

ГУЛЯТЬ ТАК ГУЛЯТЬ: **between Grammar and Dictionary¹**

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The article is devoted to the analysis of two Russian syntactic phrasemes. The restrictions on lexical variables are investigated, their discourse links are established, and frequency data on their usage are cited. Some definite realizations of the phrasemes in question can be generated using certain grammatical rules, however a part of them is stored in the Dictionary in the ready-to-use form.

ГУЛЯТЬ ТАК ГУЛЯТЬ: Между грамматикой и словарем. Статья посвящена анализу двух русских синтаксических фразем. Исследуются ограничения на лексические переменные, устанавливаются дискурсивные зависимости фразем, приводятся данные о частотности их употребления. Делается вывод, согласно которому конкретные реализации фразем могут порождаться грамматическими правилами, однако часть из них хранится в словаре в виде готовых к использованию единиц.

According to the definition of a syntactic phraseme given by I. A. Mel'cuk², Russian expressions like *Гулять так гулять* should be

¹ This research was supported by the Finnish Academy (a multidisciplinary research project, funded within the research programme "Russia in Flux"). I wish to express my gratitude to L. A. Biryulin, A. Mustajoki, A. Nikunlassi, and E. Ju. Protassova for their comments on drafts of the article.

² A syntactic phraseme is a surface-syntactic tree containing no full lexical nodes (its nodes are labeled with either lexemic variables or structural words) but possessing a specific signified, having as its signifier a specific syntactic construction, and a specific prosody, and featuring as well a specific syntactics' Mel'cuk 1995, 215; see also Mel'cuk 1995 a]. At the same time, the approach of here is also based on 'construction-oriented' frameworks, above all Construction Grammar [Fillmore et al. 1988; Goldberg 1995; Kay, Fillmore 1999], and Experientialism [Lakoff 1987].

classified as *syntactic phrasemes*. They have been identified which manifest themselves in an almost identical way: namely, two repeated word forms, with the particle *TAK* in-between. The first type roughly means "an uncontrollable choice", while the second one means 'the utmost quality',

The article is devoted to the analysis of these two syntactic phrasemes and a discussion of the question concerning the place of these phrasemes in Grammar or in the Dictionary. In the first part the difference in filling variables will be shown; in the second, the contextual dependence of phrasemes will be analyzed; the third part is devoted to an analysis of the most frequent realizations of the specified phrasemes, and a formal description will be presented in the last part.

1. Lexemic variables

The phrasemes in question possess very different constraints pertaining to lexemic variables.

1.1. The phraseme of an uncontrollable choice

Any lexeme from a previous context can be used as a filler for the variable X in the phraseme '...X так X'. Repeated twice, it serves for the expression of a situation where a choice is not under the close control of a speaker. Such uncontrollability depends on the lexical and morphological meanings of a word used, therefore it can be defined as a *radial structure* (J. Lakoff) represented in the following *central subcategory* and its *non-central extensions*: an unwilling (or insufficiently motivated) consent (1); nothingness of a choice (2), luck of a choice (3).

- (1) Беда была в том, что Зоя надумала меня женить на своей ученице. (...) Пройдя через легкомысленный ад собственной жизни, Зоя решила, что надо укреплять устои, в углу у неё висели иконы, у изголовья лежало Евангелие. Ну что ж, *жениться так жениться*, не обижать же старуху. [Volga, № 9, 1998]
- (2) — Я пешком пойду, — сказал Саша, — в сани только чемодан кину, он у меня легкий. — Наше дело сполнять, — пробормотал Нил Лаврентьевич, — *везти так везти, имттить так имттить*. [A. Rybakov. Strah]
- (3) Облава была спокойная. Солдаты ходили по хатам, брали всех мужчин, и все приходили спокойно, молча, как и я. Теперь уже никаких документов не смотрели, годы рождения

не играли роли. Все чисто и благородно: *попался так попался* — и заткнись. [A. Kuznesov. Babij jar]

Some Russian particles like *ну что ж, ну* along with others work as a test context for this phraseme. Some realizations of the phraseme are accompanied by a specific intonation with the tone falling towards the end of a phrase. Contrary to the stated opinion (RG 1980; Nikolina 1991; Velicko 1996), this phraseme includes a long list of variables and does not have any tense modifications.

An analysis of variables does not reveal almost any word class or other morphological constraints: any form can be used as a filler with the corresponding context support not only 'infinitive, substantive in any case with preposition and not, adjective, adverb' [Velicko 1996, 19]. See, for example, [Svedova 1960, 94—95]. The material collected has shown that finite verbs (4), participles (5), predicatives (6), numerals (7), and, probably, syntactic words (8) are served in addition to the mentioned forms³.

- (4) Крымов развёл руками, как бы говоря: 'Что ж, *повезло так повезло*, ничего не поделаешь'. [V. Grossman. Žizn' i sud'ba]
- (5) *Приучена так приучена*, — согласился ученый. — Пусть сторожит.... [G. Gorin. Skazka pro sobaku, kotoraja prožila trista let]
- (6) То, что Мустафе запрещено было кем-то плясать в литературном кабаке, позабавило Иуду Гросмана, но не озадачило: *ну нельзя, так нельзя*, ['Oktjabr', №1, 2001]
- (7) Когда мы подписывали контракт, я сразу сказал, что нужно подписывать на три года. Он же настаивал на пяти. В итоге я согласился — *пять так пять*. Сама церемония подписания проходила нервно. ['Megapolis Ekspres', 14.01.2005]

It was not possible to find any example of syntactic words usage either in the Integrum database or in the RNC. However, it seems that examples such as number (8) do not act as exceptions in Russian language usage and do not contradict the researcher's own intuition.

- (8) — Мы зайдем в магазин не по пути в школу, а после нее.
— Ну, *после так после*...

Thus, the collected examples show that fillers of the variable X can interact with all word classes and have minimal restrictions regarding

³ The material has been collected from the Russian National Corpus (RNC), and the *Integrum* database; it consists of more than 4000 examples.

morphological forms (the subjunctive and the imperative mood of verbs and gerunds). At the same time, the assumption that there are modal-tense modifications (or a paradigm in terms of the [RG 1980]) for these phrasemes seems to be unacceptable. Examples such as number (9) seem completely artificial, and are not observed either in texts or in the speech of native speakers of Russian. (However, the second type of phrasemes under discussion does display such a possibility).

(9) *Ну что ж, *ехать так ехать было/будет*.

On the other hand, it is quite possible to analyze the following sentences (10—12) as examples of a united 'modal-tense paradigm'.

(10) Ну что ж, *пить так пить*.

(11) Ну что ж, *пили так пили*.

(12) Ну что ж, *выпили так выпили*.

Due to the contextual dependence of the phraseme manifestation it looks unnatural that these phrasemes should have a paradigm at all: it is much more important that a certain word form, on which this type can be grounded, was (or was implied) in a previous context.

1.2. The phraseme of the utmost quality

The second type of phrasemes under discussion applies stronger restrictions. The structure of this phraseme is 'X так JT, where X is an acceptable word form, and the meaning is fully described in [Velicko 1996, 19]: 'a statement, accepting of an identified, or offered object, but in its best, fullest, most qualitative manifestation'.

Russian particles like *вот это*, *ну вот* work as a test context for this phraseme. The prosodic contour is determined by an increase in intonation towards the end of the phrase and can be accompanied by lengthening the stressed vowels. The nominative case of nouns (13) and adjectives (14); infinitives (15) and finite forms of verbs (16—17)⁴ serve as variables in the phraseme (see also [Svedova 1960, 95—96; Vsevolodova, Lim Su En 2002 115—116]).

(13) Вот *встреча так встреча* \ — как обухом по голове ударил Тараса бойкий голос невесть откуда взявшегося Простенки. [O. Novikova. *Mužskoj roman*]

⁴ The verb forms are included in the non-strict opposition, where imperfective infinitives oppose perfective past tense forms: *гулять так гулять*, but *погулял так погулял*. There is insufficient place to elaborate upon this subject here.

(14) Ведь и там им не о чем бы было поговорить, вот штука-то. Вот уж *чужие так чужие* — на веки вечные. [B. Suksin, Ćuzie(1974)]

(15) *Казнить так казнить, жаловать так жаловать*', таков мой обычай. [A. S. Puskin. *Kapitanskaja dočka*]

(16) Вот Чубайс *мочит так мочит* — сразу города с полумиллионным населением отключает, люди замерзают, голодают. ['Sovetskaja Rossija', 2003.04.05]

(17) Сам буду выступать и уж *врежу так врежу* \ [Ju. Trifonov. *Dom na naberežnoj*]

No example has been found consisting of numerals or syntactic word classes in the RNC or the *Integrum* database. Examples like (18—20) seem unnatural. Therefore we cannot claim that these word classes cannot be used in the phraseme.

(18) *(Вот это) *вечером так вечером!*

(19) *(Вот это) *тридцать пять так тридцать пять!*

(20) *(Вот это) *из так из!*

In conclusion, the incorrectness of the examples below has to be mentioned (21—23).

(21) *(Вот это) *романом так романом!*

(22) *(Вот это) *красивым так красивым*(23) ?(Вот это) *Москва так Москва!*

It is clear from the examples mentioned, that the nominatives⁵ of common nouns⁶ and adjectives can be used as variable fillings. It is worse to use adverbs and numerals; they are possible only if they have (or gain from the context) a certain value: *вот это много так много!* means 'as much as it can be'; *Вот это пять так пять!* is possible in the substantive usage, and means, for example: 'a firm handshake'. According to some special rules, infinitives and finite forms of verbs can be used as well; prepositional phrases and syntactic word classes cannot.

As it was mentioned, *the phrasemes of the utmost quality* can have modal-tense modifications (24—25).

⁵ The only example with a non-nominative case given in [Vsevolodova, Lim Su En 2002, 115] '*Я встретил вот женщину так женщину*' seems to be peripheral; there is no a single clause in the material collected from Russian corpora.

⁶ There is only one possibility to use proper nouns. It is correct if the reference is split; for example, '*Вот это Москва так Москва, а то, что было раньше, — только пригороды*'.

- (24) (Вот) была встреча так встреча!
 (25) (Вот) будет встреча так встреча!

2. Discourse links

The behavior of the two types of phrasemes within the framework of a discourse, as far as the discourse links which these phrasemes possess, is fundamentally different.

2.1 The phraseme of an uncontrollable choice

This type of phrasemes leans upon the previous context. Agreeing with the interlocutor (or with the speaker her/himself) one often uses a word form already mentioned.

- (26) Экипаж — шесть человек, — сказал Хурков, включая про-
 веряющего. Всем — поровну. Разговор закончен. — Ну за-
 кончен — так закончен, — лениво проговорил Ильин, — но
 я считаю: за один только суп — многовато будет. ['Zvezda'.
 № 3. 2002]

However, some change in the repeated forms is preferable when there are several word forms in the previous context, making it difficult which word form to choose. In the example below (27), the nearest form of the lexeme *ПАРИЖ* is a Genitive (the rest are in the accusative case). The speaker prefers a default nominative form rather than any of the possible alternative.

- (27) Но тут объявили регистрацию на рейс, как ни странно, вы
 летающий до **Парижа**. 'Ну что? — спросил я жену. — Мо-
 жет, остаться?' Я и впрямь готов был выйти из игры, чтобы
 не становиться для всех обузой. Но тут кто-то спросил: 'Ваш
 чемодан?' — 'Мой'. — 'Ну так чего он тут стоит?' — И по-
 ташил его на весы. Мы регистрировались по списку и по
 групповому билету. Ну что ж, *Париж, так Париж...* Будь
 что будет. ['Zvezda'. № 4. 2002]

The synonymic replacement of a lexeme is also possible which, naturally, can lead to certain stylistic modifications. For instance, example (28), despite its stylistic awkwardness, exemplifies the permissible synonymic replacement of an initial lexeme by a final lexeme.

- (28) 'Петрович! Ты должен, как Андрей Болконский, пасть со
 знаменем у финского дота!' — дает мне последние указания
 наш командир Александр Федосов. *Умереть так умереть:*
 'Есть, товарищ лейтенант, не впервой!' ['Karelija'. 21.03.2002]

Thus, a possible discourse characteristic of phraseme usage rests on the fact, that there is contextual support for the phraseme (often explicitly mentioned in the interlocutor's speech), upon which the phraseme is based, with possible grammatical, lexical, or stylistic modifications.

2.2 The phraseme of the utmost quality

It appears that the text links of the phraseme are much more independent. This is proved by the fact, that it can be used freely either in a position of the beginning of a text or in a heading.

- (29) *Меняться — так меняться.* Молдова обещает поставить
 точку в вопросе делимитации границы с Украиной завтра
 ['Den', 11.07.2001, №120]
 (30) Новый русский на отдыхе: *отрывать, так отрывать!*
 ['Delovaja Penza', 12.01.2000, № 168]

However, it is clear that these phrasemes are frequently entered with a reference to precedent or pseudo-precedent texts. Markers of such 'citation' are the expressions like *как говорится, как говорят, N сказал* etc. (31-32).

- (31) Как поет Розенбаум: '*Стрелять так стрелять!*' Время к
 этому афоризму добавило: 'Взрывать так взрывать!' ['Mos-
 kovskajapravda', 28.09.1996, № 8 (178)]
 (32) Владимир Лукин: Конечно, как говорится, *трясти, так*
трясти. Конечно, если сейчас решить проблему перезахо-
 ронения Ленина, а я не сторонник этого, но раз уж начали
 одни символы трясти, значит надо другие символы трясти.
 ['NTV: Geroj dnja, 06.12.2000, 19:30]

Furthermore, a speaker may label as a citation such expressions for which there are no real sources at all. For instance, example (33) has been found only once: it has been in vain trying to locate a source for the clause below, either in the RNC or in the Integrum Database or in the Ru-net (Russian Net) in whole.

- (33) 'Как говорится, *складировать так складировать!*' ['Peter-
 burgskij stroitel'nyj rynok', 15.01.2002; № 1—2 (45)]

Thus, a possible discourse characteristic of phraseme usage is that they are usually free from the immediate context, but often have links to the overall mental space, including citations, precedent texts, or other common knowledge.

3. Some frequency data

This part of the article pursues the idea that the usage of the type of phrasemes under discussion is based on a dependent relationship between frequency data and a cognitive mechanism that directs the usage of the phrasemes.

A search for examples in the big corpora has revealed that the most frequent forms are infinitives. Establishing a bank of examples comparable in quantity for the other word classes and word forms would demand a considerable effort. For this reason only syntactic phrasemes including infinitives have been collected. The material collected contradicts the hypotheses that there is a dependent link between the number of 'Inf так Inf representations and the number of corresponding verbal lexemes in the Russian language.

According to [Zasorina 1977] and [Sarov 2002] the ten most frequent Russian verbs are the following: *быть, сказать, мочь, говорить, знать, стать, есть, хотеть, видеть, идти* (Sarov gives the verb *видать* instead of *есть* given in [Zasorina 1977]). However, the most frequent clauses of the 'Inf так Inf type using verbs from the list are *сказать так сказать* and *есть так есть*. There are no examples with the verbs *мочь, знать, стать, хотеть, видеть*⁷ in the data. This proves that there is no link between the frequency of the phraseme and verbs with both types of the phrasemes. In the case of *the phraseme of an uncontrollable choice* it seems that a long list of verbs (and other lexemes, in all probability) is freely used, without any correlations between the frequency of the characteristics of the phraseme and the lexemes that constitute it.

In the case of *the phraseme of the utmost quality*, the most commonly used is the clause *Гулять так гулять*. The Integrum database has more than one and a half thousand examples. That number exceeds that of all other lexemes within the framework of the syntactic phrasemes under discussion. The following clauses noticeably lag behind, but,

⁷ It does not appear that there is a clear explanation why the clauses like **Мочь так мочь* etc. are impossible.

nevertheless, often appear: *Стрелять так стрелять* (more than 350 examples), *Любить так любить* (more than 200 examples), *Летать так летать* (about 180 examples), *Играть так играть* (about 170 examples), *Работать так работать* (about 150 examples), *Пить так пить* (about 130 examples), *Лечить так лечить* (about 90 examples).

Naturally, it is useless searching for an explanation for this phenomenon by looking at the frequency with which verbs are used, (the verb *стрелять*, for example, does not even enter the top one hundred most frequently used Russian verbs). A much more plausible reason may be, that the most frequently used phrasemes are those that reflex back to particular precedent texts: five verbs from the list mentioned, namely, *гулять, любить, стрелять, летать, лечить* can be traced back to A. Rosenbaum's popular smash hit 'Duck Hunting'.

- (34) Я помню, давно учили меня отец мой и мать:
Лечить — так лечить! Любить — так любить!
Гулять — так гулять! Стрелять — так стрелять!
 Но утки уже летят высоко
Летать — так летать! Я им помашу рукой.

To be precise, the above-mentioned phrasemes can be found in the masterpieces of N. A. Nekrasov, N. M. Jazykov, A. Pristavkin, and others. However, these texts can hardly be considered responsible for the coining of the phrases in question. On the other hand, the fact that high-frequency phrasemes are often found in the context of reasoning about the Russian soul and, thus, refer to unclear, but common concepts (see 35—36).

- (35) Русская душа любит гулять так гулять, пить так пить.
 ['Birža', 14.06.2001; №21]
 (36) У нас ведь как — ругаться так ругаться, спорить — так спорить, выпить — так выпить, работать — так работать.
 ['Vecernij Novosibirsk', 30.11.2001]

In aggregate, these data reveal a dependence of *the phraseme of the utmost quality* not on the rate of use of a certain lexeme, but on speech usage. The observation shows that the frequency rate depends on a knowledge of popular texts, or on the aspiration of the speaker to motivate the usage by means of creating 'a well-known piece of information'. By contrast, the other phraseme, which depends on its immediate context, does not submit to any frequency trend.

4. The formal description

The phraseme of an uncontrollable choice relies on its direct context and includes free word forms of various word class in its structure. It is represented that generative rules, rooted in Grammar, allow the creation of a potentially infinite quantity of clauses, constructed on the basis of this idiomatic syntactic model. Apparently, within a linguistic description this type should be specified by certain rules at the Grammar level. At the same time, for accurate representation of the phraseme it is necessary to include information about conditions imposed by the particular frame. Without such a frame a syntactic phraseme can be created, but it will be impossible to use it correctly. This frame may be termed 'The Realization of a Choice Frame', denoting the presence of an alternative (probably not explicitly shown) and the required choice, that is the focus of the frame (compare [Nikolina 1991, 55]). A generalized description can be set out as follows:

Frame: The Realization of a Choice

Structure: '...*X так X*', where *X* is a variable (any word form with a short list of constraints), having a semantic antecedent (probably not-expressed or expressed with a synonym) and taking the form of an antecedent or default form.

Prosodic contour: A falling intonation towards the end of a phrase.

Meaning: '*an uncontrollable choice*': unwilling (or insufficiently motivated) consent; a lack of choice, a nothingness of choice.

Pragmatics: Obligatory context (marked in the above-mentioned scheme as '...').

The phraseme of the utmost quality is more independent from its direct context, but connected with more strict rules of usage. In this sense, seemingly, there is no specialized frame fixed to this phraseme. Its grammatical description may look something like this:

Structure: '*X так JC*', where *X* is a variable, having the following: the nominative of adjectives, nouns (except common ones), finite verbs, and infinitives (rather imperfective infinitives and perfective past forms).

Prosodic contour: An increasing intonation forward the end of a phrase (can be accompanied by a lengthening of stressed vowels).

Meaning: 'utmost manifestation of a signified'.

Pragmatics: probable connotation of a well-known experience, referring to a precedent (or pseudo-precedent) text.

The proffered generalized description allows a speaker (including a foreigner) to generate an infinite number of correct Russian phrases. Excluding pragmatic information, such phrasemes will be correct. At the same time, the existence of a ready-to-use high-frequency cliché like *Гулять так гулять* in real speech allows one to assume, that some clauses are not generated by the rules defined above, but stored in the memory. In such a case, it should be supposed, that phrasemes under consideration are very closely tied in with lexical idioms like *Умирать так с музыкой*, which cannot be generated by any rules, but stored in the Dictionary. From the semantic point of view there are some similar expressions in Russian, having certain idiomatical restrictions either to the Grammar (see the above-mentioned list of the morphological restrictions) or to the Dictionary (for example, a list of lexemes for *Умирать так с...* includes no more than dozen of items). This conclusion corroborates the conception that 'a strict separation of lexicon and grammar, (...) may prove to be but a methodological prejudice' [Jackendoff 1995, 155—156, compare Bybee 1985, 111—135].

It has been assumed, that such a continuum is stored as a 'construction' [Schultze-Berndt 2002, 302]. However, it seems more likely that there are two ways for syntactic phrasemes to be stored and used. One method is that of ready-to-use speech patterns which pull together with lexical phrasemes; they are not generated every time and are taken from the Dictionary. As a rule, they contain more connotative information that is typically for the Lexicon. Another method demands the use of some grammatical rules. Naturally, these clauses contain less connotative information, as it is usually located in the Grammar. Most likely, during speech generation a speaker refers to the Dictionary, and — if there is no help — the clause is generated by certain rules.

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ИНСТИТУТ РУССКОГО ЯЗЫКА ИМ. В. В. ВИНОГРАДОВА РАН
ИИНСТИТУТ ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ РАН
ИНСТИТУТ ПРОБЛЕМ ПЕРЕДАЧИ ИНФОРМАЦИИ РАН

Восток - Запад:

Вторая международная конференция

по модели «Смысл \Leftrightarrow Текст»

Ответственные редакторы:
Ю. Д. Апресян, Л. Л. Иомдин

ЯЗЫКИ СЛАВЯНСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ
МОСКВА 2005