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The Case of *X TAK X*: Typological and Historical Context[*]

Doubling as a syntactic – or rather – semantic phenomenon has occupied a place in the investigations for a long time. However, there are many unanswered questions and discoveries waiting to be made for many languages. The present paper is devoted to a puzzle concerning mainly the Russian language; more precisely, concerning three types of Russian syntactic doublings, that appear to be closely interrelated and, therefore, demanding an integrated approach. They manifest themselves in an almost identical way, roughly two repeated word forms (rather infinitives) with the particle TAK in-between.[1] The paper opens with formal descriptions of these.

The syntactic doublings: Formal descriptions

T h e   p h r a s e m e   o f   t h e   u t m o s t   q u a l i t y (from now on an exclamation mark is used as a marker of this phraseme: *X TAK X!*):

> (1) *Казнить так казнить, жаловать так жаловать*: таков мой обычай. (A. Puškin: Kapitanskaja dočka)
> '*[If] to execute, then to execute [in the right way]; [if] to favor, then to favor [in the right way]* – that's my habit.'

[1] Actually, two of them are *syntactic phrasemes*, according to Mel'čuk (1995); the last is a kind of a composite sentence. See details in Švedova (1960: 94–96), Frazeologija i sintaksis (1982: 97–98), Veličko (1996: 19–22) Vsevolodova & Su Ën (2002: 115–117) and Kopotev (2005).

Structure:	*X ТАК X!,* where X is a variable that can be represented by: a nominative of adjectives or nouns (rather common ones), or finite verbs, or infinitives (rather imperfective infinitives and perfective past forms).
Prosodic contour:	Unstressed particle (obligatory); lengthening of the stressed vowels (optional).
Meaning:	'utmost manifestation of a signified'.
Pragmatics:	probable connotation of a well-known experience, referring to a precedent (or pseudo-precedent) text.

The phraseme of an uncontrollable choice (from now on a mark of omission is used for this phraseme: *...X TAK X*):

(2) Крымов развёл руками, как бы говоря: «Что ж, *повезло так повезло*, ничего не поделаешь». (V. Grossman: Žizn' i sud'ba)
'Krymov was at a loss what to say – Well, *[if] he had luck, then he had the luck*, there is nothing to be done.'

Frame:	The Realization of a Choice.
Structure:	*...X TAK X,* where *X* is a variable (any word form with very short list of constraints) that has a semantic antecedent (probably non-expressed or expressed with a synonym) and that takes the form of the antecedent or a default form.
Prosodic contour:	Unstressed particle; falling tone towards the end of a phrase.
Meaning:	'*an uncontrollable choice*': unwilling (or insufficiently motivated) consent; lack of choice, insignificance of choice.
Pragmatics:	Obligatory context (marked as '...' in the scheme above).

It is clear that both of the phrasemes are tightly connected with the fuller representation – two-clause construction with the 'if-then' complex (*If X, then X* from now on). In Russian, such units can be manifested with *если-то* (3)*, если-так* (4)*, когда-так* (5) etc.[2]; additionally, these often include the Adverbial Group that has the meaning 'utmost quality'.

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[2] It is known that the conjunction *если* 'if' is a subsequent state in the history of the Russian language. There was a set of conjunctions having a similar meaning in Old Russian (*аще/аште* (from Church Slavonic), *аче, буде ес(ть)ли* etc.); see Lavrov (1941), Struktura pred-

(3) Но уж если говорить, то говорить начистоту. (Ju. Dombrovskij: Xranitel' drevnostej)

'But if to speak, then to speak frankly.'

(4) Уж если быть черным, так черным, как уголь. (I.A. Gončarov: Fregat "Pallada")

'If to be black, then to be black as coal.'

(5) Вот *когда зарезал, так зарезал*! Убит, убит, совсем убит! (N.V. Gogol': Revizor)

'*If you've knifed, then you've knifed [indeed]!* I'm killed, killed, totally killed!'

Theoretically, the three constructions can develop and interact with each other in the following four ways:

- The full construction (*If X then X*) represents an initial state, from which the other two are derived independently from each other.
- The full construction (*If X then X*) represents an initial state, from which the *X TAK X!* is derived, from which ...*X TAK X* is derived in its turn.
- The full construction (*If X then X*) represents an initial state, from which the ...*X TAK X* is derived, from which *X TAK X!* is derived in its turn.[3]
- And to complete the picture one can say that theoretically all three may originate independently.

Thus, the goal of the this paper is to add historical and typological perspectives to the previous investigations by addressing the following questions:

- Are there any historical relations between the three constructions?
- What was the chronology of their interaction process, if any?
- Is it possible to define a plausible mechanism of their development using historical and comparative methods?

Syntactic doublings: Comparative data

The collected material shows that there is no single precedent of these constructions in the Old Russian texts[4]. However, even from such representative

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loženija (1983: 239–247). They still partly exist in the modern Russian. In the article the English conjunction *if* is used as a common denominator for the all.

[3] Veličko (1996: 19–20) and Tommola (personal communication) consider that *X TAK X!* is a special case of ...*X TAK X*.

[4] The corpus consists of more than one hundred texts, including *Povest' vremennyx let, Domostroj, Žitie protopopa Avvakuma, Sobornoe uloženie* (1649); the Novgorodian birch bark

extracts of texts one cannot conclude with full certainty that none of these phrasemes existed in Old Russian. One reason for the luck of certainty is the fact that the syntax of written sources has fallen under the influence of a certain type of standardization, which even the Novgorodian birch bark letters (that are "almost free of the influence [of the literary standard]" (Zaliznjak 2004: 155, and contrarily Meščerskij 1995) could not avoid; let alone chronicles and hagiography. As far as the units in question are concerned, these are undoubtedly spoken,[5] and they might have been in use but not fixed in the sources which we have available. Therefore, one can claim that the syntactic doubling did not occur in the written form of the Old Russian language, but one can assume that it might have been a part of syntactic repertory of the spoken language.

Furthermore, some comparative data can assist in solving the problem of constructions' diachronic development. Such constructions, varying semantically and morphologically, can be obtained from several Slavic and Baltic languages.[6]

Bulgarian	(6) Ако ще пием, да/нека пием.
	'If we're drinking, then let's drink!'
	(7) Ако ще гуляем, да/нека гуляем.
	'If we're making merry, then let's make it!'
Croatian	(8) Bal k'o bal.
	'Party will be party.'
	(9) Život k'o život.
	'Life will be life'.
Czech	(10) Když piju, tak piju.
	'If I'm drinking, then I'm drinking [a lot]!'
	(11) Když party, tak party.
	'If a party, then [a real] party!'
Polish	(12) Jak się bawić – to się bawić!
	'If to make merry, then to make it (well)!'
	(13) …Pić – to pić.
	'…If to drink, then to drink.'

letters have been counted separately and searched by, e.g., Zaliznjak (2004). Nevertheless, the first appearance has been noted in the 18th century (A.P. Sumarokov, I.A. Krylov). During the 19th century their usage widely spread through Russian fiction, most probably under the impact of N.V. Gogol'.

[5] Among others, the particle TAK serves as the evidence for this in Old Russian; it marks a spoken register of a language usage (Istoričeskaja grammatika 1979: 252).

[6] As was shown, many of reduplicative constructions are linguistically specific (Wierzbicka 1987). It is true also for the phrasemes cited below. These differences, however, can be ignored here.

Ukrainian	(14) Як пити то пити!
	'If to drink, then to drink!'
	(15) Як гуляти то гуляти!
	'If to make merry, then to make it (well)!'
Lithuanian	(16) (Jei) gerti, tai gerti!
	'(If) to drink, then to drink (well)!'
	(17) …Į mokyklą, tai į mokyklą.
	'…If [we have to go] to school, then (let's go) to school.'
Latvian	(18) (Ka) dzīrot, ta dzīrot!
	'(If) to make merry, then to do it (well)!'
	(19) (Ka) dzert, ta dzert!
	'(If) to drink, then to drink (well)!'

Two observations drawn from the data demand our special attention. The first one concerns the Bulgarian language. According to Večerka (1989: 130–141), that type of syntactic reduplication was not known in the Old Bulgarian texts. However, modern Bulgarian makes use of it. It means that evidence from the surviving older texts does not argue against constructions' presence in the oral communication in any language – neither in Russian, nor in Bulgarian. The second observations that the Croatian language, that has no close contacts with Russian, also exhibits such syntactic doublings. They cannot be treated as influence of the Russian language. Rather, they should be considered as an independent syntactic parallel.

Besides, a small amount of the doubling structures can be found in the Germanic languages.[7] For instance, they are relatively peripheral and infrequent in English (*If I drink, I drink*), German (*Wenn ich trinke, dann trinke ich*), and Swedish (*När jag drack, så drack jag mycket*)[8]. It seems that the very same syntactic doublings are more prevalent in Norwegian and Dutch.

Norwegian:	(20) Drikken man så drikken man.
	'If to drink, then to drink (well)'
	(21) Vil man så vil man.

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[7] It is very interesting that the syntactic doubling is typical for some of the Romance languages, such as Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Galician; excluding French, which heavily influenced the Russian language in 18 and 19th centuries.

[8] Swedish *Som man bäddar så ligger man* and German *Wie man bettet so liegt man* both are definitely another construction close to Russian *Что посеешь, то и пожнешь* ('*a person will reap what he sows*', Gal. 6:7). German *Wenn schon denn schon* seems to be the same as in Russian, but it is a fixed expression there, having no variables and working as a lexical unit, not as a syntactic construction.

'If to want, then to want.'

Dutch: (22) Drink je, dan drink je.

'If to drink, then to drink.'

(23) Als je drinkt, dan drink je (goed).

'If one drinks, then to drink (well).'

Finally, it should be noted that the material of the Finnish language, – although it does not belong to the IE languages – exhibits a wide spectrum of the constructions in question.[9]

Finnish: (24) Jos sä kerran ryyppäät, niin ryyppää kunnolla.

'If you're drinking, then do it properly.'

(25) Kun juodaan, niin juodaan tappiin saakka.

'If to drink, then to drink to the cork (= until it finishes).'

(26) Jos juodaan, niin juodaan votkaa.

'If to drink, then to drink vodka.'

As these examples show, the Finnish language demonstrates wide possibilities for variables. In fact, there is a syntactic model *If X, then X with Y* that can be fulfilled by verb forms *X* and a word *Y*, and that has the meaning of the utmost quality (of *X*). In addressing the question of possible influence, one should take the following facts into consideration. Syntactic doubling, *If X, then X*, is spread throughout a wide variety of Indo-European, including the Balto-Slavic languages. All these data serve to underline the argument that the doubling constructions existed in language long before their first appearance in written sources. Keeping in mind the widespread distribution of the syntactic doublings in the Balto-Slavic languages and their peripheral place in the Germanic languages one can argue that the possible source for the Finnish doublings might be the Russian or some Baltic, rather than Swedish language. However, the real source of the Finnish doublings cannot be established with certainty. Nonetheless this syntactic parallel seems to suggest close contacts between the Finnish and the Balto-Slavic languages.[10]

Therefore, one can draw the following preliminary conclusions:

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[9] They are also common in some other FU languages (Estonian, for example), and almost all of them have fallen under the strong influence of Russian, so it is impossible to divide the original and borrowed cases.

[10] For the time being, only a very few number of syntactic parallels have been used to demonstrate close Finnish-Russian contacts on the syntactic level. All of them are considered as Finnish-to-Russian influence and all are still disputable in the linguistic literature (Timberlake 1974; L'Hermitte 1979; Tkačenko 1979). On the other hand, the heavy Baltic-to-Finnish influence is claimed in Larsson (2001).

- The typologically and historically primary constructions are those with an initial *if* (*If X, then X*). The constructions without *if,* Russian as well as such in other languages, represent a late stage of language development.
- The primary state is well represented in Finnish, which has a rich potential for generating phrases according to the model *If X, then X.*
- One can postulate the Russian or Baltic languages as a source for the Finnish doublings. However, this cannot be argued without much room for speculation.

Syntactic doublings: Intralinguistic data

As is mentioned above, modern Russian knows of three constructions, namely *If X, then X*, *X TAK X!,* and *...X TAK X*, that have different constraints, semantic and pragmatic features. In order to establish their correlation properly, one has to compare them with each other. On doing so one should digress any historical development, and treat them as if they are synchronically immutable.

For description purposes, let us introduce the following simplified hierarchy of the dependency tree. It should be noted that, in order to offer more comprehensive scheme, terminal nodes are presented not with Russian (or any other) lexemes, but with their meanings, representing in English literal translations.[11]

Thus, dependency tree of the full syntactic doubling structure *If X, then X* appears as follows:

S			
C_2	CONJ	C_2	
		VP	
V		V	ADVP
'to drink'	'(if) – then'	'to drink'	'well'

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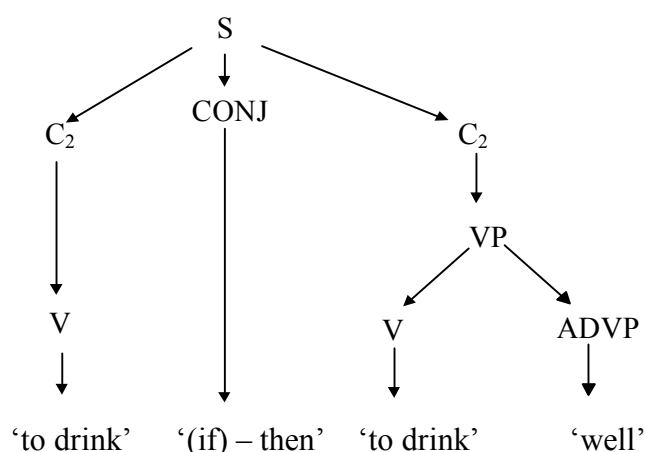
[11] Once more admission claims *If X, then X* sentences as two-clauses coordinating structure, and – accordingly – connecting with the coordinating conjunctions *если-так* (Russian), *kun-niin* (Finnish), *if-then* etc. Actually, they are, apparently, a mixture of coordination and subordination, but there is no possibility to present a more detailed argument here (for more details see Haspelmath 2004: 33–37; Testelec 2001: 259–565).

The scheme above could represent the following Russian phrase (27):

(27) Если пить, так пить по-настоящему!
'If to drink, then to drink well'.

In the description of the first reduced type of the Russian phrasemes (*X ТАК X!*), it should be noted that the full doubling structure transforms to that of the *X ТАК X!* structure, by elimination of the following two elements from the surface structure:

– the *если* 'if' that seems to be a result of the purely surface ellipsis that has no changes on the deep structure[12];
– the right branch (ADVP) of the second clause, that has a strong influence on the deep structure.

As a result, the dependency tree assumes the following shape:
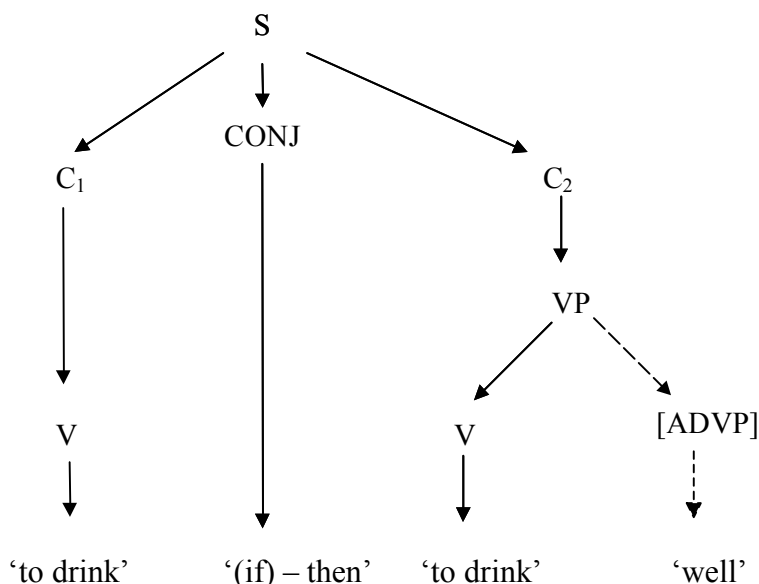
This transformation can be illustrated by following phrases (28):

(28) Если пить, так пить по-настоящему! → Пить так пить!
'If to drink, then to drink well!' → 'To drink then to drink!'

That is exactly why Russian phrasemes of this kind may also include predicate nouns like *сволочь* ('swine'), *дурак* ('fool') etc.:

(29) Вот сволочь так сволочь!
'if he/she is a swine, then he/she is a real one!'

But this does not function with proper noun:

[12] Compare with the English phrase *If I drink, I drink* that has the second part of the 'if-then' complex lost.

(30) *Гоша так Гоша!
*'If it is George, then it is real George!'

There is only one possibility for using proper nouns in such constructions. The proper nouns may, if the reference is split (31):

(31) Вот это Москва так Москва, а то, что было раньше, – только при-городы!
'*If it is Moscow, then it is [real] Moscow*, instead of the suburbs that were earlier!'

Moreover, the second type of reduced phrasemes – the phraseme of an un-controllable choice – is derived in an absolutely different way. The sentence below and its corresponding scheme are meant to provide an illustration of this (32):[13]

(32) – Пойдем в школу.
'Let's go to the school.'
– Ну..., [если идем] *в школу, так* [идем] *в школу.*
'…Well, [if let's go] to the school, then [let's go] to the school.'
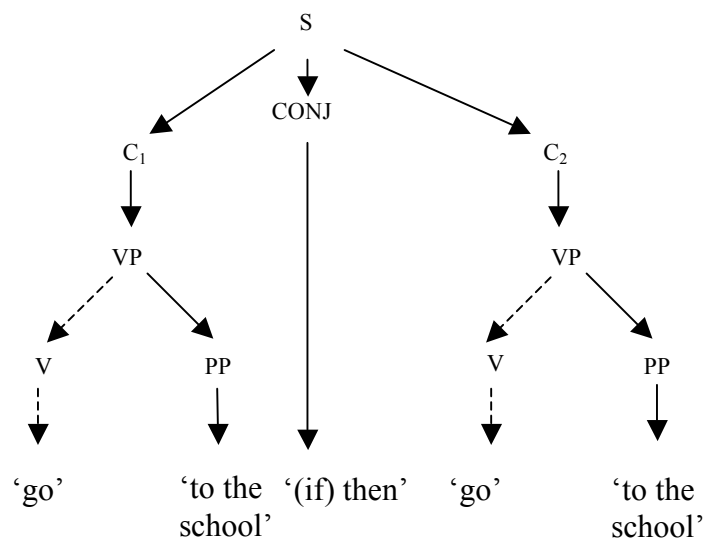
Thus, the deep structures of the two clauses seem to contain verbal phrases (VP). It is supported by the fact that the resulting phraseme *(…X TAK X)* contains a verb-driven Prepositional Phrase (*в школу* 'to the school'). More support is derived from the context-dependence of the phraseme. Indeed, it is possible to eliminate the verb (including an auxiliary one), if the structure leans upon a context (this phenomena is known as ellipsis). The same feature explains

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[13] Actually, the left branch of the VP node can be filled in not only with V (verb) but also with AUX (auxiliary word).

why *the phraseme of an uncontrollable choice* can include modal verbs into its surface representation only with difficulty. In fact, there are relatively few possibilities in the Russian language for using modal verbs in the right branch of the VP (in a verb-driven position):

(33) *...Мочь так мочь
'...[If] to can then to can'
(34)$^?$...Хотеть так хотеть
$^?$'...[If] to want then to want'

The most frequent variants of both reduced phrasemes in question – with doubling infinitives – are, in fact, homonymic and can be traced to the two different modifications of the deep structure. In the schemes below the phrasemes *Пить так пить!/...Пить так пить* ('to drink then to drink') are shown as dependency trees.
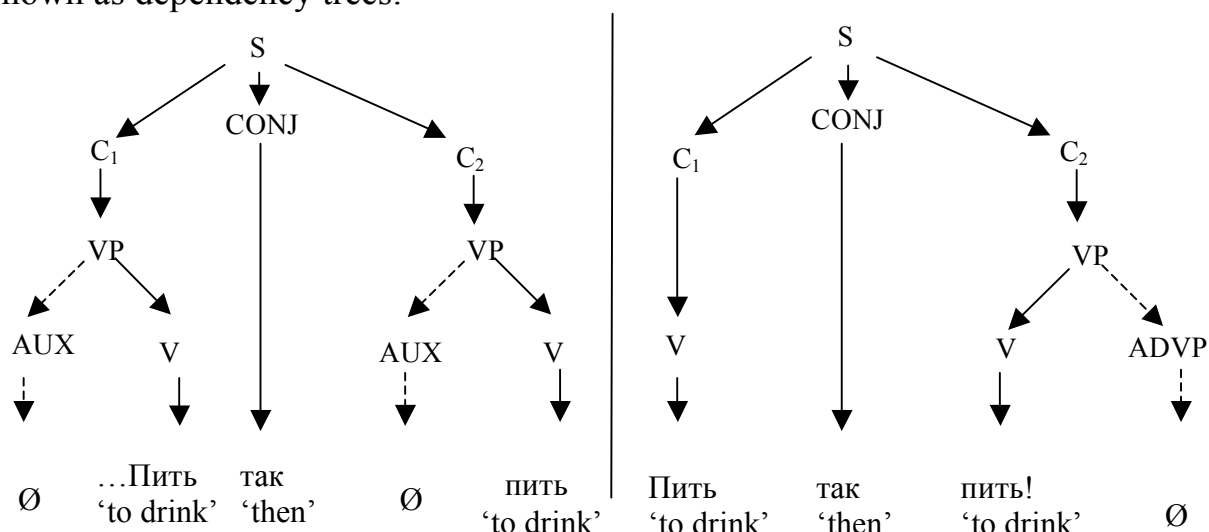
The deep structures shown above cannot be derived from each other. Neither the left-branch lacking the *...X TAK X* is transformed from the right-branch lacking of the *X TAK X!*, nor vice versa[14]. Thus, despite the arguments of Veličko and Tommola, the more plausible ways in which these phrasemes have developed seem to be independent and parallel processes, both traced to the full doubling construction *If X then X*.

When one turns to the question concerning the development of the phrasemes, the matter seems to get more complicated. As the modern Russian language, the figures given above cannot be considered as results of transformations from the

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[14] In terms of the Transformational Grammar one can say, that the first structure has its equivalent in the English *gapping*, while the second is the parallel to the *VP-deletion* (see Jackendoff 1971). It should be pointed out that the ellipsis (both the "gapping" and the "deletion") is relevant as a synchronic cut of permanent language development.

deep (*If X then X*) structure to the two elliptical modifications in the surface representations. To the contrary, the transformations of this kind cannot be attested in that way, and at least two facts support this. First, the ellipsis can be interpret as "a sentence, where <…> a part of the structure has been omitted, which is recoverable from a scrutiny of the context" (Crystal 2003: 159). This has nothing in common with the *X TAK X!* phraseme, and little with *...X TAK X* phraseme, due to the wide morphological and lexical variations of the components *X*. The very existence of these variations makes it impossible to claim that the lexemes are governed by an "ellipted" verbal root (see more Kopotev 2005). Second, there are a large number of examples that have no connection with any possible "full" deep structure. For instance, the most frequently used expression *Гулять так гулять!* ('If to walk, then to walk [in the right way]') was coined as a cliché. Nevertheless, from the historical point of view the matter seems to have stood exactly the way described in the previous paragraph.

One can argue that the initial deep structure was represented in a set of surface structures that include both non-elliptical and elliptical (with the "gapping" and "deleting" of some nodes) modifications. Eventually both elliptical modifications developed into the independent phrasemes that have – in the sense of the generative rules – no connections with the parent deep structure. As is demonstrated, both reduced phrasemes have in the end formed their own independent deep structures that broken away from the parent structure.

Conclusion

1. Lack of direct evidence for the constructions in question in the Old Russian language does not allow us to put forward a strong fact-based hypothesis. Nevertheless, comparative data and typologically related phenomena support the argument that a two-clause structure with a series of *if*-conjunctions emerged first. The lack of examples in the written Old Russian sources cannot rule out the use of such constructions in the spoken language.

2. Most probably such syntactic doubling was, in fact, in use in the Old Russian (as well as in the other ancient Balto-Slavic languages) and from there it has been borrowed into the Finnish language (and into some other Finno-Ugric languages).

3. Both reduced phrasemes (*X TAK X!* and *...X TAK X*) were derived from the full variant by means of deleting elements. Since the two different branches of VP were subject to deletion they could not have been connected from the

point of view of syntactic derivations. In the Russian written sources both appeared in the beginning of the 18th century. Nevertheless, one cannot claim that there are derivational relations between the three constructions in the modern Russian language, neither in terms of the transformational derivation, nor in terms of elliptical representation of the full deep structure on the surface level.

4. With respect to the semantic component of the language, it seems possible to claim that there is no semantic invariant, to which the phrasemes in question might be reduced. Also, it is impossible to claim that they are an instance manifestation of pure homonymy and that they are absolutely independent from each other. Rather, to put it in Lakoff's terms (1987), the constructions combined into *a radial structure* that is represented in *a central category* of full structure and two *non-central extensions* of the reduced phrasemes (which are further divided in their turn).

5. One can argue that the peripheral location of both *X TAK X* was the very reason for their having been coined into separate units. Generally speaking, a peripheral transformation (such as, for example, with an ellipsis) can generate a surface structure that may be as far from the prototypical mani-festation, as another surface unit, generated by means of another set of rules. In certain circumstances the process leads to the appearance of new phrasemes in the Dictionary that can later be generalized as a new rule in the Grammar. Thus, the following p r i n c i p l e o f t h e i d i o m a t i z a t i o n can be formulated: a non-central realization of a deep structure can be coined into a phraseme; the more frequent and invariable the phraseme is, the more lexical it is; the more infrequent and variable, the more syntactic it is.

6. A further question concerns the theoretical approach on which the present paper is based. In an attempt to establish a set of doublings in a modern language, one may stay within a framework of the strongly synchronic and semantically oriented investigations, and try to explain all features relying upon the current state of language, and first of all – its semantic component. Such an approach is widespread in the modern syntactic investigations, and it, no doubt, has its advantage. But in some cases it seems to be rather difficult to find the correct explanation outside of historical and comparative perspectives, that are, in fact, more attentive to structure. The case of the Russian *X TAK X* constructions shows that the diachronic approach has indisputable advantages for the present investigation as well as for such investigations, that aim to explain the synchronic state of language.

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