersen 1951[1924]) as an instance of 'constructional extension': a prototypical comitative construction conveys an accompaniment of entities that share a location. At this stage, a 'secondary location' (Sakakibara 1982) can be added to the sentence without violating the co-presence feature: *with a glass **in his hand***. In this type, there is an inalienable in the second part, which guarantees co-presence. This construction has a predicative potential which can be utilised to predicate things other than accompaniment in the same place, for example accompaniment in different places, for example, *with the children in the garden, Mary can focus on the dinner* (accompaniment between states of affairs) or accompaniment of absence (*With both of us **absent***, Jespersen (1951[1924]: 124)).[88] My investigation of

[87] The status of clothing differs. See the example with a hat, in (100a), which is a Russian source text example. With an omission of the second part, the example *They stood with their hats*. would change meaning, whereas *??They stood with their backs*. would be anomalous.

[88] In Sakakibara's (1982) analysis, there is a difference between *with*-constructions with omittable second parts and *with*-constructions with non-omittable parts, such that only the second type is analysed as clause-equivalent. The first type is merely 'possessive' since it is equivalent to *have* rather than *to be*. I do not agree with this analysis since the constructions share the same (surface) structure. Instead, I argue that this difference is due to the feature of co-presence residing in inalienability and, crucially, the placement of the inalienable in either the first or second part. See also Sæbø (2008), who discusses *have*-constructions and *with*-constructions of both types, and also the Russian possessive pronoun *u* which is invariably associated with the overt or covert copula. Sæbø (2008) captures the inalienability feature is his term 'pertinence', which is also used in Fabricius-Hansen, Haug, and Sæbø (2012), who discuss a 'pertinence' constraint in terms of 'variable binding' for, *inter alia*, *with*-constructions.

Russian correspondence patterns suggests that this possibility of a constructional extension is more conventionalised in Swedish than in Russian.

5.1.2 Article II: Russian correspondences to Swedish purposive *för att* + infinitive constructions

Article II explores a somewhat disputed meaning relation and its possible expression with Russian converbs, namely, the 'purpose' meaning relation. I obtained some interesting examples for Mellquist (2017), which I wanted to pursue further. By the time I started the investigation, the Swedish parallel partition of the Russian National Corpus (RNC) had reached a considerable size and could thus be used for the study of less frequent correspondences. The correspondence is somewhat infrequent. Most Swedish 'purposive' clauses correspond to Russian *čtoby* 'in order to' clauses, and correspondences with converbs constitute, at most, five percent of the Russian correspondences to Swedish purposive [*för att* + infinitive] constructions.[89]. I consequently used the bilingual query feature in the RNC to extract as many correspondences as possible between (A) Swedish 'purposive' [*för att* 'in order to' + infinitive] and (B) Russian converbs. The initial query employed the Swedish [*för att* + infinitive] construction, and the desired matches in Russian were [imperfective converbs] in the first search and [perfective converbs] in the second search.

This procedure was time-consuming since the searches generated a large number of false hits and noise in the material. Nevertheless, the first search yielded a surprisingly large number of over 600 tokens. The second search, which queried perfective converb matches, resulted in a significantly smaller figure of fewer than 20 tokens.[90] The first significant finding of the investigation was, therefore, the identification of the association of 'purposive' converb usages and Russian imperfective aspect. The second important observation concerned the structural heterogeneity among the examples. The examples consisted of (i) synthetic converb usages (consisting of a converb only, for example, *otyskivaja* 'finding/tracking down') and (ii) synthetic converb constructions (consisting of a converb paired with an infinitive, for example, *želaja najti* 'wishing to find'). Of these two structural types, synthetic usages were somewhat more frequent (56%)

[89] This estimation was, however, not investigated further (and thus not reported in the article). Despite this apparent infrequency, the resulting figure of synthetic purposive converb usages was 349 tokens (265 tokens in Russian target texts and 84 tokens in Russian source texts). The distribution of these tokens is comparable with the figures for Russian 'instrumental' usages of converbs in the Swedish parallel partition of the RNC, which reported 335 tokens. The distribution of the 'instrumental' correspondence, in contrast, was not less than 5% converbs, in contrast more than 50% of the Russian correspondences to Swedish instrumental *genom att* + infinitve constructions that consisted of converbs, see section 5.1.4.

[90] These were not discussed further in Article II. The most frequent form was *rešiv* ['having decided' +infinitive].

than analytic ones (44%). In the analysis of the examples, literature from linguistic typology (Verstraete 2008, Schmidtke-Bode 2009), language philosophy (Anscombe 1957, Goldman 1970), and compositional semantics (Sæbø 2008, 2016a, 2018) was consulted. Furthermore, Russian linguistic literature on 'purpose' meanings of converbs was taken into account (Akimova & Kozinceva 1987, Poljanskij 1987, Rjabova 1992).

'Purpose' clauses can be analysed as expressions that refer to mental states (or actions) of the intention of a particular outcome. The mental states/actions may be either implicit or expressed by converbs denoting intention, wishing, or trying. The intended outcome(s) can be expressed by either an infinitive following a converb with the meaning of 'intending', 'trying', or 'wishing' (*želaja najti* 'wishing to find') or by a converb (*otyskivaja* 'finding/tracking down').

A notable finding in the study is the observation that the two types of structural construction (analytical and synthetic) largely overlap regarding thematic predicate types. Many example pairs were identified, including: *želaja otyskat′ – otyskivaja* 'wishing to find – finding'; *želaja pokazat′ – pokazyvaja* 'wishing to show – showing'; *želaja peremenit′ razgovor – peremenjaja razgovor′* 'wishing to change topic – changing the topic'; *starajas uderžat′ ravnovesie – uderživaja ravnovesija* 'trying to keep her balance – keeping her balance'; and *pytajas′ predotvratit′ – predotvraščaja* 'trying to prevent – preventing', for example.

An interesting effect regarding inner (mental) states or actions is that evidentiality markers accompany them in 20% of the instances of the analytic and synthetic construction types. The evidentiality markers present the states with epistemic modality, expressing the Speaker's guess of the intent of the subject:

(109) Russian (Mellquist 2024)

Vybora-to	*nikakogo*	*net,—*	*skazal on,*	***slovno***	***opravdyvajas′***.	
Choice-PRT	no:GEN	not —	said	he,	like	justifying(CVB)IPFV:REFL

'There's no choice, he said, as if to justify himself/justifying himself.'

The most frequent evidentiality markers in the material are *slovno* 'as if, like', *kak by* 'as if', and *budto* 'as if'. However, markers of degrees of certainty are also present: *točno* 'exactly, indeed' and *verojatno* 'probably', as well as inferences related to observation: '*očevidno* 'obviously, apparently', *kak vidno* 'evidently, apparently'.

The evidentiality markers sometimes support the 'purposive' nuance of the converbs. In some examples, they are added to the Russian target text despite their absence in the Swedish source text:

(110) a. Swedish (Mellquist 2024)

Han	*la*	*sin*	*hand*	*på*	*min*	***för***	***att***	***be***	***om***	***ursäkt***.
He	lay	REFL:POSS	hand	on	mine	for	to	ask	about	apology

'He put his hand on mine in order to apologise.'

b. Russian

On	*dotronulsja*	*do*	*moej*	*ruki,*
He	to.touched	to	my:GEN	hand:GEN

slovno	***prosja***	*izvinenija.*
like	ask(IPFV)CVB	apology:GEN

'He touched my arm [to apologise/as if apologising].'

If *slovno* ('like, as if') were omitted in (110), the converb would allow for a standard ('additive') 'simultaneity' interpretation (i.e., 'He touched my hand while (also) apologising.'). If this were the case, the communicative act (*prosja izvenenija* 'apologising') would run the risk of being interpreted as an independent, oral speech act. We thus observe that the evidentiality markers perform a double duty: (i) they mark the speaker's insecurity and, in doing so, (ii) they stress the inferential nature of the content in the converb clause, thereby stressing its non-observable, abstract nature of being an inner state belonging to the subject. This feature differentiates 'purpose' usages from 'simultaneity' or 'accompanying circumstance' usages. In many such instances, the Speaker (or in this case the Writer/Author) has access to the protagonist's inner worlds *because these are her own creations*. Consequently, an evidential marker might lend the written composition a more documentary character, as if the protagonists were not fictitious but real or independent of the author's control.

The analytic constructions are somewhat self-explanatory: the converb denotes different modes of the inner state (*želaja* 'wishing', *pytajas′* 'trying') and the infinitive denotes the intended outcome (*najti* 'to find', *proverit′* 'verify', 'show'). However, the interesting observation is their frequency as a translation correspondence, which suggests a possible initial state of grammaticalization. The synthetic construction, on the other hand, is more puzzling and prompts us to ask: What, in these imperfective converb usages, contributes to their purposive interpretation? At least three factors can be identified. However, the factors overlap to a significant degree and are difficult to distinguish. Although I do not provide figures regarding their frequency of occurrence in the article, I discuss these factors below.

The first factor is 'pseudo-simultaneity' or 'complementary coincidence', which means that a semantic division of labour between two expressions takes place. The matrix predicate expresses the 'means' (the action performed), and converb expresses the 'result' (the intended outcome). In the analysis of the material, I observed that the matrix expressions are generally more concrete in

their meaning than the converb expressions. The matrix clauses denote various movements, gestures, or speech acts. The converb clauses denote the outcomes intended with these movements, gestures, or speech acts. These outcomes consist of different impacts on other people ('say something in order to convince'/'convincing', 'make a gesture in order to show something'); obtaining or locating an object ('look in order to find something/someone'); or updating one's own information status ('glance in order to verify something'). *To convince*, *find*, or *verify* instantiate predicates that do not specify how the convincing/showing/verifying is performed; the converb clauses provide that information[91]. These pairs of concrete vs. abstract verb forms ('say to convince', 'make a gesture to show', 'look in order to verify', or 'look in order to find') may have wholly integrated time spans, so that they are coextensive: the saying *is* the convincing, the gesture *is* the showing, the looking *is* the verifying. This feature may, however, not be sufficient to explain the specifically 'purposive' or 'intentional' value of the integration between the clauses since unintentional 'consequence' relations can be characterised by relative method-specification (see Section 2.4.2.7.2).

A second resource for 'purposive'/'intentional' meaning of Russian converbs resides in the imperfective aspect. The imperfective aspect denotes an eventuality as an unfolding process and does not necessarily state anything about its result. A perfective converb, in contrast, entails a result. The fact that some imperfective verbal expressions can entail an action but not its result is referred to as the 'imperfective paradox'. In English, this is typical of progressive forms: *John was drawing a circle.* does not entail 'John drew a circle', whereas *John pushed a cart.* entails 'John pushed a cart' (Dowty 1991). The imperfective paradox presupposes that something is about to come into being by an action, but that the action can be described as unfolding in time *before the result has come into being*. Padučeva (2001) argues that verbs (from certain verb classes) with 'result participants' (entities coming into being, *učastnik rezul'tat*) cannot be used in the meaning of 'ongoing actual activity' (*značenie aktual'no protekajuščej dejatel'nosti*), which mirrors the English progressive.[92] Often, a historical present, perfect, or habitual reading is inevitable in such instances. For verbs that denote a mental impact, like *dokazat'* 'prove', a historical present meaning is forced:

(111) Russian (Padučeva 2000: 11), English added.
Blestjaščе proizvedënnym ėksperimentom on dokazal čto…
Brilliantly conducted:INSTR experiment:INSTR he proved(PFV) that…
'With a brilliantly conducted experiment, he proved that…'

[91] The important feature is relative method-specification/neutrality (Pusch 1980), see section 2.4.2.7.
[92] The 'result participant' entity need not be a physical entity, it can be an abstract entity, for example, an agreement or a conviction.

Padučeva maintains that this example in an imperfective context would be assigned a historical present interpretation since the 'result participant', in its capacity as proof, cannot be known at the time it is coming into being.

However, Padučeva does accept certain instances of ongoing activities with 'result participants' in verbs of mental impact (*glagoly mental'nogo vozdejstija*) when an action does not complete an activity of the Agent, but where the action *consists* in this activity.[93] In my analysis, this is an instance of 'complementary coincidence'. I illustrate this with a constructed example formed from the pattern of the synthetic 'purposive' examples in the investigation (112c), supplemented by Padučeva's (2001) example.

(112) Russian. Padučeva (2001: 11), English glosses and example 'c.' added.
a. *Storož stukom kolokuški dokazal, čto on ne spit.*
Guard knock:INSTR mallet:GEN proved(PFV) that he not sleeps(IPFV)
'The watchman proved.PFV that he didn't sleep, with a knock of his mallet.'

b. Storož stukom kolokuški dokazyval, čto on ne spit.
Guard knock:INSTR mallet:GEN proved(IPFV) that he not sleeps(IPFV)
'The watchman was proving.IPFV that he didn't sleep, with a knock of his mallet.'

c. Storož stučal kolokuškoj, ***dokazyvaja*** *čto on ne spit.*
Guard knocked(IPFV) mallet:INSTR prove(IPFV)CVB that he not sleeps(IPFV)
'The watchman knocked with his mallet, proving that he didn't sleep.'

The (synthetic) converbs in the material denote intended outcomes of various types, whereas the matrix verbs denote the processes leading up to the outcomes. Many of the converbs in the material are derived imperfectives, with a 'result'-indicating prefix and an imperfective suffix.

A third resource for the expression of the 'purposive'/'intentional' meaning of Russian converbs is 'conativity'. This meaning relation derives from Latin *conatus* 'attempt'. The concept has been extensively discussed in the Russian linguistic literature and has broad applications. It is used to classify verbs of trying and describe a particular aspect opposition. In this context, Dik (1997: 224) argues that telicity and imperfectivity are in some sense incompatible, and that this conflict can be restored by either 'iteration', 'distributiveness', or 'conativity'. From his perspective, 'conativity' may be a 'forced' interpretation resulting from this conflict. This perspective is broader than a frame-matching criterion but

[93] Padučeva (2001: 18) writes that for verbs of creation it is possible for the imperfective aspect to denote a 'target-directed action', because the 'result' may exist as a non-finished concrete entity. But for verb classes where the 'result' is present only in the mental sphere, for example, as knowledge, an opinion, or intention, this mental entity cannot be known before it comes into being. The 'result participant' is a new participant which comes into being by the very action and cannot yet be at hand. For example, you cannot know what you are choosing before you have chosen it. In examples like (106b) she argues that the 'result participant' is present since the resulting proof *consists* in the knock.

narrower than the classification that includes verbs of trying.[94] Plungian (2010) shows that this phenomenon is scalar and context-dependent. 'Conative' features are present in many of the synthetic converbs included in the material. Forms like *otyskivaja* 'searching for' and *ugovarivaja* 'talking into, convincing' are typical conative verbs. They often need to be translated with *try* as in 'try to convince' or 'try to find', in English. Other converbs, such as *proverjaja* 'verifying' and *pokazyvaja* 'showing', are not typical representatives of 'conativity'.

A fourth resource for 'purposive' meanings is 'non-inertness' (Kearns 2003) or 'non-incrementality' (Padučeva 1994). Certain actions do not proceed slowly towards a guaranteed outcome that is paralleled by an incremental process in or by the object. If you hammer on a nail, you will (typically) hammer it down, but if you are trying to talk somebody into something, your success is not (typically) a matter of an incremental process of the object hearing more and more of your argument until she is saturated with the argument and she agrees. Croft (2012: 41) refers to such instances as either 'runup achievements' or 'non-incremental accomplishments'. There is an apparent conflict in the application of Vendlerian categories for such predicates. The 'results' appear to be punctual and somewhat non-controllable (non-agentive) as for achievements, but, at the same time, there exists an intentional process that precedes this result (as for accomplishments), but it is not incremental or entirely controllable.[95]

The factors of 'complementary coincidence', 'imperfective paradox', 'conation', and 'non-incrementality' can probably be made distinct from each other by specific tests and lists, but they also tend to co-occur to a large degree. As already stated, I make no attempt to quantify the impact of either factor in this thesis. The 'imperfective paradox' causes a delayed result, whereas 'conation' and 'non-incrementality' create non-predictability regarding the 'result'. The co-occurrence and influence of these factors on Russian converb correspondences to Swedish explicitly 'purposive' [*för att* + infinitive] constructions provide material for further research into all of these phenomena.[96]

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[94] There are instances in the data (Mellquist 2024: 15) that iterativity or distributivity coincide with conativity:
[…] *ryskal po lesam,* ***otyskivaja*** *krest'janskie tabuny* […]
'scoured the forests tracking/to track down peasant herds' (iterativity + conation)
[…] *polzli na četveren'kax, kak zveri,* ***dobirajas'*** *do želannyx kolodcev* […]
'crawled on all fours, like animals, to reach/reaching the wells' (distributivity + conation).

[95] This is similarly reflected in Kearns' (2003) concept of 'durative achievements' for verbs like *cure* or *convince*. Prototypical Russian conative imperfective verbs like *lovit'* ('chase'/'try to catch') or *rešat'* ('try to solve') denote the subintervals preceding the 'result' in a method-neutral manner. They denote the process before the 'result' without stating anything concrete about this process. (Although 'trying to catch' usually involves running after something and 'trying to solve' typically involves thinking).

[96] In verbs like *ugovarivat'* 'talk into'/'convince', the features of 'conation' and 'non-incrementality' coincide. In verbs like *dokazyvat'* 'prove', the factors of 'complementary coincidence' and 'the imperfective paradox' coincide. Two reviewers read Article II (Mellquist 2024) and suggested that I emphasise the importance of 'conation' over the other factors. This is not my intention in that article.

There exists yet another species of explanation for the 'purposive' nuances of Russian converbs. This is the case of 'inherently purposive' verbs, for example, *iskat'* 'search' and its converb form *išča* and *ožidat'* 'wait, expect' with its converb form *ožidaja*.[97] Such verbs do not have an intrinsic 'result'; the searching or waiting might terminate without 'result'. The 'result' is not part of the lexeme. Padučeva and Rozina describe this class of verb of having 'distant purposes' (*'dal'njaja cel'*), identifying more emphasised delay and unpredictability than what is associated with 'conation' and 'non-incrementality'. The existence of such verbs prompts König (1995) and Apresjan (1983) to deny the existence of 'purposive' converb forms altogether. This is discussed in more detail in Article II (Mellquist 2024). König argues that converbs are veridical and thus cannot convey a hypothetical quality like 'purpose'. This argument is refuted when notions like the 'imperfective paradox', 'conativity', and 'non-incrementality' are considered. In addition, purpose markers like English *in order to* or Swedish [*för att* + infinitive] seem to code 'intention' rather than a hypothetical 'purpose' when paired with infinitives.

Apresjan argues that the 'purposive' nuance arises solely from the converb's lexical meaning. Based on these considerations, both scholars argue that the meaning of the examples they examined is mere 'simultaneity'. Apresjan (1983) provides an interesting list of verbs that have a meaning component of 'purpose' (*cel')*'. The list consists of the following verbs: *gotovit'sja* 'prepare (oneself)'; *dobivat'sja* 'try to get', 'aim for', 'strive for'; *zaščiščat'* 'to defend', 'protect'; *norovit'* 'to strive for', 'aim at'; *ožidat'* 'to wait for', 'to expect', 'to anticipate'; *pytat'sja* 'to try', 'to attempt'; *rasščityvat'* 'to count on', 'to expect', 'to hope'; and *stremit'sja* 'to strive'. This collection of verbs is heterogeneous regarding their telicity and method specification. Some of the verbs figure in analytic converb constructions, while others figure in synthetic constructions.

These observations demonstrate that semantic verb components contribute to the 'purpose' meaning. However, a contrastive analysis shows that while the verbs listed by Apresjan (1983) are all found in the data, a 'purposive' meaning component is not a sufficient condition for a 'purposive' meaning relation to be realised by the sentence or clause. Schmidtke-Bode's (2009: 108) broad typological survey shows that one important prerequisite for a 'purposive' interpretation of non-designated grammatical types is that both clauses have a dynamic construal. This is observed when one translates a simultaneous Russian

[97] Rjabova (1992) categorises Russian 'purposive' converb usages somewhat differently. In one group, she places analytic constructions (*želaja najti*). In a second group, she places synthetic constructions with conative verbs, like *otyskivaja* 'tracking down' together with verbs like *išča* 'searching'. In a third group, she places verbs that denote 'simultaneous intentional results'. In my analysis, these are the typical 'complementary coincidence' usages, where is a partition of labour between 'means' and 'end' that depends on relative method-neutrality. In practice (as well as in the previous literature), the categories of 'conative' and 'method-neutral' verbs overlap to a large extent.

converb with the meaning of 'waiting' into Swedish. Apresjan (1983) demonstrates that a substitution of an inherently 'purposive' converb (*ožidaja* 'waiting, expecting') with a verb without this meaning component (for example, *vspominaja* 'remembering') removes the 'purposive' nuance from the relation between the clauses:

(113) Russian, Apresjan (1983: 334, 33viii), italics and translation added.
a. *Ona sidela na terrase,* ***ožidaja*** *vozvraščenija syna.*
She was.sitting on terrace:LOC await:CVB:IPFV return:GEN son:GEN
'She was sitting on the terrace, waiting for the return of her son.'

b. *Ona sidela na terrase,* ***vspominaja*** *vozvraščenie syna.*
She was.sitting on terrace, remember(IPFV)CVB return[ACC] son:GEN
'She was sitting on the terrace, remembering the return of her son.'

However, these examples are not readily translated using a Swedish 'purposive' [*för att* + infinitive] construction. The expression ?*satt på terassen för att vänta* 'was sitting on the terrace in order to wait' is anomalous. The activity of sitting is too stative to invite the question of a motivating 'purpose'. What is needed for grammaticality in Swedish is a dynamic construal of the matrix clause: *Hon satte sig på terassen för att vänta på sin sons återkomst* 'She *sat down* on the terrace to wait for her son's return.' A stative construal of the matrix clause invites a pseudo-coordination in Swedish: *Hon satt på terassen och väntade på sin sons återkomst*. (Literally: 'sat on the terrace and waited'). Verbs such as 'waiting' and 'searching' may not trigger a 'purposive' interpretation on their own. Additionally, there must be something in the matrix that prompts a call for an explanation. This could be an unusual behaviour, an effort, or a change that invites a question about its motivation. With a suitable context, the meaning of 'trying to recall' may be prompted by *vspominaja* 'remembering'.

The bulk of examples in the data examined for Article II does not rely on the 'searching'/'waiting' type of converb. Instead, the factors of 'imperfective paradox', 'method-neutrality', 'conativity', and 'non-incrementality' are the decisive factors.[98] These are often paired with the complex morphology (with both a prefix and suffix) of derived imperfectives like *ot-ysk-iva-j-a* 'trying to find' and *vy-smatr-yva-j-a* '[trying] to locate by eye', which are somewhat reminiscent of English forms like *track-ing down*, *spy-ing out*.

In summary, the investigation in Article II shows that the 'purposive' nuance is primarily associated with Russian converbs in the imperfective aspect. The

[98] The verbs with 'distant results' sometimes cooccur with conative verbs:
Russian, Rjabova (1992: 19), italics altered, English translation added.
Bylo jasno, čto samolët gde-to poblizosti, čto on kružit nad lesom, to li čto-to ***vysmatrivaja****, to li* ***iščа*** *mesta dlja posadki.* 'It was clear that the plane was somewhere nearby, that it was circling over the forest, either looking for something or searching for places to land.'

'purposive' meaning arises as an interplay between elements in the matrix and converb clause, where the forms provide information for each other.

In the article's conclusion, one passage may give rise to an erroneous interpretation:

> The translation correspondences are not instances of calques. In contrast, they deviate from the expected pattern, which consists of infinitive phrases marked by *čtoby* 'in order to'. The majority of the correspondences are found in Russian target texts. This provides evidence of implicature of purpose in Russian converb constructions and not merely inference. (Mellquist 2024: 31)

The opposition between implicature and "merely inference" may appear as anomalous since implicature is a type of inference, and inference is a broader concept than implicature. What I intended to convey in this passage, however, was a difference in perspective: the writers (translators) can be shown to *imply* (implicate) a 'purposive' meaning since the corpus presented more than 600 examples of Swedish explicitly 'purposive' phrases being rendered by Russian converb constructions. Of 619 tokens, 265 are synthetic usages in the Russian target texts. In these Russian target texts, the translators actively imply the relational meanings. There is a reason to believe that the practice of implicating 'purpose' meaning when using a converb in Russian goes beyond the findings in the article.

The results of the investigation can be formulated as construction templates:

(114)	*Podërgivajut myščami,*	***pytajas'***	*sognat' s sebja mux.*
	They twitch their muscles	trying	to chase away the flies.'
	Matrix eventuality	(mental state/action	(intended outcome))
	[VP+method	VPCVB:IPFV:mental	VPINF:–manner]

The final row in examples (114) and (115), within the square brackets, represents the minimal requirements for the realisation of the 'purpose' meaning. The '±' sign for 'method' indicates a relative value.

(115)	*On čut' pokačal golovoj,*	***otgonjaja*** *ix.*
	'He shook his head slightly,	to chase/chasing them away.'
	matrix eventuality	intended outcome
	[VP+method+intention]	VPCVB:IPFV:–method+intention]

The feature of 'intention' is added to the frames in this summary. In the 2024 article, it was not part of the frame.[99] I conclude that it is needed to discriminate

[99] In addition, in this context, the word *method* is preferred to *manner* (which was used as a subscript in the 2024 article).

the 'purpose' meaning from some 'consequence' meanings, which can be expressed by imperfect converbs in certain instances.

5.1.3 Article III: A corpus exploration of construction frames for Russian 'resultant state' converb constructions

The aim of this investigation was to take the procedure of extracting pre-specified converb usages from the corpora one step further: i.e., to use the contrastive findings obtained in the pre-study (Mellquist 2017) and Article I (Mellquist 2022) to conduct monolingual searches in the main (Russian-only) partition of the RNC. For this study, the output is not a construction frame. Instead, construction frames are the input. This approach enables the assessment of the contrastive cues and also provides evidence of the configurational properties of converb constructions, the dynamics between matrix and converb aspect, word order features, and additional properties.

The constructions that the searches were intended to retrieve were 'resultant state' constructions. These are converb constructions in which a 'completed eventuality' has continuous relevance and can be interpreted as a temporary property of the subject. Thus, this converb usage is similar to 'depictives' (see section 2.3.2.1). Two construction frames were formulated on the basis of cues from contrastive studies involving other languages and paraphrase options in Russian.

Construction I is: [$\text{Verb}_{\text{INDICATIVE:IPFV}}$ + $\text{converb}_{\text{PFV:INTRANSITIVE}}$]. This frame is formulated in this way as a search criterion to retrieve converbs used on par with participial depictives. The intransitive feature of the converb ensures that the result of the denoted eventuality, in most instances, stays with the subject. (Note that many intransitive verbs have the reflexive postfix *-sja*). The matrix verb should occur before the converb, and it should be imperfective. Postverbal position of the converb helps prevent the converb from acquiring an 'anteriority' meaning due to its perfective form. The imperfectiveness of the matrix predicate contributes to the interpretation of the converb eventuality against the background of a non-completed continuous eventuality.

The second construction chosen for the investigation in Article III is Construction II: [$\text{Verb}_{\text{INDICATIVE:IPFV}}$+ $\text{Converb}_{\text{PFV}}$ + $\text{NP}_{\text{ACC, INALIENABLE}}$]. This frame differs from the first in that it involves transitive converbs with direct objects in the accusative denoting (inalienable) body parts. The other features are the same as in the first frame. The frame is formulated to retrieve 'resultant state' constructions that are paraphrasable as or correlate to 'comitative' constructions. Some of the cues behind the frames were obtained during the investigation for Article I (Mellquist (2022), see section 5.1.1). Some other features are found in Mellquist (2017), Vaseva-Kadynkova (1961), and Akimova and Kozinceva (1987).

In order to assess the effectiveness of these frames for retrieving the targeted output, i.e., 'resultant state' constructions, the 'frequency' function in the Russian National Corpus was used. This function orders the output according to the most frequently occurring lexical combinations. The frequency function (in contrast to *n*-gram searches) enables the researcher to search for lemmas, not just declined word forms. This enables searches for variable forms of the matrix verb in the frames. The other elements have specified forms, the converbs are indeclinable, and the direct object for Construction II is specified as accusative.[100]

In addition to the search assessment using the frequency function, random samples are also used. These supplement the frequency function since the frequency function quantifies recurrent lexical combinations but does not measure their usage (expressed as a percentage) relative to other converb usages.

The output of the searches shows that the queries constitute accurate predictors for the 'resultant state' meaning. The first ten and even the first hundred of the most frequently recurrent combinations can be analysed as typical 'resultant state' constructions.

Table 13. Results from the frequency function in Article III, Construction I.

	V_{IPFV} (lemma)	$V_{CVB.INTRANSITIVE}$	Contexts	ipm[101]
1	*stojat′* stand 'stand leaning [against something]'	***prislonivšis*** lean(PFV)CVB:REFL	211	0.56
2	*stojat′* stand 'stand supporting oneself [against something]'	***opëršis′*** support(PFV)CVB:REFL	150	0.4
3	*sidet′* 'sit in thought/pondering'	***zadumavšis′*** excess.think(PFV)CVB:REFL	121	0.32
4	*stojat′* 'stand' 'stand huddled'	***prižavšis*** towards.press(PFV)CVB:REFL	106	0.28
5	*stojat′* stand 'stand leaning (arch.) [against something]'	***prislonjas′*** towards.lean(PFV)CVB:REFL	104	0.28
6	*byt′* be 'to be drunk'	***vypivši*** out.drink(PFV)CVB:REFL	90	0.24
7	*sidet′* *sit*	***sognuvšis′*** down.bend(PFV)CVB:REFL	87	0.23

[100] Despite its indeclinability, the non-lemmatisation of the converb allows for suffix variation. Note that both *prislonivšis* ('leaning') and *prislonjas′* ('leaning, arch.') are present in the ten most frequent combinations.

[101] Instances per million words.

	‘sit bent over’			
8	*sidet′* sit ‘sit reclining’	***otkinuvšis′*** away.lean(PFV)CVB:REFL	86	0.23
9	*sidet′* sit ‘sit hunched over’	***sgorbivšis′*** down.bend(PFV)CVB:REFL	84	0.22
10	*sidet′* sit ‘sit with an embrace’	***obnjavšis′*** embrace(PFV)CVB:REFL	82	0.22

In Table 13, the infinitive forms of the matrix verbs represent every possible declension of the verb in question. The glosses show that the converbs correspond to active and passive participles in English. The same observation is made by Ivanova (2022) in a study that contrasts Bulgarian depictive participles with Russian.

Several observations can be made from the table. In some examples, the converbs can be classified as ‘manner adverbials’ along with the characteristics of ‘resultant state’ with continuous relevance. This is apparent when the thematic verb classes coincide to some degree, for example, ‘sitting’ and ‘leaning’, and ‘standing’ and ‘supporting oneself’, etc. (cf. 2.4.1.1 and Apresjan’s (1983) remark about coinciding verb classes). Other combinations do not show this coincidence of verb classes, for example, *sidet′ zadumavšis′* ‘to sit lost in thought’. In these combinations, the matrix predicate can have the characteristics of a de-emphasised semi-copula. The combination *byt′ vypivši* ‘be drunk’ is clearly anomalous since it is paired with the copula. However, this example is evidence of a recategorization of the form *vypivši* from a transitive converb into an adjective-like intransitive form. The form does not recur in the corpus search that was conducted one year later. The form *vypivši* is investigated by Birzer (2010: 120). However, the anomalous form *vypivši* is symptomatic of the tendency for converbs to denote properties.

The intransitive verbs are not of the unaccusative type (which is an observed characteristic for the paraphrasability of Russian participles proposed by Krave (2010: 24)). In contrast, the subjects assume agentive roles even though body positions due to mood can be perceived as uncontrolled. The ‘depictive’ use of converbs from unaccusative verbs, like *priexav* ‘having arrived’, is presumably associated with ‘temporal adverbial’ construals (see section 2.4.2.6.3).

The construction frame for Construction II is not perfectly optimised for retrieving ‘resultant states’ only. Among the first one hundred combinations, we find examples with oblique complements, which reduces the intransitivity feature and makes the ‘result’ remain associated with objects that are alienable to the subject’s body:

(116) *uxodit'* ***xlopnuv*** [+ *dver'ju*]
'leave slamming [+the door:INSTR]'

In (116), it is the door that is slammed, not the subject. When a preliminary random sample of one hundred examples was checked, ninety percent of them were 'resultative state' constructions. The reflexive postfix *sja* should be included in the frame instead of intransitivity in order to filter out irrelevant matches.

For Construction II, the frequency function resulted in the distributions reported in Table 14 for the ten most recurring lexical combinations:

Table 14. Results from the frequency function in Article III, Construction II.

	V_{IPFV} (lemma)	$V_{CVB.PFV}$	N_{ACC}	Contexts	ipm
1	*sidet'* sit	***složa*** fold(PFV)CVB	*ruki* arms/hands[ACC]	175	0.47
	'sit with folded hands', 'sit back', 'be inactive'				
2	*sidet'* sit	***opustiv*** let.down(PFV)CVB	*golovu* head:ACC	126	0.34
	'sit with one's head down'				
3	*stojat'* stand	***opustiv*** let.down(PFV)CVB	*golovu* head:ACC	78	0.21
	'stand with one's head down'				
4	*ležat'* lie	***zakryv*** close(PFV)CVB	*glaza* eyes[ACC]	60	0.16
	'lie with one's eyes closed'				
5	*idti* walk	***opustiv*** let.down(PFV)CVB	*golovu* head:ACC	54	0.14
	'walk with one's head down'				
6	*molčat'* be.silent	***opustiv*** let.down(PFV)CVB	*golovu* head:ACC	51	0.14
	'be silent with one's head down'				
7	*stojat'* stand	***rasstaviv*** apart.place(PFV)CVB	*nogi* legs/feet[ACC]	50	0.13
	'stand with one's legs apart'				
8	*sidet'* sit	***podžav*** under.draw(PFV)CVB	nogi legs/feet[ACC]	45	0.12
	'sit with one's legs bent/crossed'				
9	*spat'* sleep	***položiv*** place(PFV)CVB	*golovu* head:ACC	42	0.11
	'sleep with one's head placed [somewhere]'				

10	*sidet'* sit	***zakryv*** close(PFV)CVB	*glaza* eyes[ACC]	39	0.1
	'sit with one's eyes closed'				

As with Construction I, search queries with Construction II also show typical 'resultant state' constructions as the most frequently recurring lexical combinations in the frequency function. When a random sample of one hundred examples was checked, only 'resultative state' constructions appeared. The inalienability parameter for Construction II is thus a stronger predictor than intransitivity is for Construction I.

However, combinations without 'resultant state' interpretations are present among the output combinations, although they do not appear in the first five hundred combinations. These examples are often of the semelfactive, Vendlerian type, which are 'punctual' or 'cyclic', which means that they do not denote unidirectional actions with enduring changes in properties.

(117) Russian. Kungurceva (2007), English added.
*— Da už vižu, — **počesav** podošvu, otvečal Šišok.*

'"Yes, I see," answered Shishok, scratching his sole.'

In (117), which occurs as the six hundred and ninety-eighth combination in the frequency list, the scratching event may be an 'accompanying circumstance', but it does not give rise to an enduring state. A paraphrase or translation like "*Shishok answered with his sole scratched.*" is thus not appropriate.[102]

Article III demonstrates that, with some modifications, a search query format that includes slots with subscripts can be used to extract specific Russian converb constructions.

5.1.4 Article IV: Russian correspondences to the Swedish 'instrumental' [*genom att* + infinitive construction]

The last of the investigations, Article IV, constitutes the most interesting and intriguing investigation.[103] It has been asserted that the 'instrumental action'

[102] The converb in (117) relates to a subsequent matrix verb and thus does not match the construction schema. However, examples with the wording *отвечал, почесав* 'he answered scratching' are attested in the RNC. The authors for original sources are not given in the reference list in this thesis. Instead they are easily obtained in the Russian National Corpus (ruscorpora.ru).
[103] This article is the latest publication if one considers the publication date of the article. The research work was, however, initiated long before the last article was formulated, hence its numbering as Article IV here.

meaning can only be expressed by Russian converbs (Weiss 1995: 251), and it is refuted that this meaning is expressed by converbs, since it is too dependent on its lexical meaning and the converb form, hence it expresses mere 'simultaneity' (Apresjan 1983). The aim of my investigation was to find evidence of 'instrumental' usages and to examine these usages to reveal the complex issues that inform previous disputes concerning this area of converb usage. The article needed a robust theoretical introduction. The introduction presents the neighbouring meaning relation of 'manner' and 'correlate to interpretative predicate' while taking into consideration factors that have tended to obscure the 'instrumental' meaning. I identify the 'instrumental' meaning relation by using the parameters of (i) method specification: a 'manner' adverbial narrows down an already given method by providing an elaborated description of the action (*on xodit spotykajas'* 'he walks **stumbling'**), whereas an 'instrumental' adverbial specifies the method connected to a method-neutral predicate (*on dobralsja* ***idja*** *peškom* 'he arrived by **walking** (by foot)), and (ii) information structure and intention: a correlate to an interpretative predicate is usually already given in the discourse, it has presupposed factivity, and it need not be intentional (*Ja ošibsja,* ***vybrav*** *ėtot cvet*. 'I made a mistake in (when) **choosing** this colour.').

The 'instrumental' meaning is contingent on the feature of method-neutrality. This feature is discussed in several different research traditions, most of which are concerned with lexical decomposition. (Fillmore 1967, Talmy 1972, 1974, 1985, 2000, Rappaport-Hovav and Levin 2013), in work on 'instrumental' meaning (Pusch 1980, Sæbø 2018, 2016a), and in philosophical work on event separation and human action (Anscombe 2000[1957], Goldman 1970, von Wright 1971). In the Russian linguistic tradition, the relevant phenomena have been studied under the notions of 'interpretative predicates' (Apresjan 1980, Růžička 1980), 'pseudo-simultaneity' (Poljanskij 1987), and 'secondary nomination' (Kustova 1996, 2016[2004]). Method-neutral predicates constitute a heterogeneous group of predicates. One group of method-neutral predicates denotes a qualitative change in the object or a state resulting from such a change in an object, while not specifying what the subject does (the concrete method or action, procedure, or effective factor) that leads to this qualitative change in the object. A typical example is *kill*, which denotes a qualitative change in the object without concretely specifying how this change was brought about (shooting, poisoning, etc.). The qualitative change, moreover, may be intentional or unintentional; one may kill by mistake or deliberately. However, killing can, in turn, be a method for obtaining other goals, such as (securing the throne, gaining access to the vault, etc.) or as an effective factor that leads to a consequence (breaking the law, ending up behind bars, etc.) (See also the von Wright quote in section 2.4.2.7.)

The investigation reported in Article IV was performed in two steps. First, a sample of 353 converb examples was chosen in a random manner so that no text was overrepresented and the Russian correspondences to Swedish [*genom att* 'by' + infinitive] constructions were studied. The results of this initial investigation reveal that converbs constitute the most frequent correspondence category, accounting for 53% of the correspondences. The second category comprises 'instrumental' case forms, accounting for 13% of the total correspondences. This shows that Weiss's (1995) statement about converbs being the only way of expressing instrumental action meanings in Russian is not without foundation since it constitutes the single largest correspondence category in the empirical investigation. Still, almost half of the correspondences consist of other types of constructions.

In the second step, every Russian converb form in the parallel corpus that corresponded to Swedish [*genom att* 'by' + infinitive] was collected. This resulted in a sample of 336 examples. These examples were analysed for parameters such as aspect, clausal complexity, thematic verb class, and word order. Imperfective converbs are slightly more frequent than imperfective converbs. The matrix clauses are often complex; 43% comprising finite verbs denoting 'attempts', 'volition'/'intention', or 'possibility'/'ability', and infinitives.

(118) a. Swedish
Men jag tror, att om jag kunde döda den där prästen

genom	***att***	*trycka*	*på*	*en*	*knapp*
through	to	push	on	a	button

i väggen så skulle jag göra det

b. Russian
No mne kažetsja, esli b ja mog ubit' pastora Gregoriusa,

nažav	*knopku*
press(CVB)PFV	button:DIM:ACC

v stene, ja by ėto sdelal.
'But I think that if I could kill Pastor Gregorius by pressing a button on the wall, I would.'

The finite verbs are often lexically complex, and periphrastic 'causatives' are common. Around 40% of the converbs express concrete meanings, although entirely basic actions are rare:

(119) a. Swedish

Jag *såg* *att* *min* *bror* *Ingvar*
I saw that my brother Ingvar

öppnade *en* *påse* ***genom*** ***att*** *blåsa* *i* *den.*
opened a bag through to blow in it

'I saw that my brother Ingvar opened a bag by blowing into it.'
b. Russian
Ja *zametil,* *čto* *bratec* *Ingvar*
I noticed(PFV) that brother:DIM Ingvar

raskryvaet *paket,* ***naduvaja*** *ego.*
opens(IPFV) bag[ACC] inflate(IPFV)CVB it:ACC
'I noticed that little brother Ingvar was opening the package by inflating it.'

Certain thematic groups occur in both matrix and converb predicates, notably verbs of communication, but their co-occurrence patterns are not sufficiently distinct or frequent to justify claiming that either type on its own triggers the 'instrumental' action meaning. The most frequent thematic groups expressed by the matrix clauses are 'acquisition' or 'achievement'; 'change of state' or 'property', 'cognitive' or 'emotional impact'and 'communication' or 'expression'. For the converb clauses, the most frequent thematic categories were more difficult to identify. The salient thematic groups of 'perception' or 'cognition', 'service', 'exchange' or 'trade' and 'speech' are supplemented by two wastebasket categories, namely, 'abstract or complex' action and 'concrete or individual action'.

An interesting finding in the investigation was the presence of converse pairs in translation. It is shown that Swedish 'instrumental action' relations expressed by [*genom att* + infinitive] is sometimes rendered by 'purposive' expressions in Russian. This includes both regular 'purposive' expressions with *čtoby* 'in order to' but also converbs used purposively in the types identified in Article II, Mellquist (2024), see section 5.1.2.

Table 15. 'Means'-'end' conversion in translation.

čtoby 'in order to'	[…] *hanterar sina fyrtioårskriser* '[…] deal with their forty-year crises'	***genom att*** *köpa svindyra cykelbyxor och badmössor.* 'by buying extremely expensive cycling pants and swimming caps.'
Swedish ST, Backman (2019)[104] Russian TT, Kovalenko (2020)	[…] ***čtoby*** *spravitsja s krizisom srednego vozrasta* '[…] to cope with a midlife crisis'	*pokupajut modnye dorogostojaščie velosipednye triko i kupal'nye šapočki.* 'they buy fashionable, expensive cycling tights and bathing caps.'
Imperfective converb (synthetic purposive)	*[…] folk hämnas på varandra* '[…] people take revenge on each other'	***genom att*** *skära svansen av katter.* 'by cutting the tail off cats.'
Russian ST, Gorkij (1913); Swedish TT, Bergengren (1977) (Swedish translation through English)	[…] ***mstja*** *drug drugu za obidy,* '[…] taking [to take] revenge on each other for offences,'	*rubjat xvosty koškam.* 'they chop tails off cats.'

These conversion pairs provide additional evidence of the mechanism at work in the expression of 'complementary coincidence'. A method-neutral expression is often supplemented by a method-specified expression that fills in the missing value. Converbs can assume either role. If the matrix predicate is method-neutral, the converb fills in the method ('instrumental action'), answering the *How?*-question. If, by contrast, the matrix verb is specified regarding method, then a

[104] Author and translator names from original sources are not given in reference list. The cited works are found in the Russian National Corpus (ruscorpora.ru).

method neutral converb may fill in the 'purpose', i.e., the motivation in response to a *Why?*, or *What for*-question.

The output from this investigation can, like the other investigations included in this thesis, be modelled as a structural frame with two open positions: one occupied by the converb and one by the matrix verb, the two contrasting in terms of their degree of 'method-neutrality'. In constructions expressing 'instrumental action', the converb is less 'method-neutral' than the matrix verb: [VP+method] + [VP$_{CVB}$–method]. In these frames, the symbols '±' represent relative values. In many instances, additional markers are present, which strengthen the 'end' pole ('purpose'/'result' meaning relation) in the matrix clause.

5.1.5 Article V: Complementary coincidence, the division of labour between 'means' and 'end'-denoting expressions

This text was presented at the seventeenth International Congress of Slavists at the Sorbonne, Paris, in August 2025. Article V consists of an 'extended abstract' that was submitted to the congress. The text is a brief theoretical piece inspired by my work on 'purposive' and 'instrumental' meanings and their interconnections. The scholarly work on these teleological relations ('means' and 'end') remains somewhat sparse and full of disputes. The relationships between 'interpretation' and 'consequence,' expressed by converbs, in contrast, are well-documented and described by several scholars. The literature on 'interpretative' meaning relations and the 'consequence' relation enabled me to connect these descriptions to my own investigations into teleological relations and to endeavour to systematise all of these relations.

My systematisation was formulated in the following table:

Table 16. Meaning relations in the field of 'complementary coincidence'.

Meaning relation	**Matrix clause**	**Converb clause**	**Converb aspect**
'purpose'/'intended consequence'	*opersja o dver'*, 'leaned against the door'	***uderživaja***:CVB:IPFV *ravnovesie* 'to hold/holding his balance'	ipfv
'consequence'	*zadel lapoj moë pravoe plečo* 'touched my right shoulder with its paw'	***razodrav***:CVB:PFV *kombinezon* 'tearing my overall'	(ipfv) pfv

'interpreted consequence'	*slegla v postel' i umerla* 'became seriously ill and died'	***prinesja**:*CVB:PFV *svoju žizn' v žertvu* 'sacrificing her life'	(ipfv) pfv
'instrumental Action'	*Svalil* 'pulled me over'	***podstaviv**:*CVB:PFV *podnožku* 'tripping me'	ipfv/pfv
correlate to 'interpretative' predicate	*Ona menja oskorbila.* 'She offended me.'	***priglasiv**:*CVB:PFV *moego sopernika* 'inviting my rival'	ipfv/pfv

The most important generalisation that the table captures is the complementarity or division of labour between expressions denoting 'means' or 'causes' (or 'actions'), on the one side, and expressions denoting 'ends', 'purposes', 'consequences', or 'effects' ('results'), on the other. The meaning relations of 'means' and 'end', or 'cause' and 'effect', can be thought of as two poles and the verbs that complement each other's meanings can be thought of as sub-events in complex events in which the poles are united: the shaded areas represent the end-pole, which are expressed by verbs that have a higher degree of method-neutrality than the verb that they are paired with.[105] The non-shaded areas represent the 'means' ('cause') pole, which is expressed by verbs that have a higher degree of method-specification than the verb that they are paired with. When the converb denotes a sub-event associated with the 'end'-pole, it has a 'purposive' or 'consequence' ('result') meaning: *She turned the handle, **opening** the door; he fired his gun, **killing** a bird*. However, when the matrix verb denotes a sub-event associated with the 'end'-pole, the converb has an 'instrumental' ('means') or 'causal' ('action') meaning: *She opened the door **by turning** the handle; he killed the bird **by shooting** it*. I refer to this clustered distribution of phenomena as *complementary coincidence*, a term coined by Růžička (1980) regarding analogous examples. In Russian, converbs can express sub-events of either pole, unlike English which must specify 'instrumental actions' ('means') with *by*, or Swedish that does not use converbs for the expression of these meaning relations. Example (120) illustrates a consequence relation:

(120) *On* *menja* *svalil,* ***podstaviv*** *podnožku.*
He me(ACC) threw.down under.put(CVB)PFV under.foot.DIM
'He pulled me over by tripping me.'

[105] These sub-events should not be understood as sub-lexical events, since they are denoted by separate lexical items.

In (120), the matrix verb clause *menja svalil* 'pulled me over' expresses what happens to the object, the 'result', whereas the converb clause *podstaviv podnožku* 'tripping' expresses the 'instrumental action' that conveys *how* this result was obtained, (i.e., a 'means').

The reverse phenomenon is observed in (121):

(121) *Opërsja o dver', **uderžívaja** ravnovesie.*
(He) leaned against door hold(CVB)IPFV balance

'He leaned against the door' 'to hold/holding his balance.'

In this example, the matrix verb denotes a more concrete action, whereas the converb conveys the 'purpose' or intended 'result'. If a verb with a higher degree of 'method-neutrality' is in the perfective aspect in Russian, then the eventuality is interpreted as completed and a clear 'consequence' meaning is expressed:

(122) Russian, (Šefner), adapted from Akimova and Kozinceva (1987: 273), English added.
[...] zadel lapoj moë pravoe plečo,
touched paw:INSTR my:ACC right[ACC] shoulder[ACC]

***razodrav** kombinezon.*
tear(CVB)PFV overall[ACC]

'[...] touched my right shoulder with its paw, tearing my overall.'

The expression *razodrav* 'having torn = 'so that he tore' is not particularly method-neutral. Nevertheless, it is much less method-neutral than *zadel lapoj moë pravoe plečo* 'touched my right shoulder with its paw', which denotes a basic action. Tearing overalls can be done in many ways; being touched by a bear paw is a less ordinary way. This illustrates the relative nature of method specification. It cannot easily be established by reference to a set of fixed verb classes. An action denoted by a typical method-neutral predicate, like *kill* (which can be done in many ways, *shooting, poisoning*, etc.), may as well serve as a means of obtaining a goal that goes beyond the mere killing (*securing the throne*, *gaining access to the vault*, etc.) or as an effective factor that leads to a consequence (*breaking the law*, *ending up behind bars*, etc.).

The relations of 'purpose' and 'intended consequence' are also separated by an asymmetry in terms of converb aspect, since 'purpose' relations are expressed by (almost) only imperfective aspect. Mixeev (1974) and Rjabova (1992) observe that

converbs can express 'consequence' relations in either aspect, although perfective converbs with their entailment of 'result attainment' typically convey 'consequence'. Similarly, there exists an asymmetry regarding word order in the expression of these two meaning relations, namely, 'consequence' relations are denoted by postverbal converbs only (as noted by Mixeev (1974), Růžička (1980), and Rappaport (1984)). A preverbal perfective converb results in an 'anteriority' meaning. In contrast, converbs that express 'purpose' or 'intended consequence' can occupy either position. In addition, the 'purposive' interpretation can be triggered by any 'conative' feature of the predicate, which emphasises the 'attempt' of the action rather than its 'result' (see section 5.1.3).

Apart from the primary parameter of 'relative method specification', Table 16 organises the 'complementary coincidence' usages along additional parameters, namely, ''intention', 'interpretation', and 'given-new'.

'Intention' distinguishes between 'purposive'/'intended consequence' relations from 'consequence relations'. In addition, this parameter also distinguishes between most 'instrumental action' relations from the function of being a correlate to an 'interpretative' predicate. These meaning relations are also made distinct from each other by the information structural notion of 'given' vs. 'new'. When an 'interpretative' predicate is present, it often evaluates an already-known event, which is denoted by the converb.

(123)	*Ona*	*menja*	*oskorbila,*	***priglasiv***	*moego*	*sopernika.*
	She	me	offended	invite(CVB)PFV	my:ACC	rival

'She offended me (in/by) inviting my rival.'

If the invitation is known, the new (focused) information consists in the evaluation of the invitation as an offence. In that case, the English translation with *in* is the better translation. If, on the other hand, the offence is known and the action that gave rise to it is new (focused) information, then *by* is a better translation in English. (In Swedish, [*när* 'when'+ subordinate clause] vs. [*genom* 'through + infinitive] correlate with *in* and *by*, respectively). An 'interpretative' meaning relation is expressed in the following:

(124) *Ego mat' tak ogorčilas' tajnym brakom, čto*
'His mother was so upset by the secret wedding that she

[…]*slegla*	*v*	*postel'*	*i*	*umerla*
was.laid.up	in	bed[ACC]	and	died

prinesja	*svoju*	*žizn'*	*v*	*žertvu*
bring(PFV)CVB	her:ACC	life(ACC)	to	offer:ACC

na altar' ėtiketa i priličij.

on the altar of etiquette and decency.

'His mother was so upset by the secret wedding that she became seriously ill and died, (thus) sacrificing her life on the altar of etiquette and decency.'

In (124), the consequence is an 'interpretative' elaboration that is not observable as an objective fact (in contrast to the 'consequence' consisting of tearing the overall in (122), for example).

As seen in these examples, the types of method-neutrality and method-specification vary in observability, givenness, and intentionality. While my systematisation is preliminary, is constitutes the first attempt at unifying a manifold of converb usages, which at first glance appear rather different. The field of complementary coincidence and its codification is an interesting topic for further research.

6. Conclusions

This thesis presents insight into certain phenomena in Russian converb meaning. The included articles form two thematic blocks. The first block concerns converbs with the 'resultant state' meaning. In these usages, the converbs are used on par with 'depictives' (secondary, predicatively used participles) or predicatively used 'comitatives', and denote temporary properties. The second thematic block concerns the tendency for converbs and matrix verbs to take part in a teleological division of labour such that one part denotes the 'means' and the other part denotes the 'end'.

In my investigations, Swedish prepositional expressions were used as corpus search queries to determine the extent to which corresponding meanings can be expressed by converbs in Russian and which factors enable these meanings. The parallel corpus investigations reveal interesting correlations regarding (i) constructions with the Swedish preposition *med* 'with' and Russian converbs expressing 'resultant states'; (ii) the Swedish prepositional construction [*för att* + infinitive] 'in order to' and Russian converbs expressing 'purpose', and (iii) the Swedish prepositional construction [*genom att* + infinitive] and Russian converbs expressing 'means'.

The investigations resulted in an extensive collection of examples, which provided insight into the factors that determine the usages in question. The investigations also enabled me to formulate several construction frames that characterise the converb usages. These construction frames are formulated as minimally bipartite structures with slots for variable lexical items, which are determined by subscripts on the slots.

The Construction frames for (prototypical) 'resultant state' constructions are:

Construction I: [$\text{Verb}_{\text{INDICATIVE:IPFV}}$ + $\text{Converb}_{\text{PFV.INTRANSITIVE}}$]
Construction II: [$\text{Verb}_{\text{INDICATIVE:IPFV}}$ + $\text{Converb}_{\text{PFV:TRANSITIVE}}$ + $\text{NP}_{\text{ACC:INALIENABLE}}$]

These frames are informed by the observation that the 'resultant state' meaning depends on a unidirectional, telic eventuality involving the subject's own body, which gives rise to a 'result' that accompanies the subject after the eventuality is performed. This generates a 'continuous relevance' meaning that is sometimes referred to as 'perfect' in Russian linguistic literature (Vaseva-Kadynkova 1961, Akimova & Kozinceva 1987, Rappaport 1984). This 'perfect' is a semantic perfect, which is dependent on the reference to the body (or mind) of the subject. The frames can be supplemented with other frames that vary in their arguments. Reference to the body can also be established by means of nouns referring to body parts in the instrumental case, by items used on par with inalienable body parts like a person's clothing, prosthetic means, or by verbs of 'taking' or 'grabbing'. In addition, I note that aspectual dynamics and word order contribute to forming prototypical 'resultant state' constructions.

The meanings of 'means' and 'end' can also be formulated as frames. In such frames, one expression fills in what is missing in the other in a 'teleological division of labour' between the matrix verb and the converb. The decisive factor in such cases is 'relative method-neutrality'. If the matrix predicate is (more) method-neutral, then the converb fills in the method specification, giving rise to a 'means' meaning. On the other hand, if the matrix predicate is (more) method specified than the converb, then the converb denotes the 'end' (or, in the examples included in this study, the 'purpose'). 'Means' and 'end' are very basic concepts that are present in most predicates and, not infrequently, appear as aspectual oppositions. The peculiar division of labour studied in this thesis often takes place when an expression lacks a 'method' specification, as in verbs like *učit'sja* 'learn', *pomogat'* 'help', *spasat'* 'save', or *ubit'* 'kill'. Such verbs do not inform us *how* a result is going to be obtained (cf. *kill* vs. *drown*, or *kill* vs. *strangle*) An interesting effect of the division of labour is the convertibility between 'means' and 'end' ('instrumental action' vs. 'purpose'), for example, to do A in order to obtain B vs. to obtain B by doing A. This convertibility is observed in the form of 'means–end conversion' in translation.

The construction frames for 'instrumental action' and 'purpose' can be formulated as follows:

Instrumental action: [$\text{VP}_{+\text{method}}$ + $\text{VP}_{\text{CVB:IPFV}-\text{method}}$]
Purpose: [$\text{VP}_{-\text{method}+\text{intention}}$ + $\text{VP}_{\text{CVB:IPFV: method}+\text{intention}}$]

The subscript '±method' represents 'method specification'. In these construction frames, subscripted '$_{-}$' and '$_{+}$' indicate which expression is more 'concrete' or 'method-specific' than the other. In the relevant examples, these concepts are interpreted in relation to one another.

My investigations into 'purpose' and 'means' have also necessitated a differentiation of these relations from the neighbouring relations of 'consequence' and 'correlate to interpretative actions'. These relations are not teleological in nature and, therefore, are better described as being based on a division of labour between 'cause' and 'effect'. These relations and their expression by converbs are also more thoroughly described in the Russian linguistic tradition than the teleological meaning relations. The relations of 'cause' and 'effect' (or alternatively 'correlate to interpretative' predicates and 'interpretation/valuation', respectively) differ from the relations of 'means' and 'end' ('instrumental action' and 'purpose', respectively) along several parameters, including [±intention], [±interpretation], and [±given]. In addition, these meaning relations differ in terms of their aspect and clausal position. I refer to the field of these complementary relations in Russian converbs as 'complementary coincidence', following Růžička (1980). It is a fascinating fact that all of these relations can be expressed in Russian using converbs without the need for special or additional markers. This raises the question about the categorical meaning of Russian converbs. Růžička (1980: 177) states that Russian converbs involve an 'instruction' (German: *Anweisung*) to establish a certain relation between two facts and that the semantic meaning of a given converb is to be interpreted as the value of the function GER(UNDIUM) from the meaning properties of the related converb and matrix clauses (including aspect and relative position). The Russian converb thus signals (i) that the converb specifies the relational meaning and (ii) that this relational meaning is composed of the semantics of both the converb clause and the matrix clause. Such meaning relations have been demonstrated in the present thesis. The study further demonstrates that these relational meanings manifest a high degree of conventionalisation, since they need to be overtly marked in other languages.

The themes addressed in the investigations prompted my inquiry into the differences between various usages of converbs in terms of 'temporal dependency'. My research in this area has contributed to a deeper understanding of what unites 'depictives', 'manner adverbials' (and certain instances of 'accompanying circumstances') and what distinguishes them from converbs denoting 'temporal location' (i.e., converbs that can be paraphrased by *when*-clauses), 'cause', and 'condition'. This understanding has led to a fundamental re-reading and comparison of a great deal of influential work on converb meaning, in order to clarify this difference. The result of this re-reading is presented in sections 2.4.2.6.1 – 2.4.2.6.7. Following Boguslavskij (1977), I argue that the

matrix predicate and the converb can function as temporal anchors for each other. When the converb is the anchor, it has the meaning of 'temporal condition', 'condition', or 'cause' (sometimes nuances of 'cause', 'concession', and 'condition' are mere implicatures, sometimes they are more robust). However, when the matrix verb functions as the temporal anchor for the converb, the converb functions like a 'manner' adverbial, a 'depictive', or an 'accompanying circumstance'. This difference can also be described by using Klein's (1994) concept of 'topic time': "TT ['topic time'] is the time span to which the speaker's claim on this occasion is confined" (Klein 1994: 4). Thus, in 'temporal adverbial' usages, the converb provides a topic time for the matrix, while in 'manner adverbial' usages, the converb uses the topic time of the matrix. Importantly, we note that there is no symmetry between these two types of temporal dependency; they are not equal to each other. In fact, they differ substantially.

In summary, this thesis has provided contrastive corpus-based evidence for the relational meanings of 'resultant states' and the teleological 'complementary coincidence' relations of 'instrumental action' ('means') and 'purpose' ('end') as they are expressed by converbs in Russian. Several linguistic features have been highlighted as crucial for the realisation of these relational meanings. In the studies included in this thesis, previously less-studied converb usages have been thoroughly established and investigated. The results of the study also open up perspectives for continued research on these and related phenomena.

In the continuation of Russian converb research, the different alignment varieties manifested by the different dichotomies presented in section 2.4.2.6 should be investigated further. Presumably, this research benefits from research advances in the wider study of adjuncts or adverbials. The different types of method-neutrality that give rise to 'complementary coincidence' is also a promising field of research.

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