

# Causal constructions with the adverbial subordinator of manner: evidence from the history of Russian<sup>1</sup>

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The Modern Russian manner question word and subordinator *kak* can be used as part of a complex with the adverb *tak* 'so' to introduce causal clauses (1). Another construction demonstrating causal meaning is that of small clauses of role like in (2). Although it is known that *tak kak* is an innovation and that *kak* itself could have causal meaning in Old Russian (Lomtev 1956; Bulakhovskij 1958), the evolution of causal uses of *kak* has not been covered in detail. This work aims at filling this gap.

This study is based on the analysis of manuscripts starting from the first available documents of the 11<sup>th</sup> century up to the 15<sup>th</sup> century and on randomized queries from the Russian National Corpus (RNC) starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. We identify four causal constructions with *kak* (the Old Russian *kako*, *kakъ*):

1. Constructions with the fossilized complex subordinator *tak kak* + finite subordinate clause.
2. Constructions with *kak* + finite subordinate clause and a correlate in the matrix clause (*to*, rarer: *tak*, *po smu*).
3. Constructions with *kak* + finite subordinate clause and without any correlate in the matrix clause.
4. Small clause constructions with a role function (in terms of Fortescue 2010)

We provide the exact frequencies of these constructions in our samples. In order to identify the stages of evolution of the constructions in question we counted the frequency of various uses of *kako*, following the methodology proposed in Hilpert and Gries (2009); Diessel and Hilpert (2016).

We show that the first causal constructions attested in Old Russian were the finite clause constructions with and without a correlate in the matrix clause (type 2 and 3, *tak* being one of the possible correlates); both of them were completely lost in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The role construction (2) in Old Russian was introduced by another functional word, *aky/aki* 'like'. *Kako* expanded onto these contexts in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and specifically in official texts. The construction with fossilized *tak kak* spread towards the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Both the types 1 and 4 are largely used in the modern language.

Therefore, the syntax of causal constructions with *kak*, *kako*, *kakъ* changed as follows:

11 <sup>th</sup> –16 <sup>th</sup> centuries	18 <sup>th</sup> century	19, 20 <sup>th</sup> centuries
finite clauses only	finite clauses, small clauses	finite clauses, small clauses

In conclusion, *kako/kakъ* could have the causal meaning in the earliest documented time period (constructions 2 and 3). One of the correlates, *tak*, fossilized in a complex with *kak* evolving into a complex subordinator, while the original constructions (with a free position of the correlate or without the correlate) were lost. The gradual expansion of *kako* onto small clauses of comparison favoured the rise of the construction 4 with role/causal meaning.

- (1) *Так как масса бруска пропорциональна его объёму, то масса его уменьшится в 2 раза.*  
'As the mass of the bar is proportional to its volume, its mass will be reduced to half its value.'
- (2) *Солдатские жены... стали просить его, как грамотея, писать за них письма к родственникам.* [RNC]  
'The soldiers' wives began asking him, as a literate person, to write letters to their relatives.'
- (3) *...если б они говорили о чем-нибудь серьезном и задушевном, то прибегли бы к русскому языку, но как подобных разговоров здесь не ведется, то обходятся посредством французского.* [RNC]  
'If they had been talking about something serious and intimate, they would speak Russian, but as such conversations are rare here, then they used French.'

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(4) *Великий князь поднял его, посадил в кресла, и **как** в нем были еще знаки жизни, приказал бережно отнести домой, в квартиру его в I-й линии.* [RNC]

‘The Great Prince raised him, put him into an armchair and, **as** he was still alive, ordered to carry him home with care, into his flat on the 1<sup>st</sup> line.’

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