

UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID
FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA



TESIS DOCTORAL

**Liheci in Chinese and Indo-European languages: a
comparative analysis of Chinese, English and Russian**

**Los liheci chinos e indoeuropeos: un análisis comparativo de
chino, inglés y ruso**

MEMORIA PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE DOCTOR

PRESENTADA POR

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Director

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Madrid

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To James Lamond

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Abstract

The present paper titled “Liheci in Chinese and Indo-European languages: a comparative analysis of Chinese, English and Russian” investigates the category of *liheci* in the Chinese language and compares it with similar categories in the two named Indo-European languages.

Liheci are semantically indivisible combinations of a verb and a noun with a joint verbal meaning and are a highly disputed phenomenon in Chinese which is often confused with simple verbs or presented as one of their subtypes.

In Western literature, as well as in Chinese works for learners of Chinese as a foreign or second language, *liheci* are often not presented. They are normally not introduced in textbooks for foreign students published in China as well as in Russia and most Western countries. They are almost never discussed in Russian-language research papers as well as on the Russian-speaking Internet. Although there are more resources and research papers written in English, they are still relatively few and they also vary in terminology. They are rarely taught and explained to Chinese L2 learners and, although various research papers dedicated to them can be found in Chinese linguistics, there is still no consensus about many key points, such as if they are words or word combinations, a separate part of speech or a type of verb, what are the bases for their definition and limitation, and many others.

Liheci are widely believed to be a unique phenomenon in the Chinese language which does not exist in other languages. However, this is not true. In many languages linguists study constructions very similar in structure and function to *liheci*. In some research, verb+noun semantically indivisible combinations (VN) are called world universalities.

In this paper, we discuss the most prominent issues related to Chinese *liheci*, compare them with verbs in Chinese and with analogous structures in English and Russian and do case studies for fifty frequently used samples.

The main hypothesis of this work is that *liheci* exist in other languages apart from Chinese and they can be studied and taught contrastively, which was proven along the present investigation. The main aim of this research is to present a comparison of *liheci* in the modern Chinese language and analogous structures in Russian and English that represent Indo-European languages. This can give way to further research as for Russian and English there exist various papers that compare these structures with those in other languages of the same family.

This paper is divided into three main parts: the definition and limitation of the phenomenon in the chosen languages as well as a resolution to some disputed aspects of *liheci*; a comparative analysis of this phenomenon and verbs in the three mentioned languages; an inter-linguistic analysis that includes a case study of fifty frequently used samples.

In this paper, we have concluded that *liheci* are words that form a separate part of speech in modern Chinese. However, the category of *liheci* is not homogeneous and there can be observed at least four basic subtypes (adhesive, highly adhesive, semantic and proto-*liheci*).

Basing on this, we have elaborated two rules in order to exclude similar structures that are not *liheci*. Different formulations of the first one can be found in various investigations of Chinese authors, but the second one is unique and compliments the first one.

We also observed that in all the three mentioned languages these structures proved to behave in a very similar way: they consist of a verb and a noun (or a noun-like element) which is the verbal patient/object; a V+N presents one joint verbal meaning; if fully separated they lose their meaning; we can place additional words between the verb and the noun; they can be separated in a sentence (e.g., for grammatical reasons). Without context which applies its restrictions, many *liheci* can be appropriately translated through synonymous VN in English and Russian. As well as in Chinese, in English and Russian, two languages in which words function independently, the main underlying principle of VN combinations is adhesivity. This adhesivity may vary in quality as in Chinese it is applied to characters which cannot be independent words, but it is basically identical.

However, *liheci* and the analagous structures in English and Russian are not completely identical. Mainly we compared *liheci* with delexical verbs in Chinese and the category of OGIO in Russian but due to several factors the comparison is not limited to these two phenomena only. We concluded that in Chinese, two morphemes unite in one splittable (proto-)word while in English and Russian two words unite in a supraword structure. This difference is the root cause of the discrepancies between *liheci* and their counterparts in other languages, but not the only one. In Chinese, *liheci* is not only a type of structure/word, but a whole principle which may be found in other joint-split combinations. Unlike Russian and English, the majority of *liheci* are not connected with correlated verbs and often denote verbal notions which are not denoted by any simple verb because *liheci* are often wrongly classified as a type of verb. It is also worth mentioning that Chinese *liheci* can be considered a type of word and a part of speech, but not in English and Russian VN.

This work has real world applications in both the teaching/studying process and in future research in the field.

Key words: liheci, OGIO, delexical verbs, delexical structures, descriptive predicates, 离合词, OGIO

Resumen

La presente investigación titulada “Los *liheci* chinos e indoeuropeos: un análisis comparativo de chino, inglés y ruso” estudia la categoría de *liheci* en la lengua china moderna y las estructuras parecidas a ella en los idiomas indoeuropeos mencionados.

Los *liheci* son unas construcciones disilábicas usadas en el chino moderno, que están compuestas por dos elementos (uno que funciona como un verbo y otro que funciona como un sustantivo) y presentan un significado conjunto como si fueran una sola palabra; pero pueden aparecer separados en algunas oraciones funcionando como dos elementos morfológicos diferentes, conservando, al mismo tiempo, su integridad semántica.

Estas estructuras son bastante numerosas en el chino moderno, pero tanto en la literatura occidental, como en la literatura china para extranjeros, los *liheci* se encuentran en un segundo plano o directamente se omiten. No se tratan en los libros para estudiantes extranjeros publicados tanto en China, como en Rusia y en países europeos. Casi no se habla de *liheci* en los artículos de investigación en lengua rusa ni en las páginas de Internet en ruso. Los recursos y los artículos de investigación en inglés sobre este tema son más numerosos, pero todavía muy escasos, y además varían en terminología. Los autores chinos han estado investigando los *liheci* durante mucho tiempo, pero, por obvias razones de idioma, no todas sus investigaciones están al alcance de los lectores occidentales e incluso en sus materiales esa categoría se convierte a menudo en un objeto de disputa. Algunos estudios tienden a ver los *liheci* como palabras, mientras que otros afirman que son combinaciones de palabras, a veces atribuyéndoles significados idiomáticos. También están clasificados de maneras diferentes; y hay descripciones variadas de lo que se puede poner entre verbo y sustantivo. No hay ningún consenso sobre si son una parte del discurso o no, ni tampoco sobre qué se incluye en la categoría de los *liheci*, cómo se define y cómo se limita este fenómeno.

Los *liheci* se consideran un fenómeno que únicamente existe en el chino y no se encuentra en ningún otro idioma, pero no es absolutamente correcto. En muchos idiomas ha existido durante siglos una combinación de verbo y sustantivo muy parecida, aunque no completamente idéntica. Comprender los *liheci* chinos a través de una comparación con esas estructuras en otros idiomas puede ser significativamente menos complicado tanto para los investigadores como para los profesores y estudiantes.

El objetivo general de esta investigación es presentar una comparación de los *liheci* en el chino moderno y estructuras análogas en ruso e inglés que representan las lenguas indoeuropeas y para los cuales existen varias investigaciones que comparen este fenómeno en ellos y otros idiomas de la misma y otras familias.

Esta investigación se compone de 3 partes principales: definición y limitación del fenómeno en los idiomas elegidos para análisis y resolución de ciertas disputas sobre ello; un análisis comparativo de este fenómeno y los verbos en las lenguas mencionadas; un análisis comparativo inter-lingüístico de los *liheci* con un estudio práctico de 50 frecuentemente usados de ellos.

En este trabajo se defiende el punto de vista que los *liheci* son palabras y forman una parte del discurso separado de los verbos. Se estudian también los subtipos de los *liheci* ya que no es un grupo homogéneo y existen por lo menos cuatro subtipos básicos: los *liheci* completamente adhesivos, los *liheci* muy adhesivos, los *proto-liheci*, los *liheci* semánticos. Esta división no es exhaustiva pero forma la base necesaria para separar los *liheci* de otros fenómenos similares.

En relación a esto se proponen dos reglas para excluir las estructuras parecidas que no son *liheci*, una de las cuales en formulas diferentes se puede encontrar en varias investigaciones en la lengua china y la otra es única: para los *liheci* en el chino moderno, a nivel de su estructura exterior, el significado conjunto no es equivalente a la suma de los significados de cada parte; y en los casos cuando es equivalente, es una combinación de palabras, no *liheci*, salvo si por lo menos uno de sus elementos muestra la adherencia indiscutible o la adherencia semántica basada en la polisemia que llega a la estructura exterior más amplia o más abstracta que la suma de los elementos.

Este trabajo va centrado en el chino, pero, para evitar comparaciones superficiales que puedan generar errores, se estudian también a nivel bastante detallado las estructuras correspondientes en ruso e inglés según los mismos criterios que se usan para estudiar los *liheci*. En ambos idiomas siguen siendo bastante debatibles y presentan varias cuestiones aún no resueltas. En este trabajo se muestran algunos de esos temas pero, por lo general, este discurso va limitado a las necesidades de la comparación de los *liheci*. Como el objeto principal son los *liheci*, su estructura y su comportamiento, en ciertos casos se hace una comparación dual: *liheci*-verbos y *liheci*-estructuras deléxicas y ciertos temas en inglés y ruso se omiten.

El idioma español, aunque no se estudia en la presente investigación, también dispone de unas estructuras parecidas. En los trabajos de investigación los verbos de estas estructuras se suelen llamar “los verbos de apoyo” en el contraste con los verbos “ordinarios” que se llaman “plenos”.

A través de la comparación dual en este trabajo se muestra que los *liheci* no son únicos en el chino, sino forman parte de un fenómeno universal presente en muchos idiomas. La clara existencia de discrepancias y similitudes entre los *liheci* y sus análogos en otros idiomas no solo permite estudiarlos sino también enseñarlos de manera contrastiva que facilita el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje de los *liheci*. A pesar de que este trabajo no busca proponer metodologías educativas, este proyecto no solo tiene utilidad teórica, sino también se puede usar como base en el

ámbito de la enseñanza de chino como LE y para otros fines didácticos, además proporcionaría una base fundamental para futuras investigaciones en este campo.

Palabras clave: liheci, OGIO, delexical verbs, delexical structures, descriptive predicates, 离合词, OGIO

Abbreviations

AB - a construction of two elements where A is the first element and B is the second element

Adh. - adhesive (for a word or a morpheme)

BNC - British National Corpus

CCL - a corpus of the Chinese language

D+M - chin. [*dongci* + *mingci*], a verb and a noun

DS - (a) delexical structure(s)

DV - (a) delexical verb

Ind. - independent (for a word or a morpheme)

IPA - the international phonetic alphabet

IS - the inner structure of a *liheci* or VN

L2 - (a) second studied (foreign) language(s)

M - (a) meaning(s)

N - the second element(s) of (a) VN

OGIO - rus. [*Opisatel'niy Glagol'no-Imennoy Oborot*], (a) descriptive verbal-nominal figure(s) of speech

OS - the outer structure of a *liheci* or VN

PE - phraseological elements

SA - semantic adhesion

Semi/ind. - semi-independent (for a word or a morpheme)

V - the first element(s) of (a) VN

VN - (a) semantically unsplittable combination(s) of a verb and a noun that present(s) one joint verbal meaning

VN-L - VN of *liheci*-type (as defined in this research)

0-. Introduction

Liheci 离合词 is a dual¹ construction in the Chinese language comprising of a verb and a noun² (or another element functioning as a noun) that express a joint meaning as if they were a single word but can be separated in a sentence and function as as two different morphological elements but preserving their semantic integrity.

The term *liheci* was introduced in Chinese linguistics for the first time in 1957 by Lu Zhiwei³ (陆志韦) who initially did not use it for the verb-noun structure⁴. However, the phenomenon itself had been noticed even earlier. In 1940, Chinese writer Chen Wangdao (陈望道) wrote about it in his work “A retrospective and prospective view on the moving Chinese language fate”. He spoke about such words as *shengqi* 生气 (to be angry) and *shangdang* 上当 (to be fooled)⁵ which accept some other elements inside.

There is a large number of them in Chinese. Even someone with only a basic knowledge of the language can be expected to already be familiar with a long list of them (although without realizing that they do not operate with verbs but rather with *liheci*). Among those examples one can name *bangmang* 帮忙 (to help), *lifa* 理发 (to cut hair), *chouyan* 抽烟 and *xiyan* 吸烟 (to smoke), *xizao* 洗澡 (to take shower), *shuijiao* 睡觉 (to sleep), *tiaowu* 跳舞 (to dance), and many others.

In Western literature, as well as in Chinese works for learners of Chinese as a foreign or second language, *liheci* are often not presented. They are normally not introduced in textbooks for foreign students published in China (a typical example may be *Hanyu Jiaocheng* of Beijing University press, where in the lists of “new words” they indicate all parts of speech apart from *liheci*) as well as in Russia and most Western countries. They are almost never discussed in Russian-language research papers as well as on the Russian-speaking Internet. Although there are more resources and research papers written in English, they are still relatively few and they also

¹ Normally disyllabic, very rarely polysyllabic.

² In this particular work, because definitions and classifications vary. We will explore both further.

³ 陆志韦 (1894-1970), a Chinese linguist and psychologist.

⁴ He spoke about 4 different types of *liheci*: *pianzhengshide* 偏正式的 (having a subordinate relationship, like that in *yangrou* 羊肉 (mutton)), *dongbingshide* 动兵式的 (a verb-object relationship, like that in *xizao* 洗澡), *dongjieshide* 动结式的 (a verb-complement structure, like that in *dadao* 达到 (to reach)) and *dongqushide* 动趋式的 (a verb-directional complement structure, like *zouchulai* 走出来 (to go out)). See further.

⁵ Here and hereafter the translation in brackets will only be given when a character appears in this work for the first time.

vary in terminology (“separable words”, “separable verbs”, “splittable compounds”, “Chinese sketch words”, “detachable verbs” and other terms have been used to define *liheci* in English). The amount of research by Western authors in English is still not numerous and different aspects of their work can be put into question. For example, one may find articles such as “Word sketches of separable words *liheci* in Chinese” by Mateja Petrovcic (2016) which starts with defining *liheci* as a type of verb, which is highly disputable.

Overall, the position of *liheci* in the West can be characterised with the words of Helena Casas-Tost and Sara Rovira-Esteva (2014: 31):

“We should not be surprised to find that the application of inadequate, alien models to Chinese has given rise to paradoxes. For example, some descriptive grammars of Chinese exclude grammatical categories because they are absent from (or rare in) European languages. Thus, specific proposals for Chinese resulting from the implementation of the CEFR without the necessary adjustments completely distort certain categories or linguistic phenomena”.

Chinese authors have been investigating *liheci* for a long time, but, mainly due to the lack of translations, their research is not always available for Western readers. Among those papers written by Chinese speakers in English, that of Jiajin Xu and Xiaochen Li (2014) presents a particular interest. They make a comparison between *liheci* in Chinese and their English equivalents. Another one is a work by Ye Weilan (2006) who gives an overview of the previous investigations in the field and presents his own points of view. His work, that is abundantly cited below, demonstrates many key aspects of *liheci*.

Nevertheless, even in Chinese academia this category often becomes an object of dispute. Some scholars tend to see *liheci* as words while others claim them to be word combinations (word phrases/collocations) sometimes attributing idiomatic meanings to them. They are classified differently as well; there are varying descriptions of what can be inserted between their parts etc. Some linguists see them as a type of verb, while others as a separate part of speech. They also include a different number of sub-types within *liheci*.

There also exists a popular opinion that *liheci* are a unique Chinese phenomenon that do not exist in other languages and, thus, cannot be clearly explained to foreign students. However, this is not true: *liheci* do have counterparts in other languages and it is worthwhile to teach and study them through contrast and comparison. Still, among research papers, finding a comprehensive comparative analysis between this phenomenon in Chinese and other languages can be an even more arduous task.

At the same time understanding *liheci* may be not so complicated if they are presented in comparison. This comparative approach may include two steps:

1. Comparing *liheci* and verbs. Without going into further detail, on the basic examples of various sentences we can give a principle comparison of the different ways in which they function;
2. Comparing *liheci* with analogous phenomena in Indo-European languages. This may not be self-evident at first sight but Western languages, such as Russian, English and Spanish (representing accordingly the Slavic, Germanic and Romance branches, which allows us to suppose that for other languages of these branches) have similar structures that can be understood as Indo-European equivalents of *liheci*.

One of the examples of this could be said to be *bangmang* 帮忙 which can be contrasted with a verb with the correlated meaning (*bangzhu* 帮助). We see the same pair in English: “to give help” – “to help”. It can also be found in Russian: *okazat' pomosch* оказать помощь (to fulfil/provide (?) help) – *pomoch'* помочь (to help). Similarly, in Spanish: *proporcionar ayuda* – *ayudar*. Another example in Spanish is “dar un grito” and “gritar”, both having the same verbal meaning while only one of the two words is actually a verb.

We can also connect those steps, explaining that, for instance, in Chinese an attribute would normally be placed between the parts of *liheci*⁶ (e.g. *bangdamang* 帮大忙 (to help a lot)), which can also be done in English “to give significant help” etc.

Understanding *liheci* through this “double-step” comparison may be fundamental. However, to what extent can we find similarities and discrepancies between Chinese *liheci* and their counterparts in Indo-European languages? Providing even a basic comparison to facilitate understanding may raise a series of questions which require deeper analysis.

Among those:

1. Is it always possible to find a correlated single verb with the same meaning a *liheci* has?
2. Do a *liheci* and its correlated verb always perform the same role in the sentence?
3. Is there any semantic or stylistic difference between a *liheci* and its correlated verb?

Approaching it with a basic understanding of linguistics, we can presuppose that two absolutely functionally identical forms do not occur in languages, then, we can ask broader

⁶ This is the general rule, but there are some exceptions (see Chapter 2).

questions by adding “to what extent...” those things are (im)possible. Another series of questions arises when comparing Chinese and Indo-European languages. For example:

1. If in Russian “*liheci*” the verb mainly preserves its grammar function (weakening or losing its meaning) while the noun maintains its meaning, will the same be true for Chinese as well?
2. In Chinese, verbs originally possessed different functions (active, passive, causative and reflexive) simultaneously. For example, in *wenyan* (traditional written Chinese) *yin* 饮 (to drink) can also mean “to give someone (something) to drink”, “to be given something to drink” and “to give enough drink to oneself / to drink enough by oneself”. Yet, this is sometimes true for some other verbs. However, in Russian these meanings are typically conveyed by different verbs or different forms of the same verb /verbal root. Some of those verbs may have synonymous “*liheci*” while others may not. For instance, “to impose a punishment (on someone)” is “to punish” but “to have a punishment imposed” (which is represented by the same verb in Russian but in the reflexive form)⁷ is not. Then, is this difference obvious in Chinese as well?
3. In Russian, one verb can sometimes be replaced by several V+N combinations (for example, “to help” can be split into *okazat’ pomosch*⁸ оказать помощь (to give help) and *predostavit’ pomosch* предоставить помощь (to provide help)) that differ only in the verb preserving the same noun component and have synonymous meanings which, however, may have stylistic differences in varying contexts. Then, is it possible to replace one “*liheci*” with several verbs? Is this true in Chinese as well?
4. In Russian a V+N combination may have more usages, for instance, it can be separated by adding attributives while a single verb is much more limited. Will this be true in Chinese too? And many others.

The very idea of comparing Chinese *liheci* and their European counterparts is not completely new. In 1993 Gao Shugui (高书贵) proposed a way to teach *liheci* through a comparison with English. One of the examples he gave was translating *you* 游 and *youyong* 游泳 as “to swim” and “to have a swim”, correspondingly. In 1996 Li Bingsheng (离炳生) said that it was crucial to teach the rules of *li* 离 and *he* 合 (splitting up and uniting), which would clearly demonstrate their difference from regular verbs. However, an overall, comprehensive comparison with languages from different branches of the Indo-European family has not yet been presented. Providing a correct

⁷ Подвергнуть наказанию – подвергнуться наказанию – наказать.

⁸ In this work, I use a simple transliteration, not the IPA, for Russian words.

comparison is an issue of paramount importance while becoming familiar with the similarities between those phenomena in Chinese and Indo-European languages students may fall back on the grammar of their native languages, which may cause difficulties for them in Chinese.

In the Russian language “*liheci*” have existed for centuries and have attracted the attention of many researchers. Russian philologists and linguists such as Balli, Shanskiy, Prokopovich, Kozmenko, Donets, Mordvilko, Lekant and many others contributed to the study of *liheci*. For the first time in Russian linguistics they were brought to attention by the famous Russian researcher M. Lomonosov in the XVIII century⁹. In spite of abundant research conducted since then the status of this sort of word combination in the Russian language has not fully been defined and a consensus on how to understand them has not been reached yet.

An initial issue is that different linguists tend to employ various terms describing these language units. Some of them use “verbal paraphrases” to describe this phenomenon; others call them “verbal-nominal syntactic constructions”. Furthermore, a group of scholars use the term introduced in 1967 by P. Lekant calling them by the abbreviation “OGIO” (ОГИО, a descriptive verbal-nominal figure of speech). Some other terms such as “verbal-nominal phraseological phrases”, “verbal descriptive expressions” and others are also in use. Lekant, whose name is probably referred to in research papers most often, defined them as “a syntactic construction based on an unfree usage of a ghost-verb (a verb deprived of its real definitive value) which is semantically indivisible, possessing all the categorial and formal attributes of a verb (the meaning of a process, the forms of conjugation and type) and performing the role of a simple verbal predicate in the sentence”. However, there is no final agreement on the terminology yet and these combinations are often mixed with others (such as non-predicative combinations like “*poyavilos’ predpolozheniye*” появилось предположение (there appeared a suggestion)) which, in my opinion, are totally different.

Secondly, their role in the language remains disputable. Derzhavin (1931) described them as a step on the way from synthetic to analytical forms. In addition, they are often seen as a type of phraseological units of a lower degree than idioms (which may be rational as they: 1. Present a joint indivisible meaning; 2. Have a stable componential content; 3. Are used in their actual form; 4. Have constant syntax functions); but this opinion is not universally held, and many linguists such as Popov and Molotkov disagree with the idea of seeing OGIO as a subtype of phraseological units describing them as simple word collocations where each part preserves its separate word characteristics. In some more modern texts these expressions are often analysed as belonging to the official speech style (a higher register of speech).

⁹ The general V+N construction took shape in Russian by the XI century (Laguzova, 2003).

There is no agreement on the relationship between these collocations and verbs of the same root and many other questions in this field.

In the Russian language, OGIO are formed on the basis of approximately 100 varying models (Laguzova, 2014) of several types and performing a series of different semantic roles.

In English, we observe a large group of compound verbs (complex predicates) that consist of two words functioning as one and include phrasal (prepositional) verbs like “to give up” and verb phrases (lexical verbs complemented by auxiliaries). Despite behaving similarly to *liheci* (presenting one shared meaning, consisting of two different words, being able to be split by other words), they will not be examined in this paper as they do not form a “verb plus noun” structure as *liheci* do. However, in Germanic languages such as English, German and Dutch those structures are called “separable verbs”, the term which is sometimes used for the English translation of the term *liheci* and, thus, can create further misunderstandings. In this paper I will mainly focus on “a verb + a nominal object” structures in English that present one joint meaning and may often have a synonymous verb among which we will mainly see delexical verb collocations / delexical structures (such as “to make a decision” – “to decide” and others with make, have, take, give, go, do and some other less frequent delexical verbs).

In the languages mentioned above these structures behave in very similar ways:

1. They consist of a verb and a noun (or a noun-like element) which is the verbal patient/object;
2. A V+N presents one joint verbal meaning;
3. If fully separated they lose their meaning (for instance, Chinese *sheng* 生 (to bear, to be born) without *qi* 气 (a steam) does not mean “to be/get angry”, as well as in English “to give” does not mean “to help”);
4. We can place additional words between the verb and the noun;
5. They can be separated in a sentence (e.g., for grammatical reasons).

However, they cannot be completely identical. While in Chinese we can say *bang ta mang* 帮他忙 (to help him), in Russian this structure would demand a dative case (analogous to the *gei* (给)-structure in Chinese) of the pronoun, in English, if we use the lexical verb “to provide” instead of the delexical “to give”, it would be possible to say “to provide *him with* help” while “to give him help” does not require any prepositions. Spanish would utilize “le” instead of “el”. More discrepancies can be found.

Unfortunately, we will have to face some particular obstacles in the course of this comparison, for example:

1. Exploring a highly disputed and under-studied area in all three languages we may often come to several, contradictory potential conclusions and, if we choose only one, we may face a growing degree of scientific error;
2. We will have to deal with the fact that the Chinese language is not homogeneous and may vary drastically in different regions and between different social groups in China. We will also face a large discrepancy between its spoken forms and its modern written widely spread version *putonghua* which is not universally accepted yet. Similarly, in English we will not limit ourself to a single variety of English;
3. We will have to deal with the fact that the corpus for the Chinese language principally reflects written speech rather a broad representation of modern spoken Chinese and that therefore any conclusions we derive from it may not be equally applicable to spoken Chinese; And many other issues.

It is also worth pointing out that in this work it will not be possible to study all aspects of *liheci* but that, at the same time, those aspects are not the most important topics for this particular research. There are many questions that should be studied in detail to gain a better understanding and a complete and comprehensive comparison of *liheci*, such as the questions of diachrony, the history of the development of *liheci*, the psycholinguistic aspect of their appearance in the language, their evolution, a detailed analysis of the (quality of) morphemes that *liheci* consist of, different possible bases for grouping *liheci* into sub-types, the direction of their development, etc.

In this research, within its real limitations, I will mainly deal with the synchrony of *liheci* in present-day *Putonghua*. First of all, I aim to show that (1) Chinese *liheci* are not a unique phenomenon and that their equivalents can be found in other languages; (2) that the overall principle of their underlying structure is similar in different languages and that (3) there will always be differences which we should consider when looking at *liheci* in any other language.

At the same time, as we shall see, *liheci* are best studied at two levels – from the point of their inner structure IS (between the verb and the noun) and from the point of their outer structure OS (as a whole unit). In this work we will mainly concentrate on the OS, studying *liheci* as a final product without going deep into the details of their inner formation.

The main **hypothesis** of my work is that *liheci* exist in other languages apart from Chinese and they can be studied and taught contrastively.

In fact, studying *liheci* (or VN – see further) as an interlinguistic phenomenon may help to elucidate some issues related to *liheci* in each particular language, e.g. the Chinese concept of adhesion can help to distinguish between this category and other similar phenomena in Russian and other Indo-European languages, etc.

The **general aim** of my research is to provide an overall comparison of *liheci* in Chinese and analogous structures in Indo-European languages. In order to achieve this, I will:

1. Define the list of *liheci*¹⁰ in Chinese to show their main features and at the same time what would be useful for students of Chinese L2;
2. Analyse the differences between *liheci* and the correlated verbs;
3. Find corresponding pairs of verbs and verb-noun combinations in the chosen Indo-European languages and conduct the same type of analysis of the Chinese language, as well as look at those VN combinations which are frequently used in those languages;
4. Compare Chinese *liheci* and the corresponding structures in the Indo-European languages through a number of criteria including those named above.

Throughout the work I will also provide a list of possible questions which cannot be sufficiently explored within this thesis but which should be explored in further, more detailed analyses.

I would like to ensure my work has real world applications, first of all, in the teaching/studying process and to resolve those difficulties and misunderstandings which teachers may have when introducing *liheci* to their students and students when learning them.

A brief note on methodology, bibliography and the content

Various methods are to be used in this work, such as descriptive methods (these will be especially useful for the 1st chapter where *liheci* are to be defined and limited), the methods of corpus linguistics (in particular in creating lists of the *liheci* to analyse and studying their interaction with other words), comparison, analysis and synthesis.

To complement this work with statistical data from native speakers and L2 learners I designed three polls devoted to *liheci* in Chinese, Russian and English. Based on the findings and principle

¹⁰ As was previously mentioned, there can be major discrepancies in Chinese depending on register, location, etc., thus, it may appear impossible to create an absolute frequency list of *liheci*. However, in the corresponding chapter we will define some criteria for the list which will be more aligned with our overall aim.

conclusions made in this work I include a brief methodological description of a contrastive way of *liheci* can be taught in the appendix.

In this work I primarily pay attention to grammar and syntax, and to a lesser extent – to semantics and stylistics.

The bibliography of this work mainly includes research papers in native languages, grammar reference books, student books and vocabulary lists. Apart from that several corpora were used in this work.

This work comprises of three chapters. In the first one, *liheci* are defined and limited and the lists of samples to analyse are created. In the second chapter, *liheci* are compared with verbs. The third chapter is devoted to a cross-linguistic comparison.

This project is not only theoretically valuable but also can be used in the scope of teaching Chinese as a second language and other practical spheres; it also provides a fundamental basis for further investigations in the field.

CHAPTER I. THE DEFINITION AND LIMITATIONS OF LIHECI

1.1-. The definition and limitations of *liheci* in Chinese

1.1.1. Terminology and related questions

1.1.1.1 The main commonly used terms

The term *liheci* was introduced for the first time in 1957 by Lu in his research about Chinese morphology in which he used the term to refer not only to verbal collocations but to words which were produced from two separate words in a larger sense, including nouns and other parts of speech¹¹. However, the current use of the term can be better described by the definition given in 2014 by Jiajin Xu and Xiaocheng Li in their article about *splittable compounds*. They characterized them as “a rather productive type of disyllabic verbal construction in Chinese, whose two morphological elements can be used together or separated by other interposing elements while the semantic integrity remains”. At the same time, the first (verbal) part of *liheci* is called “splittable compound head” in their work and the second one “splittable compound tail”.

Nevertheless, *splittable compounds* is far from being the only term used to describe the phenomenon. In English-language research this concept has many different names. We can find the following: line words (Ye, 2006)¹², separable words, separable verbs, Chinese sketch words, detachable verbs, and others.

Among those terms, “*separable words*” seems to be the most appropriate one. Firstly, it is close enough to the original Chinese term in which “*lihe*” means separated-joint and “*ci*” means a word. Secondly, it appears to be the most neutral one, as, for example, “separable verbs” is questionable as we do not really know if they are verbs or not, although, in some Chinese works they use this term, too (*lihe dongci* 离合动词 (split-united verbs))¹³, while “sketch words” and “line

¹¹ See the 4 types above.

¹² This research work is notable as in the first chapter the author names all main Chinese researchers who contributed to the topic and investigation lines concerning *liheci* and summarizes their main ideas.

¹³ It is highly disputable whether this phenomenon and verbs can be equated. For the same reason, I would omit the terms “detachable verbs” and “separable verbs”.

words” are simply rather unclear, at least for the wider public. These types of term may provoke debates. Arguably, “separable words” can also be questioned, as there is no consensus over accepting *liheci* as words *ci* 词 or word combinations (collocations)/phrases *cizu/duanyu* 词组/ 短语¹⁴ but at this point we can refer to the direct translation of the Chinese term itself.

1.1.1.2. The term “compound”

Speaking about the particular term “compounds”¹⁵, in the case of the Chinese language it can be rather ambiguous. Modern Chinese, unlike Classical Chinese together with written *wenyan*, tends to form di- (and sometimes poly-) syllabic words a number of ways¹⁶. Thus, different scientists call modern Chinese “a language of compound words”. Many originally monosyllabic words became disyllabic through compounding. In history, compounds were used for translation of foreign texts, e.g. Buddhist terms. Despite still mainly differentiating compounds from disyllabic words, the term “compound” is often used to mean something close to the original meaning Lu (1957) attributed to the first type of *liheci*. *Liheci* function within a complex combination of “a character”, “a morpheme”, “a word” and “a compound (word)”. Subsequently, this may produce misunderstandings in terminology.

1.1.1.3. The difference between *liheci* and verbs with empty objects

In Russian-language linguistic research, the Russian transliteration *лихэцы* is normally used. However, verbs with the so-called “empty objects”¹⁷ (*pustyye dopolneniya* ПУСТЫЕ ДОПОЛНЕНИЯ) are often included in this group. For example, *chifan* 吃饭¹⁸ which literally means “to eat food” and “food” is the “empty” (having no semantic significance) object which is not translated but is added for grammatical or other reasons, such as disyllabification and other factors which will not to be discussed in this work. These factors lead to the conclusion that some simple verbs, such as *chi* 吃 (to eat) start adding objects which do not present any real semantic value and, thus, can be

¹⁴ This is a point of debate. Some scientists such as Zhang, Zhao Shuhua (1996) consider them to be words. The researchers say “离合词是词，不是短语，但它又可以扩展，不同于一般的词，而是一种比较特殊的词” and “一种特殊的，可以具有两种不同形态的词”，meaning “*Liheci* are a single word, not a phrase, but they can be split up. Unlike an ordinary word, it is rather a special type of word” and “it is a special phenomenon which can include two words of different categories”.

¹⁵ See more about the difficulties of using this term in G. F. Arcodia (2012: p. 95-96).

¹⁶ Such as juxtaposition, modification, different combinations, affixation, reduplication, complementation, etc.

¹⁷ This should be differentiated from cognate objects (see Chapter 2), although the idea of differentiating a verb+*a* cognate object from *liheci* would be the same.

¹⁸ This can be seen as an example of dissyllabization through combination.

confused with *liheci*. If *chifan* 吃饭 (to eat) can be literally translated as “to eat food”, “food” in this case does not convey any necessary meaning as it is quite obvious that what is eaten is food, but it is added according to linguistic convention. This group is often described as a word-object phrase (in Chinese, *duanyu* 短语). Some researchers¹⁹ see this type of word as another sub-group of *liheci* (or alternatively *liheci* as a sub-group of it). In some languages “empty” objects play a morphosyntactic role and may be obligatory in various situations. I consider conflating *liheci* and verbs with empty objects incorrect for several reasons:

1. In the case of *liheci*, when split they normally lose their joint meaning (see the examples above), but in a ‘verb plus an “empty” object’ collocation both V and N will preserve their meanings.
2. Partially coinciding with the first statement, parts of *liheci* are not normally used separately as independent words in other collocations. When those characters are used, they are usually used with other meanings. For example, *sheng* 生 from *shengqi* 生气 is a frequently used verb “to be born”/ “to bear” and the morpheme “birth”; but in the case of collocations with empty objects they can be used separately, as independent words, with the very same meanings which they have together (e.g. *chi* as “to eat” and *fan* as “food”)²⁰.
3. They behave differently when interacting with other words. In the aforementioned type of collocations, we simply replace the “empty” object with an object with another meaning. For example, we say *chi xiangjiao* 吃香蕉 “to eat a banana”, removing the *fan*-element as we do not need it anymore (we do not say “to eat food banana”). However, we cannot do the same with *liheci*, as both parts are units of one word. We can omit the semantically unnecessary empty object in other cases, too, for example, when we have particles or other types of complements after the verb. At the same time, *liheci* are, in general, not likely to interact with other objects²¹.
4. The “correlated” verb for this type of collocation is not a different word but the very same verb used in it (however, without the object). While for *liheci*, it is normally not the same²².

Overall, what seems to be more important is that we add a semantically null object to a verb for grammatical or other language requirements, but not for the reasons of the inner structure as in

¹⁹ For example, Rachel Giora and Michael Haugh (2017 :241) in the book “Doing pragmatics interculturally” referring to several works of Lu classify *chifan* and *hejiu* 喝酒 (to drink alcohol) as *liheci* and called them “phrase-like compounds”.

²⁰ See further about adhesive morphemes.

²¹ See Chapter 2 for a more detailed description.

²² As it will be shown later many *liheci* do not have correlated verbs in Chinese at all.

the case of *liheci*. Another point to consider is that those collocations do not become fixed structures and do not merge into one word as *liheci* do.

For this reason, I exclude from my analysis such samples (word collocations) as *chifan* 吃饭, *changge* 唱歌 (to sing a song), *shuohua* 说话 (to speak a speech) and others of the same kind²³.

1.1.1.4. Controversial explanations for the phenomenon of *liheci*

In Spanish-language research, the most used terms are “*los verbos compuestos*” (compound verbs) and “*los verbos separables*” (separable verbs). Both can be put into question for the same reasons as the already discussed above. An interesting quote can be found in the Confucius institute lecture club:

“La separación de los verbos compuestos plantea dificultades gramaticales para el aprendizaje del chino. Por ejemplo, hay dos traducciones en chino para el verbo “comer”: chī (吃) y chīfàn (吃饭); el primero es un verbo simple, mientras que el segundo es compuesto, ambos se diferencian por sus usos y estructuras. Chīfàn es un verbo separable, concepto que no tenemos en español”²⁴.

Here, although speaking about grammar, at least two things are questionable:

1. *Chifan* is said to be a second translation of the verb “to eat”. This creates a misunderstanding from the very beginning as if there were two different verbs with the same meaning. Besides, as long as we can dispute whether *liheci* are verbs, *chifan* can by no means be reduced to a verb;
2. “*Los verbos separables*” are said not to exist in Spanish. However, as will be shown later for English and Russian, and as it was partially discussed in the introduction, an analogous phenomenon does exist. Many researchers also investigate the analogous phenomena in other Indo-European languages, for example, Laguzova (2014) (see further) compares it in Russian

²³ At this point it may also be useful to consider simple 2-syllable verbs such as *gaosu* 告诉 (to tell/inform/communicate) which can add an object without omitting the 2nd part (as any regular verb, including *chi*) but are not “obligated” to add anything and can function completely separately. In this aspect, I think, verb-object phrases such as *chifan* are maybe becoming akin to 2-syllable verbs rather than *liheci*, although, their structure often makes them function in a similar way to the latter.

²⁴ The separation of compound verbs creates grammatical difficulties in learning Chinese. For example, in Chinese there are two translations of the verb “to eat”: *chi* and *chifan*. The first one is a simple verb, while the second one is a compound verb, they differ in their usages and structure. *Chifan* is a separable verb, a concept that we do not have in Spanish.

and French. At the same time, even if we only look at the example of *chifan*, we cannot definitively say that it cannot exist in Spanish, English or Russian. In any of those languages we can say “to eat food”, although it is not required in the majority of cases, it is still possible. We could say “I have eaten a lot of food today” and it would not be incorrect; and this is exactly the same as in the Chinese version.

Petrovcic (2016: 48) provides another disputable explanation. She says: “Separable words are disyllabic verbs that are separable in certain circumstances. Even more, in these circumstances, some separable words should undertake at least one element in between its syllables (morphemes), or else the sentence would be grammatically incorrect”. Here, several points can be questioned immediately. First, if we say “separable words are verbs”, what is the rational reason for using and mixing up two different terms? Secondly, it creates a discourse about words/morphemes/characters/syllables in Chinese. We should also remember some examples, such as *liaotianer* 聊天儿 (to talk, to chat) which can be shortened to the first two syllables, yet are not necessarily disyllabic²⁵. Thirdly, the author incorporates the noun-object into the verb as another syllable, as if in English “give help” “help” was the second syllable of “give”. The examples of those “incorrect” usages without inserting other elements are not given and, thus, unclear.

Controversial explanations like these ones, being introduced to students, only make it more difficult for them to understand *liheci*. They also may confound teachers who will not know how exactly to teach *liheci*.

Speaking about Chinese terms, although *liheci* is the most widely used, there still exists another one – *lihe-dongci* 离合动词 whose use we have already rejected. I would explain this using the ideas of Helena Casas Tost (2007) expressed in “*Una aproximación didáctica al verbo chino*”. Grammar categories are a Western phenomenon originally alien to Chinese and applied for different purposes, such as teaching or comparison. Many words in Chinese can belong to different grammar categories²⁶ at the same time, and the very category of verb is not fully defined and systematic. At this point, when Chinese verbs in the Chinese language have an unclear position and classification, we can suppose that Chinese authors themselves often cannot tell the difference between those two. Even if we refer once again to the article on the Confucius Institute’s webpage

²⁵ The last syllable is the so-called “prosodic” affix (Arcodia, 2012) that mainly contributes to the pronunciation of words without affecting their meanings.

²⁶ Formally, we can find something similar in English, conversion of English words into different parts of speech is possible (a work - to work). However, in English we operate within a clearly defined process, when one word of a strictly categorized part of speech converts into another part of speech; but in Chinese we operate with words that originally did not have fixed parts of speech in our Western understanding of that phenomenon. They do not convert, they simply have not fixed their category in the language yet.

that was written by a Chinese author, we will see that it is more an attempt to fit European categories to the Chinese languages and not a well-understood and studied Chinese concept.

In Western terms, *liheci* seem to be a much broader concept than just a verb. With that in mind in this work the main term we will use will be “separable word” (“*palabra separable*”, *liheci* and *лихэци* in English, Spanish, Chinese and Russian, respectively).

1.1.2. *Liheci* subtypes and related questions

The usage of terms is not the only issue for *liheci*. As has already been mentioned, different linguists divide *liheci* into up to 10 different groups. Let us, first of all, look at the three most widely discussed of them. In *Chuanqi zhuanji wenxue xuan kan* 传奇·传记文学选刊 (a periodic magazine “Short stories/legends, biographies, selective literary periodical”), they published the following classificatory system (Guo, 2013):

- *Dongbingshi* 动兵式 (a verb-object structure). This structure consists of a verb and its object. They also sub-divide it into categories:

- *Donmingshi* 动名式 (a verb-noun structure). This is the biggest group. They include several types, whose morphemes are not used separately but can accept something in the middle. The first sub-category includes words which consist of two “adhesive” morphemes (*nianzhe/zhanfu fuyu* 粘着/粘附语素), which in Chinese linguistics mean they are not used separately or do not exist as separate words. This type of words is not numerous. Examples: *baomi* 保密, *fuze* 负责, *laojia* 劳驾. The other type is made of an “independent” verb morpheme (*ziyou yusu* 自由语素) and an adhesive noun morpheme, for example, *jiakuan* 借款²⁷.
- *Dongdongshi* 动动式 (a verb-verb structure). An example of this group is *baoyuan* 抱怨 (to complain) which consists of “to hold” and “to complain”.

²⁷ I suppose this division is not too broad as there can be more types of quality of morphemes than just firmly adhesive or firmly independent (see further).

- *Dongxingshi* 动形式 (a verb-adjective structure). In this and the following sub-categories they include different types of complements, such as complements of result, measure words etc²⁸.
- *Dongfushi* 动副式 (a verb-adverb structure).
- *Dongbushi* 动补式 (a verb-complement structure). They include complements of direction such as *shanglai* 上来 (to go up here), *shangqu* 上去 (to go up there) and others, complements of result such as *dong* 动 (to have enough strength to do something) or *hao* 好 (to fulfil something successfully) and others.

First of all, in this categorization, we see an obvious mix between the terms of category and terms of disyllabization and compounding. However, it is still noteworthy that they did not include words such as *chifan* 吃饭 which consist of two independent morphemes in their classification. Anyway, at this point we should decide what exactly we understand *liheci* to be. If we take this term to define a disyllabic phenomenon whose parts sometimes go together and sometimes split up, then, probably, we can include all of those into one term using it as an umbrella term for all words that behave this way.

However, if we understand *liheci* as a Chinese grammar categories²⁹ (such as verbs, nouns, adjectives etc.), then we definitely have to differentiate between those named above as they present grammatically different phenomena. In this work, I accept *liheci* as a part of speech in the Chinese language which may not have a completely analogous part of speech in Western languages but has parallels through which it can be understood. I will discuss further why *liheci* can be seen as a different part of speech in Chinese, especially comparing them with verbs.

Regarding the parts of speech, which were said to be alien to Chinese itself, we should start by excluding *dongbushi* from *liheci* as a part of speech. In Western terms, *dongbushi* is rather similar to a verb with a prefix/postfix, as different types of compliments may be represented by different types of prefixes or particles in Western languages. For example, a phenomenon analogous to the compliment of direction does exist in Russian. We use the same root of the same verb with different directional prefixes for the same purpose as in Chinese. For example, *dailai* 带来 (to bring here) and *daiqu* 带去 (to bring/take there)³⁰ correspond with the Russian *prinosit'*

²⁸ There are some words where the second morpheme is believed to be an adjective but it is apparently not a complement. Among them are *chijing* 吃惊 (to get amazed), *chikui* 吃亏 (to suffer losses), *zhaoji* 着急 (to worry) etc. We will discuss them later.

²⁹ See below.

³⁰ Here *dai* means "to bring", *lai* and *qu* are verbal complements grammaticalized from verbs "to come" and "to go" which now convey the meanings of direction (here – to the speaker, and there – to a place different from that of the speaker) which we can use with verbs whose action can have a particular direction (to bring, to take, to go etc.).

приносить (to bring) and *unosit'* уносить (to take from one place to another / to “bring” there out of here), both formed from the root of the same verb (*nesti* нести (to bring)) *nyos-/nes-* нес-. It also roughly corresponds with “here” and “there” in English or Spanish. Such complements as *hao* 好 can also correspond with Russian perfective and imperfective types of verbs or English/Spanish perfect and simple tenses/infinitives. For example, *zuo* 做 is “to do” in English, *delat'* делать in Russian, and *zuohao* 做好 is like “to have done” or *sdelat'* сделать. Complements are akin to grammar particles or word-forming morphemes rather than separate independent words. They do not change the fact that the accompanying verbs remain in the category of verbs with the same meaning but a different grammar form/quality. Apart from that, the amount of words which can be put between the verb and its complement is very limited, and it is mainly represented by other grammar elements such as *de* 得 or *bu* 不³¹. Or, in the case of the complement of direction, it can be placed after the object of place etc.

Speaking about the first category, we should also exclude the last types for the same reason discussed above. The type of *dongdongshi* is disputable for two reasons:

1. In some of the given examples, the second part is not necessarily a verbal morpheme. As has been mentioned, in Chinese many words can belong to several parts of speech and are sometimes not fixed. For example, in the given 抱怨, its second part can be as well translated as a noun “harm, insult, hatred” and the word itself is even translated through a Russian “*liheci*” *zatait obidu* затаить обиду, which literally means “to keep/maintain insult (in secret)”. Thus, we can easily move *baoyuan* to the *dongmingshi* type.
2. Some of those verbs can be excluded because they are often united for the reasons of compounding or dissyllabification which were partially mentioned above but are not discussed in this work in detail.

At the same time, it should be noted that in other languages, e.g. English and Russian, the part of speech of the second element can also often be questioned. It can seem difficult to understand, as in Indo-European languages parts of speech are normally more strictly defined, but some elements which go after the verb in these combinations may not be categorized so obviously. For example, some researchers claim that in English delexical structures, the second element is not a noun at all,

³¹ Potential infixes which are placed between a verb and its complement to convey the idea of (im)possibility to fulfil the action.

but rather a verb in a form similar to the infinitive; in Russian they may or may not include substantivied adjectives, etc³².

Hence, considering *liheci* as a part of speech (see further), we should mainly deal with the first of the discussed categories which is a verb-noun combination *dongmingshi* 动名式. Or, to be more correct, we will accept *liheci* as a part of speech which includes a verb and **a second element which behaves as a noun**³³.

Ye (2006) provides a rather comprehensive overview on the Chinese investigation of *liheci*. The author's list of the works of scholars, their main concepts and conclusions comprehensively demonstrates to us the absence of any compromise on the question of what to include into the category of *liheci* even in Chinese studies. It is also highlighted in this work that all those studies can be divided into two periods: before and after the 1980s (according to old language canons and those of modern *baihua*). Among other things, the author presented a comparative table (p. 13) for 4 types of "*liheci*":

关于离合词到底有几种类型，不同的学者看法各不相同，我们先列举一些大家的观点：

| 类别 著述者 | 偏正式 如：羊肉 | 动宾式 如：安心 | 动结式 如：打倒 | 动趋式 如：取出 |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 陆志韦 | + | + | + | + |
| 吕叔湘 | - | + | 短语词 | 语法词 |
| 赵元任 | - | + | 假动宾式 | 假动宾式 |
| 朱德熙 | - | + | - | - |

此外，还有不少学者提出了各自的观点，可以归结为：

As it is well seen from the table, the author himself only considers 4 types out of all combinations ever considered as *liheci*, while other authors whose names are mentioned may consider fewer types or use different terms. The line under the table reads: "Apart from this, there are many more scientists who presented their own views...". So, the compromise in Chinese science has not been reached yet. As we can see, the named researchers only agree on the *dongbingshi* (verb-object) type to include into the *liheci* category. Ye (2006) considers three subtypes within this type: verb+noun, verb+verb, verb+adjective which we partially excluded or incorporated in one type before.

Considering the factors discussed above, it is essential to define and put limitations for the phenomenon of *liheci* which is to be analyzed in this work:

³² On this issue, see below.

³³ Among English terms, we can sometimes see it called "a noun phrase".

- They consist of a verb and its noun/noun-like object/patient;
- They present one joint meaning as if they were one word³⁴;
- They are semantically inseparable as they lose that joint meaning when being separated;
- At least one of its morphemes is adhesive³⁵.

In this work, we will see *liheci* as a very exclusive category, not as broad as the Chinese words which can be used as a one unit or separated. For some scholars who accept all those types mentioned above, the limitation which is attributed to *liheci* in this work are only narrowed down to *dongbingshi* 动兵式 type (the verb-object subcategory of the broad category of *liheci* as they see it) and *dongmingshi* 动名式 (verb-noun) subtype.

1.1.3. *Liheci*: a word or a phrase

1.1.3.1. A word, a character, a compound

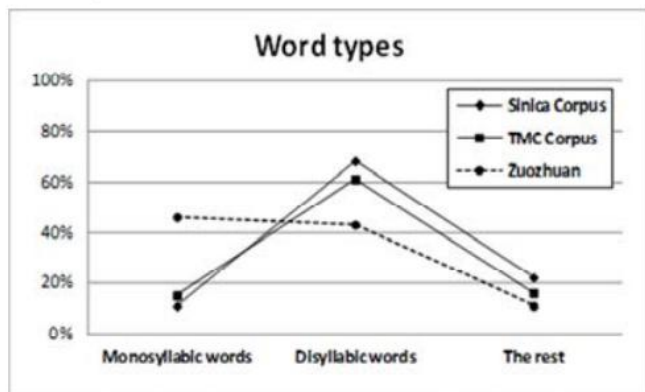
Another contested issue is how to consider *liheci* – as a word or as a phrase (word combination/collocation). Some views have already been introduced above. However, to conclude we need to look at the means to define a word and at a complex, particularly Chinese, interaction between a morpheme, a word, a character and a compound. In Arcodia’s work “Chinese: a language of compound words” (2007), we find that compounding is a process which in Chinese goes in parallel with disyllabification, which often leads to a wrong understanding of the status of words. Historically, Chinese was generally monosyllabic. Ernst Pulgram (1976: 103) says that the largest portion of words in *Wenyan* are monomorphemic and almost all morphemes are monosyllabic, which means that in the majority of cases, one character corresponded with one morpheme and one word, accordingly. However, when the language started forming two-syllable words³⁶, this interrelation became more complex. Nowadays, the majority of words in Chinese are dysyllabic. Shu-Chuang Tseng (2013: 86) says, “the use of monosyllabic words descends and that of

³⁴ In the course of this work we accept words which present verbal (joint) meaning. Some linguists also accept words which represent other parts of speech. For example, Zhang, Zhao (1996) include words such as *nuli* 努力 (hard-working) in the *liheci* group on the basis that they are formed of a verb and a noun. In rare cases this word can function as a verb, in the majority of cases it is an adjective which can also be used as an adverb.

³⁵ As will be shown, there are different types of adhesion. One is absolute adhesion, when a morpheme does not exist as a separate word. One more is semantic adhesion when the morpheme can be a separate word, but with a different meaning. Ye (2006) also includes semantic adhesion as a possible criterion for *liheci*. The question of adhesion remains contested as well, some ideas are given below.

³⁶ Reasons for this are proposed in different works, including that of Arcodia (2012), which will not be discussed here.

disyllabic words ascends in modern Mandarin in both the written and spoken uses” and presents the proportion based on three different corpora:



Characters still preserve their meanings, however, the majority of them are not used as single words anymore, but rather as morphemes which form other words (similar to roots in Indo-European languages: their meanings can be understood, but they are not used as independent words). In some cases, when they are used as monosyllabic words, they tend to join other monosyllabic words to form a semblance of a 2-syllable word³⁷. We can look at the example of *meili* 美丽 (beautiful), both characters/morphemes of which mean «beautiful» and are joined together for the reasons named above. At the same time, *henmei* 很美 (beautiful) can often be used, where the first character is an adverb of zero/first degree³⁸ and the second one is the adjective itself. However, 美 used alone is rarely heard. *Meili* is a word, *henmei* is a word combination; but both are disyllabic and represent the same basic meaning.

1.1.3.2. Western definitions of “word”

In Western studies there are different definitions of the word “word”³⁹. One is the orthographic word which is defined by having white spaces at the beginning and the end but no space in the middle. In this case, “ice cream” would be two words, which is disputed; but for Chinese which does not use any gaps between characters, this may be alien. However, with the processes of westernization and the introduction of *pinyin* transcription this question appeared in the language. So, there are phonological words. It is characterized as “a unit of pronunciation” which

³⁷ Despite the obvious interest in a systematic study of *liheci* in the history of Chinese, this topic goes beyond the objectives of this research.

³⁸ Adverbs of degree indicate the degree of the following adjective.

³⁹ The ones given here are given by the University of Sussex.

may have different criteria to define. For English, they name one main stress. But in Chinese each syllable/morpheme/character has a tone apart from a regular word stress. The third approach is a word as a lexeme. They say, “a lexical item is a word in the sense in which a dictionary contains words (...) A lexical item is an abstract unit, and it must be represented in speech or writing by one of the possibly several forms it can assume for grammatical purposes”. We can assess *meili* and *henmei* through this approach:

- The first one is a word which represents a single meaning. The second one is a grammar word (an adverb indicating the degree of the following adjective) plus an adjective representing the meaning;
- The first one can appear in a word dictionary⁴⁰ but the second one would appear separately.

The citation form, which they speak about, will hardly be a problem in Chinese whose words do not have different forms. At the same time, as they speak about a grammatical word form (“one of the several forms that may be assumed by a lexical item for grammatical purposes”) we may notice that in the majority of cases *liheci* split up exactly for grammatical reasons. Usually *liheci* add verbal suffixes or noun classifiers and sometimes adjectives, so, at some point, we can accept the divided form of *liheci* as their grammatical word form. It is also noticeable that they speak about English phrasal verbs which present 2 words orthologically or phonologically but a single word lexically and can also be separated in a sentence⁴¹. Phrasal verbs are not fully analogous with *liheci* structurely, but behave similarly.

If we address *liheci* through the lexical approach, they will be listed as words presenting one joint meaning. The orthographical word, as mentioned above, cannot be an originally Chinese criterion but if we look at *pinyin* given in student books for learners of Chinese⁴² *liheci* will be written as single words.

1.1.3.3. Compounding and dissyllabification

Now, let us test this through the means of compounding and disyllabification. Arcodia (2007) cites Fabb saying that “a compound is a word which consists of two or more words”. But at

⁴⁰ In Chinese there are 2 types of dictionary: *cidian* 词典 – a dictionary of words, *zidian* 字典 – a dictionary of characters.

⁴¹ We can also consider *Trennbare Verben* in German.

⁴² Such as Hanyu Jiocheng, HSK New Standard Course, Boya Chinese, YCT Standard Course and many others.

the same time, he notes that this definition is applicable for anything larger than a word and smaller than a phrase. He also cites Ramat, speaking about defining a word through cohesion (when nothing can be inserted) and at this point *liheci* do not appear to be words anymore. However, can we say that *liheci* are more than a word? They consist of several “words” but those words⁴³ are normally not used separately because they have lost their semantic independence and became character-morphemes, not lexemes. So, in theory not each *liheci* consists of separate words. It rather consists of formerly independent words which stopped being used independently in the modern language. Those parts may refer to word roots in Western languages which do have a meaning but cannot be used without other word morphemes. Considering the reality of the modern Chinese language, I would use the term “compound” for those words which consist of parts which can be used as independent words. For example, Arcodia (2007) compares *dapangzi* 大盘子 (a big plate) and *daguaer* 大褂儿 (a long gown). The first one is two separate words which will have to behave according to syntactic and other rules if we add other words. The second one is a compound (a single word which was originally made of several words) and will function as one. Both its parts exist as separate words.

If we look at the ways Chinese forms di- or polysyllabic words we will find:

- Juxtaposition. It is combining synonymous or antonymous morphemes. *Meili* is a typical example.
- Modification. It is a combination of a literal and a principle word such as *yufa* 语法 (grammar = language+law).
- Different combinations of subjects and predicates or verbs and objects, such as *dongren* 动人 (touching = move + person).
- Complementation. Adding various types of complements, e.g. the complement of result, the directional complement, etc.
- Reduplication. *Mama* 妈妈 can be a typical example of this.
- Affixation. It is adding suffices and affixes like *er* 儿 or *zi* 子.

At the same time the boundaries between characters and words within those words do not always coincide. For example, *putaojiu* 葡萄酒 consists of 2 words (grapes and alcohol) but of three characters. Additionally, disyllabic words can also be created through contraction of word collocations (often 4-syllable ones) and other means, which is not the same as compounding.

⁴³ At least one of them.

Moreover, compounding may often create trisyllabic words, such as *zixingche* 自行车 (a bike = self + moving + car) or even tetrasyllabic words (for example, *gongongqiche* 公共汽车, a public bus). Through this, the fact that *liheci* are normally disyllabic does not yet mean that they are compounds.

So, this process is not exactly the same as compounding, although I would suggest that compounding could often be its initial stage⁴⁴. The term “compound”, as it was said before, is defined differently by scholars, and in Chinese may be ambiguous. Besides, the question of compounding in Chinese is at some point a question of etymology. It is said that many words were formed from compounding and, yet, they are called words. Thus, applying this term, we will always have to clarify what exactly we mean: a word formed as a result of compounding, an actual compound consisting of several parts which can possibly be independent, or something else. I tend to think, that in the scope of Chinese it is more useful to reformulate the question from “a compound or a word” to “one word or two words”⁴⁵ (as I showed on the example of *meili* and *henmei*). If we assess this question in isolation from the history of the language, *liheci* appear to be words rather than two-word collocations. Apart from that, as I said, compounds normally can be divided into two independent elements (even if only historically, as in *meili*⁴⁶), which is not always true for *liheci*.

1.1.3.4. Alternative views and suggestions

There is also an alternative point of view, introduced by Lü Shuxiang (1979), who said that *liheci* are single words lexically, but separate words grammatically and classified them as word collocations *duanyuci* 短语词. From this point of view, *liheci* look even more similar to the analogous concept in Western languages. This way of seeing them also automatically excludes some sub-categories introduced in the classifications given above, as, for example, in verb-directional complement collocations the complement is by no means a grammatically separate word. However, this point of view seems to be more disputable, as, for example, in Indo-European dictionaries we will be able to find V and N of VN separately as independent words with the same or different meanings, but for Chinese finding parts of *liheci* in word dictionaries will often be impossible, because as words they simply do not exist.

⁴⁴ Compounding is a way of forming disyllabic words, as well as, for example, abbreviation from longer phrases.

⁴⁵ Etymologically, almost each modern Chinese word can be called a compound *fuheci* 复合词 as many of them were formed through uniting several independent words; but in the modern language they are already words, functioning as single lexical units. It is true for *daguar* as well as for *meili*; even if originally it was formed through uniting *da* and *guar*, now it is a single word.

⁴⁶ We still sometimes use *mei* as an independent word but nowadays we cannot use *li* this way anymore.

Ye (2006: 10) also presents the most applicable approach in Chinese linguistics to differentiate between a collocation/phrase and a word. It is: if there can be inserted a word of any type of connection (such as *he* 和 “and” or *de* 的 “s”) it is a collocation, if not – it is a word. Within the limitations applied in this work, these words cannot be inserted⁴⁷. Ye (2006) also speaks about semantic adhesion, but according to his understanding of this, *chifan* 吃饭 appears to be a *liheci*, while *chi mifan* 吃米饭 is not.

A very interesting thing can be observed in a modern series of HSK preparation textbook which has been especially used in the last years, HSK Standard Course. It does not indicate *liheci* as a part of speech, however, in those books where they provide pinyin for texts, they make spaces between words, and the parts of *liheci* go together as one word without a gap between them.

Summing up the above, I would consider *liheci* a border category, which is aimed at being (or looking like) a single word and which is a word semantically. It has a very strong tie within and differs at some points from compounds, but can split up, which contradicts with some definitions of a word.

1.1.4. Are *liheci* a part of speech?

1.1.4.1. The general issue

Another issue related to this is parts of speech. As mentioned, for Chinese, the topic of parts of speech is alien because originally almost each word is almost any or no part of speech. However, for us, operating with Western terms and describing the language within our system, it is important to clarify how we should understand this phenomenon. It is not just a purely theoretical issue, but also a practical one. For example, when we teach Chinese as a second language, we need to help our students to understand *liheci* through our models of thinking but, at the same time, not applying our alien models to Chinese lest we might teach a language invented by us which does not really exist.

If, being confused with that great number of terms used for *liheci*, we speak about compounds, it is quite clear that we rather address the way of word formation, than grammar categories themselves. If we speak about the category of verbs, we immediately face the dilemma of calling *liheci* a type of verb and explaining why it does not function as any other regular verb. If we finally accept *liheci* as a separate phenomenon, it seems reasonable to decide whether we can call it a

⁴⁷ *De* 的, as shown further, can be inserted, but for other reasons.

separate part of speech or not. For flexive languages, such as English, Spanish or Russian⁴⁸, it is quite clear that word combinations like “to give help” do not present one separate part of speech. It is a verb added by a “noun” which together present a different language phenomenon⁴⁹. But in Chinese *liheci* appears to have a much stronger internal tie, at least because we normally do not use the majority of their morphemes separately. So, let us now try to test whether we can call *liheci* a separate part of speech.

1.1.4.2. The common parts of speech and rare ones

According to Oxford dictionaries, there exist the following parts of speech:

- Noun. A word, which identifies a person, a thing, an idea, quality or state;
- Verb. A word, which describes an action, an event, a situation or change;
- Adjective. A word which describes a noun;
- Adverb. A word which gives information about a verb;
- Pronoun. A word which replaces a noun which has been already mentioned;
- Preposition. A word which indicates relationships between nouns and pronouns and other words in a sentence;
- Conjunction. A word which connects clauses, phrases and sentences;
- Determiner. A word which introduces a noun;
- Interjection. A word which expresses emotions.

This classification is by no means universal. For example, in Russian determiners are not a separate part of speech, they fall into other parts. On the other hand, there are some other parts of speech in Russian which do not exist in English or Spanish⁵⁰. This gives us a logical right to establish a Chinese part of speech which would not exist in other languages. On the other hand, if we address the question from the basis of grammar universals, those categories which do not exist in some languages, still should fall under some more common grammar category concepts⁵¹.

⁴⁸ Some scholars, for example, Laguzova (2003, 2014) put this into question.

⁴⁹ There is one major difference which is superficially evident. In the discussed Western languages, the structures analogous to *liheci* are developed as partially synonymous to other words for different reasons which we should look for in etymology. For example, in Russian the majority of those structures coincide with verbs of the same roots and mean the same. But in Chinese many *liheci* do not replace any synonymous words as for many of them correlated verbs do not exist. They directly denote some phenomena which do not have any other word to be called with.

⁵⁰ For example, some forms of participle and *deyeprichastiye*.

⁵¹ At this point, *liheci* could be seen as a verb, because, ultimately, it describes an action, as well as Russian *prichastiye* could be seen as a type of adjective because it describes a noun.

1.1.4.3. The parts of speech in Chinese linguistics

If we review Chinese research on the topic of grammar categories, we can find the following parts of speech⁵² as established:

- *Mingzi* (in our understanding they are nouns, but they may include many words which in Western languages would belong to other parts of speech, for example, locatives (words of place) which would be categorized as adverbs or prepositions in Spanish, English or Russian). *Baiku.Baidu*⁵³ even included in this category monosyllable locatives which are normally seen as suffixes.
- *Dongci* (verbs). Some verbs, as was mentioned above, can also function as nouns. At some point, this resembles conversion in English (a dog – to dog), however, in English one part of speech would be primary and the other one derived from it, so, conversion is a way of word formation, but in Chinese those words rather originally did not belong to any part of speech and with time cemented the usage within the nominal or verbal category.
- *Xingrongci* (adjectives).
- *Fuci* (adverbs). Some adverbs can also function as adjectives.
- *Shuci* (numbers).
- *Liangci* (measure words). They are often said to be a separate type of nouns. This category includes both – nominal and verbal – measure words.
- *Daici* (pronouns). This category mainly includes personal pronouns.
- *Jieci* (prepositions).
- *Lianci* (conjunctions).
- *Zhuci* (particles).
- *Tanci* (interjections).
- *Xiangshengci* (onomatopoeia).
- *Qubieci* (differentiation words). In this category, *Baidu.Baiku*⁵⁴ included those words which convey differentiative attributes for people and animals, for example, *oushi* 欧式

⁵² *Cilei* 词类, «word class».

⁵³ This resource cannot be accepted as scientific but it reflects real native speakers' knowledge of Chinese and their perception of different language phenomena and can give us an idea of how a regular Chinese person, not a linguist, understands their own language.

⁵⁴ This category can also be found in research papers.

which means “European type/model”. In Western grammars those words would rather belong to nouns or adjectives⁵⁵.

- *Yuqici* (modal words). This category partially coincides with *zhuci* as it includes grammar particles and suffixes, but it is larger.

Chinese words can belong to several categories at the same time. In *Baike.Baidu liheci* are not listed even in the category of verbs but some categories which are given there can be put into question. In some other classifications⁵⁶ *cizu* (word combinations) of different types are listed but *liheci* are not given as a separate *cizu* type.

1.1.4.4. The criteria for verbs in Chinese and their subtypes

Among documents easily found online several criteria for Chinese verbs are named:

- They usually function as predicates in sentences;
- They normally do not go together with adverbs of degree (unless they are verbs of state/feeling);
- They can add suffixes *le*, *zhe*, *guo*;
- They can be reduplicated (the majority reduplicating according to the scheme ABAB or AA);
- They can be repeated through a negation particle (*bu* or *mei*) in two (!) different ways – AB *bu* AB or A *bu* AB⁵⁷, for example, *yuanyi bu yuanyi* or *yuan bu yuanyi*;

The following subcategories for verbs are named:

- Simple verbs. For example, *kan* 看 (to watch);
- Verbs of state or feelings. For example, *juede* 觉得;
- *Panduan dongci* (judgement verbs). For example, *shi* 是 (to be) or *you* 有 (to have);
- Modal verbs;

⁵⁵ However, they may function differently. For example, they cannot be normally used with *bu* 不 (not). That is particularly noticeable: *qubieci* look like adjectives but function in a different way, so, they define them as a separate part of speech. Then, why then are *liheci* not defined accordingly since they only look like verbs but do not behave according to the same models?

⁵⁶ For example, in *zaixian hanyu cidian* 在线汉语词典, Online Chinese Word dictionary.

⁵⁷ As we know, in *liheci* only the verbal part can be reduplicated or repeated.

- Verbs of direction. Those are complements of direction (such as *jinlai* 进来, *chulai* 出来, etc. and should not necessarily be seen as verbs;
- *Shiling dongci* (command verbs). For example, telescopic verbs *rang* 让 (let) or *jiao* 叫;

However, in some modern works we can find *liheci* named as a special group at least. For example, Shou-hsin Teng (2009), professor of Chinese linguistics at the University of Massachusetts names eight parts of speech, where *liheci* are introduced as a separate verbal group (sub-category). He says (p. 2):

“In English, words cannot be torn apart and be used separately, e.g. *mis- not –understand. Likewise, in Chinese, e.g. *x-b*hu1n ‘do not like’. However, there is a large group of words in Chinese that are exceptions to this probably universal rule and can be separated. They are called ‘separable words’, marked -sep in our new system of parts of speech. For example, *shengqi* ‘angry’ is a word, but it is fine to say *sheng ta qi* ‘angry at him’. *Jiehun* ‘get married’ is a word but it’s fine to say *jieguohun* ‘been married before’ or *jie san ci hun* ‘been married 3 times before’. There are at least a couple of hundred separable words in modern Chinese. Even native speakers have to learn that certain words can be separated. Thus, memorizing them is the only way to deal with them by learners, and our new system of parts of speech helps them along nicely. Go over the vocabulary lists in this series and look for the marking –sep. [...] We only know a little about the syntactic circumstances under which they get separated. First and foremost, separable words are in most cases intransitive verbs⁵⁸, whether action, state or process. When these verbs are further associated with targets (nouns, conceptual objects), frequency (number of times), duration (for how long), occurrence (done, done away with) etc., separation takes pace and these associated elements are inserted in between”.

Views on *liheci* vary wildly. For example, Ye (2006: 1) directly states in the introduction to his work: “*Liheci* are not a part of speech at all...”⁵⁹

1.1.4.5. The parts of speech and grammar categories

⁵⁸ This is also disputable. On the one hand, normally *liheci* are not followed by objects, but on the other, this does happen because its verbal part already has an object, which is the second part of *liheci*. So, can we call them intransitive? At the same time, as will be shown further, there are some *liheci* which can accept other objects.

⁵⁹ The original quote: *liheci bing bushi cilei* 离合词并不是词类.

Parts of speech are closely interrelated with grammar categories. The Glossary of linguistic terms says that a grammar category is “a set of syntactic features that express meanings from the same conceptual domain, occur in contrast to each other, are typically expressed in the same fashion”. I find the second point to be crucial. If we find grammar categories in contrast, then we can easily contrast the features of *liheci* with those of other parts of speech, including verbs. We should also notice, that if we consider *liheci* being formed through compounding, then, no matter if it contains a verb and a noun, because it has been formed into a single compound, just as many other Chinese words are formed this way and fall now under different speech parts, such as nouns and verbs. So, the very fact of verb-noun compounding does not disprove that we can see *liheci* as a single part of speech.

The part of speech is a very comfortable notion to use, because for each separate part of speech we can establish limitations and rules according to which it can function, for example, we know that Russian nouns have gender, number, case, declension etc. and that Chinese nouns do not have them. If we establish *liheci* as a Chinese part of speech, we can do the same for it naming grammar categories applicable to it. But we have to decide about the level which we look at them from. If we look from the position of linguistic typology, we will have fewer categories than if we look from the position of each particular language. I suggest, that in the 1st case *liheci* can be seen as a type of verb because they convey the same ideas and, as it will be observed later, they add some grammar particles typical to verbs. However, from the second position, *liheci* can be seen as a separate part of speech. This will allow us to define them better and establish rules of their functioning and, in addition, contrast them with verbs for a better understanding of their differences.

1.1.4.6. The main conclusions for the point 1.1.-.

To sum up, how shall we see *liheci*? How shall we limit them? Views on that historically vary⁶⁰. As a unit whose “structure is so loose” (Ye, 2006) that something else can appear inside, or as several units whose connection is so tight that they cannot be fully separated? In this work, we accept *liheci* as a special type of word which sometimes can be divided according to grammar and

⁶⁰ For example, Lü (1979) said a *liheci* has only one semantic meaning which unites it. Zhu (1982) listed the following criteria: 1. Including adhesive morpheme(s); 2. Parts cannot be fully separated; 3. Can include an object. Zhang (1987) named these ones: 1. Two parts form one joint meaning; 2. It defines one single concept; 3. Some of them can add objects; 4. The order of two parts cannot be changed; 5. Sometimes other words can be placed inside, but parts do not form separate words and adjectives are limited in use. Zhao (1996) specified: 1. Adhesive morphemes; 2. Strict limitations on collocation, ONLY NOUNS AND VERBS can form *liheci*; 3. Only verb-object structures where the object is a noun are *liheci*; 4. Can widen itself with both *shumingci* 属名词 (subordinate nouns or class words) and adjectives.

other demands⁶¹, and as a separate part of speech, which we can contrast primarily with verbs and secondly with other parts of speech. We assume them to be words consisting of two morphemes (both adhesive, or one adhesive and one independent) which are a verb and its noun-object (or an object behaving like a noun), conveying one joint semantic verbal meaning⁶².

Apart from that, in the case of Chinese, I tend to think that *liheci* are a transitional stage or one of the ways of forming polysyllabic words from monosyllabic character-words which in the future will convert into fixed disyllabic verbs.

Some points for further analysis which can be raised about the questions discussed in this part are:

1. The phenomenon of compounding: its reasons, methods, directions of development and the reasons of moving towards polysyllabic words in Chinese and its relationship with *liheci*;
2. The origin of the necessity to complement verbs and the origin of adding objects to single verbs shifting them to *liheci*-type constructions;
3. The origin of *liheci*: *liheci* became separated from single words or single words were united into *liheci*. If the latter (which seems more probable to me) is true, why did they remain partially separable?
4. The direction of development of *liheci*: towards one word, or towards separated words.

1.2.-. A list of *liheci* samples in Chinese to analyse and their classification

1.2.1. The criteria for the selection of samples

As was mentioned before, different linguists define a varying number of *liheci*, and the gap between the minimum and maximum numbers is expansive. Citing Ye (2006: 16) it can be said that in Chinese studies the number of recognised *liheci* vary from 248 up to 4066 units⁶³. As we applied stronger restrictions and limitations on the phenomenon studied in this paper, the number will not be extremely high. However, for this work, in which we reduce the number through a rather strict limitation, we need to select a definite number of representatives to analyse. Typically, in research

⁶¹ We can also accept them as one lexical word and two grammar words (*duanyuci*) at the same time, which will not affect the way we define their characteristics. But even if this is the case, I still tend to think that *liheci* are aimed at becoming single words and their inner tie is much stronger than that of their Western counterparts.

⁶² To supplement this part with data from native speakers and advanced language learners a special survey was created. See appendix 1.

⁶³ Zhang, Zhao (1996) say that among 3590 verbal words in *Hanyu shuiping cihui yu hanzi dengji dagang* 汉语水平词汇与汉字等级大纲 (Main principles/list of levelled lexicon of Chinese and classes of characters) 355 samples could be divided. 汉语水平词汇与汉字等级大纲, *guojia hanban hanyu shuiping kaoshibu yanzhi* 国家汉办汉语水平考试部研制, *Beijing yuyan xueyuan chubanshe* 北京语言学院出版社, 1992 which can be understood as a list of words and characters for HSK according to the level.

papers there is no clear criterion to choose *liheci* samples for analysis or exemplifying. In different papers, including those of Ye (2006) and Zhang, Zhao (1996) many samples given are words of narrow usage which may not be used in daily language. It is important to establish some criteria for the selection of samples to analyse *liheci* that are widely used, rather than a random series, as for the matter of the practical application of this work: it can be a useful resource for both students and teachers who deal with Chinese as a second language. There are several ways we can define highly used *liheci*⁶⁴:

- Through corpora, which may appear complicated in Chinese due to the lack of agreement on the issue of *liheci*⁶⁵;
- Through HSK word lists. HSK word lists can be called frequency lists⁶⁶ as they present the most used words according to students' level. Assessing these word lists also has a high practical value because it can help students learning Chinese as a second language and teachers instructing them;
- Through text books for foreigners. Although they often do not coincide in vocabulary with HSK lists, they are also the most used among foreign learners as often they may be introduced earlier than HSK preparation lists. Those samples may also be representative, considering that they are the first *liheci* forming the vocabulary of foreign learners.

I will try to undertake all three ways to find samples between the A1-B2 levels⁶⁷ to analyse in detail. Let us look, first of all, at the HSK word lists.

1.2.2. The methods of the selection of samples

How can we select *liheci* from them? Considering the things which we discussed in part 1.1-., there are several criteria:

1. Firsts of all, we should only pay attention to 2- (in special cases 3-) syllable words which have verbal meanings.

⁶⁴ There are only a few frequency lists for Chinese. They are mainly made of characters, not words, and vary drastically.

⁶⁵ As well, corpora mainly reflect written language which varies from its spoken forms, so the picture may not be definitive.

⁶⁶ Some frequency lists do not seem reliable. For example, a frequency lists published in the Chinese addition of Wikipedia contains repeat the same words.

⁶⁷ The levels of HSK levels do not correspond exactly with CEFR levels, however, among foreign students HSK 1 to 4 are probably the most studied ones.

2. Secondly, we check them according to combinations in which they may appear. For this, many tools are useful, including corpora, dictionaries, student books, various texts, even internet resources where we can find samples of native speech. We will discuss this topic in detail in the part devoted to *liheci*-verb comparison, but some basic ideas are:

- *Liheci* add verbal suffixes and other complements between its elements⁶⁸, verbs add them after. This way we can exclude, for example, *liyou* 旅游 to travel, as we normally say *liyouguo* 旅游过 (have travelled);
- *Liheci* normally add possessives and descriptive attributes between its elements⁶⁹.
- At least one of the two morphemes should be (at least semantically) adhesive⁷⁰, so we can check both in dictionaries to see if they can be used separately (or separately with the same meanings)⁷¹. Classification of morphemes may be an arduous task in Chinese. Some morphemes are independent, which means they can be used as separate words with the same meanings as in their combinations (for example, 吃 in 吃饭), so to say, they are not only morphemes but also words. Some are relatively independent but their meanings are not clear without other words. This often happens with polysemantic verbs such as *da* 打, which is an independent verb but having so many meanings that without a complement/object/context its meaning is not obvious. These morphemes⁷² can be seen as semi-adhesive, formally independent or semantically adhesive. They make further classification of *liheci* difficult. Adhesive morphemes are those which can never be used as separate words. Semantically adhesive morphemes are those whose particular meaning is only realized in a particular collocation (an example can be *sheng* 生 from *shengqi* 生气) or those which have different meanings when independent.
- Combinations with objects and complements⁷³.

⁶⁸ There are exceptions, so this rule cannot be used exclusively.

⁶⁹ Overall, there are special cases when *liheci* accept other words after themselves but verbs cannot accept other words within. So, the main focus in the search for sample should be made in looking for any divided forms.

⁷⁰ As we mentioned above, the term “adhesion” in Chinese means that a character-morpheme cannot be used as a separate, independent word. By semantic adhesion, we imply several concepts. First of all, that this character-morpheme has a different meaning when used separately, secondly, that it lacks a precise meaning when separated and can only be understood in combinations with its objects.

⁷¹ In modern Chinese. If we study this question in diachrony there may appear discrepancies.

⁷² There may be different classifications of morphemes. And more importantly, as reflected by Yin (1984): each morpheme is never absolutely dependent or independent, each of them has a degree of dependence (from “fully independent” to “conditionally independent” (in Chinese, *wanquan duli* 完全独立 and *tiaojian duli* 条件独立, correspondingly) (See in Arcordia, 2012).

⁷³ Throughout text books and articles for foreigners as well as in different Internet resources *liheci* are generally described as not accepting other objects. However, in practice this is not always the case. See below.

- We can check their duplicated forms. *Liheci* are duplicated according to AAB (or A — AB) scheme⁷⁴, while verbs – according to AA or AABB scheme.

1.2.3. The classification of morphemes

Morphemes' classification may pose a serious difficulty, for instance, the example of 生气 given above is also a complicated one. The independent verb 生 means “to be born” or “to bear”. If we look at the general meaning of this *liheci*, 生 can be considered an adhesive morpheme. However, if we look at the elements of the *liheci* and translate the second morpheme, one of whose meanings is “anger” we will be able to translate it as “to bear anger” = “to get angry”. I still consider 生 as a semantically adhesive morpheme as separately it has a different meaning from the general meaning of its *liheci*. However, it is obvious that there is a difference between these two modes of semantic adhesion. This work does not aim at any complete classification of morphemes within *liheci*, I only use a very basic classification to show that some groups of *liheci* may behave (slightly) differently from others. Nevertheless, if a more complicated classification were necessary, I would suggest defining at least 5 categories of morphemes:

1. Adhesive (can never be independent words).
2. Independent (are used independently with the same meaning as in collocations).
3. Semantically adhesive of the first type or “outer” semantic adhesion (can be used separately with a meaning different from the general meaning of *liheci*, e.g. 生气)
4. Semantic adhesion of the 2nd type or “inner” semantic adhesion (can be used independently with a meaning different from the meaning it has within its *liheci* if translated by morphemes). This probably is difficult or even impossible to find as historically *liheci* parts should have been united according to their original meanings.
5. Semi-independent or formally independent (those which are independent but their meaning without other words is not clear, e.g. 打) Here we can further split this group into two – semi-independent (like 打) and semi-adhesive (like 见, which is, generally speaking, independent, but can rarely be used separately). With any type of classification, the general rule for *liheci* would be the same: at least one morpheme within should demonstrate some sort of adhesion /dependency.

⁷⁴ With some exceptions. See chapter 2.

This suggestion for classification of morphemes is in no way universal, any more than any other could be. Arcodia (2012: 85) writes:

The distinction between bound and free morphemes, as seen above, may prove to be rather problematic, since the status of a morpheme may also depend on the (micro-)syntactic context (cf. Zhou & Marslen-Wilson 1994), differently from what happens in the Indo-European languages of Europe, in which free or bound status are normally stable characteristics; the intermediate category of „semi-free morpheme“ (半自由語素 *bànzìyǒu yǔsù*) has been proposed to label those morphemes with hybrid properties (first proposed in Lü S. 1962). However, different authors have different understandings of such notion. In Zhang Z. [...] semi-free morphemes are those bound morphemes as 語 *yǔ* „expression, language“ which may combine with other morphemes without restrictions [...] whereas „non-free“ (不自由 *bù zìyǒu*) morphemes have a fixed position, as 第 *dì* „marker of ordinal numbers“, which is always prefixed [...] Dong X. [...] defines „semi-free morphemes“ as those morphemes which “may not constitute a word in isolation, and must combine with other morphemes to do so, but, under certain conditions, may appear in the syntactic slot of a word” [...] According to Dong X., verbal morphemes as well may be semi-free, as 知 *zhī* „to know“ and 感 *gǎn* „to feel“, which may be used freely if precede by monosyllabic adverbs, as in 已知 *yǐzhī* „known“, 不感 *bùgǎn* „not feel“. The motivation for the „ambiguous“ nature of such morphemes is prosodic: semi-free morphemes are (syntactically) free, but also „prosodically deficient“ (韻律不足 *yùnlǜ bù zú*) and, thus require another syllable/morpheme to build a minimal prosodic word [...] Packard’s classification is based on the combination of two properties of a morpheme: on the one side, free vs. bound status and, on the other side, having functional vs. lexical meaning.

Another difficulty connected with classifying morphemes is the parts of speech themselves. As soon as we start dealing with a one-syllable morpheme we face the fact that in Old Chinese parts of speech were not defined (as discussed above), so, many morphemes could equally be classified as nouns, adjectives, verbs etc. For example, in his research, Ye (2006) names several verb+verb *liheci*, among which *chikui* 吃亏 (to have bad luck, to lose, HSK 5) and *jiawei* 解围 (to lift a siege). Considering both morphemes to be verbs, he still gives such examples as *jie zhege wei* ...解这个围... where 这个 is a demonstrative and a classifier attributed to the noun 围. At the same time, he indicates that this only happens in the split state of *liheci* when the second morpheme starts

behaving as a noun and apart from *liheci* this usage is impossible. On the other hand, Zhang Baolin... (1996) considers 吃亏 a verb and an adjective. This clearly demonstrates the ambiguity of parts of speech in Chinese. If the second morpheme behaves as a noun, according to which criteria could we consider it verbal or adjectival? We discussed above that as the second part of *liheci* we can accept any element which *behaves like a noun*, but in this particular case we cannot claim definitively if it is not a noun. In 帮忙 the second morpheme is considered an adjective by Ye (2006) as well as by Zhang. However, this cannot be definitive as again when split it behaves like a noun and in dictionaries is presented as both noun and verb. Another factor to consider is that, even if we study *liheci* only synchronically, the question of the quality of morphemes within them is more a question of diachrony, as when they are united to be *liheci* they may have been used differently from the way they are used now. So, I consider it justified to investigate all samples where the second morpheme demonstrates nominal behaviour in modern Chinese. As stated in the introduction, this issue is not unique to Chinese, we can observe the same phenomena in English and even in Russian, where parts of speech are rather strictly defined. For this research, the question of the part of speech of the second element is not of primary importance, and we will accept to this category all samples where the second element *behaves as a noun*, even if originally (separately) is not.

1.2.4. Grouping disputed samples

The greatest difficulty in this process is to differentiate between *liheci* and verbs with empty objects, although the main criteria is rather clear: at least one part of *liheci* does not operate separately. *Liheci* which consist of two adhesive morphemes are undisputable, as well as those where the verb is adhesive (at least with the particular semantic meaning which a *liheci* presents⁷⁵) and the noun is independent. But, in situations where the verb is independent and the noun is adhesive, it can be very difficult to distinguish them from verbs with empty objects as almost the only criteria which remains is the one named above. Ye (2006: 37) even speaks about some samples of this type as forming a special group. For example, in *shengqi* 生气 (to be angry)⁴⁵, *sheng* is an independent verb-morpheme, but being independent it loses the “angry” meaning and denotes being born or bearing a baby, so we can say that for this *liheci* it becomes “*semantically adhesive*”. But words such as *shuijiao* 睡觉 (to sleep), where the first verb preserves the same meaning as the *liheci*, are much more complicated, as they have only a slight difference with verbs with empty

⁷⁵ See above and below about semantic adhesion.

objects and that difference is not always easy to recognize. To separate them from each other, I suggest paying more attention to two methods:

1. Proving that the noun-morpheme is undoubtedly adhesive (at least semantically) and cannot be used separately with the same meaning (for example, in *chifan fan* means food and can be used as a word) in modern Chinese. It is also an arduous task as, for example, dictionaries often list sample sentences from *wenyan* where morphemes could often be used independently;
2. Looking at their duplicated form. Verbs usually omit their empty objects when duplicating, because duplicating is a method of complementing the verb and its empty object becomes unnecessary, but *liheci* continue to use the A(一)AB scheme.

An important thing to notice is that no method is universally applicable and completely independent and we should check each sample in as many ways as possible. For example, in general we consider that *liheci* do not accept other objects but there are cases when they can do it (see chapter 2). I consider split usages as more definitive than combinations with other words. So, the general scheme of my evaluation is: 1. Finding split-up usages 2. Proving that (one) morpheme(s) is dependent. 3. Looking at combinations if necessary.

Another issue of paramount importance is that due to the high ambiguity of the status of morphemes and their part of speech, the general criterion is looking for poly-morpheme words with one joint verbal meaning which can split up and where the second element acts as a noun.

I also presuppose – and this will be partially discussed in this and other chapters – that within the category of *liheci*, even by the limited definition given in this work, we may find *liheci* with varying degrees of grammatical and semantic adhesion, which may partially affect the way they function in sentences. For example, in *chifan* both its morphemes are independent and it is not a *liheci*, while in *shengqi* both morphemes are strongly (semantically) dependent, and those words where the verb is an independent morpheme (such as *shuijiao*) form a proto-stage between these two. The second morpheme is adhesive, which makes it a part of *liheci*, not an empty object, but the first verb-morpheme can be used separately as a regular verb with the same meaning as the *liheci* itself. I will incorporate this proto-*liheci* type into *liheci* and in the chapter on *liheci*-verb comparison I will test their differences. I can justify it through at least one reason: modern Chinese is aimed at forming polysyllabic words and the direction of development of single morphemes is pointed at adhesion, which means that it is more likely for the first morpheme to become adhesive and finally form a single word, than for the second one to become independent. On the basis of the

concepts of other Chinese researchers, a related idea is highlighted by Ye (2006: 2): *liheci*, in any case, are moving from being phrases to single words.

1.2.5. The levels of analysing *liheci* and related issues

Another thing to keep in mind is that *liheci* should be analysed at several levels: outer structure (OS) and inner structure (IS). Although we call parts of *liheci* “morphemes”, those morphemes are not exactly the same as in a homogeneous word (prefix-root-suffix, etc.) as the split-up form of *liheci* applies a larger level of independence which is impossible within parts of one homogeneous word.

An in-depth analysis of *liheci* should include at least 4 blocks:

| | IS | OS |
|----------------|----|----|
| Past | 1 | 2 |
| Modern Chinese | 3 | 4 |

In the past when *liheci* started forming their OS⁷⁶ they could be word collocations with IS at the level of simple connections as between other words, so, a profound study of IS should start with their etymology. Through cementing the tie between their parts, *liheci* moved to word-like structures with different inner ties. The quality of morphemes could also change. This way of development seems the most probable but as well it could have been not linear or not homogeneous.

Then, considering the term and the object of analysis, moving from up to down we can include or exclude formations of the following levels:

| | | | |
|----|--|--|--|
| 1. | <i>Liheci</i> as a word formation principle. All types of words which have one joint meaning but can divide. | | |
| 2. | <i>Liheci</i> as constructions with verbal meanings only | <i>Liheci</i> as constructions of any type of speech but formed by a verb and a noun-like object/patient | <i>Liheci</i> as constructions with at least one adhesive morpheme |
| 3. | <i>Liheci</i> as constructions formed by a verb and a | ... | ... |

⁷⁶ In the past the relationship between elements of collocations was equal, not subordinate, and many of them could equally exist in AB and BA sequences, e.g., apart from *xizao* 洗澡 there existed *zaoxi* 澡洗 with the same meaning (Li Qiang 李强, Xu Min 徐敏, 2014).

| | | | |
|----|--|--|--|
| | noun-like object/patient | | |
| 4. | <i>Liheci</i> as constructions where at least one morpheme shows adhesion of any type. | | |
| 5. | ... | | |

Each researcher undertakes their level to stop further restrictions. In the previous part of this paper I applied the first scenario. From the level one of a very general description of *liheci* where many types apart from *dongbingshi* can be included I reduced the notion to constructions of verbal meanings only⁷⁷ and later reduced them to those which consist of verbs and nouns/noun phrases in only Modern Chinese. If I stopped at this, I would consider combinations such as 吃饭 *liheci*, however, I went further and assumed that at least one morpheme should be adhesive. Step number 4 may not be the ultimate one, as within the group of words which can pass these restrictions, we can still find words which can be grouped or excluded on different basis (see further). By the end of this section we can accept them as sub-types of *liheci* or separate from this category.

1.2.6. Some difficulties in differentiating *liheci* from other words

Unfortunately, we cannot recognize a *liheci* just by the way it looks, that is why we need to utilize those methods given above. For example, let us look at *kaoshi* 考试 (to have an exam) which is a very contestable word. It contains 2 syllables, and in some examples it behaves as a verb, in some examples as a noun. We can also often meet its first part *kao* acting as a separate verb. We can find *kaoshi* acting in a split way but those occasions are rare. In fact, the Russian-Chinese Zhonga dictionary as well as the Big Chinese-Russian dictionary (BKRS) give only this example sentence: *wo zuotian kaole liangge shi* 我昨天考了两个试, which means “I passed two exams yesterday”. On the surface, it looks like a typical *liheci*. At the same time, it is difficult to define the status of *shi* which is not a completely adhesive morpheme, in that we can find varying samples of its independent usage, such as *diyishi* 第一试 (first try), and it is also used as an independent verb. If we search for other examples, e.g. sentences with possessives, we are more likely find *wode kaoshi* 我的考试 (my exam) than *kao wode shi* 考我的试 (to pass my exam) as this word tends to be a noun in the majority of observed sentences. So, on the one hand, this word acts as a verb with an empty object, on the other hand, it may act as a whole noun. Zhang, Zhao (1996) consider it a

⁷⁷ In some research papers (see above and below) other parts of speech may be included.

verb+noun *liheci*⁷⁸. In my opinion, what is happening with this word is a fast transition process. Formally it is a *liheci*, but in fact when it is used as a verb, it acts as a proto-*liheci* omitting its second part. As a whole word its main function is a noun not a verb. In some occasions (such as *wo gei tamen kaoshi* 我给他们考试 – I will examine them) it can act as a verb. In this work it will not come under any analysis as it is practically impossible to find any split usages for this word as well as adding inner verbal components. The only case I found where it functions as a 100% *liheci* is in the third part of HSK Standard Course (p.6): *kaowanshi ni you shenme dasuan* 考完试你有什么打算? (what do you plan to do after finishing the exam(s)?) A similar word is the HSK 3 word *ganmao* 感冒 (to get cold, a cold) which formally can split, but those cases are very few. Normally we can find it used as a verb or a noun. When it adds attributives, they normally go before AB (e.g. *liuxing ganmao* 流行性感冒 – a flu). In the CCL Corpus (see more below) we can find one example sentence where it splits up to add *guo* 过: *ni qian jitiangang ganguomao* 你前几天刚感过冒 (you have been ill for several days), and one example when it splits to add *le* 了: *dique zuidade keneng shi shenti he xinlide shuang zhong zuoyong shi ni ganlemao* 的确最大的可能是身体和心理的双重作用使你感了冒 (in reality, it is most probable that both physical and psychological aspects made you fall ill). Having found only 2 examples for these suffixes demonstrates that splitting is not a proper use of this word: usually, when a *liheci* in principle can split up to add them, this usage is the norm which demonstrates a good frequency in samples (see examples for other words below). So, formally these words can be considered *liheci*, but the *liheci*-type behaviour is not regular for them and the *liheci*-type usages are very few.

1.2.7. Samples' selection

1.2.7.1. HSK 1-3 *liheci*

The first *liheci* appears in HSK 1 (A1)⁷⁹ list. It is a proto-*liheci* *shuijiao* 睡觉 (to sleep) consisting of an independent and an adhesive morpheme. Its first character means “to sleep”, “to go to bed”, “a dream (sleep)”⁸⁰. Its second character has two pronunciations – *jue* and *jiao*. In both readings it has plenty of meanings, but the one which interests us the most is “a sleep”. Thus,

⁷⁸ Their classification of morphemes may contradict with the one taken in this work. They said that out of 355 samples of split-up verbal words only 7 consist of a verb and a noun. Among them – 洗澡, 游泳, 睡觉, 考试.

⁷⁹ In this paper, due to the time of its creation, we operate on the basis of six HSK levels. This system is supposed to be changed during the year 2020.

⁸⁰ This type of object is described as **cognate**.

shuijiao can be translated as “to sleep a sleep”. It reminds of *chifan* “to eat food”⁸¹ but the second morpheme is never used separately as a noun, so the word fulfils the demands to be considered a *liheci*. We can find the second part acting as a separate verb mainly with the pronunciation *jue*. However, as we remember, we defined *liheci* as a verb+noun-object structure. The Zhong dictionary gives a corresponding example sentence: *ta shuile yi xiao jiao* 他 [...] 睡了一小觉 [...], which means he slept a little (literally: he slept one little sleep). Moreover, it is the only *liheci* given at the first level.

On the second level we can find *paobu* 跑步 (to run). Its second part *bu* (step) is adhesive, and its duplicated form is *paopaobu*⁸². It can be considered one of proto-*liheci* as its first part can be occasionally used as a separate verb.

Shengqi 生气 has already been explained in the examples above, so, it is included as one of samples.

Shengbing 生病 – a *liheci* similar to *shengqi*. It means “to get ill”. *Sheng* is an independent morpheme but, in this case, it becomes semantically adhesive⁸³. *Bing* means “illness”, “to be ill” but is normally used in collocations with other characters⁸⁴. The Zhong dictionary provides this example: *shengle yichang da bing* 生了一场大病 (got a serious illness), in which the word splits and accepts other elements within as a typical *liheci*.

Youyong 游泳 (to swim) sometimes behaves like a noun⁸⁵ which makes it similar to *kaoshi* 考试. Also, its first verbal part may be used independently. However, its second part is not independent. It means “to swim” or “a swim” but the situation is the same as with *jiao* in *shuijiao*. The zhong dictionary provides this example: *youle yitian yong* 游了一天泳 – was swimming for a (whole) day. I would accept it as another proto-*liheci*.

At the level of HSK 3 there appears *bangmang* 帮忙 – the *liheci* correlated with the verb *bangzhu* 帮助 or, in some usages, with *bang* 帮⁸⁶. HSK lists are organized alphabetically, so these two follow one after another. Both are translated as “to help” with some additional translations. These two words usually provoke a lot of questions among students as both are given and translated

⁸¹ See further about the differences between cognate and empty objects.

⁸² Duplicated forms are not always definitive as we can also say 吃饭. Here the duplicated form is additional to the adhesion of the second morpheme.

⁸³ This is outer semantic adhesion in a more complete morpheme classification.

⁸⁴ For example, we usually say *jibing* 疾病 (illness) instead of just saying *bing*.

⁸⁵ For example, *changqi youyong* 长期游泳- a long-distance swim. In general, many *liheci* (as well as some verbs) can be used as nouns but not for all of them is this usage dominating over their verbal/*liheci* usage.

⁸⁶ The difference between *bang* and *bangzhu* is the same as between *xue* and *xuexi*. The one-syllable verb has to be complemented and is not used without words going after it. The 2-syllable verb can be used without any complements.

as verbs and the difference is rarely explained in a proper way. Although there is a disputable opinion about its second morpheme, it also has a nominal meaning “a hurry”⁸⁷.

Fashao 发烧: 发 means to emit, to send, 烧 is “to burn” or “to fry”, “temperature”, “fever” or “to have (a high) temperature”. The second morpheme can be an independent verb but normally is not completely independent as a noun. The first morpheme appears to be semantically adhesive⁸⁸, as its separate meaning has no connection with temperature. Apart from that, searching through dictionaries, we can find examples such as *fagaoshao* 发高烧 (to have high temperature), *fale yi zhenzi shao* 发了一阵子烧 (to have a spell of fever).

Jiehun 结婚, as well as its antonym *lihun* 离婚 (to get divorced), is a *liheci*. The first morpheme (to conclude, to tie) is polysemic. One of its verbal meanings which is appropriate for us is “to establish, to contract, to make” (about alliances, treaties, relationships etc.), although it is also used in many other collocations but normally not completely independently⁸⁹. The second morpheme is an adhesive noun “wedding/marriage”. 离婚 is a similar case, but the first morpheme means “to separate”, and is not normally used as an independent verb.

Qichuang 起床 (to get up) has a very loose structure, more similar to verbs with empty objects such as *chifan*. Its first part can sometimes be used as a verb with the meaning “to stand, to get up” but in general is not completely independent as a verb, whereas the second part which means “a bed” is a word. See below.

Tiaowu 跳舞 (to dance) is a typical *liheci*. Its first part is an independent verb “to jump” which is not normally used in the meaning “to dance”. Its second part is an adhesive noun-morpheme “dance”. Its duplicated form is 跳跳舞 (AAB scheme).

Jianmian 见面 (to meet) consists of two adhesive morphemes. The first verbal morpheme “to see” is normally not used as an independent verb in modern Chinese, it is rather a verbal complement. The second part “appearance” is neither used as a separate word⁹⁰ and has, apart from this one, other meanings in different collocations. The BKRS dictionary gives the following example: *wo he ta zhi jianguo yici mian* 我和他只见过一次面 (I have only seen him once).

Fangxin 放心 (to calm down) is one more *liheci*, its first part is a polysemantic independent verb “fang”, and one of its meanings is “to relieve”. The second element is an adhesive morpheme “heart”.

⁸⁷ See the footnote about the parts of speech of its morphemes.

⁸⁸ Or semi-adhesive.

⁸⁹ For example, *jiedai* 结带 - to lace, or *jiebing* 结冰 - to get covered with ice.

⁹⁰ Rarely, it is used as a verb without other morphemes, for example, in *haojiu bujian le* 好久不见了 (very long have not seen (each other) = long time no see). However, this is rather a fixed spoken expression.

1.2.7.2. HSK 4 *liheci*

At the level of HSK 4 we have the following ones:

Biye 毕业 (to graduate). In the previously mentioned dictionaries, we can find such examples as *bibuliao ye* 毕不了业 (cannot graduate). The first morpheme has a verbal meaning “to finish” but it is not normally used as a separate word. The second morpheme is adhesive. So, we can consider both morphemes adhesive in this case.

Baoming 报名 (to register) is a complicated word, which reveals to be a *liheci* through verbal components added in the middle, such as *baoguoming* 报过名 (have registered) or *baowanming* 报完名 (finished registering). The first morpheme is a verb of varying meanings one of which is “to report”, and it can be used independently but not with the same meaning. The second morpheme is a noun “name” which is usually not used alone (to mean “name”, we normally add the word “character” *zi* 字). So, we can accept them as a semantically adhesive verb and a semi-adhesive noun.

Chijing 吃惊 (to get astonished) is another disputable word. In some works it is listed as a verb+verb “*liheci*”, in others as a verb+adjective⁹¹ structure. It accepts other elements within, for example 了, may demonstrate verbal usages and its second morpheme has a nominal meaning, too. The first morpheme is semantically adhesive, the second one is adhesive.

Chouyan 抽烟 (to smoke) is a typical *liheci*. We can find such examples as *chou yidai yan* 抽一袋烟 (to smoke a pipe), *chouyan choudede...* 抽烟抽得... (a grammatical duplication to characterize the verbal part), *chouchouyan* 抽抽烟 etc. The first morpheme is the verb “to pull”, “to allocate”, “to emit”, which is not normally used separately in the meaning “to smoke”. The second part is the noun “tobacco”, “pipe”, “fume” and is not normally used alone (only in collocations with other words).

Dazhen 打针 (to give/have an injection) consists of two parts. The first morpheme is a verb of a very general usage which forms collocations with a vast variety of meanings, such as “to call (by phone)”, to play sports, to make a discount etc. In dictionaries, one of its independent verbal meanings is “to hit” or “to break”. So, in the case of this particular collocation it is semantically adhesive. The second morpheme is a noun “needle”, “injection”. It is used both separately and in

⁹¹ In some works, for example, in that of Bovi (2016) about isomorphism, the second element is considered a noun. Overall, in both dictionaries which I used it is mainly given as a verb, rarely as an adjective. Its noun meanings which can be found are “fear” and “surprise”. Zhang, Zhao (1996) consider the whole word an adjective but it also has verbal meanings.

collocations. For this *liheci*, the BKRS dictionary⁹² gives the following examples which illustrate its split usage:

da jirou zhen 打肌肉针 inject into a muscle;

da jingmai zhen 打静脉针 inject into veins;

da pixia zhen 打皮下针 inject under the skin;

Dazhe 打折 is “to make a discount”. The first morpheme is the same as in the previous sample, and it can be considered a semantically adhesive verb. The second morpheme, as a noun, means percent. In theory, it can be independent, but usually when used with numbers. Some examples of splitting are: *dalezhe* 打了折 (gave a discount), *dadazhe* 打大折 (give a big discount), *dabazhe* 打八折 (20% discount).

Danxin 担心 (to worry) normally does not accept objects after itself, uses a prepositional structure (for example, *weiwo danxin* 为我担心 (to worry about me)), adds verbal modifiers in the middle (e.g. *danzhexin* 担着心 (worrying)), and adds noun modifiers in the middle (*danle yigeyuede xin* 担了一个月的心 (was worrying for 1 month)). Its first verbal part can be used as a separate word but with a completely different meaning (“to carry on shoulders”, “to accept (responsibility)/undertake”, “to burden (oneself)”, “to withstand/bear”). The second noun is “heart” which can appear separated in a few cases but normally not meaning the body organ.

Daoqian 道歉 (to apologise), unlike *baoqian* 抱歉, is believed to be a *liheci*. We can find it in different split forms, such as *daoleqian* 道了歉 (apologised) or *dao le yitiande qian* 道了一天的歉 (was apologising for one/whole day). Its first part is a verbal morpheme which used to mean “to speak”, “to express” but is not used independently anymore. Its second part is a noun with several meanings, one of which is “apology”, but it is not used separately. *Daoqian* is used with prepositional constructions, such as *xiangta daoqian* 向他道歉 (to ask him for pardon)⁹³.

Ganbei 干杯 means “to drink a toast”. It consists of two independent morphemes. The first one is a verb with many meanings including “to do” and “to interfere” but the meaning related to this *liheci* is “to dry”. The second is the noun “cup”. Despite the independence of these morphemes, in this particular collocation they remain semantically adhesive as they jointly present a meaning different from its individual parts and form one of the *liheci* types which will be discussed later.

Guzhang 鼓掌 (to applaud) is another *liheci*. Its verbal morpheme has many different meanings, the most relevant one is “to hit”. It can formally be independent but in this case remains

⁹² This dictionary also gives frequency number for each word but the basis of the frequency is not explained.

⁹³ We should note that there are verbs which use prepositional structures, too, so, alone this criterion cannot be used as definitive.

semantically adhesive. The second morpheme means “a palm” but is not normally used separately (mainly in collocations, or as a part of *shouzhang* 手掌 “palm”). Verbal modifiers can be added between the two elements, for example *gulezhang* 鼓了掌 (applauded). Examples from the BKRS dictionary:

- *guanzhong xiang yanyuanmen relie guzhang* 观众向演员们热烈鼓掌 (the audience warmly applauded the performers);
- *gule bantian zhang* 鼓了半天掌 (applaud for a long time).

Kai wanxiao 开玩笑 (to play a joke, to joke) is a *liheci*. Its second part means “a joke” and can be independent. Its first part is a verb with many meanings which is mainly used in collocations and its meanings are normally derived from those collocations (the “core” meaning is to open/to start).

Pailie 排列 is a very controversial word. The first meaning learners usually come across is “to arrange/organize” and it is more likely to be used a verb. For example, *pailie juzi* 排列句子 which is a typical task in tests to put sentences in the correct order— here the sample takes another object which can happen to some *liheci* as an exception, but it does not show any regular split up usages. However, it has another meaning – to arrange in lines – and with this meaning it acts as a *liheci*. For example, *pai liang heng lie* 排两横列 – to form two lines (military). It will not be analysed because its *liheci* meaning is not the most widely used. In CCL we can find other verbal combinations for 排列, for example, *ershi pailie de jinjinde* ... 而是排列得紧紧的 ... (be organised/located very close).

Qingjia 请假 (to ask for leave) is rather controversial. On the one hand, its meaning is clear from its parts as *qing* is translated as “to ask” and *jia* refers to holidays. On the other hand, *jia* is not commonly used independently, and when separated these words lose their combined meaning. So, its first morpheme can be considered semantically adhesive in this case and the second one adhesive. At the same time, we can assume it to be an abbreviation from a longer phrase, which does not contradict the fact that as a word it can act like a *liheci*. For disputable combinations with clear meanings see further.

Sanbu 散步 (to walk). As mentioned above for *paobu* 跑步, the second morpheme is adhesive. But, in this case, the first part cannot be used independently. Its duplicated form is *sansanbu* 散散步.

Chuchai 出差 (to go on a business trip) consists of a verbal morpheme *chu* (to go (out)), that normally it is not used as an independent verb, although it is not polysemantic. The second morpheme has several pronunciations and meanings. For example, pronounced as *chai* it can mean "a duty" or "to send, to delegate", and is adhesive. In the CCL corpora there is an example of its split usage *chu yitang chai* 出一趟差, where *tang* is a nominal/verbal classifier.

Shangxin 伤心 (to grieve)⁹⁴ is very similar to *danxin* which was discussed above. We can find examples of its split usage such as *shangle wode xin* 伤了我的心 (I grieved). Technically, it can be independent but it is not normally used as a one-syllable word. The joint meaning is different from the meanings of the individual parts.

Another word of the same kind – considered an adjective and a verb – is *zhaoji* 着急 (to worry, to hurry). It is probably used as a verb less frequently than as an adjective but it is possible to find its split form, for example, 50 sentences in CCL where it accepts 了 within (e.g. *furen yiting zheoleji* 富人一听着了急). Its first morpheme has many pronunciations and meanings, among which (with pronunciation *zhao*) 1. to suffer from 2. to experience 3. to be worth something 4. to be affected by and others. In different combinations it varies from semi-independent to adhesive. I consider it principally adhesive. Its second morpheme has many meanings and can be verbal, nominal, adjectival. As a noun it is translated as "urgency, emergency", it is adhesive. In Hanyu Jiaocheng⁹⁵ we can find an example of its split usage: *zhao shenme ji* 着什么急 (what to worry about?).

So, the total proportion of *liheci* in the first four HSK lists is 30 out of approximately 1250 words (a mere 2.4%). As we can see, the distribution of *liheci* between HSK levels demonstrates that they are not so numerous, which does not quite mean that they are less used than verbs. The very fact of a smaller quantity of *liheci* samples does not imply that they are less frequent in speech. Another point to consider is that HSK lists do not directly correspond with CEFR levels and HSK 4 may be a seriously lower level than the real B2. At the same time, we have to admit that the proportion of *liheci* to other significant parts of speech appears to be rather low.

1.2.7.3. Additional samples and samples from textbooks

⁹⁴ Zhang, Zhao (1996) consider this word an adjective. I consider it to be a word without a default semantic category as one can often find both – verbal and adjectival – translations and usages. There are more words like this, for example, 着急 (the following sample) or 担心.

⁹⁵ Part 2 book 1, page 39.

Some articles written in Chinese⁹⁶ also list such combinations as 下雨 *xiayu* (raining) as *liheci*. However, this is a typical case of a separate verb with a separate word. This kind of verb is called “atmospheric”. In various languages these verbs may have a syntactic subject, but not an agent (e.g. “it is raining”). In Russian, this type of sentence is called impersonal and it is usually employed to describe natural events such as raining or snowing. There is no evidence to consider *yu* neither an object of *xia* nor its subject.

Many of those articles propose lists of the most used *liheci*, however, they rarely have authors and do not always explain what they understand as *liheci*. Another point to consider is that many given words, if we compare them with our HSK lists investigations, cannot be definitely considered the most frequent as they only appear in HSK 5 and HSK 6 or not included in the lists at all. At the same time, some of them, such as, for example, *jiehun* 结婚 (to get married) can often be seen in textbooks for foreigners.

One of the words I paid particular attention to when searching through those articles was *chuiniu* 吹牛 (to boast, to show off). Both words do exist independently. *Chui* means “to blow” it can be used as an independent word in many combinations. *Niu* means “a cow”, and it is a completely independent noun. However, in this combination they become semantically adhesive and lose their joint meaning if separated. It is a verb and its object/patient and they can split in sentences. We have already acknowledged semantic adhesion to be an acceptable type of adhesion for some words, so, although the morphemes of *chuiniu* can be independent we should still pay attention to it within the category of *liheci*.

Now, let us also look at several textbooks for foreign students. Some of them, such as *Hanyu Jiaocheng*, are very representative in this sense, as it gives all parts of speech in its “new words” sections, apart from *liheci*. *Liheci* and some other words given in the first book without any part of speech indicated are:

Hanyu Jiaocheng book 1 part 1: *kaixue* 开学, *liuxue* 留学.

Hanyu Jiaocheng book 1 part 2: 报名, 毕业, *chuguo* 出国, *duche* 堵车, *dakai* 打开, *dayu* 打鱼, *dazhen* 打针, *dazhe* 打折, *fashao* 发烧, *ganxingqu* 感兴趣, *guanji* 关机, *laduzi* 拉肚子, *laojia* 劳驾, *kaiji* 开机, *liaotianer* 聊天儿, *kanbing* 看病, *sanbu* 散步, *shangche* 上车, *shangke* 上课, *shangwang* 上网, *paobu* 跑步, *shimian* 失眠, *qichuang* 起床, *qingjia* 请假, *shuijiao* 睡觉, *tioawu* 跳舞, *xizao* 洗澡, *xiache* 下车, *xiake* 下课.

Another approach is undertaken in the Developing Chinese series, they enlist *liheci* as verbs or, in some cases, do not indicate any part of speech.

⁹⁶ Those articles are usually untitled and have no author. They are available in Baidu search for free in the documents search, so we cannot fully rely on them as a source.

Developing Chinese Elementary Comprehensive part 1: *biye* 毕业, *banjia* 搬家, *bangmang* 帮忙, *baoming* 报名, *dabao* 打包, *dagong* 打工, *dakai* 打开, *danxin* 担心, *fayin* 发音, *fangjia* 放假, *guanxin* 关心, *guanlin* 光临, *huxi* 呼吸, *jiehun* 结婚, *jiezhang* 结账, *jinbu* 进步, *kanbing* 看病, *liaotianer* 聊天儿, *liuxue* 留学, *paidui* 排队, *paobu* 跑步, *sanbu* 散步, *shangban* 上班, *shangke* 上课, *shangwang* 上网, *shengbing* 生病, *shuijiao* 睡觉, *shoushi* 收拾, *shuaka* 刷卡, *tiaowu* 跳舞, *xizao* 洗澡, *xiake* 下课, *yingjie* 迎接, *youyong* 游泳, *zuoke* 做客。

Another popular book, *Boya Hanyu*⁹⁷, does not indicate any part of speech for *liheci*. The first of our samples which appears there is *youyong*. Some of those words have already been discussed before, others demand attention.

Kaixue 开学 “to start studying” and some other similar combinations are rather difficult to classify as they can function as *liheci* and the second element can be seen as a noun. However, they rather seem to be dissyllabic contractions from “full” phrases. *Kaixue* is *kaishi xuexi* 开始学习, “to start studying”. *Kai* as a verb has different meanings, one of which is “to start”, *xue* is mainly independent as a verb “to study”. Both separately preserve the same meanings as in the combination. So, this type of construction is excluded from our research, although in some works (for example, Zhang, Zhao (1996)) it is considered a *liheci*.

Liuxue 留学 (“to study abroad”) is a more complicated case as the literal translation of its part would mean “to stay to study” which is not exactly the same as “to study abroad”. On the other hand, its meaning “to stay” also implies “to stay somewhere for a particular period”. Its AAB form is not typically used. Combinations with verbal suffixes cannot be defining as *liulexue* 留了学 is very similar to *qulemai* 去了买 (went in order to buy) combination which is the predicate of aim (they can be seen within the topic of serial verb construction SVC). What is definitive here is the relationship between the parts of *liuxue*. Between them we can put “in order to”: “to stay in order to study” and the second element is not a noun-object of the verb, to be precise, the action of the verb is not realized upon the noun (it is not a **patient** of the verb)⁹⁸. We cannot translate it as “the study(ing) is stayed” as we can in theory with the majority of *liheci* samples, although this method is rather artificial⁹⁹. On the contrary, we can accept it as “to keep studies stayed (somewhere)”, then,

⁹⁷ Developing Chinese and Boya Chinese are published by Beijing University Press. Between 2006-2010 they were recommended by the Chinese Ministry of Education. *Hanyu Jiaocheng* is published by Beijing language and Culture University Press and it is widely used in language courses for foreign students.

⁹⁸ About objects and patients see below.

⁹⁹ Theoretically, if we assume that the noun of a *liheci* is a patient-object of its verb and that each morpheme originally has a particular meaning, then we could somewhat unnaturally convert each *liheci* into an English passive voice structure (for translation). For example, *daoqian* 道歉 could be rendered as “*qian* is *dao*-ed”, which is approximately similar to “an apology is spoken/pronounced”. This can be applied to our examples. In English, as well as in Russian and

the tie is accusative. In this case the second morpheme definitely seems to be verbal¹⁰⁰. On the other hand, we can find its split usages (although not as many), e.g. a sentence from CCL *juedaduoshu liuwanxue ye buken huidao Zhongguo* 绝大多数留完学也不肯回到中国 (many [people] having finished their studies abroad won't return to China). In this sentence *wan* (a complement of result which means “to finish”) is inserted between the morphemes, and *xue* can be seen as acting as a noun. At the same time, it can be interpreted as “having finished staying for studying”. It accepts 了 and 过 within. An example from CCL: *liangwei dou zai guowailiuguoxue* 两位都在国外留过学 (both have studied abroad) is not definitive either as it can be another SVC. What is definitive here is its split usage and that both morphemes are adhesive (*xue* as a noun is an adhesive morpheme, as a verb it is independent).

Chuguo 出国 (to go abroad) includes the verbal morpheme *chu* which means “to go out” and *guo* which is “a state/country”. *Guo* is an adhesive morpheme which is never used separately, only in combinations; *chu* is a polysemantic verb which in some cases can be considered independent but, in this collocation, it is semantically adhesive as independently it does not preserve the general meaning of this combination.

Duche 堵车 ((to be in) a traffic jam). *Du* is a verb which can be used independently with the meaning “to block”. The Zhongna dictionary gives the following examples: *dubuwang dajiade zui* 堵不住大家的嘴 (you cannot block everybody's mouth); *xiayu cunshui bamen duzhule* 下雨存水把门堵住了 (rain water blocked the entrance). Another word with the same morpheme is *duse* 堵塞 “blockage, tube clogging”. In this collocation it can be considered semantically adhesive. *Che* is an independent noun which means “a car”. In the BKRS dictionary there is an example of its split (and inverted) usage¹⁰¹: *che dudehen* 车堵得很 – a big traffic jam (cars piled up a lot).

Dakai 打开 is not a *liheci*, the second morpheme is verbal.

Spanish, it may appear natural. Active “to give help” can become passive “help is given”. This may lead us to another not purely Chinese observation that the verbal parts of *liheci* should be transitive and the nouns should be in the “accusative case” (to be patients/direct objects when not inverted). A notable contradiction is that as previously mentioned by Shou-Hsin Teng (2009) “separable words are in most cases intransitive verbs”. In the context of this work, this displays two errors: 1. *Liheci* are not verbs (if we accept them as verbs, then, the majority of them are definitely intransitive, as after their own inner object we cannot add any other object); 2. The verbal part of *liheci* is transitive as the second morpheme in *liheci* is its patient-object. In any case, this artificial way of translating *liheci* may not work in all cases (see below about the attributive tie). At some point it may also be difficult because verbs in Chinese may combine active, passive, reflexive and causative meanings in one. However, it is also worth noting that the second N is a patient of the first V in all *liheci*. As we will see later, in English and Russian there is a large group of combinations which are considered VN while their N is not a patient of the V.

¹⁰⁰ Zhang, Zhao (1996) accept it as a *liheci*.

¹⁰¹ Apart from “inversion”, the term “transposal” is often used. The Chinese term is 易位.

Dayu 钓鱼 is a word combination but not a *liheci*. The verb *da* has been discussed before, but in this case, it is not semantically adhesive. In general, it is an independent but polysemantic verb, and it is normally used in combinations. One of its independent meanings is “to get”. The Zhonga dictionary gives several examples of this particular meaning, one of which is *da huochepiao* 打火车票 “to get a train ticket”. *Yu* is fish.

Ganxingqu 感兴趣 (to be interested in) consists of a polysemantic verbal morpheme which can formally be independent but remains semantically adhesive here and the noun “interest” which is independent.

Guanji 关机 (to turn off a device) functions as a *liheci*. It includes a semantically adhesive morpheme “to close, to turn off” and an adhesive morpheme “device”.

Laduzi 拉肚子 (to suffer from diarrhoea) is a *liheci* which includes a semantically adhesive morpheme (an independent verb *la* with a number of different meanings) and an independent word “stomach”.

Laojia 劳驾 (excuse me, may I trouble you?) includes an adhesive verbal morpheme with many meanings (to work, to thank, to get tired, to suffer, to present etc.) and a polysemantic adhesive noun-morpheme (an honorific epithet for you, honourable visit/ride, coming out). It mainly functions as an introductory phatic word (excuse me...), but in some cases it shows its split usage. For example, *laoninjia* 劳您驾 (may I disturb you? Excuse me), as well as 劳你驾 which has the same meaning, but with the neutral pronoun “you” and *laotajia* 劳他驾 (disturbing him). Formally, this word is a *liheci* but we will not analyse it here, in fact, as well as 考试, it rarely functions as a *liheci*, normally acting as a parenthesis.

Kaiji 开机 (to turn on mobile phone) is the same case as 关机.

Liaotianer 聊天儿 (to talk, to chat) is a *liheci*. The last syllable appears due to the process of erization (also called *erhua*) which is a phonetical process mainly observed in the Northern varieties of Chinese, so, it does not influence our analysis. The first verb means “to talk, to chat”. In some cases, it can be independent. The second morpheme is an independent word meaning “day” or “sky”. In the BKRS dictionary we can find an example of split usage: *women zhishi liaole huier tian* 我们只是聊了会儿天 (we just talked a little bit). The duplicated form is *liaoliaotianer*. It functions similarly to *bangmang*. The verb can formally be used alone, although should be complimented, so it can be seen as a proto-*liheci*.

Kanbing 看病 (1. To see a doctor 2. To examine a patient). It includes an independent verb *kan* “to see”, “to look (at)” which in this case demonstrates outer semantic adhesion, and an adhesive morpheme *bing* which is a general morpheme for diseases.

Shimian 失眠 ((to suffer from) insomnia) includes *shi* “to lose” and *mian* “to sleep”, “a sleep”, both of which are adhesive.

Xizao 洗澡 (to take a shower/bath, to bathe) is a *liheci*. *Xi* is an independent verb which means “to wash”, however, in this particular case it remains semantically adhesive as separately it does not mean “to take shower”. *Zao* is an adhesive morpheme whose meaning is “a bath”. One example of split usage in dictionaries is *xihaizao* 洗海澡 (to bathe in the sea).

Banjia 搬家 (to move, to move house) is a *liheci* which consists of two independent morphemes. *Ban* means “to move”, *jia* is “home”, but they remain semantically adhesive in this collocation with the joint meaning of moving house.

Dabao 打包 (to pack) includes the previously discussed verb *da* and *bao* which means “a pack” (as a noun normally adhesive, apart from the meaning “a bag”).

Dagong 打工 (to work, to have a temporary job, to do manual work) includes *da* and *gong*, an adhesive morpheme which means “a job, work, labour, craft”.

Fayin 发音 (pronunciation, to pronounce) is a *liheci*. The first verbal morpheme is polysemantic. Like *da* 打 it is normally used in combinations and in this case can be considered semantically adhesive. One of its general meanings is “to emit”. The second morpheme means “sound”, it is adhesive. An example of its split usage can be *yin fade buzhun* 音发得不准 (pronounced incorrectly).

Fangjia 放假 (to have holidays) includes the previously discussed verb *fang* and an adhesive morpheme “holiday”. It accepts other elements between the two parts, for example, *fangshujia* 放暑假 (to have summer holidays) or *fangchangjia* 放长假 (to have long holidays).

Guanxin 关心 (to care about) is accepted as *liheci* in some research, however, in practice it shows verbal behaviour, for example: 1. It accepts direct objects 2. It accepts 着 after, not within (one of 463 examples in CCL is ... *zhi guanxinzhe yijian shier* 只关心着一件事... - only worried about this matter) 3. 过 also goes after it (e.g. in CCL...*name dui cengjing guanxinguo ta* 那么对曾经关心过他) 4. 得 goes after it (*guanxin de shao* 关心得少, *guanxin de taiduole* 关心得太多了). Split usages are not found.

Guanglin 光临 is a verb and a noun which means “(to pay) an honourable visit”.

Huxi 呼吸 (to breathe, breathing) is a noun and a verb. As a verb it can accept direct objects, e.g. *huxi xinxiang kongqi* 呼吸新鲜空气 (to breathe fresh air). As was briefly mentioned before and will be discussed further, it accepts direct objects, the acceptance of which is not definitive, as

some *liheci* do. It adds particles and suffixes (e.g. 着, 得) after it, not between its elements, and that split usages are not found.

Jiezhang 结账 (to pay the bill, to settle accounts) includes the previously discussed adhesive¹⁰² verbal morpheme. The second noun-morpheme is “a bill/account/debt”. We can find split examples, such as 结了帐 or 结一次帐.

Jinbu 进步 (progress) is often used as a noun or adjective. We can find examples such as *jinbu renlei* 进步人类 (progressive humanity), *renlei jinbu* 人类进步 (human progress). It can also function as a verb, for example, *shijie zhenshi jinbude kuai* 世界真是进步得快¹⁰³ (the world really is progressing quickly).

Paidui 排队 (to queue up, to line up) includes a polysemantic verb *pai*, which is similar to 打 in quality (it has many meanings, one of them is “to arrange”), and the noun *dui* (a line, a team, a group of people) which is (semi-)adhesive.

Shoushi 收拾 (to mend, to arrange) is a verb which accepts objects.

Shuaka 刷卡 (to swipe a card, to pay by card) includes a polysemantic, sometimes semi-independent (like 打), sometimes independent verb *shua* (to brush, to scrub, to daub, to paste up, to remove, to eliminate, to fire from a job, to skip a class, to swish, to rustle etc.) which is semantically adhesive in this case, and the noun *ka* (a card) which is normally a morpheme, not a verb, and has some other additional meanings (e.g. calorie) depending on its usage.

Yingjie 迎接 (to meet, to welcome) is a verb which accepts an object, the second morpheme is verbal.

Zuoke 做客 (to be a guest) includes an independent verb “to do” which in this case remains semantically adhesive and an adhesive morpheme “guest”.

Shangwang 上网 (to go online) includes the verb *shang* which will be discussed later and the adhesive morpheme *wang* (internet, net).

1.2.8. Further limitations and sample exclusion

Shangban 上班 (to go to work), *shangke* 上课 (attend a class, give a class), *shangche* 上车, *xiache* 下车 and some others function similarly. The first morpheme fulfils functions of different parts of speech but normally is not used as a completely independent verb. The second morpheme is independent. Despite looking and behaving like *liheci*, I exclude them from my research because I

¹⁰² This can also be considered semantically adhesive.

¹⁰³ A sample from *Renmin Ribao*, 1994, given in CCL corpus.

consider them word combinations, they demand a more detailed comparison. Let us look at several samples below:

| | Verbal morpheme | Noun morpheme |
|-----------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 生气 | Outer semantic adhesion /ind | Adhesive |
| 发烧 | Polysemantic. Outer SA/ind | Adhesive |
| 打针 | Polysemantic. Outer SA/ind | Independent |
| 起床 | Monosemantic. Outer SA/semi-adh | Independent |
| 上车, 下车... | Monosemantic. Outer SA/ind | Independent |

Here, to compare with 上车-type combinations I took several semantically adhesive verbs in combinations with adhesive and independent nouns. Even when the noun is adhesive, which makes the combination a *liheci*, the verb in all three cases is semantically adhesive in different aspects. 生 is an independent verb with another meaning from the general meaning of *liheci*. Although samples number 2 and 3 can be characterized the same way, there is a difference. 生气 “to bear anger” is more idiomatic/metaphorical (based on the shift of meaning, as anger cannot be really born) than, for example, 发烧 “to emit heat” or 打针 “to hit an injection” which are more direct combinations of words. At the same time, in samples 2 and 3 the verbs are polysemantic. They are different from the general meanings of their *liheci*, but, unlike 生, when independent their meanings are not clear as they can only be revealed in combination. Now, what differentiates the 上车 -type from the samples 1,2,3 is the fact that the verbal morpheme, although only semi-independent, is not polysemantic. Whatever part of speech it performs, it preserves its general “core” meaning and the same paradigm. The meaning of 上 is up/to go up/to make something up/begin. The meaning of 下 is down/to go down/to make something down/finish. Unlike the samples 2 and 3, their meaning does not depend on the following morpheme. If we take the verb 打 it will have a different meaning in each combination: *da dianhua* 打电话 – to call by phone, *daren* 打人 – to hit a person, *dazhe* 打折 – to make a discount, *dazhen* 打针 – to give/have an injection etc. We can derive these meanings from the general meaning of “to hit” but this derivation will not

be direct¹⁰⁴. Unlike that, whatever we pair 上 or 下 with, their verbal meanings will always be the same and directly derived from the core meanings of these morphemes. They do not lose the same meaning in 上课, 上班, 上网, 上车, 下车, 下课 etc. Through this, they could be included into a separate – very loose – type of *liheci* but I rather claim them to be word combinations. Even if we compare them with semantically adhesive *liheci* such as 干杯 or 吹牛, there will be a difference. Semantically adhesive *liheci* are based on a – weaker or stronger – idiomatic/metaphorical tie. 吹牛 “to blow a cow” can be accepted as an idiom. 干杯 “to dry a cup” also shows a particular metaphorical shift. Unlike them, there is nothing similar in 上车 which is translated directly through the primary meanings of its parts: to go up (in)to a car (to take on a car/bus).

Finally, what is the difference between 上课 and 起床? Their first morphemes belong to the same type of monosemantic morphemes which often fulfil roles of verbal complements or locatives. *Qi* means “up”, “to raise”. Their second morphemes are independent. The difference is in their OS. For 上课¹⁰⁵ the OS are two words, for 起床 it is one word whose meaning can be derived from its parts but it is not absolutely the same, as “to get up” has a more general and abstract meaning (such as to wake up in the morning) than “to stand up after lying on the bed”. However, this difference is very loose, and it is highly likely to disappear with the time.

Several general rules which I want to introduce for the final restriction of *liheci* are:

1. For *liheci* OS in modern Chinese, $\text{Meaning}_{AB} \neq \text{Meaning}_A + \text{Meaning}_B$. If the meaning of a combination is the sum of its parts at the level of the outer structure, it is a word collocation, not a *liheci*. This idea can be found in research by Chinese authors¹⁰⁶, but it is not usually highlighted.

For example, let us compare 打鱼 which we rejected and 打针 which was accepted as a *liheci*. Their structures seem to be the same, but there is an important difference: *dayu* = *da*+*yu* (to catch fish = to fish), but *dazhen* \neq *da*+*zhen* (to hit (?) a needle \neq to inject).

2. If the meaning of a collocation is derived from the meanings of its parts at the level of the OS, that collocation is not a *liheci*, unless one of its parts shows a complete undisputable adhesion or semantic adhesion based on polysemy and the final OS forms a wider or more abstract notion than the sum of its parts.

¹⁰⁴ By this I mean that to derive “to hit” in “to call by phone” we need to go deep into the etymology of this word and the shift of its meanings.

¹⁰⁵ In some research they consider 上 a dependent (*buchengci* 不成词的 – not forming a word) morpheme.

¹⁰⁶ For example, Hoa (2005), the article for the Journal of Yunnan Normal University (vol. 3, No. 3).

This is the 5th step of restriction applied to Chinese *liheci* in this work.

1.2.9. Corpora data about the samples

Let us now look for our samples in corpora. There are several Chinese corpora created by different organizations. Among others we can highlight CCL (Centre for Chinese Linguistics of Beijing University), The Lancaster Corpus of Mandarin Chinese and online Chinese corpus *Aihanyu*.

Unfortunately, the number of samples they offer vary drastically. For example, on searching 结婚 CCL gives 15798 sample sentences, Aihanyu only 755. In the analytical part of Aihanyu 结婚 is given as a verb, as well as 结. The same happens with 帮忙. Aihanyu enlists abbreviations for the following parts of speech or types *cilei* : common noun, time noun, direction noun, place noun, human name, surname, name, name of place, name of people, name of organization, other names, verb, verb of direction, verb of connection, modal verb, adjective, *qubieci*, numeral, classifier, adverb, pronoun, preposition, conjunction, auxiliary word, interjection, onomatopoeia, idiom, abbreviation, pre-component, post-component, non-morpheme, punctuation mark, non-Chinese characters, other unknown symbols.

Liheci are not listed. This is the main reason why usage of corpora to identify the most frequently used samples is complicated. However, corpora can be used to verify that our samples are *liheci*. It can also be used to verify that words which we excluded are not *liheci* through checking different *liheci*-type combinations.

Another difficulty is looking for all possible split usages of each *liheci*.

One more is the fact that corpora may be often based on written texts which can include very formal texts close to *wenyan*. Besides, preferable spoken forms can differ from preferable written forms. For example, native speakers generally indicate *bangmang* as spoken and *bangzhu* as written forms¹⁰⁷.

In CCL, which accumulates more authentically Chinese texts and, is therefore preferable, we can search for AAB forms of *liheci*.

One more useful corpus is that of Academia Sinica. It calculates the frequency of sample usage in texts of different styles (literature, life, society, science, philosophy, art) and permits to include in search AAB forms as well as indicates parts of speech, but *liheci* are not included.

¹⁰⁷ See appendix.

Down below in brackets I will give the number of samples found in CCL¹⁰⁸ for joint usage of morphemes in each *liheci*. The second number is AAB form usage¹⁰⁹.

To highlight the further *liheci*-verb comparison in advance, there is a significant difference between the usage of *banmang* (4992) and *bangzhu* (68056)¹¹⁰.

1.2.10. The list of *liheci* for further analysis

To sum up, we chose the following *liheci* samples to analyse:

1. 睡觉 (7560, 17)
2. 跑步 (1279, 17)
3. 生气 (9741, 16)
4. 生病 (3238, 4)
5. 游泳 (11856, 11)
6. 帮忙 (4992, 276)
7. 结婚 (15798, 3)
8. 离婚¹¹¹ (5687, not applicable, 6)¹¹²
9. 毕业 (27756, not applicable, 13)
10. 吹牛^{113*} (807, 13)
11. 发烧 (2312, 2)
12. 跳舞 (3435, 64)
13. 抽烟 (2212, 15) (to compare, *xiyan* 吸烟 3513, 4)
14. 打针 (594, 4)
15. 打折 (1624, 2)

¹⁰⁸ We should assume that a particular percentage of each number is formed by those sentences where the morphemes belonging to different words coincided as it may happen in Chinese. For example, for 聊天 we can find in CCL a sentence with *wuliao tiancai* 无聊天才, which consists of two separate words 无聊 and 天才, but the morphemes coincide appearing to be the *liheci*.

¹⁰⁹ AAB is (in the majority of cases) that definitive difference from verbs which is applicable to all *liheci* where the verbal part can in principle be duplicated because duplicated forms mean short, fast or temporary action, which is not applicable to all verbal meanings. However, there are some *liheci* (see chapter two) which duplicate as verbs.

¹¹⁰ At the same time if we compare this with the results of the poll (see appendix) where Chinese native speakers chose *bangmang* as the most used, we can suppose that the difference in the corpora is correct for written Chinese only.

¹¹¹ HSK 5.

¹¹² Here and further where the AAB form is not applicable due to semantics, I used A 不了 B or A 了 B formulas to check if the word acts as a *liheci*. The according number is given after “not applicable”.

¹¹³ HSK 6.

16. 散步 (3596, 274)
17. 担心 (22536, not applicable, 2)
18. 道歉 (2050, 10)
19. 干杯 (450, not applicable, 47)
20. 请假 (1058, not applicable, 110)
21. 伤心 (5364, 2)
22. 开玩笑 (4134, 105)
23. 鼓掌 (2208, 13)
24. 报名 (7949, 1)
25. 见面 (12007, 150)
26. 起床 (2983, 25)
27. 出差 (3029, not applicable, 126)
28. 着急 (4484, not applicable, 50)
29. 吃惊 (5888, 2)
30. 放心 (11682, not applicable, 50)
31. 感兴趣 (7753, not applicable, 3)
32. 洗澡 (2516, 26)

According to CCL, the most used *liheci* (out of the pre-selected samples) are: 毕业, 担心, 结婚, 见面, 游泳.

The BKRS dictionary offers a tool to organize word lists according to the frequency of usage¹¹⁴. According to this tool, the most frequently used among our samples are: 结婚, 担心, 毕业, 生气, 放心.

Three (most used) samples of these two selections overlap. As for 见面 and 游泳 in the BKRS' list they go as number 7 and number 10, correspondingly.

Additional samples from the books:

33. 聊天(儿) (4106, 290)
34. 发音 (1330, not applicable, 3)
35. 搬家 (1605, 1)

¹¹⁴ According to the official website of the dictionary, they use a base of more than 60 000 words from different sources.

36. 出国 (11972, not applicable, 10)
37. 堵车 (526, not applicable, 3)
38. 关机 (2557, not applicable, 7)
39. 开机 (1030, not applicable, 3)
40. 留学 (11966, not applicable, 2)
41. 拉肚子 (181, 3)
42. 失眠 (1607, not applicable, 2)
43. 看病 (2888, 34)
44. 打包 (545, not applicable, 7)
45. 打工 (6567, 11)
46. 放假 (1480, 2)
47. 刷卡 (435, not applicable, 3)
48. 排队 (3383, 17)
49. 做客 (1217, not applicable, 8)
50. 上网 (5283, 21)

According to the BKRS frequency, they do not replace the five most frequent samples. 上网 is placed 9th. As for CCL, the most frequent ones are the following: 毕业, 担心, 结婚, 见面, 出国 (留学, 游泳).

However, these will not be the only samples used in this work and we will utilize others when necessary especially for cross-linguistic comparison.

Before moving to the next part, it is also necessary to highlight that in the course of this sample selection process we could see at least four different types of *liheci*¹¹⁵:

1. Completely adhesive. Those for which morphemes are never used separately.
2. Highly adhesive¹¹⁶. This subcategory includes *liheci* of varying content: 1) SA (which is not completely independent separately, but rather semi-independent or polysemantic) + independent 2) SA_{ind/semi-ind} + adhesive 3) Independent + adhesive.

¹¹⁵ Zhang, Zhao (1996) speak about 5 types of *liheci*: 1. Including adhesive morphemes 2. With rigid rules of uniting 3. Non-*donbinshi* but using *dongbingshi* 4. United with nouns 5. United with adjectives. They also highlight 帮忙 as a special exception not belonging to any type.

¹¹⁶ In this group I included all *liheci* with morphemes of a vague debatable classification as, in general, they do not differ in behaviour.

3. Proto-*liheci*. Those in which the verb is an independent morpheme with the same verbal meaning as in the *liheci*, but noun is (semantically) adhesive.

4. Semantic *liheci*. Those in which both morphemes are independent but with meanings different from the general meaning of *liheci* itself (semantically adhesive).

Samples per type:

| Completely adhesive (adh+adh) | Highly adhesive (SA _{ind/semi-ind} + adh/ind; ind + adh) | Proto- <i>liheci</i> (ind+adh/SA) | Semantic <i>liheci</i> (ind/SA + ind/SA) |
|---|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| 离婚 ¹¹⁷ 毕业 见面 散步 道歉 着急 失眠 留学 | 感兴趣 生气 生病 发烧 结婚 跳舞 放心 报名 吃惊 抽烟 打针 打折 担心 鼓掌 开玩笑 请假 出差 伤心 起床 出国 | 跑步 睡觉 游泳 帮忙 聊天儿 | 吹牛 干杯 搬家 |

¹¹⁷ 离 can be used separately but as a preposition.

| | | | |
|--|---|--|--|
| | 堵车 关机 拉肚子 开机 看病 洗澡 打包 打工 发音 放假 刷卡 排队 做客 上网 | | |
|--|---|--|--|

As we can see, completely adhesive *liheci* constitute only 16% of our samples, proto-*liheci* 10%, semantic *liheci* 6%, the majority (68%) belong to highly adhesive *liheci* with varying morphemes.

This pre-classification will be useful for us in the following chapters, in the comparison of verbs and *liheci*, for example, as well as in cross-linguistic comparison and deciding about the idiomatic nature of these units. It should be noticed that a further classification can be done and some *liheci* can be highly disputable within this classification. The category of highly adhesive *liheci* can be split into several categories according to the quality of morphemes which influences the strength of ties within a *liheci*. Some *liheci* may have a stronger tie, for example 生气. Others may demonstrate a strong similarity with idioms (e.g. 吹牛).

1.2.11. Other classifications of *liheci*

Different classifications of *liheci* can be found but they cannot be considered complete and definitive. Zhang, Zhao (1996) divide *liheci* according to the quality of morphemes (two adhesive, one adhesive and one independent, two independent) and according to the valence of morphemes. Among our samples, they include: 1) having two adhesive morphemes 毕业 and 劳驾 as D + M₁

(a verb + a monovalent noun)¹¹⁸, 鼓掌 and 散步 as D + M₂₋₃; 2) having one adhesive morpheme 睡觉 as D + M₁, 游泳 as D₁ + M, 见面 as D + M₂₋₃, 道歉, 发烧, 着急 as D₂₋₃ + M, 结婚, 洗澡 as D₄ + M; 3) having two independent morphemes 干杯, 聊天儿 as D + M₁, 打针 as D₁ + M, 抽烟 as D + M₂₋₃, 跳舞 as D₂₋₃ + M. At the same time, they include in the list of *liheci* some words which are not verbs in modern Chinese, for example, *nuli* 努力 (hard-working), *youming* 有名 (famous) or *luyin* 录音 (a recording), which I do not consider correct¹¹⁹ even if the morphemes they are formed of are a verb and a noun. They also consider 上班 and other combinations¹²⁰ which we rejected to be *liheci*. Apart from that they name 考试, 睡觉, 洗澡, 游泳 as non-*dongbingshi*.

Ties between morphemes are also a field for further analysis. Some *liheci*¹²¹ demonstrate a clear accusative connection (the noun is a patient of the verb, or its direct object in the direct word order), for example, 结婚, 生气, 抽烟, 报名, 干杯 etc. Another aspect of this is the character of that connection – is it idiomatic/phraseological/metaphorical? Some *liheci* such as 吹牛 or 生气 show a clear idiomatic connection of different degrees, others, especially formed through adding cognate objects, seem not to have it. We can also examine this from the perspectives of IS and OS, so, 生气 seems to be metaphorical at the level of IS but not at the level of OS, 吹牛 – at both levels.

One more possible classification of *liheci* is that based on the type of object. We can highlight at least 3 types:

- Cognate objects. Those whose meaning is exactly the same as the meaning of the verb (e.g. to sleep a sleep);
- Empty objects. Those which has no meaning as it is logically derived from the action described by the verb (to eat food);
- “Free” objects. Those which have meanings not connected with the verbal meaning.

Among our samples, only 睡觉 and 游泳 directly belong to the cognate object type, 跑步 and 散步 have empty objects, in 洗澡 its object can be seen as both cognate and empty, in 聊天儿, 帮忙, 跳舞 the quality of object is not clear, the remainder (84%) have free objects.

¹¹⁸ D is *dongci* (verb), M is *mingci* (noun), the numbers show how many combinations they can make with other morphemes.

¹¹⁹ These words are not *liheci*, they are disyllabic words formed through one of the ways we discussed in part 1.1.

¹²⁰ 上班, 上学, 下班, 开学 etc.

¹²¹ I consider, the majority of them.

Apart from that, in the majority of *liheci* (86%) the connection between verbal and nominal parts is accusative (the noun is a patient of the verb). In 帮忙, 着急, 出国 it is not clear; in 堵车 and 散步 it seems to be accusative but it is questionable.

We should also consider that there are some words which formally can be accepted as *liheci*, e.g. 考试 or 感冒 but finding them acting as *liheci* is practically impossible, or at least those usages are very rare.

Finally, it should be noted that not all *liheci*, but some of them, are based on obvious metaphorical/phraseological (idiomatic) shifts. It can be observed in *liheci* such as 生气, 生病, 放心, 伤心 etc. (in about 18+ samples out of 50), but not in all of them. Mainly an idiomatic tie is observed in *liheci* with free objects.

The quality of morphemes, the logic of uniting them into one *liheci* at the stage of *liheci* formation, a detailed analysis of relationships between them and some other questions which are not primarily relevant for our cross-linguistic comparison still create a broad field for further investigation.

Some questions discussed in this part which require further study:

1. Comparison of existing Chinese corpora.
2. Frequency lists of Modern Chinese.
3. The principles behind the creation of HSK word lists.
4. The quality of morphemes (in the past and present, their evolution and comparison).
5. Historical analysis of *liheci* (*liheci* in the period of formation, quality of morphemes, principles of uniting etc.).
6. Classification of *liheci* based on the quality of morphemes.
7. “Li-he” as a word formation method.
8. Psychological and socioculturological aspects of *liheci* formation.
9. (Is there) a difference between cognate and empty objects (?).
10. (Is there) a connection between empty/cognate objects and (non-)formation of proto-*liheci* (?).
11. The tie within *liheci* morphemes: idiomatic or not.

1.3-. The definition and limitations of “*liheci*” in Russian

1.3.1. General ideas about the analogous phenomenon in Russian

Although we are focusing on Chinese *liheci* in this work, we are also aiming to find analogous phenomena in other languages. In this part our task is to find two-word structures in Russian, which would satisfy the same general criteria as Chinese *liheci* (which would consist of a verb and a noun-object, present one general verbal semantically inseparable meaning different from the meanings of its parts, accept other words within and would be able to split up in a sentence). We should also consider our fifth limitation for Chinese: $M_{AB} \neq M_A + M_B$, where in case of equality A or B should demonstrate one type of adhesion and M_{AB} should be wider than the sum. Furthermore, we should remember that some Chinese *liheci* can invert.

As we look for V+N structures (as we limited them in Chinese) in Russian, we should accept that they will not be one definite category as in Chinese, and we will have to decide which type of structures to include or exclude from our analysis.

Primarily, there are two types of structures in Russian which can be compared with *liheci*:

1. OGIO (see the abbreviation below).
2. Phraseological units/elements.

It should be noted that while OGIO samples can be seen as a *liheci*-type combination directly, only a few phraseological units correspond with them.

Some questions which we posed to Chinese *liheci* are not so important for their Russian counterparts. For example, in Russian, we cannot really question if this structure is one word or two (it is definitely two, although we can see it as a single semantic word, just as in Chinese), The question of parts of speech is also different in Russian. On the one hand, at the level of IS they are verbs and nouns (rarely substantivized adjectives) and that is undisputable, unlike in Chinese. On the other hand, at the level of OS none of them have been established as a separate part of speech before now, and a consensus in the scientific community has not been reached yet. The trouble of terms applied to the phenomena may be serious as well but not so definitive as in Chinese where we become involved in controversy between characters, syllables, words, compounds etc.

1.3.2. The questions of terminology

Starting with the first one, OGIO is an established category of the Russian counterparts of Chinese *liheci* (as well as its verbal and nominal parts) which is called by many different names, too. Some of those terms were given in the introduction, among which one of the most popular terms is OGIO (*opisatelnyi glagolno-imennoi oborot*, описательный глагольно-именной оборот – a descriptive verbal-nominal construction), introduced by Lekant in the second half of the XX century. There is, however, another widely-used term for this phenomenon – *verbonominants* or verbal nominants (*вербономинанты*), which means verbal-nominal [constructions]. Moreover, in many works it is possible to find the term “OP” (*opisatelnyi predicat*, описательный предикат – descriptive predicate). Gutarova (2008) calls them AGIC (*analiticheskaya glagolno-imennaya konstruktsiya*, аналитическая глагольно-именная конструкция – analytical verbal-nominal constructions) in her comparative analysis of Russian and German OGIOs.

Sometimes, these terms are used interchangeably.

Terms used for verbal and nominal components of Russian *liheci* vary as well as their subtypes which scholars define. For example, the verbs are called “verbalizers” (*вербализаторы*), “verbs with related meanings” (*глаголы со связанным значением*), “explicators” (*глаголы-эспликаторы*), “compensators” (*компенсаторы*), “ghost verbs” (*глаголы-призраки*) etc.

However, while in Chinese it was important to separate the term *liheci* from verbs and its translation was important, too, in order not to distort the authentic Chinese phenomena into an incorrect westernized perception; in Russian it is more a question of limiting any term applied to the phenomenon in order not to confuse it with others. I will use three principle terms – VN (a verbal-nominal combination of any type which fulfils the general criteria of semantic inseparability and splitting up; the most general criteria for *liheci* before limiting them), VN-L for VN of *liheci*-type (as we limited *liheci*), OGIO (as they are named in Russian) and PE (for phraseological elements/units).

1.3.3. Views on OGIO in Russian linguistics

OGIO are seen differently by various researchers. Olzoyeva (2011)¹²² considers them one of the ways the “deployment” of predicate takes place and transformation and transition from

¹²² In the English version of her article instead of the Russian term OGIO she uses its direct translation DVNS (descriptive verbal-nominal structures). Another translated abbreviation which can be found is DVNP (P for phrases) (Laguzova, 2015).

D-structure to S-structure. Rather often they are described in works devoted to the official speech style¹²³, although it is not always correct as there are plenty of OGIO belonging to other speech styles. Laguzova (2015) connects the formation of OGIO with the formation of book styles in the XVIII century; Guseva (2014) sees them as a type of phraseological units, so does Deribas (1979), and many others. Laguzova (2015) says that OGIO are found in contrast with PE, words and word collocations. In my opinion, the contrast with PE is not definitive, as it is still not decided if OGIO are separate from them, or they are one of their sub-types. As we saw in the part of Chinese, some *liheci* also showed a rather clear phraseological basis, while others did not. Therefore, as long as we look for VN-L in other languages, we can accept both phraseological and non-phraseological combinations.

1.3.4. The criteria for pre-limitation

For us, it is more important to exclude those combinations which do not correspond with our general criteria and find all possible types of Russian “*liheci*” which we accept within this category. In the course of this work, we are looking for combinations of verbs and nouns which present one joint semantic meaning but lose it if completely separated, and which can be at a distance in a sentence and accept other words within – this is our general foundation. As well as in Chinese, we can apply further restrictions to make the category more homogeneous, rejecting elements which differ in content or behavior. It should be mentioned that in the case of this language real adhesion can never be found as any of those “*liheci*” elements will always be able to be independent or form combinations with other words (apart from some cases in PE, see below). So, what we will mainly deal with is semantic adhesion when two words will unite to characterize one notion with a third meaning or when the meaning of one of them depends on the other (like 打 in Chinese).

Having in mind those pre-limitations, our primary task is to sort out inappropriate combinations which can be mixed into this category.

1.3.5. The status of OGIO in the language and related issues

The “status” of OGIO is similar to that of *liheci*. On the one hand, it has appeared in numerous national studies; on the other hand, there is still no consensus on many aspects of it, opinions vary, they do not appear in school student books and methodologies of teaching them to

¹²³ Official (formal) speech style in Russian has very definitive features making it different from the neutral and book styles.

foreign learners are rather unclear¹²⁴. One can find them in speech stylistics rather than in a regular language course. Paradoxically, a phenomenon which cannot be explained separately through the topics of verbs and nouns (neither can the functioning of *liheci* be explained this way in Chinese) has not gained any status to be introduced as an independent topic.

Many OGIO are indeed not neutral stylistically, which will be discussed in the second chapter when compared with verbs. However, although, many examples of Russian VN which were mentioned in the introduction sound very formal and would hardly be used in daily speech, it does not mean that all Russian “*liheci*” necessarily belong to a formal speech style and we can find many samples which are not formal.

Guseva (2014) who speaks about idiomatic expressions in official speech style names among others two verbal categories:

- Combinations of verbs and nouns with prepositions, such as *prinyat k ispolneniyu* принять к исполнению (accept to fulfil/implement) or *dovesti do svedeniya* довести до сведения (communicate, inform);
- Combinations of verbs with nouns, such as *okazat' sodeistviye* оказать содействие, *obespechit sohrannost* обеспечить сохранность, *vozlozhit' control* возложить контроль.

It is interesting that some of those combinations are obvious word collocations as their meaning is the sum of its parts and their parts are independent words (OGIO, unlike *liheci*, are believed to have the meaning which is the sum of the meanings of its parts (Deribas, 1979), but the second rule we concluded for *liheci* is also true here: one part of OGIO is not fully independent, separately each part has a different meaning from the sum, and the final sum is wider in meaning than a simple sum of its parts). For example, *prinyat' k ispolneniyu* “accept to implement” is not a single notion, but rather two – to accept/take in order to implement, and it is not the same in meaning as “to implement”, so we cannot say that it denotes one general verbal meaning. In the second category we can question *obespechit' sohrannost* “to ensure safety” which does not present a joint verbal meaning either, neither it is the same as “to save”. So, the given examples are a mix of VN and simple word collocations. Another interesting detail is that in the second group for almost each VN combination we can find an equivalent verb formed with the same root as the noun, which is true for OGIO:

- *Okazat' sodeistviye* = *(po)sodeistvovat'* (to help, to provide support)

¹²⁴ An abundant list of names can be found in Laguzova (2003). She also presents an overview on unstudied and disputable aspects of OGIO.

- *Vozlozhit' control = controlirovat'* (to control, to imply control)

Evidently, they are not absolutely semantically identical, as the combinations have some additional roles as it will be shown in the part of *liheci*-verb comparison, but their general meaning is the same. For the combinations of the first group we cannot form equivalent verbs from their nouns. In the second group, all nouns in VN are verbal objects in the accusative case. Verbs can be described through the term of Lekant as “ghost verbs” as they do not present any real semantic meaning¹²⁵, while nouns are the part which gives the meaning to these combinations.

1.3.6. “Modal” OGIO, OGIO and PE

Olzoyeva (2011) investigates OGIO with the verb “to have” (in terms of Laguzova’s, “modal OGIO”) but some combinations which she gives should be rather seen as phrases or word collocations than OGIO (the same as in Chinese), too.

Guseva (2014) describes these combinations as phraseological (idiomatic) units and this is the first disputable aspect of Russian *liheci* – whether they are a type of idioms¹²⁶.

In fact, if we look at the “lightest” type of idiomatic expressions in Russian (phraseological combinations) we can consider including OGIO there. Some of them, such as *oderzhat pobedu* (“to withhold a victory” = to win) are nothing else but “*liheci*”; however, not everything that is included in this phraseological type is *liheci* and even VN, so these two groups are not identical.

Besides, this question becomes more difficult because there is no agreement among Russian linguists about what exactly can be described as a phraseological unit – any combination with constant components and constant indivisible meaning (such as “periodic system” in chemistry) or a unit which has descriptive (metaphorical) connotation (such as “white giant” in astronomy) and others (Guseva, 2014).

Laguzova (2003) lists several features of phraseological units/elements (PE) which distinguish them from OGIO:

¹²⁵ In keeping with some other linguists, I do not consider these verbs completely delexical, as they preserve some very general meanings like “to do”, “to give”, “to take” etc. but without other words they do not name any precise action.

¹²⁶ In Russian terms, *phraseologism*, which can be of 3 different types: phraseological adhesion or idiom *сращение/идиома* (formally independent (and sometimes archaic) words are united into a combination whose meaning is not derived from that of its components), phraseological unities *единства* (combinations whose meaning is partially connected with that of its components. These combinations have “outer omonyms” – the same combinations used in the direct meaning. For example, *plyt po techeniyu* *плыть по течению* (to swim with the flow) can be used in its idiomatic sense “not to try to change anything and let everything go the way it goes” or as “to follow the river flow”), combination *сочетание* (combinations which meaning can be derived from its parts but one element is semantically adhesive (only used in this particular combination)). We could include VN in the last type.

1. PE are characterized through reproduction but OGIO are produced in speech. For example, PE *davat slovo* means “to promise” but the verb “*davat*” can be also used to form OGIO.
2. PE is individualistic in their formation but OGIO follow the same model¹²⁷. Models she enlists for OGIO are:
 - V+N1 (*vesti besedu*)¹²⁸
 - V+ (v) N4 (*vpadat' v otchayaniye*)
 - V+N3 (*podvergat' somneniyu*)
 - V+ (*na, pod*) N4 (*idti na ustupki*)
 - V+N5 (*zanimat'sa vyyasneniyem*)
 - V+N2 (*nadelat' oshibok*)
3. PE have constant components but in OGIO nouns can replace each other. The majority of verb used in OGIO can be used with a chain of different nouns;
4. In PE the word order is strict but in OGIO it is free and other elements can be inserted between the verb and the noun;
5. The majority of PE cannot accept other elements but OGIO can;
6. OGIO can have structural changes (for example, its verbal component can convert into any type of participle *prichastiye*) but for PE it is impossible;
7. PE have a constant joint meaning, OGIO not (?);
8. OGIO have synonymous verbs of the same root (apart from causative OGIO which can be replaced by *zastavlyat' + infinitive structure*)¹²⁹.

In my opinion, these criteria do not give any clear explanations why OGIO are not PE. It describes how OGIO are different but does not deny the phraseological basis of their formation. In fact, even within PE each of its subtypes has some different features. Some PE can accept other elements within and invert or form participles. Thus, I consider it cannot be (dis)proven through these criteria that OGIO are phraseological in nature or not. Some of these criteria are also disputable, which will be briefly discussed later. One of the most important things is that not every OGIO has a synonymous verb of the same root.

Laguzova (2003) also admits that there are some common features of both PE and OGIO (including those named above). Similarly, OGIO have some common features with word

¹²⁷ Although PE may not follow standard models, they can still be grouped according to other common features, e.g. in our case we need to highlight verbal PE.

¹²⁸ It is not clear why Laguzova marks this noun as N1 if the case of the noun is N4 (accusative). N1 is nominative which would mean a predicative type of VN.

¹²⁹ This will be explored later.

combinations. However, our task is not to compare them but to decide which of them we can accept as VN-L.

The “modal” OGIO of Olzoeva’s (2012) are defined by Laguzova (2003) as “OGIO of modal states” (for example, *imet’ nadezhdu* иметь надежду (to have a hope, to hope), *imet’ privyчку* иметь привычку (to have a custom, to be accustomed to), *imet’ zhelaniye* иметь желание (to have a wish, to wish)).

1.3.7. OGIO in different speech registers and related issues

The next important question is whether VN are exclusively used in high registers or there are some which can be used in daily speech, or, in other words, can they be neutral lexical units or are their functions are limited to more formal styles. All the authors cited above spoke about them in the context of official/scientific speech style. Laguzova, El-Amari (2018) note that “OGIO are often used in formal writing...”. They note that using OGIO this way has a particular historical tradition which originated in the XVIII century. As for modern Russian, they note OGIO are multifunctional, for example, they can be used as “*formulas of etiquette*” in different types of formal letter. One point worth noting is that all the samples they list belong to the *liheci*-type (a verb and a noun presenting one joint meaning). Another question which can be related to this is the direction of movement of these combinations. For Chinese, I supposed, along with some other commentators, that *liheci* are evolving away from one-syllable words into disyllabic words. For Russian, one of the opinions mentioned above is that OGIO represent a stage of formation of analytical language from a synthetic one.

1.3.8. VN-L type combinations, OGIO and other phenomena

Starting with the very first point – separating other phenomena from the group of VN-L (at this point, OGIO), I should cite Gomonova (2017) who uses the same term “verbonominants” for several different combinations:

- Predicative (for example, *pamyat zarabotala* – “memory started working”, remembered);
- Non-predicative (*voyti v pamyat* – “enter into memory”, to be remembered).

Samples we are looking for are not listed. The predicative ones are word collocations¹³⁰, not VN by our definition. Furthermore, *liheci* in Chinese are non-predicative. The previously mentioned term OP includes both of these types, which allows the researchers who investigate it to classify it as two subtypes of the same group. As long as I admit that the question of terms in Russian is not a vital importance, for our comparison, we still need to distinguish the *liheci*-type (VN-L) from any verbal-nominal combinations because it has its distinctive features. At the same time, as I admitted above, *liheci* as a phenomenon limited the way we discussed before can be wider than the category of OGIO in Russian. And some PE, such as *davat slovo*, can also be accepted as *liheci*'s counterparts.

Laguzova (2003) supports the idea of Lekant who separates OGIO (the *liheci*-type) from other phenomena in Russian. Another thing she notices is that the V+N type of constructions is widely used in many languages. Laguzova (2003) lists the following features of OGIO:

- subordinate relations between its components (a verb and its object);
- grammaticalization of semantics of the verb;
- nominative role of the substantive component and permeability;
- inseparability of its components;
- non-monovalence of the verb (the verb can have more than one connection with other words);
- synonymy of verbs formed with the same root as nouns.

In her opinion, the basis of OGIO is grammaticalization. She considers it a special unit opposed to phraseological units, words, word combinations. According to her, the verbal component is never absolutely deprived of its semantics as it preserved the general meaning of an action or a state. She presents samples based on different schemes of formation:

- A verb + an accusative case noun (*sdelat oshibku, prinyat resheniye*);
- A verb + a dative case noun (*podvergnutsa nakazaniyu, poddatsa soblaznu*);
- A verb + a preposition + a noun (*priyti v vostorg, poiti na slom, priity v yarost*);
- A verb + an instrumental case noun (*zanimatsa risovaniyem*)

¹³⁰ In Russian terms "the base" of a sentence.

Laguzova (2003) herself gives another classification basing on verbal function (for example, causative or not) but in this part of the work it is more important for us to look at the schemes of formation to be able to apply limitations.

It should be noted that not all of the combinations she presents can be replaced with a single verb, although she does give it as a criterion. For example, *podvergnut'sa nakazaniyu* (to undergo punishment) is not the same as *podvergnut' nakazaniyu* (to punish). In the first case the combination with the reflexive verb cannot be replaced with a single reflexive verb as “*nakazatsa*” does not exist in Russian.

As for Russian, we can also look at the question “one word or two” from another angle which we could only partially do with Chinese. Russian is not a language of characters-morphemes and it is not as difficult to define a word as it is in Chinese, but if we remember the definition of semantic words given in part 1.1., then Russian VN can, to a certain extent, be regarded as semantic words.

1.3.9. PE, OGIO and VN(-L)

Looking at the second type which can include appropriate VN samples – PE – it should be noted that not all of them are formed as verb+nouns structures. At the same time, VN can be found at any of the three levels of PE. PE are fixed combinations of words with a third meaning not directly derived from the meanings of its parts or only partially derived from it, that is why some PE can be seen as *liheci*-type structures. In Chinese we remarked that different *liheci* have a varying degrees of phraseology in their structure, and some of them show strong idiomatic meanings, e.g. 吹牛.

It is worth noting that there is another commonality between PE, OGIO and *liheci*: the majority of them cannot be translated into a foreign language directly word by word as the combined meaning would be lost. Even the simplest ones, such as 跳舞 literally “to jump a dance” would not be said and would not be clear. Some of them have PE with analogous meanings in other languages, e.g. 吹牛 (“to blow a cow”) can in some cases be replaced with Russian *zadirat nos* “to raise (one’s) nose” (to think too much of oneself and worse about others, to look down upon others, to brag).

Another distinguishing feature is that PE, unlike OGIO, often do not obey grammar and other rules in the language, as many words within them are no longer used independently or simply do not exist in modern Russian.

1.3.10. The criteria for final limitation of OGIO

1.3.10.1. General criteria

Criteria for limitation/classification which we can apply to Russian “*liheci*” are:

1. If it is a VN fulfilling our general criteria or a word collocation.

We can apply the same principle method to separate collocations from VN as in Chinese: when separated each word of those collocations retain the same meaning as when together. When VN are separated they lose the joint meaning and one of those words cannot be fully independent. In Russian, where words are not character-morphemes, many verbs of VN are semantically adhesive, in English terminology they can be called “light verbs” (verbs analogous to 打 in Chinese – those which have many meanings but are practically untranslatable without the accompanying noun). One possible example for this is *obraschat vnimaniye* (to pay attention), *obraschat* has no real independent meaning. In case of PE, the final meaning is always different from the sum of A and B.

2. If it is a combination of a verb and a noun or any other combination.

OGIO as defined consist of verbs and nouns, however, PE can be composed of anything. This means that not every PE can be accepted as a VN-L combination.

3. If the verb fulfils a grammatical role, while the noun – semantical or any other distribution is possible.

OGIO are said to contain a verb lightened in meaning which preserves grammar functions and nouns which preserve semantics. For PE, the meaning they have is attributed to both components together.

4. If when separated, they lose their joint meaning

This is fundamental for VN-L and for distinguishing them from simple word collocations, however, it can be realised differently in the language. For PE this is undisputably true, but for OGIO this is only partially true, as in OGIO verbs can often be replaced with other similar verbs and one verb can be used with various nouns. Deribas (1979) created a dictionary of VN (PE of VN type and OGIO which he considers a type of PE). That dictionary consists of two parts: the first one is centred around the verbal component (for 744 verbs there are 5197 VN combinations), and the second one is centred around 1350 nouns which can form VN. On the other hand, some *liheci*

elements can also form other *liheci*, which is similar to OGIO. By saying “lose their joint meaning” we refer rather to the final meaning, instead of those elements which can never be used with other words in other combinations.

5. If the noun should be the object of the verb in the accusative case and if any other case is acceptable.

As we saw above, the majority of *liheci* have a definitive accusative use¹³¹, but OGIO are said to have more possible models. As for PE, the case analysis should be made in accordance with the period in which they were formed.

6. If each of them must have a synonym of the same root or not.

Laguzova (2003) uses this as a criterion for OGIO, but in practice not each of her examples can form a synonym like that. Unlike in Chinese, for the majority of both PE and OGIO it is possible to find synonymous verbs, as the vocabulary of Russian is rather extensive, but not all of them will have the same root. Deribas (1979) also highlights that many but not all of them have synonyms of the same root. Some research (Kuzmenkova, 2000, Vsevolodova and Kuzmenkova, 2003) divide these into two separate categories which they call OP (those which have verbal synonyms) and analogues of OP (those which do not). I consider the absence or existence of a verbal synonym indefinite. Gradinarova (2012), who shares this point of view, highlights that some OGIO which do not have a verbal synonym in Russian may have it in other Slavic languages which uses the same OGIO.

7. If all of them belong to the official speech style or any other non-neutral style.

Unlike Chinese, in which *liheci* do not replace synonymous verbs but exist autonomously, in Russian where most of them go parallel with a verb of a similar meaning, it is necessary to decide about the stylistic difference. Mainly this will be done in the second chapter but in this part it is necessary to mention that we do not limit the studied phenomenon only by samples of a particular speech style.

1.3.10.2. More specific criteria

Further, I will look at V+N combinations from different research works to set limits for the phenomenon which we will accept as *liheci*'s counterparts in Russian and discuss their limitations.

¹³¹ By this I mean that the B-morpheme (noun) is the object of action of the A-verb (the action described by the verb is realized upon the noun). In many other languages it would correspond with direct objects.

Not each V+N combination which can be found in research devoted to OGIO is a VN. Some of them, as well as in Chinese, are word collocations/phrases.

1.3.10.2.1. Limitations for verbs

To start resolving the issue, it is necessary to say that in OGIO verbs should have weakened meanings as it is the only possible way to be adhesive in a simple collocation in Russian where semantically insignificant nouns are extremely rare. If verbs preserve their full meaning both A and B will be independent, which means AB will be a regular word collocation. The only exception from this is PE where both elements are semantically adhesive and some (archaic words) may be fully adhesive. So, there are two principle models for Russian VN: SA+independent (OGIO), SA+SA (or a combination with one or two completely adhesive morphemes if A or B or A and B do not exist in modern Russian) (PE). Unlike Chinese, in this case we refer to words, not to morpheme-character/words.

1.3.10.2.2. OGIO subtypes and their exclusion

Secondly, within the established category of OGIO, samples are not homogeneous at the aspect of synonymity with verbs of the same roots as nouns. Within the examples from Laguzova (2003) the following subtypes can be found:

- OGIO which have same-root verbs. I suppose they are in majority¹³². For example, *okazat' pomosch* (to realize/provide help) is the same as *pomoch* (to help).
- OGIO which have verbal synonyms with the same root but their meanings are not precisely the same. For example, let us compare two samples *podnyat' krik* (to raise shout = to start shouting) and *voiti v upotrebleniye* (to enter usage = to start being used). The first one has a precise verbal synonym *zakrichat'* (to start shouting), but the second one, although it has the verb *upotreblyatsa* (to be in use), it is not exactly the same in meaning as the verb loses the idea “to start to”.
- OGIO which have verbal synonyms only for some verbal forms. Several examples are given below. *Ispytat' golod* (to start feeling hungry (lit. to have experienced hunger)) is the same as *progolodat'sa*, but *ispytyvat' golod* (to feel hungry – constantly or continuously) is

¹³² The reason for this is probably in the nature of their historical formation. Verbs appeared before VN, and many verbs in Russian have nouns formed from the same root (the so-called *deverbatives* **девербативы**). Lekant (2015) also names this as a possible reason.

not exactly the same as *golodat*¹³³. *Podvergnut' nakazaniyu* (to impose somebody to punishment) is the same as *nakazat'* (to punish), but *podvergnut'sa nakazaniyu* (the same verb in its reflexive form – to be imposed to punishment) does not have a synonymous verb of the same root.

1.3.10.2.3. Synonymity with simple verbs

Apart from that we can find combinations which fulfil general demands for VN but do not have any precise verbal synonym. For example, *obraschat' vnimaniye* or *udelyat' vnimaniye* (to pay attention) are unlikely to be replaced by a verb.

For this reason, I do not find the existence of a verb formed from the same root as its noun a defining criterion for OGIO as long as VN combinations fulfil other demands. As for VN in general, I consider the existence of three separate groups:

1. Having synonymous verbs of the same root (supposed to be in majority for OGIO);
2. Having synonymous verbs of another root (e.g. PE *davat slovo* (to give one's word) is the same as *obeschat* (to promise));
3. Not having synonyms (supposed to be exceptions for OGIO).

Then, not all OGIO belong to the official style (even if they emerged from it historically) as we can find many neutral or book-style (poetic) combinations. For example, *dat' otvet* (to give answer, to answer) can be both neutral and literal. *Dat' sovet* (to give advice, to advise) is rather neutral, etc.

1.3.10.2.4. Inclusion and exclusion of combinations with different cases

Lastly for OGIO, it is necessary to define which cases of nouns we can accept. Laguzova (2003) gives us the six principle schemes which were named above. Among them there are two groups which are especially interesting:

¹³³ The verb *golodat'* conveys a bigger idea and has a slightly different usage than the corresponding OGIO. This verb means "to starve" by one's own will or due to circumstances (by somebody's else will), while OGIO means "to feel hungry".

1. A verb and an accusative case noun without a preposition. For example, *davat' otvet* (to answer), *sdelat' oshibku* (to make a mistake), *dat' sovet* (to give advice), *okazat' pomosch* (to help), *vesti besedu* (to talk) and many others.
2. A verb and an any other case noun, including those with prepositions. For example, *vdavat'sa v mechtatel'nost'* (to enter (?) dreaming = to dream about) – the accusative case with a preposition, *poddad'sa soblazny* (to succumb to temptation = to be tempted by) – the dative case, *zanimat'sa vvyasneniyem* (to be occupied with finding out = to be finding out) – the instrumental case.

The tie between A and B within OGIO is subordinate, and the case principally depends on the verb. This point is highlighted in various works, including that of Deribas (1979). The first group is more similar to VN-L. However, the second group cannot be excluded as the case of the noun is predetermined by the verb. Within *liheci*, where the tie is also subordinate, in the majority of cases I supposed it to be “accusative” (the noun is the direct object or **patient**¹³⁴ of its verb, which means that the action described by the verb (at the level of IS) is realized upon the noun – for this I introduced an artificial idea that *liheci* can be deployed to the English -ed passive voice structure). In Russian, more than one accusative case can define the direct object, for example, *nadelat' oshibok* (to make (a lot of) mistakes) shows the instrumental case, although, **mistakes are made**. If we decided to limit VN in Russian through this, we would have to limit them through the type of connection (object, patient), not through the case itself.

1.3.10.2.5. Other points (1)

Apart from these main points, there are some more features of Russian OGIO to notice:

1. In some cases, the noun can be plural. For example, *nadelat' oshibok* (to make (a lot of) mistakes). In Chinese we did not discuss this question, as formally speaking the category of number in Chinese is not presented (in the majority of cases singular and plural forms are the same word form).
2. In some cases, OGIO can include more than two elements. For example, *imet' tochku zreniya* (to have a viewpoint, to have an opinion, to consider).
3. OGIO can be intertwined with PE. Laguzova (2010) calls this phenomenon *kontaminatsiya* (contamination), e.g. *okazat' medvezhyu ushugu* (to do a bear's favour: consists of the OGIO

¹³⁴ In the context of Chinese strict word order, direct objects and patients coincide in the majority of cases.

okazat' uslugu (to do a favour) and PE *medvezhya usluga* (a bear's favour), a disfavour which leads to a bad result).

4. The same verb can produce both PE and OGIO. For example, *imet' mesto* (“to have” place = to take place) and *imet' chest'* (to have pride = to be proud for obtaining something) are PE, but *imet' otnosheniye* (to have a relation) is an OGIO (Lekant, 2015).

5. OGIO have varying degrees of adhesion (Deribas, 1979), as well as *liheci*.

6. As well as in Chinese, the mobility of OGIO is limited when other elements appear within or in connection with them.

7. OGIO have three characteristics: synonymy, antonymy, polysemantism (Deribas, 1979). This means that many of them have synonymous and antonymous OGIO or have various meanings. For example, *prinimat' uchastiye* is an OGIO which means “to take part” and a phraseological unity (PE-2) which means “to take care” (Deribas, 1979).

1.3.10.2.6. Other points (2)

We should also remember that within the class of OGIO there is a subtype of modal OGIO – those which are formed with the verb *imet'* (to have). For example, *imet' zhelaniye* (to have a wish) is the same as *zhelat'* (to wish), *imet' namereniye* (to have an intention) is the same as *namerevat'sa* (to intend), etc. In Chinese this verb does not form a chain of *liheci*, although, it does in Russian and, as it can be observed in these samples, in English, too.

Deribas mentions that for OGIO $M_{AB} = M_A + M_B$ but as we saw above it is the second assumption based on adhesion of at least one element and the final meaning of OGIO is in any case wider than that of a simple combination. Speaking about phraseology, I consider that it may be an element of the basis of OGIO's formation but the final product is rather a step on the way from a synthetic to analytic language and its construction is different from PE (apart from SA+SA VN).

We can precompose the same type of table with degrees of limitation as we did for Chinese:

| |
|---|
| VN |
| OGIO-PE |
| If the N-object can be a substantivied adjective or only a noun |
| The subordinate tie: direct or any object |

| |
|--|
| The accusative or any case |
| With or without prepositions |
| Including modal OGIO or not |
| Having a synonymous verb of the same root or not |
| ... |

As well as in Chinese, we can see those groups as subtypes of each other with varying hierarchy as researchers present or we can consider them separate phenomena. We can apply stricter or looser limitation. As for the case and preposition, those are governed by the verb. As for other points, in Russian, unlike in Chinese (as we have fewer dilemmas with IS and OS here), I would differentiate between two groups: those where the N-object undergoes the process described by the verb and all others. The first of them would be maximally close to *liheci*.

1.3.10.3. OGIO as a world universality

Laguzova (2003) mentions that, based on bilingual dictionaries, it is possible to say that OGIO is a universality (a universal construction). As a universality it has five main features: 1. The general VN model 2. Verb weakening or losing its real meaning 3. The nominative role of the noun 4. The productivity of VN formed with the verb “to give” 5. Syntagmatic characteristics of OGIO. She also notices that in the XX-XXI centuries no new models for the formation of OGIO appeared, but new nouns have been involved in the previously formed models.

At some aspects, I can disagree with her criteria of OGIO as a universality (e.g. in Chinese the second and the fourth points can be put into question), however, I do agree that it is a universal combination. In the work of Kirichenko (2010) who primarily compares OGIO in the Russian and Belarus texts of Evangelion, it is possible to find samples of OGIO from varying languages including Latin.

1.3.10.4. Separating OGIO from word collocations

The most difficult task is to separate OGIO from simple word collocations. Deribas (1979) says: “[OGIO] is placed between a simple collocation and PE. On the one hand, they consist of words known for being used independently, on the other hand, they have all features of dependent collocations... there is no compromise in Russian science, some researches see them separate from PE, others – as PE”. Another important thing which is noticed by the author is that some OGIO include a substantiated

adjective instead of a noun, e.g. *imet' obscheye* (to have [something in] common). Partially, this is similar to some *liheci* where morphemes of disputable qualities behave like nouns. However, I will not highlight this subcategory separately in this work.

Russian OGIO have similar and defining features with Chinese *liheci*: although including a verb and a noun, their final meaning is verbal. Both can be deployed through adding verbal modifiers (possible for each particular language) and attributives to their nouns. For a detailed comparison see Chapter 3.

1.3.11. The criteria for final limitation of PE

Now, we move to the second category where we can find VN-L – PE. As it was mentioned above, there are three main types of PE in Russian:

1. Phraseological adhesions (idioms). M_{sum} cannot be concluded from M_1 , M_2 , etc. Its elements may not exist in modern Russian.
2. Phraseological unities. These may have outer omonyms. M_{sum} can be partially concluded from the meanings of its elements.
3. Phraseological combinations. M_{sum} can be clear from the meaning of its elements, but at least one element is adhesive.

According to Laguzova (2018), the main difference between OGIO and PE is that OGIO can accept attributives within and that it can almost freely invert but PE are very limited in inversion. At the same time, in some PE such as PE-3 *davat' slovo* it is also possible (e.g. *davat' tvoydoye slovo* – “to give a solid word”, to promise with a high degree of confidence/guarantee). On the contrary, many PE which have all other essential VN-L characteristics may fail at this one. Although OGIO are sometimes seen as a sub-type of PE-3 and they are almost equal at the point of general description, we can find examples of VN among all the three types, for example, in PE-1: *bit' baklushi* бить баклуши (“to hit *baklushi*”, twiddle one’s fingers). In this example *baklushi* originally meant a piece of wood prepared for production of a wooden utensil, and now this word is out of usage. Among PE-2 we can also find VN, for example, *gryzt' granit nauki* грызть гранит науки (“to gnaw the granite of science”, to study hard), *plyt' po techeniyu* плыть по течению (“to swim along the riverflow”, to follow the flow), *zakinut' udochku* закинуть удочку (“to throw a fishing rod”, carefully start finding out something or hint on something), *zaiti v tupik* зайти в тупик (“to enter a deadend”, to deadlock), *bit' kluchom* бить ключом (“to hit as a spring (rill)”, to be very

active or abundant) etc. Many of these samples, although having VN structures, cannot add other words within, thus, cannot be accepted in our analysis.

Unlike OGIO, many PE cannot change their forms. As we saw above, in OGIO nouns can become plural, but for PE it is mainly not the same. In PE words cannot be replaced with other words, but in OGIO components can be interchanged. As for the verbal part of these VN, in OGIO verbs normally have all the same functions as regular verbs, but in PE their changes are very limited in type (perfective, imperfective), tense and number (singular, plural). For example, *bit' baklushi* (imperfective) cannot be converted into a perfective expression (nor does it not accept attributives).

What is defining for us is that not each PE-VN is PE-VN-L. The *liheci* type which we are searching has at least one important limitation which is not applied to absolutely all VN in PE: they can accept other words inside. Some PE are just more limited in possible combinations than OGIO (also, not all *liheci* accept all possible combinations within), but others may not accept anything inside at all. If they do not, they cannot be accepted as VN-L. Thus, PE have more limitations than OGIO.

In Russian resources, the type of verbal PE usually includes PE with *deyeprichastiye* (a verbal part of speech which comprises features of verbs and adverbs; in English it can often be translated as the gerund. Compare with *prichastiye* (participle) which comprises features of verbs and adjectives). I do not consider these a type of VN, as normally they cannot act as verbs/verbal structures and only exist in their unique form. Some PE can also include negative or other particles. For example, *ne pokladaya ruk* не покладая рук (“not laying hands/arms”, unceasingly) is a sample with a *deyeprichastiye*. The negative particle cannot be omitted as in the affirmative form this PE does not exist. Thus, I consider it out of the VN group under analysis.

The fact that some PE cannot change their word order or form other parts of speech as verbs in OGIO do does not really influence them to be VN-L as *liheci* also have different degrees of adhesion, and not all of them can invert or add all verbal suffixes and complements or all types of attributives.

1.3.12. The list of final limitations

To sum up, VN-L in Russian can have the following limitations¹³⁵:

¹³⁵ Within this work we will deal with VN limited in this way. Kuzmenkova (2000) highlights that there is still no consensus and no exact definition of OGIO in Russian, besides they are not homogeneous within their group and may coincide with other phenomenon on a border line.

1. They are spread between OGIO and PE. While almost each¹³⁶ OGIO is VN-L, in PE we can only accept the verbal ones, formed with verbs (not *deyeprichastiye*) and not including particles.
2. General limitations which we applied to Chinese are correct in Russian as well: these structures consist of a verb and a noun presenting one joint meaning which they lose if completely separated, and at least one of two elements is (semantically) adhesive. Besides, the joint meaning is wider than the meaning of the sum even if it can be deduced from the sum, and it can accept other words within.
3. If a VN is a PE it must be able to accept other words within to be considered VN-L.
4. A VN must be non-predicative¹³⁷ to be a VN-L.
5. Prepositions within VN are accepted as long as they form a rigid analytical structure together with the case of the N which is defined by the V.
6. There can be more than 2 elements in VN-L in case B₁ and B₂ denote one joint nominal notion.
7. Modal VN can be VN-L if they correspond with the previous limitations.
- 8* the criteria of the direct object (an object which undergoes the process described by the verb) should be applied to limit our VN to VN-L precisely. At this step I am not making this application in order to observe the authentic Russian phenomenon without adjusting it to Chinese.

1.4-. A list of “*liheci*” samples in Russian and their classification

1.4.1. Samples synonymous to Chinese *liheci*

First of all, we will try to find samples synonymous to Chinese *liheci*:

| <i>liheci</i> | Literal transation | Russian VN | Literal translation | Transliteration and comments |
|---------------|--------------------|------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| | | | | |

¹³⁶ It is possible to say each OGIO, as long as they do not confuse them with simple word collocations.

¹³⁷ It should be noted that there are linguists who include predicative VN within the group of OGIO/descriptive predicate, e.g. Kuzmenkova (2000) sees them as a subtype of OGIO. So does Makovich (1997).

| | | | | |
|----|---|--|--|---|
| 离婚 | To part/to leave each other + a marriage/wedding | Расторгать брак ¹³⁸ | To dissolve / denounce a marriage/marital registration | <i>Rastorgat' brak</i> |
| 毕业 | To end/to finish/to conclude/to complete + a profession/business | ? | | |
| 见面 | To see + a face | * <i>проводить встречу, устраивать встречу</i> | To conduct a meeting, to organize a meeting | <i>Provodit' vstrechu, ustraivat' vstrechu.</i> To conduct or to organize a meeting is only a partial possible translation of this word and does not correspond with its general meaning “to meet” |
| 散步 | to scatter/to break up (a meeting etc)/to disperse/to disseminate/to dispel + a step/pace/walk/stroll | Совершать прогулку | To realize a walk | <i>Sovershat' progulku</i> |
| 道歉 | To say/to speak/to talk + an apology | Приносить извинения, | To bring a pardon, to ask for pardon, to | <i>Prinosit' izvineniya,</i> |

¹³⁸ Here and further in the table VN in Russian are taken from the dictionary of Deribas (1979) (with a few samples from the Zhongga dictionary).

| | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|
| | | просить извинения (прощения), выражать сожаление | express feeling sorry (for something). | <i>prosit'</i> <i>izvineniya</i> (<i>prosheniya</i>), <i>vyrazhat'</i> <i>sozhaleniye</i> |
| 着急 | To suffer from/to feel + emergency/worrying | Испытывать беспокойство, проявлять беспокойство | To experience anxiety, to display concern | <i>Ispytyvat'</i> <i>bespokoistvo</i> , <i>proyavlyat'</i> <i>bespokoistvo</i> |
| 失眠 | To lose + a sleep | Терять сон, страдать бессонницей | To lose sleep, to suffer (from) insomnia | <i>Teryat' son</i> , <i>stradat'</i> <i>bessonitsei</i> |
| 感兴趣 | To feel/to perceive + interest | Испытывать интерес Питать интерес Проявлять интерес | To experience interest, to nourish interest, to display interest | <i>Ispytyvat'</i> <i>interes, pitat'</i> <i>interes</i> , <i>proyavlyat'</i> <i>interes</i> |
| 生气 | To bear/to be born/to grow + anger | <Впадать в бешенство, приходить в бешенство> <i>*проявлять гнев</i> | To fall into furiosity, to come into furiosity, to display anger | <i>Vpadat' v</i> <i>beshenstvo</i> , <i>prohodit' v</i> <i>beshenstvo</i> , <i>proyavlyat'</i> <i>gnev</i> . As indicated below, furiosity is a word of a higher (non-neutral) register than anger. To display (to demonstrate) anger is not fully the same |

| | | | | |
|----|---|---|--|---|
| | | | | as to get angry, only applicable in particular translations |
| 生病 | To bear/to be born/to grow + an illness | * <i>Переносить</i> <i>болезнь</i> , страдать <i>болезнью</i> | To withstand a disease, to suffer (from) a disease | <i>Perenosit'</i> <i>bolezn'</i> , <i>stradat'</i> <i>bolezn'yu</i> . To withstand a disease is another particular possible translation which does not reflect the general meaning |
| 发烧 | To emit/to send out + heat | Испытывать жар | To experience heat | <i>Ispytyvat' zhar</i> |
| 结婚 | To tie/to create (an alliance) + a marriage | Заключать брак, вступать в брак, сочетаться браком, *выйти замуж ¹³⁹ | To conclude a marriage, to enter a marriage, to conjoin in a marriage, to get married with a man | <i>Zaklyuchat'</i> <i>brak, vstupat' v</i> <i>brak,</i> <i>sochetat'sya</i> <i>brakom, vyiti</i> <i>zamuzh</i> |
| 跳舞 | To jump + a dance | <Исполнять танец> | To perform a dance | <i>Ispolnyat'</i> <i>tanets</i> . “To perform a dance” is not as neutral as “to dance” |

¹³⁹ Apart from the fact that it's only a partial synonym, its second part is an adverb. However, it can be given as a translation for foreign students (see Appendix about methodology).

| | | | | |
|-----|---|--|---|--|
| 放心 | To settle (down) + a heart | <Находить покой, обретать покой> | To find peace/calmness, to gain peace/calmness | <i>Nahodit' pokoi, obretat' pokoi</i> |
| 报名 | To announce/to inform/ to notify + a name | * <i>Подавать заявку</i> Осуществить регистрацию, * <i>оформить регистрацию</i> ¹⁴⁰ | To submit an application, to realize a registration, to form/issue a registration | <i>Podavat' zayavku, osuschestvit' registratsiyu, oformit' registratsiyu.</i> Both “to submit an application” and “to issue a registration” are only partial synonyms which can be used in particular situations. |
| 请假 | To ask for + vacations | Брать отпуск, отпрашиваться с работы | To take vacations (days off), to ask oneself out of work | <i>Brat' otpusk, ot[rashivat'sya s raboty</i> |
| 开玩笑 | To open/to start/to reveal/to hold a joke | ? * <i>осыпать насмешками</i> | To pepper/to cover with mockeries | <i>Osypat' nasmeshkami.</i> The general translation does not exist, this translation can be used in particular (rare) situations. |

¹⁴⁰ These two expressions are widely used in modern spoken Russian but are not presented in the dictionary of Deribas (1979) nor in Zhonga bilingual dictionary.

| | | | | |
|----|---|--|--|---|
| 担心 | To bear/to undertake + a heart | Испытывать беспокойство, проявлять беспокойство | To experience worrying, to display worrying | <i>Ispytyvat' bespokoistrvo, proyavlyat' bespokoistvo</i> |
| 鼓掌 | To beat + palms | Хлопать в ладоши ¹⁴¹ | Clap in palms | <i>Hlopat' v ladoshi</i> |
| 打针 | To hit/to inject + a needle | Делать укол/инъекцию | To do an injection (rus/latin). | <i>Delat' ukol, inyectsiyu</i> |
| 打折 | To hit/... + a discount | Делать скидку | To make a discount | <i>Delat' skidku</i> |
| 吃惊 | To eat + (an/to?) alarm | Приходить в удивление, испытывать ужас, приходиться в ужас, приходиться в изумление | To come into wonder, to experience horror, to come into horror, to come into amazement | <i>Prihodit' v udivleniye, ispytyvat' uzhas, prihodit' v uzhas, prihodit' v izumleniye</i> |
| 抽烟 | To take out/to pull out + a smoke/tobacco/a cigarette | ? | | |
| 放假 | To put/to place/to release/to free/to let go/to let out/to set off + a vacation | Брать отпуск, быть в отпуске, идти в отпуск, находиться в отпуске, уходить в отпуск, дать отпуск | To take vacations (days off), to go into vacations, to be/stay/place oneself in vacation, to leave for vacations, give vacations | <i>Brat' otpusk, byt' v otpuske, idti v otpusk, nahodit'sa v otpuske, uhodit' v otpusk, dat' otpusk</i> |
| 刷卡 | To brush/to scrub + a card | ? Заплатить картой, | To pay by card | <i>Zplatit' kartoi,</i> |

¹⁴¹ The noun word (form) *ladoshi* is not used in modern Russian, instead of it *ladoni* are used, which can also be used in this combination.

| | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|
| | | расплатиться картой | | <i>rasplatit'sa kartoi</i> |
| 排队 | To set in order/to arrange/to line + a row of people/ a line/a team/a group/ | Занимать очередь, *стоять в очереди | To occupy a queue, to stay in a queue | <i>Zanimat' ochered', stoyat' v ocheredi.</i> “To stay in a queue” may not be universally applicabe as a translation |
| 出差 | To go out/to leave/ + a mission/a messenger/ (to/a?) commission | ? отправляться в командировку | To leave for a business trip | <i>Opravlyat'sa v komandirovku</i> |
| 伤心 | To wound/to hurt + a heart | Испытывать горе, испытывать грусть, предаваться грусти, ранить душу, страдать душой, испытывать огорчение, переносить огорчение, доставлять страдания, переносить страдания, причинять боль (страдания) | To experience grief, to experience sadness, to abandon oneself to sadness, to wound soul, to suffer with soul, to experience chagrin, to bear chagrin, to deliver suffering, to bear suffering, to impose pain (suffering) | <i>Ispytyvat' gore, ispytyvat' grust', prdavat'sa grusti, ranit' dushu, stradat' dushoi, dostavlyat' stradaniya, perenosit' stradaniya, prichinyat' bol' (stradaniya)</i> |
| 起床 | To get up + a bed | ? Вставать с | To get up from the bed | <i>Vstavat' s krovati</i> |

| | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|--|
| | | кровати | | |
| 出国 | To leave/to go out + a country | ? Выезжать за границу | To leave for beyond the border (of the country) | <i>Vyezhat' za granitsu</i> |
| 堵车 | To block up + a car | *стоять в пробке | To stay in a traffic jam | <i>Stoyat' v probke.</i> <i>Duche</i> can mean both “to be in a traffic jam” and “there to be a traffic jam”, the translation is only partial. |
| 关机 | To turn off/to close + an apparatus | ? Выключить аппарат | To turn off an apparatus | <i>Vyklyuchit' apparat</i> |
| 拉肚子 | To pull + a stomach | Страдать диареей | To suffer (from) diarea | <i>Stradat' diareyei.</i> The same model as for insomnia. In Deribas diarea is not given as a particular case but there is a general combination “to suffer from a disease” |
| 开机 | To turn on/to open + an apparatus | ? Включить аппарат | To turn on an apparatus | <i>Vklyuchit' apparat</i> |
| 看病 | To look/to watch + an illness | ? Осмотреть больного | To examin an ill (person) | <i>Osmotret' bol'nogo</i> |
| 洗澡 | To wash/to bathe + | Принимать душ, | To take a shower, to | <i>Prinimat' dush,</i> |

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| | a bath | принимать ванну | take a bath | <i>prinimat' vannu</i> |
| 打包 | To make/... + a pack | ? Упаковать на вынос, завернуть в упаковку | To pack for take away, to roll into a pack | <i>Upakovat' na vynos, zavernut' v upakovku</i> |
| 打工 | To do/... + a work | ? *Заниматься подработкой | To be occupied with extra/part-time work | <i>Zanimat'sa podrabotkoi</i> |
| 发音 | To emit + a sound | *Издавать звук(и) | To issue (send forth, produce) sound(s) | <i>Izdavat' zvuk(I)</i> |
| 做客 | To do + a guest | Быть в гостях, идти в гости, ходить в гости | Be in guests, to go (in)to guests, to walk (in)to guests | <i>Byt' v gostyah, idti v gosti, hodit' v gosti</i> |
| 上网 | To go up/to start/... + the Internet | Быть в сети, выходить в интернет | To be in the net, to go out to the Internet | <i>Byt' v seti, vyhodit' v internet.</i> Considering that the Internet only appeared in the last decades as well as this usage of the word “net”, it can hardly be found in dictionaries and is absent in the dictionary of Deribas ¹⁴² . The first of |

¹⁴² The dictionary of Deribas (1979), although is rather broad, has one obvious disadvantage: there is a consent among researchers that the VN model is rather productive and many new VN appeared in the last years and continue appearing now, at the same time with scientific, technological and medical breakthroughs the language has to adapt or create new words which can also enter those VN combinations, thus, dictionaries published a particular period of time ago cannot fully and abundantly reflect the today's situation.

| | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|--|
| | | | | these two I consider appropriate to be a VN-L, the second one also corresponds with basic demands. |
| 聊天儿 | To talk/to chat + a day | <Вести беседу>, <вести разговор> | To conduct a talk | <i>Vesti besedu, vesti razgovor.</i> <i>Beseda</i> is a word which sounds old-style, <i>razgovor</i> is its more modernly used synonym, however, both expressions are more formal or polite than neutral |
| 搬家 | To move + a house/family | Осуществлять переезд | To realize a moving (to another house) | <i>Osuschestvlyat' pereezd.</i> The word <i>pereezd</i> implies changing the place of living, not just moving in general sense |
| 留学 | To leave/to stay + (to/a?) study | ? | | |
| 干杯 | To dry + a cup | ? Осушить бокал, | To dry (up) a cup, | <i>Osushit' bokal,</i> |

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|---|----------------------------------|--|
| | | Поднять тост | To raise a toast | <i>podnyat' tost.</i> This is not a neutral expression, <i>bokal</i> does not mean a cup in general |
| 吹牛 | To blow + a cow | * <i>задирать нос</i> | To raise (one's) nose | <i>Zadirat' nos.</i> This is a PE which can be a partial translation as its meaning is similar to be so proud of oneself that look down upon others or demonstrate being proud of oneself |
| 帮忙 | To help + a hurry/a rush | Оказывать помощь, предоставлять помощь | To realize help, to provide help | <i>Okazyvat' pomosch,</i> <i>predostavlyat' pomosch.</i> The first of them is a complete synonym of "to help". The difference between them is that they are used in |

| | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| | | | | different occasions. |
| 游泳 | To swim + a swim | ? | | |
| 跑步 | To run + a step/pace/walk/stroll | ? | | |
| 睡觉 | To sleep a sleep | *-<погружаться в сон>, забыться сном | To dive in(to) sleeping, to forget oneself with a dream | <i>Pogruzhat'sa v son, zabyt'sa snom.</i> These ones are, on the one hand, only partial synonyms as <i>shuijiao</i> means both to sleep and to fall asleep, on the other hand it is not completely stylistically neutral |

Although it is not always possible to translate *liheci* with an OGIO/PE in Russian (those cases are marked with “?”), it is almost always possible to find a verb+noun word collocation, which may be a useful way of instructing *liheci* to foreign students of Russian¹⁴³. For example, 刷卡 can be translated as “to pay by card”, which is a word collocation. Some possible word collocations are given in the table after “?”. Each of them can be questioned. The first one (отправляться в командировку, to leave for a business trip) has a connection with a PE/OGIO given in the Dictionary of Deribas (1979) “отправлять в командировку” (to send to a business trip) formed from the same verb (the first one is in the reflexive form). I consider that the main difference between them is in the verb. The reflexive verb *otpravlyat'sa* is independent, it means to go somewhere leaving the current place. It can be freely used with this very meaning in different sentences, for example, поезд отправляется *poezd otpravlyaetsa* (the train is leaving/departing). In

¹⁴³ See appendix for some ideas on teaching *liheci* as a part of an L2 course.

the second case, the verb means “to send”, it can be used with “a letter”, “messages”, “things” etc., but in this particular collocation it has a more abstract shift in meaning “to send a person” and depends on the following noun. Включить/выключить аппарат (to turn on/off an apparatus) contain two independent verbs.

Translations marked with * are not precise synonyms. 见面 is “to meet” but Russian equivalents given are “to conduct a meeting” and “to organise a meeting” which can only be used as synonyms in particular cases. Those cases which are marked with <> differ in degree. For example, 生气 is “to get angry”, but Russian equivalents imply being furious, which is a higher degree than just angry. In its third translation the noun *gnev* (anger) is not stylistically neutral (it sounds archaic or “honourable”) and is practically not used separately in modern speech¹⁴⁴.

1.4.2. Related questions

It should be mentioned that not all samples demonstrate what in the part of Chinese we called “an accusative tie”, but what in Russian would be more correct to call direct objects¹⁴⁵, e.g. in *byt' v gostyah* (to be in guests), *gosti* (guests) are not an object undergoing the process of the verb to be. In Chinese this tie is almost a forming norm for *liheci*, only in few examples we can question if the noun morpheme is a verbal object or not and in even in those cases, we cannot fully exclude that possibility. But models for Russian OGIO accept combinations where the B (noun) is not a direct object of the A (verb) action. So, if we look for VN combinations which are as close to the *liheci*-type as possible, we should exclude all those combinations where B is not a direct object of A as it was mentioned in Chapter 1. This would mean that several schemes of OGIO and many PE should be excluded. However, as the general purpose of this work is an interlinguistic comparison, I find it reasonable to investigate this phenomenon the way it is in each particular language, excluding those samples which do not correspond with the way it is described in that language, rather than excluding them on the basis of not corresponding with Chinese. At the same time, we should keep in mind for the last part of our work, that formally speaking those PE and OGIO where B is nor a direct subject of A are not fully the same as *liheci* in Chinese.

¹⁴⁴ For more aspects of comparison see chapter 3.

¹⁴⁵ I suggested that the majority of *liheci*, for a better understanding, can be artificially inverted into the English passive structure, e.g. 吹牛 to 牛 is 吹-ed. Only in a very few of them is this connection not clear. Russian structures do not coincide with this. If our aim was to find exact analogues of Chinese *liheci* in Russian, not a general observation of the authentically Russian phenomenon, one more stage of restriction would be excluding those VN in which N does not undergo the process described by V.

Another question is whether it is possible to find any sort of frequency list for OGIO/PE in Russian. For Russian, there is the so-called “National Corpus of Russian Language”¹⁴⁶, which is a very ambitious project of Russian linguists, it includes more than 600 million words. It has a separate search for non-single word lexical items divided into sub-categories according to the function they implement. In this corpus, we can check an approximate number of usages of our samples. As well as Chinese CCL, NCRL permits to search not only the “joint” forms of VN, but as well the split-up or inverted ones. Unlike in Chinese, in this case we will look for -10 to +10 distance between A and B to get a general overview, as we can suppose that in Russian split-up or inverted forms may be much more frequent than in Chinese due to the general flexibility of the language and the fact that Russian VN are freer to invert and separate and this search includes inverted usages and variations in forms of A and B. That variation is another stumbling block which may distort the result, the A (verbal part) can change in tense, number, person etc. and even convert into other verbal parts of speech, while the B (nominal part) may vary between singular and plural as well as in some positions go in different cases. So, the general search of the joint initial form would only give a very vague result for the frequency of usage. Looking with a wide distance allows to see results in different forms. One more aspect to add to this issue is that apart from the main corpus, NCRL has separate branches, such as its spoken corpus, multimedia corpus, poetic corpus, educational corpus, and others. To get the full picture of usage frequency based on the corpus, it would be necessary to sum results from all applicable branches. And, as well as in Chinese CCL, it would also be necessary to remove those samples, where words coincided with each other not being parts of one VN. For example, the second sentence for “быть в гостях” is [...должно быть, в гостях у В.К.Корепанова сидели над картой...] (Golovanov, 2002), where “*byt*” belongs to the introductory “*dolzno byt*” (it must be) and “*v gostyah*” (in guests) belongs to the second part of the phrase. They are separated by a comma but coincide in sequence, thus, appear in the search results.

It is also noticeable that the majority of native speakers of different ages¹⁴⁷ and education degrees have never heard of OGIO (and other terms used for it), which means that the topic remains on the periphery of common knowledge about the language and stays mainly academic.

According to Laguzova (2015), one of the most productive schemes of OGIO is those with the verb “*ispytyvat*” (to experience), which comprises of two main constructions: V + an accusative case noun, V + “*chuvstvo*” (a feeling) + a genitive case noun.

¹⁴⁶ The main corpus contains 115,645 documents, 23,803,881 sentences, 283,431,966 words.

¹⁴⁷ See appendix for the poll results.

1.4.3. The frequency of usage of the selected samples

If we examine those translations which we chose for the list of Chinese *liheci* in the corpus, we can find the following data:

| VN ¹⁴⁸ | The number of usages on the distance from -10 to +10 ¹⁴⁹ | The number of documents in which used (on the set distance) | The number of usages and documents on distance 1 | The total number of usages |
|-------------------------|---|---|--|----------------------------|
| Расторгать брак | 19 | 17 | 2/2 | 200 |
| Расторгнуть брак | 154 | 102 | 25/18 | |
| Совершать прогулку | 0 | 0 | 1/1 | 34 |
| Совершить прогулку | 0 | 0 | 33/32 | |
| Приносить извинения | 2 | 2 | 1/1 | 25 |
| Принести извинения | 0 | 0 | 22/21 | |
| Просить извинения | 0 | 0 | 50/44 | 50 |
| Просить прощения | 0 | 0 | 344/280 | 410 |
| Попросить прощения | | | 66/ 61 | |
| Выражать сожаление | 183 | 167 | 9/9 | 534 |
| Выразить сожаление | 320 | 273 | 22/21 | |
| Испытывать беспокойство | 109 | 102 | 7/7 | 145 |
| Испытать | 28 | 25 | 1/1 | |

¹⁴⁸ Each VN is given in perfective and imperfective verbal forms where possible.

¹⁴⁹ At a distance, the number of random combinations mixed up with a particular VN may be higher.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|------------|----------------|------|
| беспокойство | | | | |
| Проявлять беспокойство | 71 13 | 69 13 | 11/11 0/0 | 95 |
| Проявить беспокойство | | | | |
| Терять сон | 81 | 80 | 2/2 | 368 |
| Потерять сон | 147 | 138 | | |
| Страдать бессонницей | 0 | 0 | 9/9 | 9 |
| Испытывать интерес | 123 24 | 116 23 | 2/2 | 149 |
| Испытать интерес | | | | |
| Питать интерес | 56 | 56 | 1/1 | 57 |
| Испытывать жар | 11 | 10 | 0/0 | 24 |
| Испытать жар | 13 | 13 | 0/0 | |
| Проявлять интерес | 877 548 | 768 475 | 38/38 18/18 | 1481 |
| Проявить интерес | | | | |
| Подавать заявку | 0 | 0 | 15/15 | 65 |
| Подать заявку | 0 | 0 | 50/43 | |
| Проводить встречу | 0 0 | 0 0 | 0/0 21/18 | 21 |
| Провести встречу | | | | |
| Устраивать встречу | 0 0 | 0 0 | 3/2 28/28 | 31 |
| Устроить встречу | | | | |
| Заключать брак | 67 | 57 | 7/6 | 261 |
| ЗаклЮчить брак | 180 | 128 | 7/7 | |
| Сочетаться браком | 0 | 0 | 35/34 | 35 |
| Страдать болезнью | 0 | 0 | 1/1 | 1 |
| Проявлять гнев | 11 | 11 | 1/1 | 20 |
| Проявить гнев | 7 | 7 | 1/1 | |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|------|
| Переносить болезнь | 89 182 | 84 170 | 3/3 4/4 | 278 |
| Перенести болезнь | | | | |
| Вступать в брак | 454 | 291 | 97/81 | 1345 |
| Вступить в брак | 616 | 414 | 178/135 | |
| Исполнять танец | 196 | 168 | 3/3 | 314 |
| Исполнить танец | 111 | 105 | 4/4 | |
| Находить покой | 155 | 144 | 0/0 | 498 |
| Найти покой | 318 | 285 | 25/25 | |
| Обретать покой | 42 | 42 | 0/0 | 266 |
| Обрести покой | 202 | 172 | 22/21 | |
| Осуществить регистрацию | 0 0 | 0 0 | 1/1 0/0 | 1 |
| Осуществить регистрацию | | | | |
| Оформить регистрацию | 0 0 | 0 0 | 6/4 3/3 | 9 |
| Оформлять регистрацию | | | | |
| Брать отпуск | 190 | 157 | 15/15 | 788 |
| Взять отпуск | 514 | 420 | 69/63 | |
| Отпрашиваться с работы | 0 0 | 0 0 | 11/10 8/8 | 19 |
| Отпроситься с работы | | | | |
| Давать отпуск | 120 | 111 | 2/2 | 478 |
| Дать отпуск | 352 | 288 | 4/4 | |
| Осыпать насмешками ¹⁵⁰ | 0 | 0 | 2/2 | 2 |
| Проявлять беспокойство | 71 13 | 69 13 | 11/11 0/0 | 95 |

¹⁵⁰ For this verb, its perfective and imperfective forms only differ in the accent (imperfective – *osypAt'*, perfective – *osYpat'*).

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------|------------------------|--------------|-----|
| Проявить беспокойство | | | | |
| Хлопать в ладоши | 600 | 461 | 73/67 | 944 |
| Хлопать в ладони | 0 | 0 | 0/0 | |
| Хлопнуть в ладоши | 260 0 | 200 0 | 11/11 1/1 | |
| Хлопнуть в ладони | | | | |
| Сделать укол | 431 | 286 | 40/34 | |
| Делать укол | 379 | 274 | 15/14 | 865 |
| Сделать инъекцию | 0 0 | 0 0 | 9/9 2/2 | 11 |
| Делать инъекцию | | | | |
| Сделать скидку | 0 | 0 | 20/20 | 32 |
| Делать скидку | 0 | 0 | 12/12 | |
| Приходить в удивление | 17 17 | ? ¹⁵¹ 16 | 1/1 0/0 | 35 |
| Прийти в удивление | | | | |
| Испытывать ужас | 234 | 194 | 1/1 | 426 |
| Испытать ужас | 187 | 172 | 4/4 | |
| Впадать в бешенство | 39 23 | 36 23 | 1/1 2/2 | 65 |
| Впасть в бешенство | | | | |
| Приходить в бешенство | 113 111 | 103 105 | 2/2 3/3 | 229 |
| Прийти в бешенство | | | | |
| Приходить в ужас | 309 | 278 | 11/11 | 886 |
| Прийти в ужас | 556 | 445 | 10/10 | |
| Приходить в | 44 | 40 | 2/2 | 196 |

¹⁵¹ The search result given in the corpus on the set distance is 40/34, but the real VN usage is only 17; 23 more sentences are randomly coincided examples.

| | | | | |
|----------------------|------|------|-------|------|
| изумление | 145 | 139 | 5/5 | |
| Прийти в изумление | | | | |
| Быть в отпуске | 0 | 0 | 0/0 | 0 |
| Идти в отпуск | 0 | 0 | 0/0 | 0 |
| Находиться в отпуске | 0 | 0 | 3/3 | 3 |
| Уходить в отпуск | 108 | 97 | 3/3 | 304 |
| Уйти в отпуск | 171 | 148 | 22/22 | |
| Занимать очередь | 171 | 162 | 13/13 | 423 |
| Занять очередь | 215 | 191 | 24/22 | |
| Стоять в очереди | 1658 | 1090 | 85/79 | 2748 |
| Испытывать горе | 60 | 58 | 1/1 | 178 |
| Испытать горе | 117 | 110 | 0/0 | |
| Испытывать грусть | 40 | 39 | 0/0 | 56 |
| Испытать грусть | 16 | 16 | 0/0 | |
| Предаваться грусти | 0 | 0 | 1/1 | 1 |
| Предаться грусти | 0 | 0 | 0/0 | |
| Ранить душу | 0 | 0 | 4/4 | 4 |
| Страдать душой | 0 | 0 | 1/1 | 1 |
| Испытывать огорчение | 29 | 29 | 0/0 | 57 |
| | 28 | 27 | 0/0 | |
| Переносить огорчение | 8 | 8 | 0/0 | 26 |
| | 18 | 17 | 0/0 | |
| Перенести огорчение | | | | |
| Доставлять страдания | 73 | 84 | 0/0 | 119 |
| Доставить страдание | 46 | 44 | 0/0 | |
| Переносить страдания | 0 | 0 | 1/1 | 1 |
| | 0 | 0 | 0/0 | |

| | | | | |
|---------------------|------|------|---------|------|
| Перенести страдания | | | | |
| Причинять боль | 478 | 395 | 23/22 | 904 |
| Причинить боль | 351 | 300 | 52/52 | |
| Причинять страдания | 0 | 0 | 6/6 | 10 |
| Причинить страдания | 0 | 0 | 4/4 | |
| Поднимать тост | 98 | 89 | 1/1 | 308 |
| Поднять тост | 188 | 152 | 21/21 | |
| Забываться сном | 0 | 0 | 2/2 | 17 |
| Забиться сном | 0 | 0 | 15/14 | |
| Стоять в пробке | 0 | 0 | 9/9 | 9 |
| Встать в пробке | 0 | 0 | 0/0 | |
| Страдать диареей | 0 | 0 | 0/0 | 0 |
| Принимать душ | 522 | 461 | 35/31 | 1624 |
| Принять душ | 964 | 739 | 103/93 | |
| Принимать ванну | 0 | 0 | 29/26 | 82 |
| Принять ванну | 0 | 0 | 53/49 | |
| Издавать звук | 998 | 732 | 3/3 | 1614 |
| Издать звук | 611 | 470 | 2/2 | |
| Быть в гостях | 0 | 0 | 14/13 | 14 |
| Идти в гости | 0 | 0 | 32/31 | 57 |
| Пойти в гости | 0 | 0 | 25/23 | |
| Ходить в гости | 0 | 0 | 95/88 | 108 |
| Сходить в гости | 0 | 0 | 13/13 | |
| Быть в сети | 0 | 0 | 0/0 | 0 |
| Выходить в интернет | 15 | 12 | 15/12 | 93 |
| Выйти в интернет | 63 | 52 | 6/6 | |
| Вести беседу | 0 | 0 | 88/84 | 96 |
| Завести беседу | 0 | 0 | 8/8 | |
| Вести разговор | 2264 | 1521 | 130/126 | 3239 |
| Завести разговор | 764 | 616 | 81/78 | |

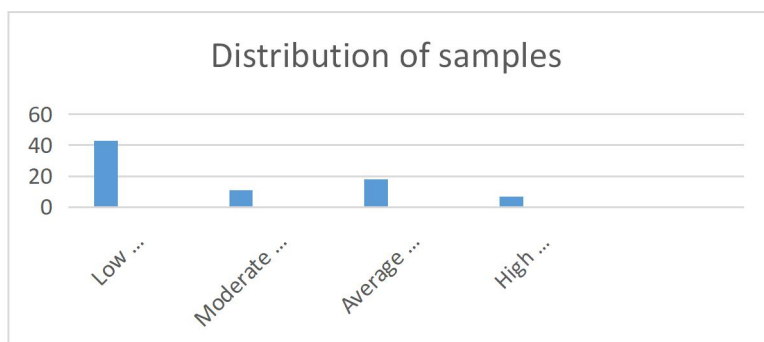
| | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|------|
| Осуществлять переезд | 0 0 | 0 0 | 1/1 6/6 | 7 |
| Осуществить переезд | | | | |
| Заирать нос | 184 | 163 | 25/25 | 422 |
| Задрать нос | 205 | 181 | 8/8 | |
| Оказывать помощь | 1737 2402 | 1342 1761 | 138/128 354/310 | 4631 |
| Оказать помощь | | | | |
| Предоставлять помощь | 74 123 | 66 109 | 4/4 4/4 | 195 |
| Предоставить помощь | | | | |
| Погружаться в сон | 164 228 | 148 180 | 5/5 9/9 | 406 |
| Погрузиться в сон | | | | |

These results are only approximate¹⁵² but they still allow for the evaluation of the level of usage of different VN. They vary from extremely high, to moderate, to extremely low usage groups. I would divide them into four main groups:

1. Low frequency (<100). This group is the biggest (43 samples).
2. Moderate frequency (100-<300). It includes only 11 samples.
3. Average frequency (300-1000). This includes 18 samples.
4. High frequency (1000<). It includes 7 samples. The highest frequency in this is 4631. It is noticeable that the combination of verb+adverb *vyiti zamuzh* which we excluded would have 12645 in frequency.

Even though these results are not exact, they give us a clear picture that the number of samples falls with the growth of frequency.

¹⁵² Among other cases, the number of samples on the distance may overlap with zero distance samples.



At the same time, samples with the same general meaning may belong to different groups. There may be various reasons for this. Partially, it may be connected with stylistics. Some VN use words or combinations which are outdated and others which are more modern (e.g., *sochetat'sa brakom* and *zakluchat' brak*); others, although equally modern (e.g. *okazat' pomosch*, *predostavit 'pomosch*) are used in different contexts. Some may only have one (direct) meaning, others can have more than one meaning based on different shifts, e.g. *страдать бессонницей* only means to suffer from insomnia, but *терять сон* (to lose dreaming/sleeping) may also define something abstract, for example, worrying too much etc. We can also see that the schemes which Laguzova considers the most used, although they demonstrate rather high frequency, are still not the most used according to the numbers from the corpus. At the same time, the total sum of all possible combinations for these two structures may be the highest. It should also be considered that, despite in the search results some VN showed zero number of samples on the distance, it does not mean that they cannot be separated. For example, *sdelat' ukol* can be deployed to *sdelat' bolezenniy ukol* (to have a painful injection) and even more.

According to these results the most frequently used samples are:

1. Оказать помощь
2. Вести разговор
3. Стоять в очереди
4. Принимать душ
5. Издавать звук

The frequency of usage, apart from all other factors, may be connected with cultural realities of this particular society.

1.4.4. Other criteria for grouping

Apart from grouping them on the basis of frequency, we can form groups according to these aspects:

1. “An accusative tie” (direct object/patient)¹⁵³. In their AB structure, B undergoes the A process.

43 out of 71 (among them 4 out of 5 most frequent) (60%) samples are formed this way.

2.(not-)Including a preposition. 18 samples (25%) include the preposition *v*.

And others.

1.4.5. Some questions related to frequency

Another question is how these results correspond with spoken language. They may not coincide with results extracted from written texts. If we observe the results of the poll, the majority prefer using verbs rather than VN in speaking. At the same time, some neutral in style or rather formal VN may be used equally with verbs. As well, some VN like *okazat' pomosch* which are less neutral than their synonymous verbs can be the only possible neutral option in combinations (e.g. *okazat' pervuyu pomosch* – to provide first aid). For more details on this see the Appendix.

For Russian, as well as for Chinese as a foreign language, there are published word lists for each certificated level. These are called lexical minimums. The first VN appears at the level B1 (or first certificate level which goes after elementary and basic levels) and that is *обратить внимание obratit' vnimaniye* (to pay attention). At the same level we can find *сдать экзамен sdat' examen* (to pass an exam), *служить в армии sluzhit' v armii* (to serve in the army, to be a soldier) which Deribas includes in his VN dictionary. There are no other VN at this level. So, if we assume that lexical minimums for foreign students are a type of frequency list, thus, those 3 VN should be the most used ones in Russian. While paying attention or passing/having an exam provoke no doubts, serving in the army may be questioned at the aspect of the frequency of usage, as it is not a combination for daily speech. At the same time, it is necessary to admit that this VN may be frequently used in the topic of education in Russia, as normally those male schoolchildren who cannot or do not want to enter university start serving in the army (this is obligatory for those men

¹⁵³ It is not always the same as the accusative case. For example, *приходить в бешенство* (to come into fury) also uses the noun in the accusative case, but this noun (fury) does not undergo the verbal process (to come), so, we cannot say the fury was/is come.

who are older than 18 years). In the B2 level list the first VN to be found are брать/взять такси *brat’/vzyat’ taxi* (to take a taxi) and бросать работу *brosat’ rabotu* (to leave work/job, lit. “to throw work”). Later we can find вести разговор *vesti razgovor* which was the second most frequent in the corpus among our samples and a few other combinations with this verb, включить в состав *vkluchit’ v sostav* (to include into the content, e.g. to include somebody’s name in the list of delegates), владеть языком *vladet’ yazykom* (“to possess a language” = to be able to speak a (foreign) language), уделять внимание *udelyat’ vnimaniye* (to pay/give attention to. The verb as a separate item is practically untranslatable), вносить деньги *vnosit’ den’gi* (“to bring in money” = to (pre)pay), вносить поправку *vnosit’ popravku* (“to bring in an amendment” = to make an amendment) etc. The lists are organized alphabetically. As we can see, basically VN start actively appearing at B2 level, some of them seem to belong to the official speech style, which puts into question the real frequency of their usage in (neutral) speech. At the same time, their amount in comparison with the main dictionary is still not so big.

1.5-. The definition and limitations of “*liheci*” in English

1.5.1. General ideas about the analagous phenomenon in English

As we start observing VN in English, we should, first of all, pay attention to combinations formed with the delexical verbs make, take, have, give, go, do, hold, keep, set¹⁵⁴. These verbs are similar to “ghost” verbs in Russian, as without a following noun they basically have no or little meaning (although, unlike some verbs in Russian they can be translated into other languages as each of them has their primary established meaning), at the same time they preserve some information important at the aspect of syntax, such as tense, person, voice, etc. They pair with nouns to form delexical structures (DS). For example:

To take a shower = to shower

To have a drink = to drink

We can observe the same phenomenon as we saw in Russian before, in these structures the real semantic role is attributed to nouns. Similarly, these verbs may form varying combinations with

¹⁵⁴ Vrbinc (2004) orders eight of them by frequency based on the English corpus The Bank of English: give, have, make, take, do, hold, keep, set.

different nouns, e.g. to have a talk/conversation/discussion/chat... We can see that some of them may have related synonymous verbs, like “to talk” or “to chat”. They may add attributives: to have a long/nice/boring talk.

There is an agreement between various researchers of delexical verbs (DV) on the following fact: the delexical meaning of the verb is more frequent than its primary meaning. At the same time, the delexical meaning cannot exist without the surrounding context.

Delexical verbs are transitive which, as we saw above, is typical of Russian and Chinese VN at the level of IS as well.

According to the website of British Council, the four most frequent delexical verbs are to have, to take, to make, to give.

1.5.2. Some models and classifications of delexican structures and their components

Vrbinc (2005) citing Biber (1999) claims that idiomatic constructions with delexical verbs are much more common in written language.

She also says that there are 4 main types of noun which can follow a delexical verb:

1. A singular noun (often with the indefinite article), for example, to make a remark, to have a try, to take a look. According to Vrbinc (2005), this type of structure can describe an event as a brief one, and that is one of the main differences of these VN from single verbs. These nouns can normally be used as single verbs in English;
2. A plural noun, for example, to take photos, to take sips;
3. An uncountable noun, e.g. to make progress (she gives this as a subtype of the second group);
4. Nouns which cannot be used as verbs, e.g. to make career, to make decisions etc. Some of these nouns may have same-root related verbs (e.g. to make decisions – to decide);

Another thing that she highlights is that those nouns can accept adjectives before them forming the following structure: V – adj – N; this can be broadened to attributives, as not only adjectives can go before these nouns, but also determiners, numerals, combinations of words etc. Gunkova (2011) presents a more general model: V – (the indefinite article or a modifier) – N. However, we will still need to examine the possible combinations in Chapter 2.

Although we can observe some clear models to create delexical structures we should notice that they are not completely universal. On the one hand, not each verb can be paired with each noun, and although in some cases the same noun can go with different verbs, it is not an absolutely free

choice; on the other hand, some expressions simply do not exist, e.g. we can say “have a try”, “have a drink”, “have a look” but it is impossible to say “have an eat”, even though it would follow the general model.

Wierzbicka (1982) assumes that the model “have + a V”¹⁵⁵ only characterises (semi-)intentional, not involuntary events.

Tanaka, Aizawa, Kim, Hatada (2011) notice another important thing: delexical structures only correspond with one of the meanings of the related single verb. An example they give is “to give an answer” which is “to answer” when it means “to respond”, but “to answer” can also mean “to be suitable for”, and in this sense it has no corresponding VN.

They also apply the term “idiomatic delexical structure” in this context, which means “a delexical structure which cannot select any sense for a deverbal noun”; these can be rarely modified by adjectives or changed into a passive voice structure.

Nouns in delexical structures can have varying meanings, e.g. in “make an order” and “give an order” the word “order” has absolutely different meanings.

As well as in Russian, some nouns can go with two different verbs to form a VN, e.g. have a seat/shower or take a seat/shower (synonymous), take a chance/shower or give a chance/shower (antonymous).

1.5.3. Terminology and related issues

Delexical is not the only name for this verbal category, among research papers we can also find the following terms: desemantized verbs, function verbs, light verbs, lexically empty verbs, empty verbs, vector verbs, explicator verbs, thin verbs, (semantically) weak verbs, support verbs, supportive verbs, stretched verbs, multi-word verbs, expanded predicates etc. As for the nominal part of these VN, they can be called nouns, deverbal nouns, noun phrases. Similar to Russian, the whole delexical construction can also be found under the names of verbo-nominal phrases or verbo-nominal predication. Allan (1998) emphasizes that, despite the long history of studying delexical constructions, linguists have not accepted a unified term to define it.

Delexical structures in English as well as in Russian have a border with simple word collocations and may be difficult to distinguish from them in some cases. For some simple collocations we can find related single verbs as for VN. Let us compare “to have a look” and “to have a suggestion”. Both follow the same model, both can be replaced by a single verb (to look and to suggest) but the first of them is a delexical structure (VN), the second of them is not. Here, to

¹⁵⁵ Another name for this model is *periphrastic have construction*.

differentiate between them, we need to remember that among other characteristics, VN imply any sort of adhesion at the level of IS, and the meanings of V and N are not clear if separated. What does “to have” mean in the first case? Possession – no. What does the whole structure mean? “To possess a look” – no. But in the second case, “to have” has its primary meaning (to possess) and that meaning does not depend on the noun (is not *semantically adhesive* to it). To have a suggestion is to possess an idea one could suggest. The noun “suggestion” is also rather clear in meaning if separated, but “a look” is vaguer. Adhesion – a concept which we adopted from Chinese where it means a real impossibility for a character-morpheme to function as an independent word – may be that helping criterion which makes differentiation between VN and simple collocations easier. An interesting detail related to this is that among the articles dedicated to bilingual machinery translation there is a repeating idea that VN are usually mistranslated as the machine itself cannot distinguish them from simple word sequences. Simple collocations, on the other hand, can in general be translated word by word without the loss of meaning. If we try to translate these two examples into the other languages under our study, in both Chinese and Russian “to have a look” will never be translated as by “to have” + “a look”, while for “to have a suggestion” direct translation is possible in both.

1.5.4. Less frequent delexical verbs and other exceptions

Biber (1990) (as well as Algeo (1995)) says that delexical verbs have an idiomatic nature, demonstrating two extremes (their natural “core” meaning and the idiomatic delexicalized one). The above presented list of delexical verbs which can be found under study more often is not the complete list of this type of verb: less frequently, but possible to find investigations for other verbs passing through a particular weakening of their initial meaning, pairing with nouns and forming a VN construction, e.g. Verde (2003) shows how it happens with cast, shed, and throw which can form such combinations as “to throw a look”. Gunkova (2011) adds more to this line: pay, raise, set, put, bear¹⁵⁶.

Another thing she notices is a slightly different type of combination with such verbs as go, be and do: go shopping, do the cooking, do harm, be in a rush. This pose the same dilemmas to us which we saw in Russian. On the one hand, if we stick to VN-L we should only accept those combinations where N is the patient (direct object) of V. However, as we kept other ties possible for Russian VN to observe the phenomenon in a more comprehensive way, I consider that there is a

¹⁵⁶ The website of EOI Sabiñánigo includes various research and BNC examples and add these verbs which can be met as DV: to be in, to be on, to bear, to catch, to deliver, to drop, to draw, to get, to heave, to hold, to keep, to lay, to pay, to place, to put, to raise, to run, to set, to do, to go+Ving, to do+Ving, to go for (a).

rational to do the same in English. Examples like “be in a rush” are not VN-L, but they are VN which can also have or not have synonymous single verbs. “Do harm” is more regular as “harm” is basically a noun, and the whole VN looks similar to modal VN in Russian, but “go shopping” and “do the cooking” are a more complicated case for us to apply limitations. On the one hand, the gerund is a form derived from the verb, on the other hand, it has various functions, and in many cases acts as a noun. This question is similar to the quality of second morphemes in Chinese *liheci*, which sometimes can be consider belonging to other parts of speech but acting as nouns (e.g. 抱怨) or to those cases when in Russian verbs pair with substantivated adjectives. At the same time “do the cooking” seems clearer than “go shopping” for two reasons: 1. The verb “to do” gives an impression of fulfilling an action which can be transmitted through a noun (to do *something*)¹⁵⁷ which can be its patient 2. The definite article is normally used with nouns. In “go shopping”, “go” cannot have a real noun-patient and whole structure looks similar to 留学 “to do something in order to do something”, in this case “to go (out) to shop/buy ((for)things)”. Gunkova (2011) also shows examples such as “to get changed” which we exclude as the second part is a participle.

Another stumbling block is the DS which Vrbinc (2005) calls invariable – those which cannot vary grammatically, e.g. “give way” or “take part”. We will accept them as a subtype of DS in English having in mind that they do not correspond with VN-L. In general, if they can split up but cannot be modified by other words, they still can be seen as VN, as modification is not equally possible for each sample. In Russian, we observed a similar phenomenon but it was out of the category of OGIO and rather belonged to different levels of phraseology. We excluded them from our research as they are not characterized through “penetration” as they call it in Russian research papers or the ability to add other words within their structure which is a must for *liheci*. It should be noticed, that splitting up, accepting other words within and modification are not the same. Splitting up or accepting other words within (or “penetration”) mean that the V and N of one VN can be placed at a distance from each other (as we can see in this part dedicated to English, they may even be placed in different clauses of the same sentence), but modification means that there appear some words which can modify (characterize) the V or N, e.g. adjectives before the N. In the majority of cases there will be no difference between the two, but for disputable samples when we need to decide if a verb plus a noun is a VN or not, I suggest that **the obligatory criterion (in all the three languages) is splitting up, while the ability to be modified is not necessary.**

¹⁵⁷ Another example of Gunkova (2011) is “to do an operation”.

1.5.5. Some disputable aspects and various classifications of DS

In comparison with their counterparts in Russian and Chinese, delexical structures in English are rather well-studied from various perspectives. One of the most widely spread topics in the open search is teaching DS to foreigners and crosslingual and machinery translation. Noticeably, they can be found in dictionaries, grammar and student books for foreigners and native-speakers¹⁵⁸. However, there remain some disputable aspects. Gunkova (2011) says: “The elementary problems related to delexical verbs—which reoccur throughout this work—are the following: the problem of terminology, definition and delineation of this group of verbs, classification, interlingual clashes, and from a pedagogical point of view interlanguage”. She highlights “many terminological and conceptual inconsistencies” and no “clearcut boundary limiting generally delexical verbs nor any precise list of them”. She also notices that delexical verbs are widely spread in Japanese, Turkish, Urdu and Romance languages. There is also a particular dispute about excluding or including some structures into the category of DS on the basis of nouns. Gunkova (2011) highlights that not all scholars agree to accept deverbal nouns such as “argument” which is derived from the verb “to argue” and only include those which completely coincide with the verbal form (e.g. “a look”) as they actually see them as verbal elements in the form of infinitive paired with a verb and a determiner. I do not consider this correct, as conversion in general is a widely spread word formation method in English, and we can accept “a look” and others as nouns derived from verbs through conversion or viceversa, at the same time we will hardly find other cases of pairing verbs with nominal determiners. In my opinion, these are two subtypes of the same category of DS but not two different phenomena. She cites Akimoto (1989) who listed 3 types of nouns in DS:

1. Nouns which completely coincide with verbs (a look – to look).
2. Nouns formed through suffixation (a suggestion – to suggest).
3. Nouns formed with particles (a check-up – to check up).

This classification does not notice those samples where the noun coincides with the verb in its written form but differs in pronunciation (e.g. to protést – a prótest). We should also add those VN which have nouns not derived from verbs (e.g. “noise” in make a noise etc.). I would suggest the following grouping:

1. Nouns which completely coincide with verbs.

¹⁵⁸ See examples of this in Coffey (2016).

2. Nouns which are derived from verbs through varying ways (affixation, pronunciation shifts etc.)
3. Nouns which are formed from a combination of verb with “a complement”, e.g. a particle.
4. Nouns which are not formed from any related verb.

Gunkova (2011) also proposes variations for noun forms in DS, although, she does not clearly divide them into subgroups. These subgroups would be:

1. Singular with the indefinite article (e.g. make a noise).
2. Singular with no article (make progress, give help).
3. Plural (make decisions).

She also supposes that there is one more possible classification:

1. Nouns only appearing in singular (make use of).
2. Nouns only appearing in plural (give thanks).
3. Nouns which can appear in both singular and plural (have a drink, have drinks).

I do not consider the number to be a basis for limitation for VN. As for VN-L, the concept of number is rather alien to Chinese, and in case of countable notions it may not be really clear whether it is singular or plural.

There also exist classifications for DS (a verb + a noun collocation), e.g. Sanguannam (2016) citing Wang (2016) in their Ph.D. thesis gives the following one:

1. VN is semantically equivalent to V, e.g. have an affect – to affect;
2. VN is semantically equivalent to a copula+adjective construction, e.g. to give an impression – to be impressive;
3. VN where the N is abstract, e.g. to have a right;
4. VN where the N is used in a figurative sense, e.g. to do the trick.

Their example for the second group is not completely clear, as “to give an impression” does not seem to be exactly the same as “to be impressive”. One can give a good or bad impression, but being impressive is similar to making people surprised/admiring/respecting for being special (see the definition of “impressive” in Cambridge Dictionary). At the same time “to be impressive” is very clearly to “to impress (somebody)”.

1.5.6. Are delexical verbs fully delexical?

If we compare delexical verbs (DV) and delexical structures (DS) with Russian we may notice that, although the verb is called delexical (in Russian – ghost), at minimum it gives us the idea of a state or an action. Thus, analogously, we cannot say that it is completely deprived of its semantics. Apart from “state or action”, they can be classified under other paradigms, e.g. giving or receiving (we understand the difference between “to have a shower” and “to give a shower” only because of the verb). Another aspect which is noticed by Gunkova (2011) is that the number of delexical verbs is rather small¹⁵⁹. As we remember, in Russian the number of VN-forming verbs was rather high. And if we look back to Chinese, only some verbs used in *liheci* tend to form more than one *liheci*-combination. This will be discussed in chapter 3 in more detail.

1.5.7. Synonymity with verbs and other DS

The phenomenon which we study in English can often be mixed with other phenomena, e.g. phrasal verbs (to make up), verb-adjective/particle etc. combinations (to make clear), however, for the purpose of this work we exclude them. As we saw above these DS can also be divided into two groups: those which have a related synonymous same-root verb and those which do not. The same way as in Russian I do not consider this to be a base for limitation as the general concept and behaviour of these two subtypes are the same.

Not so frequently, but yet possible to find, DV in DS can be replaced with other verbs with similar meanings, forming a synonymous DS. Gunkova (2011) gives an example of this: to make an impression = to create an impression.

1.5.8. Are DS idiomatic?

Although, we mainly discuss the OS of VN, we paid attention to some aspects of IS, such as whether the nature of VN is idiomatic or not. In Chinese, we saw that some *liheci* have a very clear idiomatic/metaphorical basis while in others it was more a morphological matter (uniting on the basis of adhesivity of former independent character-words), in Russian we saw a dispute whether OGIO were PE or not, and among research papers in English we may find a bigger agreement that DS do have a particular idiomatic shift. Gunkova (2011) highlights that the idiomatic nature of DS

¹⁵⁹ Here we should assume the idea we mentioned above: some other verbs can form delexical constructions, too.

can limit their abilities to be modified or put together. At the same time, she presents the following classification for DS:

1. Only used metaphorically (e.g. have a dip).
2. Used both metaphorically and literally (e.g. give a lift).
3. A verb and a noun which can be a simple collocation with its literal meaning (to make a bow – to produce a bow with arrows) or a DS (to make a bow).

The second group provokes an interesting observation regarding Chinese and other languages. *Liheci* could be originally formed as simple collocations or as a metaphorical collocations/idioms if we look at their IS. At the same time, at the level of OS some VN as a whole can also act as both (with literal or metaphorical meanings). For a better understanding of VN, IS and OS should be studied as interrelated¹⁶⁰. As for idioms themselves (those combinations whose meaning cannot be derived from the components), in English there are combinations analogous to PE-VN in Russian but they may be partially included into the category of DS when formed with a DV (e.g. to give (somebody) a go, not to give a damn etc.) if other words can be placed inside. As well as in Russian we can only accept them if they abide by the limitations. Akimoto (1989) classifies them this way:

1. Idiom (e.g. take place), the meaning cannot be understood at the level of IS, the whole combination cannot be altered.
2. Semi-idiom (e.g. to make a mistake). We can understand the meaning at the level of IS and some changes are possible.
3. Non-idiom (e.g. to give an answer). The meaning is clear through IS, and transforming is possible.

Within that classification, idioms are highly likely to be excluded from our research as they violate one important limitation for VN(-L): they cannot accept other words within their structure. At the same time, semi-idioms can sometimes be accepted.

Live (1973), speaking about V + N structures, notices a type of idiom which consists of a verb + an adjective + a noun, such as “to take a dim view” which will not be under our analysis, as they basically do not exist in VN forms. She also speaks about verb + adjective structures, such as “to fall ill”, among which she gives “to have the better”, where “better” appears to be a substantivied adjective (= a noun). Although we do not accept combinations with other parts of

¹⁶⁰ There probably may be a dependency or interdependency between IS and OS.

speech, we do accept elements which are originally not nominal but acting as nouns. In Russian we saw the same: there is a group of VN, where N is not exactly a noun but a substantivied adjective or a structure acting as a noun. In Chinese we accepted that the second elements can have any or unclear original status as long as they function as nouns in VN, too. Thus, combinations such as “have the better” and combinations of verbs and adjectives are not exactly the same. Another interesting group highlighted by Live is that formed with the verb “to be”, e.g. to be in a rush. I would accept them as a sort of modal VN among English VN, as well as in Russian we accepted those with “to have”, but they are not VN-L, so, in this work we will not pay any special attention to them.

1.5.9. The general limitations for DS

The general limitations for English DS may be very similar to those in Russian:

1. They are a combination of a verb and a noun which can split up. By saying “a noun” I refer to any element which clearly acts as a noun, regardless of the dispute of its original nature.
2. Under the main limits we accepted in this work, at least one element should be at least semantically adhesive. As we have already discussed in point 1.3., it is practically impossible to find real adhesion in the languages where we deal with words, not with character-morphemes, so for DS we consider its verb to be semantically adhesive as its meaning is only realized together with the noun.
3. The verb and the noun present one joint verbal meaning. It is also possible to say that the joint meaning is greater than the sum of its parts as it gets some additional (e.g. stylistic) features.
4. Other elements can be accepted within this structure. At the level of IS they are non-predicative.
5. Those which include prepositions are VN but not VN-L, as well as those where N is not a patient of V.

Apart from that, some other features which we observed in Russian and English, such as inversion, can be possible.

1.6-. A list of “*liheci*” samples in English to analyse and their classification

1.6.1. Samples synonymous to Chinese *liheci*

As well as for Russian, we will firstly try to find English equivalents for Chinese *liheci*:

| <i>liheci</i> | Literal transation | English VN | Comments and related non-VN combinations |
|---------------|---|--|--|
| 离婚 | To part/to leave each other + marriage/wedding | ? | To end in divorce To get divorced “To get a divorce” seems the most appropriate combination, although it can hardly be considered delexical, as both elements preserve their separate meanings (“to obtain” + “a divorce”) |
| 毕业 | To end/to finish/to conclude/to complete + a profession/business | ? | To leave school To finish school |
| 见面 | To see + a face | To have a meeting | As well as in Russian, it is not exactly the same as “to meet somebody” |
| 散步 | to scatter/to break up (a meeting etc)/to disperse/to disseminate/to dispel + a step/pace/walk/stroll | To take a walk, To go for a stroll Go walking To have a walk | To go for a walk, to go on a walk. “Go walking” can probably considered a DS. |
| 道歉 | To say/to speak/to talk + apology | To give an apology To seek a pardon, To make an apology (to someone) | To ask for pardon, to be full of apologies, to beg (somebody’s) pardon, to owe (someone) an apology |
| 着急 | To suffer from/to feel + emergency/worrying | To have anxiety(ies), To be in a hurry | To suffer from nerves, To be in a rush “To be in a hurry” and similar can be seen as DS across various |

| | | | |
|-----|---|---|--|
| | | | researches which give “to be in” as a sort of DV. Under the limitations in this work its acceptance can be questioned. |
| 失眠 | To lose + a sleep | ? | To lose sleep, to suffer from insomnia, to get (no) sleep, to fall into a sleep, to go to sleep ¹⁶¹ , to have a sleepless night |
| 感兴趣 | To feel/to perceive + interest | To have an interest (in something), To take an interest (in) | To show an interest (in) |
| 生气 | To bear/to be born/to grow + anger | ? | To get angry, to feel anger |
| 生病 | To bear/to be born/to grow + an illness | ? To catch/have a cold | To get ill, to suffer from a disease. “To have a cold” (or “to catch a cold”) can be a partial synonym in some cases |
| 发烧 | To emit/to send out + heat | To get fever | “To have a cold” can be a partial synonym in some cases |
| 结婚 | To tie/to create (an alliance) + a marriage | ? | To get married, to register a marriage |
| 跳舞 | To jump + a dance | To have a dance To do a dance | |
| 放心 | To settle (down) + a heart | ? | To be at ease, to rest assured |
| 报名 | To announce/to inform/to notify + a name | To make an application | To get registered |
| 请假 | To ask for + vacations | To take a vacation, To have a holiday | To go on vacation. All these translations are not exactly the same as “to ask for vacations” |
| 开玩笑 | To open/to start/to reveal/to hold a joke | To make a joke, To have a joke | To tell a joke |
| 担心 | To bear/to undertake + a heart | To have worries | |

¹⁶¹ Cambridge dictionary indicates this as an example of the nominal usage of “sleep”, so, according to this, “to go to sleep” is not an infinitive + an infinitive, but an infinitive + to + a noun. An according structure exists in Russian, *идти ко сну* *idti ko snu* (to go to/in the direction of sleep).

| | | | |
|-----|--|---|--|
| 鼓掌 | To beat + palms | ? | To clap hands |
| 打针 | To hit/to inject + a needle | To have an injection, To give an injection | |
| 打折 | To hit/... + a discount | To give a discount | To get/receive a discount, to offer a discount |
| 吃惊 | To eat + (an/to?) alarm | To get a surprise | To be surprised |
| 抽烟 | To take out/to pull out + a smoke/tobacco/a cigarette | To have a smoke | |
| 放假 | To put/to place/to release/to free/to let go/to let out/to set off | To take a vacation, To have a holiday To take a leave | To go on vacation |
| 刷卡 | To brush/to scrub + a card | ? | To pay by card |
| 排队 | To set in order/to arrange/to line + a row of people/ a line/a team/a group/ | ? To take turns | To join the queue, to line up. "To take turns" is not exactly the same as to be in a queue but in some cases, it can act as a partial synonym. |
| 出差 | To go out/to leave/ + a mission/a messenger/ (to/a?) commission | | |
| 伤心 | To wound/to hurt + a heart | | |
| 起床 | To get up + a bed | | To get up |
| 出国 | To leave/to go out + a country | | |
| 堵车 | To block up + a car | | |
| 关机 | To turn off/to close + an apparatus | | |
| 拉肚子 | To pull + a stomach | | |
| 开机 | To turn on/to open + an apparatus | | |
| 看病 | To look/to watch + an illness | | |

| | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| 洗澡 | To wash/to bathe + a bath | To have a shower, To take a shower ¹⁶² To take a bath | |
| 打包 | To make/... + a pack | | To pack for take away, to roll into a pack |
| 打工 | To do/... + a work | | To do job/work can be partial synonyms in some cases |
| 发音 | To emit + a sound | To make a sound | |
| 做客 | To do + a guest | To make a visit | “To make a visit” is not 100% the same as to be a guest in somebody’s house but in some cases it can be a partial synonym. |
| 上网 | To go up/to start/... + the Internet | | To be in the net, to go online |
| 聊天儿 | To talk/to chat + a day | To have a talk/chat/conversation | |
| 搬家 | To move + a house/family | | |
| 留学 | To leave/to stay + (to/a?) study | ? | To study abroad |
| 干杯 | To dry + a cup | To drink a toast | To propose a toast |
| 吹牛 | To blow + a cow | | |
| 帮忙 | To help + a hurry/a rush | To give help (with) | |
| 游泳 | To swim + a swim | To have a swim, To go for a swim | “To go swimming” can probably be considered a DS |
| 跑步 | To run + a step/pace/walk/stroll | To have a run, To take a run To go for a run | “To go running” can probably be considered a DS |
| 睡觉 | To sleep a sleep | To have a sleep, To have a nap, To take a snooze | The last two can be partial synonyms in particular cases |

¹⁶² The usages of DV can vary in British and American English. In this case, “to take a shower” is American, “to have a shower” is British. See more in Huddleston and Pullum (2002) and Gunkova (2011).

1.6.2. DS in the context of CEFR levels and related issues

Cambridge dictionary which I used to extract the majority of English equivalents marks almost each word for a particular level from A1 to C2, as well as some fixed expressions but not all of them. At the same time, there is no universal certification for English as an L2 as there are many varying exams, such as IELTS, TOEFL, KET, PET, ISE, GESE etc. Among them, IELTS can be called the most universal one as it comprises of all the 6 levels from A1 to C2, unlike many other exams, and its certificate is accepted at the majority of educational institutions. However, finding a specific vocabulary list for it appears impossible. There are lists of words recommended for different exams, such as KET, but as those exams are many choosing one of them as definitive would be an arduous task. Some textbooks, such as “New Opportunities” by Longman, offer dictionaries for each particular level, which include words and word collocations, but they vary from book to book. So, doing with English the same what we did for Chinese and Russian, choosing those VN which foreign learners can meet at each particular level through word lists seems to be complicated.

Cambridge English also published its vocabulary lists for different levels. For example, “Cambridge English: Preliminary and Preliminary for Schools Vocabulary List” corresponds, according to their introduction, with B1 level. However, in the introduction to the list they note: “The list does not provide an exhaustive list of all words which appear on the Preliminary and Preliminary for Schools question papers and candidates should not confine their study of vocabulary to the list alone”. As for Chinese, on the one hand, HSK word lists do not correspond with L2 student books, on the other hand, from HSK 1 to HSK 4 they include all the necessary vocabulary to pass the exam. One good point about the Cambridge list is that it is updated annually. Multi-word verbs are not included. They indicate that they only clarify unclear meanings of them in examples. In the B1 list for make, there are no DS given. As for take, we can find such combinations as “to take a photo”, “to take care of”, “to take part”, “to take place” as separate entries. So, if examined from the very beginning, these lists can give us a rough idea of DS used at each particular level. If we take the same list for A2 we will not find any DS, although, we can find a number of phrasal verbs. If we take Longman’s “New Opportunities” as a sample¹⁶³ of an English L2 student book, we can observe the following:

- The book series is comprised of 5 levels (beginner, elementary, pre-intermediate, intermediate, upper-intermediate). The first DS can be found at the beginner level. It is “to do the shopping”, although it is given in one example sentence, not as a separate entry. The

¹⁶³ It is relatively easy to estimate the minimum vocabulary needed at each level as each book at each level includes a mini-dictionary.

beginner level mini dictionary mainly gives lists of words under different topics such as “family”, “town” etc. in the first part (under the corresponding illustrations) and a list in the second part, and the majority of words in the first part are nouns with a few basic phrases. The elementary level dictionary is similar, its first part is not presented as a word list either, rather as illustrations + words divided into various topics, the second one is a regular dictionary list. There we can find some combinations, e.g. for GO (sailing, swimming etc.). We can also find “to take photos”, “to do gardening” and others; so, on the one hand, we can conclude that VN are already studied and used at initial levels, on the other hand, they are introduced rather for memorization as a vocabulary list to learn by heart, without any grammar explanations.

- At the intermediate level we can find the following DS: MAKE (an effort, a fortune, friends, a joke, a mess, a mistake, a reservation, a speech), CAST (a shadow, vote), HAVE (a word with), TAKE (action, part, a seat), DO (a favour, (your) best). All of them are given in the entry for the corresponding verb, so, it is possible to suppose that at around this level they are already studied (if studied as a separate topic) or at least introduced in a more systematic manner.

So, if we extract the first DS an English L2 learner who uses this book would study we have to deal with the beginner and elementary mini dictionaries. In the beginner one there are only a few elements, given in example sentences. First of all, to do shopping, to have breakfast/a shower/an accident, to take a photo/photos/risks/turns. It might be possible to find more, but they are not given in a systematic manner and it is necessary to look for them in random example sentences in various entries. Those combinations at the elementary level would be: DO (a survey, tasks, diving, athletics, judo, karate, gymnastics, motor racing, gardening, painting, shopping), GO (cycling, fishing, hang gliding, horse riding, water-skiing, ice-skating, swimming, skiing, rock climbing, parachuting, travelling, windsurfing, sailing, skate-boarding, shopping, dancing, sightseeing), TAKE (photos, part), MAKE (friends, money, your way, a suggestion), to raise money, to get a shock. As we can see some samples overlap between levels. In total, there are about 42 samples in both dictionaries¹⁶⁴.

1.6.3. The frequency of usage of the selected samples

Let us check them together with our *liheci* analogues through BNC.

¹⁶⁴ There can be a few more “hidden” in example sentences.

| | Singular and (or) plural noun (if both are possible), all verbal forms Joint usage | Singular and (or) plural noun (if both are possible), all verbal forms Split usage ¹⁶⁵ | Total |
|------------------------------|---|--|-------|
| To have a meeting | 399 | 379 | 778 |
| To take a walk | 77 | 113 | 190 |
| To have a walk | 27 | 325 | 352 |
| To go for a stroll | 50 | 0 | 50 |
| Go walking | 91 | 19 | 110 |
| To give an apology | 2 | 8 | 10 |
| To seek a pardon | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| To make an apology | 35 | 75 | 110 |
| To have (an) anxiety | 70 | 17 | 87 |
| To make an application | 532 | 53 | 585 |
| To be in a hurry | 580 | 88 | 668 |
| To have an interest | 302 | 602 | 904 |
| To take an interest | 224 | 132 | 356 |
| To catch a cold | 35 | 23 | 58 |
| To have a cold | 68 | 83 | 151 |
| To get (a) fever | 3 | 8 | 11 |
| To have a dance | 17 | 26 | 43 |
| To do a dance | 11 | 46 | 57 |
| To take a vacation | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| To have a holiday | 87 | 78 | 165 |
| To have a holiday | 85 | 66 | 151 |
| To take a leave | 2 | 144 | 146 |
| To make a joke | 136 | 37 | 173 |
| To have a joke | 21 | 11 | 32 |
| To have worries (a worry) | 14 | 346 | 360 |

¹⁶⁵ From these numbers I excluded those samples with only the indefinite article as they were already counted in the joint usage.

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| To have an injection | 13 | 22 | 35 |
| To give an injection | 26 | 18 | 44 |
| To give a discount | 17 | 12 | 29 |
| To get a surprise | 11 | 6 | 17 |
| To have a smoke | 24 | 8 | 32 |
| To take turns | 136 | 85 | 221 |
| To have a shower | 86 | 23 | 109 |
| To take a shower | 43 | 2 | 45 |
| To take a bath | 40 | 10 | 50 |
| To have a bath | 215 | 47 | 262 |
| To make a sound | 92 | 108 | 200 |
| To make a visit | 43 | 128 | 171 |
| To have a talk | 159 | 113 | 272 |
| To have a chat | 183 | 20 | 203 |
| To have a conversation | 120 | 87 | 207 |
| To drink a toast | 16 | 3 | 19 |
| To give help | 65 | 129 | 194 |
| To have a swim | 12 | 2 | 14 |
| To go for a swim | 32 | 2 | 34 |
| To have a run | 36 | 32 | 68 |
| To take a run | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| To go for a run | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| To have a sleep | 25 | 42 | 6 |
| To have a nap | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| To take a snooze | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| To have (a) breakfast | 138 | 118 | 156 |
| To have an accident | 187 | 51 | 238 |
| To take a photo | 44 | 32 | 76 |
| Do diving | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| To take risks | 255 | 318 | 573 |
| To do a survey | 41 | 19 | 60 |
| To do athletics | 4 | 0 | 41 |
| To do judo | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| To do karate | 8 | 2 | 10 |

| | | | |
|----------------------|------|------|------|
| To do gymnastics | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| To do motor racing | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| To do gardening | 2 | 19 | 21 |
| To do painting | 5 | 33 | 38 |
| To do shopping | 15 | 168 | 183 |
| To go shopping | 302 | 26 | 328 |
| To go cycling | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| To go fishing | 83 | 13 | 96 |
| To go hang gliding | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| To go horse riding | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| To go water-skiing | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| To go ice-skating | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| To go swimming | 141 | 3 | 144 |
| To go skiing | 44 | 4 | 48 |
| To go rock climbing | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| To go parachuting | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| To go travelling | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| To go windsurfing | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| To go sailing | 30 | 0 | 30 |
| To go skate-boarding | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| To go dancing | 45 | 13 | 58 |
| To go sightseeing | 9 | 2 | 11 |
| To take part | 3087 | 210 | 3297 |
| To make friends | 270 | 143 | 413 |
| To make money | 540 | 328 | 868 |
| To make way | 295 | 1588 | 1883 |
| To make a suggestion | 101 | 154 | 255 |

Although BNC permits us to search for all forms of words in collocations and through different sources, such as newspapers, speeches, fiction etc., we still have to consider that some results could be misleading. Since in Chinese and Russian, words can coincide with others, e.g. if we search for “to have a cold”, it may coincide with “to have a cold shower”. However, the results from the corpus still give us a general picture of VN usages.

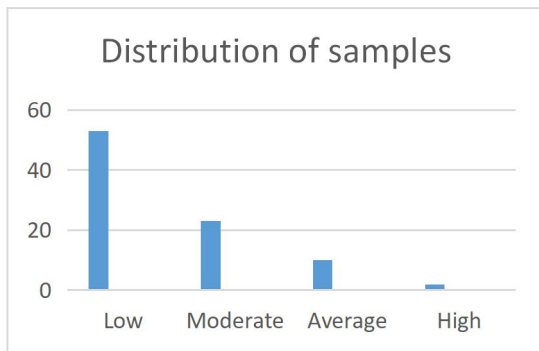
According to our findings in BNC, the two most frequent samples are idiomatic:

1. To take part (3297)
2. To make way (1883)
3. To have an interest/interests (904)
4. To make money (868)
5. To have a meeting (778)

We can also see that the chain of words given in elementary and beginner vocabularies of New Opportunities, such as “to go water skiing”, basically show zero frequency for obvious reasons (water skiing is not a very common activity).

If we do the same as for Russian – divide the samples into 4 frequency groups – the distribution will be the following:

1. Low frequency (<100). This group is the biggest (53 samples).
2. Moderate frequency (100-<300). This includes 23 samples.
3. Average frequency (300-1000). This includes 10 samples.
4. High frequency (1000<). This includes 2 samples. The highest frequency in this is 3297.



In this chart, we can see a similar distribution to what we saw in the chart for Russian. The majority of samples belong to the low frequency group, the number of samples goes down from low to high frequency groups. The gap between the highest and the lowest samples is more than 3000. The gap within the high frequency group between its only 2 samples is about

1500. In the average and moderate groups those gaps are not as wide.

We can also find research on the frequency of usage of DV, e.g. that of McCarthy, O’Keeffe (2012) that presents the frequency for DV in three spheres in the following chart:

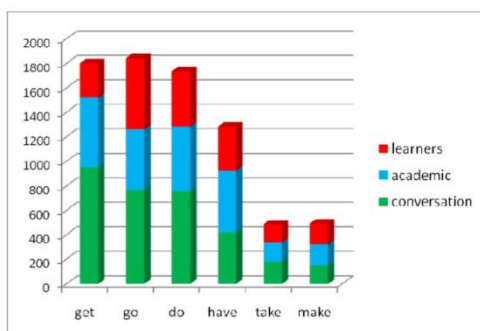


Figure 6: Distribution of delexical verbs across three spoken datasets

In this chart we can see that get, go and do are much more used even in conversational speech than the DV which are considered some of the most frequent (take and make) and even more than “have”. However, it should be noted that, first of all, the frequency of DV and the frequency of a particular DS is not the same, as one DV can form many DS;

secondly, they definitely include those “delexical” usages of the verbs when they pair with adjectives etc., e.g. get in “to get divorced” or “to get married” will obviously show a high frequency as both are frequently used in daily conversations. However, “to get married” and others are not the same as the phenomenon under study in this work and they are not VN.

1.7-. CHAPTER 1 Summary of the main points

General limitations and concepts we used to define *liheci* in the chosen languages are the following:

| | Chinese | Russian | English |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|--|
| General composition | <i>Liheci</i> (VN) consist of a verb and a noun or another element acting as a noun | | |
| General semantics | A VN has one joint verbal meaning which cannot be preserved by the elements separately | | |
| The connection between the elements | In the majority of cases, N is the patient of V, except those exceptions in which this is not clear. | In some VN, N is the patient of V (VN-L, the closest to Chinese <i>liheci</i>), in others, not (these we accept as a subtype of Russian VN but not similar to Chinese <i>liheci</i>). | In the majority of VN, N is the patient of V with some exceptional constructions which we accept as VN but not as VN-L. |
| The number of elements | In exceptional cases VN can have more than 2 syllables. | In some special cases it has more than 2 words, when B ₁ and B ₂ form one nominal notion. | In some special cases it can have more than 2 words, when B ₁ and B ₂ form one nominal notion (e.g. when the N is formed from a verb + a particle or it is a combination of words forming one single notion (e.g. rock climbing). Also, many of them include the |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|
| | | | indefinite article, so, formally consist of three words). |
| Separability | V and N are semantically inseparable but can split up in a sentence and accept other elements between them | | |
| Adhesion | At least one element of VN is (semantically) adhesive | | |
| Synonymity with verbs | VN rarely have verbal synonyms | Some VN have same-root verbal synonyms, but some do not. Almost all can have a contextual verbal synonym. | Many VN have same-root verbal synonyms, but some do not. Many can have a contextual verbal synonym. |
| Splitting up | VN can split up and accept other elements within, as well as be located at a distance in a sentence | | |
| Semantics | M_{AB} is not completely equal to $M_A + M_B$ for OS | | |
| Semantics (2) | If the meaning is derived from its parts, one part should be strictly adhesive or semantically adhesive on the basis of polysemy and the final structure should be wider in meaning than the sum of its part. | The meaning often (or almost always) can be understood from the parts, but the verb normally lacks real semantics if separated. | |
| Methaphorical basis | Some VN are clearly based on a metaphorical / idiomatic shift, others on the | Idiomatic VN are based on an obvious metaphorical shift, others are not. Sometimes, the same VN can have both idiomatic and direct meanings. | |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|--|---|
| | <p>adhesion of elements at the level of IS.</p> <p>At the level of OS, the same VN is not normally used in both idiomatic and direct meaning.</p> | | |
| Inversion | Many but not all can invert (see more in chapter 2). | Almost all can invert (see more in chapter 2). | Inversion is principally possible but depends on the strict word order and other factors (see more in chapter 2). |
| The position of the phenomenon | <i>Liheci</i> form its own separate group | VN are distributed between OGIO and PE. | VN are mainly delexical structures (including some phraseological elements). |
| Predicativity | At the level of IS, VN are not predicative | | |
| Transitivity | At the level of IS, V is normally/often transitive, at the level of OS, VN is intransitive. | | |
| Special subtypes | There are V which are polysemantic and can form more than one <i>liheci</i> , but this is not a general rule. | VN include a subtype of modal OGIO formed with the verb “to have”. | There are some combinations, including those with the gerund, which are disputable and may or may not be seen as VN. |
| | The number is not proper of Chinese Ns. | <p>Particles and <i>deprichastiye</i> cannot be in VN but the verb itself can convert into <i>deprichastiye</i>.</p> <p>In some combination the number of N (singular or plural)</p> | <p>In many combinations the number of N can vary between singular and plural.</p> <p>The Gerund can be accepted if it performs as a noun.</p> |

| | | | |
|--|--|-----------|--|
| | | can vary. | |
|--|--|-----------|--|

Specific limitations for *liheci* in each language:

| Chinese | Russian | English |
|---|--|--|
| They consist of a verb and its nominal(-behaving) object. | + | + |
| In many cases N is the patient of V | In some cases, N is the patient of V (these we consider VN-L). In other cases, it is not so. Some non VN-L forms include prepositions. | In some cases, N is the patient of V (these we consider VN-L). In other cases, it is not so. Some non VN-L forms include prepositions. |
| They present one joint (verbal) meaning | + | + |
| They are semantically inseparable as they lose that joint meaning when being separated | + | + |
| At least one of its morphemes is adhesive (semantic adhesion accepted) | + | + |
| Different elements can be inserted within (it can split up) | + | + |
| V can accept verbal modifiers, and N nominal ones. This is limited (see ch.2). Splitting up prevails on modification as a criterion | + | + |
| Its joint meaning is not completely equal to the sum of its part | + | + |
| It can invert (in the majority of cases) | + | + |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| It normally contains 2 syllables if N is not polysyllabic | It normally contains 2 words if N does not consist of several elements | It normally contains 2 words if N does not consist of several elements |
|---|--|--|

As we can see in the table, there are many similarities in the general behaviour and composition of VN in the three languages. The main discrepancies observed so far are connected with the fact that in Chinese we operate with character-morphemes which often cannot be independent words, while in English and Russian we speak about independent words which normally have their independent meanings and usages but behave differently being a part of VN. All other particular differences are derived from this, including adhesion. The real adhesion is only fully possible in Chinese, and in the other two languages real adhesion can only characterise archaic words used in idioms, but those words forming a couple with other words normally cannot be separated from them, thus, in our study they are not seen as VN.

CHAPTER II. A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LIHECI AND VERBS

2.1-. A comparative analysis of *liheci* and verbs in Chinese

2.1.1. General ideas

At the point of verb-*liheci* comparison there are two main aspects: their interaction with other words and their roles in a sentence. Verbs and *liheci* behave differently in various situations. Let us look at some simple examples before making an analysis.

Monosyllabic verbs such as *xue* 学 or *chi* 吃 always have to be complemented. In this work we will not discuss the reasons for this rule, but in modern Chinese we normally cannot say *wo chi* 我吃 (I eat) or *wo xue* 我学 (I study). These verbs always have complementing words or particles after them.

Disyllabic verbs such as *xuexi* 学习 do not have to, but can be complemented.

We can say *wo xue hanyu* 我学汉语 or *wo xuexi hanyu* 我学习汉语 to mean “I study Chinese”¹⁶⁶ and both will be correct. At the same time, we can say *wo xuexi* 我学习 (I study) without adding anything else.

At the point of this rule, *liheci* function as complemented verbs as their complements are within themselves. However, for the same very reason, unlike complemented verbs, they normally cannot add other complements after them¹⁶⁷. It is generally believed that one of the main differences of *liheci* and verbs is that *liheci* do not accept other objects, as they have objects within themselves. This belief can be found not only in Western research but even in those done by native Chinese. As it was mentioned before and will be discussed in detail further, this is not completely true and cannot be the defining difference. However, there are several definitive truths which mark the difference:

¹⁶⁶ We should pay attention that some verbs can add two (direct and indirect) objects, for example, *wo jiao ni hanyu* 我教你汉语 (I teach you Chinese), but some only one (direct object). The latter type uses prepositional structures, for example, *gei wo shuo* 给我说 (“to me say” – tell me). Some verbs may not need any object, e.g. *wo xuexi* 我学习 (I study), depending on the meaning.

¹⁶⁷ I refer to noun-objects mainly.

1. *Liheci* can split up, verbs cannot.
2. All elements related to verbs (complements, particles, verbal classifiers etc.) go after verbs but almost always within *liheci*.
3. *Liheci* can add elements related to nouns (nominal classifiers, possessives, attributes etc.), verbs cannot.
4. *Liheci* can invert and appear in split-up positions, verbs cannot.

2.1.2. *Liheci* and verbs in combinations with other words

2.1.2.1. Key points

Further we will look at various combinations for *liheci* which are possible, impossible or partially possible for verbs.

The aspect of combinations with other words is different for *liheci* as they can accept both words referring to the verb and to the noun within its structure, as well as accept some words outside its structure¹⁶⁸. Verbs cannot split up, so their abilities are more limited.

Splitting up also differs *liheci*'s behaviour in sentences from verbal.

2.1.2.2. Proto-*liheci*

The group of proto-*liheci* differs from other *liheci* as the main characteristic for this group is that each sample has a corresponding verb which coincides with its first syllable.

| <i>Liheci</i> | Verb |
|---------------|-------|
| 跑步 | 跑 |
| 睡觉 | 睡 |
| 游泳 | 游 |
| 帮忙 | 帮, 帮助 |
| 聊天儿 | 聊 |

In the case of this group the corresponding verbs behave like uncomplemented one-syllable verbs, similar to *chi* 吃. The difference from *chifan* 吃饭 is that the second syllable of proto-*liheci* is an adhesive morpheme which cannot be used separately, which makes AB function as one word.

¹⁶⁸ Mainly before.

The only exception among our samples is *bangmang* whose corresponding verb can be the two-syllable, functioning as complemented, *bangzhu*.

Another interesting characteristic of proto-*liheci* is that they preserve their meaning in the verbal morpheme, which makes the noun-morpheme less significant, for this reason, their one-syllable verb is used a lot when grammar allows to do that.

2.1.2.3. The distribution of meaning between AB

In other *liheci* the situation is more complicated. In some of them, the general meaning can be concentrated in the noun or spread between both morphemes. For instance, in 结婚 and 离婚, 婚 indicated that the words refer to marital relationship, a wedding. The verb in this case clarifies what exactly happens with that relationship (established or broken). This is mainly true for completely and highly adhesive *liheci*. In some *liheci* the meaning is spread between the verbal and the noun morphemes. For example, 吹牛 or 干杯. This is mainly true for semantic *liheci*. In some of them the general meaning is in the verb. For example, in 洗澡.

2.1.2.4. Verbs synonymous to the chosen *liheci*

Many other *liheci* do not have corresponding verbs. To check synonyms, I used both dictionaries and the Chinese online tool *zaixian jinyici chaxun* 在线近义词查询 (Online Looking for a Word with a Similar Meaning). In some cases, we can find partial synonyms, for example, 结婚 can be split into *jia* 嫁 (to get a husband, to be given to a husband) and *qu* 娶 (to take a wife).

Some *liheci* have verbs with very close or synonymous meanings¹⁶⁹:

跳舞 – *wudao* 舞蹈. *Wudao* is more frequently given in dictionaries as a noun (“a dance”), which can be combined with verbs. For example, *biaoyan wudao* 表演舞蹈 (to perform a dance). However, it can also be found as a verb, e.g. *wudaoqilai* 舞蹈起来 “to start dancing” (a verb with a complex directional complement). In CCL we can find samples with other verbal complements.

打针 – *zhushhe* 注射. This verb can accept some objects, for example, *zhushhe mafei* 注射吗啡 (to inject morphine) and add indirect objects (people) through a prepositional construction with 给 (给...注射).

¹⁶⁹ For the HSK lists' samples. As for additional samples, some of them may also have synonyms, for example, 搬家 also has a number of synonymous words, one of them is the verb *qianju* 迁居. However, the meaning of this verb is wider than of *banjia*, it can mean moving to another country, migrating, and it often accepts the name of the place as an object.

担心 – *danyou* 担忧. This verb has similar meanings and similar ways of usage.

开玩笑 has a chain of synonyms, one of which is *xiexue* 谐谑 (to joke, a joke).

散步 – *liuda* 溜达. It is a verb which means “to walk/to go for a walk”.

伤心 has a chain of synonymous words: *shanggan* 伤感, *youshang* 忧伤, *beishang* 悲伤, *youchou* 忧愁 and some others. Among them, for example, 忧伤 acts as a verb.

Among synonyms for 吹牛 we can find some verbs, for example *xiachui* 瞎吹, which has the same meaning “to boast, to brag”.

For 洗澡 there is an HSK6 word *muyu* 沐浴, which can be translated as “to bathe” and can accept direct objects, for example, *muyu tamen* 沐浴他们 (to wash them) (洗澡 does this through a prepositional structure – 给他们洗澡). However, 沐浴 has a wider sense as it can be used as “to bathe in something” (for example, in glory, in sunlight etc.).

Overall, 8 out of 31 samples (25.8%) have verbal synonyms.

Some *liheci* may have verbs with a close yet different meaning. For example, 报名 is translated as “to register” as well as *shenqing* 申请, but *baoming* is usually used as “to register oneself” (for example, to register oneself in a course), while *shenqing* is mainly used with application forms (to register an application, to submit a document, to apply for).

Overall, when a *liheci* has a synonymous verb, **the *liheci* tends to be more spoken or neutral while the verb is more written or formal (or has a wider meaning)** ¹⁷⁰.

Other *liheci* are able to form the same combinations as proto-*liheci*. However, we should consider that those combinations are always restricted by the real valence¹⁷¹ of verbs and nouns. In other words, not every verb and not every noun can form any type of combination with other words due to various restrictions, among which one of the most basic ones is the meaning.

2.1.2.5. The main combinations

Let us now look at the main combinations.

¹⁷⁰ This was not fully investigated within this work but there are two pieces of evidence for this: 1. In the poll (see appendix) native speakers mainly responded that *bangmang* is more used in daily life than *bangzhu* and that it is more spoken and less formal; 2. If we compare other synonymous verbs found in dictionaries their indicated level will be at HSK 6 or above (not in the lists), and characters used in them are less frequent. Another possibility is comparing the frequency of usage of *liheci* and synonymous verbs through dictionaries or corpora.

¹⁷¹ Zhang, Zhao (1996) studied how many verbal and nominal morphemes can be paired with other verbs or nouns. 24.5% of the samples they studied could only add one verb or noun. Zhou (2010) cites Wang (1999) who studied possible combinations for *liheci* and showed that out of 3184 samples about 2600 could insert 了, 2320 could insert 过, 460 could insert 着, and some of them could only insert one of those suffixes.

Ye (2006: 26) indicates the following combinations for split usages¹⁷² (he also indicates frequency calculated in his work):

1. Verbal suffix 了
2. Verbal suffix 着
3. Verbal suffix 过
4. Particle 的
5. Verbal complements of result
6. Possessive structures for noun-morphemes (A + X(的) + B)
7. Attributives before nouns
8. Classifiers¹⁷³
9. Demonstrative pronouns
10. Combinations of the named above
11. Inverted split usage (when the second morpheme goes before the first one).

I will detail this list. As for the combinations of split usage with other words, I will look at the following ones:

1. Verbal particles/suffixes 了, 着, 过
2. Combinations with 的
3. Attributives (including demonstrative pronouns)
4. Classifiers (including *dongliang buyu* 动量补语 – verbal classifiers)
5. Combinations with nouns and personal pronouns
6. Complement of result (*jieguo buyu* 结果补语) and prepositional complement of result (*jieci duanyu buyu* 介词短语 补语, complement of result formed by prepositional morphemes 在, 住, 于, 给, 自, 向, 往, 到). The difference between these two is their relations with objects. After a simple complement of result we can add an object. After the

¹⁷² Things which can be inserted within AB may be disputable. For example, in the work of Lei (2017) concerning the *liheli* 帮忙 there are quotes from several Chinese dictionaries, some of which indicate it as possible to insert 着 and other things within, others only 了 and 过. Corpora, as well as dictionaries, cannot be completely reliable, as they presents samples from different sources which may apply different usages depending on varying factors.

¹⁷³ In this category he also includes 个 which does not fulfil the role of a classifier when speaking about two types of noun-morphemes, one of which accepts a non-classifier 个 (such as 字, 会) and the other which does not (such as 心, 忙). He explains the usage of the non-classifier 个 through *qingqiao suibian* 轻巧随便 (“lightening the structure”) which has no special meaning.

prepositional one we cannot. For example, *wo zuowanle zuoye* 我做完了作业 and *qing ba xin jiaogei wo* 请把信交给我.

7. Possessives

8. Duration (*shiliang buyu* 时量补语)

9. Simple and complex complement of direction (*quxiang buyu* 趋向补语 (*jiandan* 简单 and *fuhe* 复合)

10. Infixes of possibility 得 and 不

11. 得 (*qingtai buyu* 情态补语)

2.1.2.5.1. With verbal particles (suffixes) 了, 着, 过

With verbal particles (suffixes) 了, 着, 过

These particles are one of the ways to complement a verb, so, in case of proto-*liheci*, the second morpheme is often omitted and the verbal form is used. For other *liheci*, the noun is preserved.

| | 了 ¹⁷⁴ | 着 | 过 ¹⁷⁵ |
|---------------|---|--|---|
| <i>Liheci</i> | <p>A 了 B</p> <p>(In the case where 了 acts as a sentence particle AB 了 is possible)</p> <p>我也 帮了忙!¹⁷⁶</p> <p>他和他的女友第一次 睡了觉.</p> <p>... 但是 游了泳之后...</p> <p>总书记和幼儿教师王巧珍 聊了天</p> | <p>A 着 B</p> <p>...过来 帮着忙说...</p> <p>一夜没 睡着觉。</p> <p>在清澈的水中 游着泳。</p> <p>我们一边晒着太阳，一边 聊着天儿。</p> <p>队列 跑着步，分组向前运动着。</p> <p>我正 生着气...</p> <p>小王正跟他 散着步呢。</p> | <p>A 过 B</p> <p>...曾经请狗儿 帮过忙...</p> <p>...几乎没有在一点钟之前 睡过觉。</p> <p>每次 游过泳...</p> <p>...他同十几个国家的旅行者们 聊过天...</p> <p>...想着自己 跑过步...</p> <p>... 生过气、发过火...</p> <p>“你和她一起 散过步吗？”</p> |

¹⁷⁴ 了 can have several functions. It can act as a verbal suffix which means the perfective (finished) action and a particle (usually meaning past tense) which can go at the end of the sentence separately from the verb.

¹⁷⁵ 过 as a suffix of a tense similar to perfect, not as a complement.

¹⁷⁶ Examples are taken from the CCL corpus.

| | | | |
|------|--|--|---|
| | 检察长一听也 生了气样子好像是 散了步 回来。 “首长, 到底是谁 吹了牛 ?” | ...与几个同行眉飞色舞地 吹着牛 。 | ...昨天 吹过牛 的人。 |
| Verb | A 了 or AB 了 感谢你 帮了我们! ...也 帮助了 我的工作 人也 睡了几千年 . 跑了几年了 ¹⁷⁷ 6月3日又 游了 第二次. 她们 聊了 一会儿 | A 着 or AB 着 ...就是给人 帮着 拉车... 中国人民在斗争中已经在 帮助着 你们。 ...还能安静地 睡着 ... 跑着, 跑着 , 鸡叫声没有 了... ...悠悠飘渺地 游着 。 ...然后他们 聊着 篮球的 事。 | A 过 or AB 过 ...从来没人 帮过我从不忘记 帮助过 他的人。 ... 睡过 一觉之后头皮会感 到负担。 ...我也 跑过 中国好多地方 呢... ...毕业后多次去英国, 并周 游过 远东、中东。 ...您和普通的中国年轻女 孩 聊过 吗? |

At this point we should admit that for *liheci* AB(...)了 or A 了 B(...)了 are also possible in those sentences where 了 (or the second 了) functions as a (tense) particle, not as a verbal suffix.

For verbs, only one structure is possible in this case AB(了)(...)了.

Hoa (2005) indicates that some *liheci* can add these suffixes after AB¹⁷⁸, for example, *mama danxinzhe haizi* 妈妈担心着孩子.

2.1.2.5.2. Combinations with 的

De 的 is a particle, which in general forms different kinds of attributives before nouns, including possessives. In case of *liheci* there are 2 possible combinations: either 的 is used with other words before¹⁷⁹ them or it is only used between the verbal and noun morphemes¹⁸⁰. One

¹⁷⁷ 跑了步 is not found in CCL, nor in dictionaries, nor in open search, although theoretically it is correct.

¹⁷⁸ When they have a very solid structure. Looser *liheci* cannot do that.

¹⁷⁹ Also after, if a *liheci* itself functions as an attributive. The same is true for verbs, too.

¹⁸⁰ In this case it is similar to participles. For example, if we take *chifan* (to eat food) and convert it into *chide fan* it will mean “eaten food”. Something similar should happen with *liheci*, although with the difference that we cannot translate

particular usage of it is possessives, although they can also go without 的. Another one is duration which can be expressed through the 的-structure. There are also other fixed structures in which 的 can be involved.

For this reason, it has more combinations with *liheci* than with verbs.

| <i>Liheci</i> | Verbs |
|---|---|
| A + (...) 的 + B ... + 的 + AB AB + 的 + ... | ... + 的 + AB [This structure is very restricted and not usual for a one-syllable verb. In this structure after the one-syllable verb there should normally be something else. Otherwise, the morpheme could function as a noun]. A(B) + (...) 的 + ... |
| ...聊十分钟的天... ...聊天的人已经走了... ...朋友的聊天... ...没轮值的队友大部分在补昨晚没睡觉的觉... ...看到她甜蜜的睡觉的样子... ...太君可以好好的睡觉。 ...保持游泳的习惯... ...如坚持多年的游泳、长跑... ...都是该处业务员李德华帮忙的忙。 ...贵族家里养的帮闲或帮忙的人。 ...即便有了女儿的帮忙... ...每周定期进行一次以上跑步的人超过了100万人... 如果经常坚持进行这样的跑步... | 跟大家聊的题目是《时间的玫瑰》... 我是可以分段睡的人。 长江下游的人把它叫作“沙田”。 ...可能他帮的人不止我一个... ...需要帮助的老年人... ...扩大词汇量有很大的帮助。 我相信如龟兔赛跑的乌龟一般，胜利最后属于乌龟。 |

For 跑步 and 游泳 A + (...) 的 + B is not found in the corpus¹⁸¹. Among other proto-*liheci* 跑步 demonstrates a very low capability for split usage. In general, proto-*liheci* may

the morphemes separately. Ye (2006) refers to Zhang (2000) calling 的 in this function *shizhi zhuci* 时制助词 (time auxiliary particle)

¹⁸¹ This does not mean that this structure can never be used. There may be examples where more words can be added between the morphemes and 的.

be more inclined to omit the second morpheme and function as one-syllable verbs in combinations with other words than other *liheci* which cannot omit their last part. As for all other *liheci*, combinations depend on their valence, for example, it is possible to say *sheng hen dade qi* 生很大的气 (“to get very angry” (to bear a big anger) - here an attributive is added to the noun-morpheme through 的).

2.1.2.5.3. Combinations with attributives

Liheci's nouns may accept a number of different attributives, including demonstrative pronouns, possessives, adjectives etc. This mainly depends on their meanings.

Let us look at some examples:

画画儿也能帮大忙 – Painting can also help a lot (provide big help). 大 (big) – a monosyllabic adjective.

...请您再帮一个更大的忙! – Ask you another time to provide an even bigger help. *Yige* 一个 is a numeral with a classifier, which can be seen as an indefinite article in this case. *Geng* 更 is an adverb of comparison “more”.

Ye (2006: 29) gives an example of a highly adhesive *liheci* 洗澡: 洗热水澡. Here *re* 热 (hot) functions as an adjective for the noun *shui* 水 (water). Together they form an attributive for 澡 (to bathe in hot water, to take a hot bath).

Another example from Ye (p. 30)¹⁸²: 睡一个钟头的觉, which means “to sleep one hour”. 一个 is a classifier for *zhongtou* 钟头 which means “hour”.

An example of demonstratives: 谁能帮这个忙呢? (Who can provide this help?).

In principle, in Chinese there are two main demonstratives – *zhe* 这 (this) and *na* 那 (that). Normally classifiers are added before a noun, however, Ye (2006) gives some examples where they are used between the morphemes of *liheci* without classifiers. Another option is the question demonstrative 哪 (which).

For verbs, attributives are not available, so the same ideas have to be expressed in a different way.

¹⁸² This example is given in the part of combinations with classifiers, however, I do not think it is correct, as the classifier itself refers to the noun “hour” and the whole combination forms an attributive (in Chinese grammar classifiers may also be included in the group of attributives).

2.1.2.5.4. Classifiers

In Chinese there are two main types of classifiers – nominal and verbal ones (for nouns and verbs, respectively)¹⁸³.

Verbs normally can only use verbal classifiers. For example, *meiri chi yici* 每日吃一次 – every day eat once. 次 in this case is a verbal classifier. Verbal classifiers are one way to complement a verb, so, adding other words after it is not obligatory. However, they can still sometimes add nouns. For example, *zai zheli chi yici fan...* 在这里吃一次饭就... - just eat (food) here once and...

Liheci add noun classifiers¹⁸⁴. For example, 帮一个忙 (to provide one piece of help), 跳一步舞 o 跳一个舞 (to dance a dance), 抽一根烟 (to smoke once), 结一个婚 (to get married once) etc.

It is a disputable question if *liheci* can add verbal classifiers or not. In some cases, we can find verbal classifiers within *liheci*. An example from CCL: *meizhou you yici yong* 每周游一次泳. Here it is not clear if 次 is related to the verb (swim once) or to the noun (have one swim), as it is normally a verbal classifier, but it also appears as a nominal classifier in some cases. Another example is *chu yitang chai* 出一趟差. 趟 is normally used as a verbal classifier for travel or going somewhere and, unlike 次, implies going there and coming back. At the same time, it is used as a nominal classifier for times, round trips and rows. For example, 这趟道 this route/way (or transport trip), 每一趟火车 every train departure.

One thing which may be used as proof that *liheci* do use verbal classifiers is such examples, as *zai gan yici bei* 再干一次杯 (to drink another toast), where 次 should be related to the verb, as the noun “cup” is not related to the classifier “time”.

2.1.2.5.5. Combinations with nouns and personal pronouns

We have already discussed attributives including possessives above. We will discuss predicative combinations further.

If we speak about (pro)nouns as objects, verbs mainly have 2 options: some of them can accept two objects directly (e.g. 教我汉语 – to teach me Chinese) and others which use

¹⁸³ Some morphemes can be both.

¹⁸⁴ There are alternative points of view. For example, V. Bovi (2016) names classifiers such as *yixiaer* 一下儿, *ci* 次 which can be inserted between *liheci* morphemes. As long as they truly can be inserted, it is disputable whether these words can also be seen as noun classifiers and, for example, 次 can be used as a classifier for events.

prepositional structures (e.g. 给我买车 – to buy a car for me, it is impossible to say 买我车* as it would mean “to buy me”, as if “me” were a direct object).

In the case of *liheci* it may be more complicated. Some of them do use prepositional structures. Some add pronouns (and nouns defining people) in the middle. Sometimes both are possible. For example, it is equally correct to say 给我帮忙 (to help me) as 帮我忙 (to help me) (an example from CCL: ...你帮了我们一个最大的忙... - you helped us the most/provided us with the biggest help). Zhang, Zhao (1996) give this example: 他会帮你忙的 and 他会给你帮忙的, both meaning “he can help you”. The use of other nouns is often not possible since *liheci* often already include a noun-object.

Liheci normally do not accept direct objects after themselves, as was indicated before, however, this is not always the case and some *liheci* do add objects after themselves¹⁸⁵.

2.1.2.5.6. Complements of result and infixes of possibility

A group of complements of result such as 完, 到, 上, 下 etc. can be added according to their meanings following the scheme A(complement)B for *liheci* and A(B)(complement) for verbs.

For example, *xiwanzao* 洗完澡 – to (have) finished bathing. But *muyu* 沐浴完 - to (have) finished bathing.

What matters in this case is the real valence related to the meanings of both verbs and complements. For example, the morpheme 完 (to finish) may not be coupled with any verb. The same is true of infixes.

Infixes of possibility are inserted according to the A-得/不(complement)-B scheme for *liheci* and A(B)-得/不(complement) for verbs. For example, 毕不了业 (cannot graduate) or 洗不了澡 (cannot bathe) but 帮助不了 (cannot help). Hoa (2005) gives an example 放得下心 (to be able to calm down). At the same time, he indicates that the combination with the infix can sometimes be placed after AB¹⁸⁶ (放心不下 – cannot calm down).

Proto-*liheci* may often omit their second morphemes and act as one-syllable verbs.

2.1.2.5.7. Prepositional complements of result

¹⁸⁵ See below.

¹⁸⁶ He also says the same about other complements, such as the complement of result or the complement of degree. E.g. 灰心极了 (a complement of degree, 程度补语).

The main difference of prepositional complements of result (住, 于, 给, 自, 向, 往, 到), and simple complements of result is that after them a direct object cannot normally be added.

For example, we can say 交给我 (to give (to) me) but it is incorrect to say 交给我作业* (to give me homework). As for verbs, the direct object is normally inverted through 把-structure: 把作业交给我.

For *liheci*, samples of this usage were not found.

2.1.2.5.8. Possessives

The main characteristic of possessive structures for *liheci* is that the noun does not have to belong to a “possessor”. For example, in *bang tade mang* 帮他的忙, *mang* does not belong to *ta*. We can translate it as “help provided to him”. So, typically that “possession” implies the perceiver of the action.

The main structure, as indicated by Ye (2006) is A + X(的) + B.

Another type of possession possible is when *liheci* themselves function as nouns (this is also correct for verbs). We have already seen that in the paragraph about 的.

2.1.2.5.9. Duration

Rules for duration are rather complicated in Chinese. As for verbs the main ones are the following:

1. Normally it goes after the verb.
2. If after the verb there is a pronoun-object, it goes after it (等他两个小时 – to wait for him for 2 hours).
3. If after the verb there is a noun-object, we can use A(B) – X(的) – C structure, or A(B) – C – A(B) – X structure (我看了 4 天的书 or 我看书看了 4 天 – I was reading a book 4 days).
4. If after the verb there is a personal/proper name, both structures for nouns and pronouns are possible.

5. If after the verb there is a name of a place, duration is placed after it, and only one 了 can be added at the end¹⁸⁷ (他去北京三天了 – He went to Beijing for 3 days (and is still there)).

As for *liheci*, one possible combination is the structure discussed above (with 的 or without), e.g. 聊十分钟的天, when duration is placed within.

Another case which can be found for some *liheci* is adding duration after AB, for example (from CCL) *yao chuchai yige yue* 要出差一个月 (have to/will go on a business trip for 1 month). Another example from CCL: 他每天要散步 3-4 个小时 (he walks 3-4 hours every day). One more: ...要聊天半小时 (talk [to him] half an hour).

One more is using the rule for the repetition of the verb, e.g. Hoa (2005) give this example: 他游泳游了一个小时了 (he has been swimming for 1 hour), both 了 are used as in the general rule.

2.1.2.5.10. Complement of direction

There are two types of complement of direction: simple (来/去) and complex (consists of two parts, one of which is 上/下/起/出/进/回/过 and the other one 来 or 去). They are principally added to verbs which can have direction (going, coming, bringing etc.), but they also form “phrasal verbs” as in English (e.g., 唱起来- **to start** singing, 看起来 – **to seem** (through watching), 看出来 – to see (**to find out/detect** through watching), 写下来 – to write down (**to fix** through writing), 说下去 – **to continue** speaking, 买得起/买不起 – (**not**) **to have material conditions** to buy).

They are simply added to verbs like complements of result etc. However, in combinations with objects, rules become more complicated:

1. If the object is a place, it is placed before the last part of the complement: 走进房子来 (enter a house);
2. If the object is a thing/human/animal it can go before and after the last part;
3. If the object is an abstract or concrete notion it can only be placed after the last part;

¹⁸⁷ In rules for duration one 了 after the verb or double 了 (after the verb and in the end of the sentence) play an important role. One 了 means that the action was happening but finished. Double 了 means it is still going on (similar to the Present Perfect Continuous tense in English).

In the case of *liheci* its simple complement of direction formally has to go between the morphemes, but the complex one usually goes after AB or splits as A-C₁-B-C₂. Hoa (2005) gives the following example: 生气起来 – to start getting angry. Zhou Weihua (2010)¹⁸⁸ gives the following examples: 跑起步来 – to start running, 放下心来 – to calm down.

The valency of the main usage of this complement depends on the meaning of each particular verb (not each verb has direction).

2.1.2.5.11. 得

得 has many meanings, some of them were discussed above. In this part we will look at 得 as 情态补语 (modal complement). Two general cases can be observed here:

- a characteristic of a verb
- a consequence of something

As a characteristic it usually implies the question “how?”. For example, 走得快 – walk (how?) fast. As an indicator of consequence, it is similar to “so... that...”. For example, ...高兴的跳了起来 - ...so happy that started jumping. The second usage will not be discussed here as it has no dependence on parts of speech and is more related to syntax (it can be added directly after verbs, adjectives, *liheci*, etc., as it does not modify the word but connects parts of one sentence).

As for the 1st usage, it is added directly after A(B) to verbs. However, if a verb has an object, the scheme is V-O-V-Complement, or the object should be inverted before the verb.

Liheci can use V-O-V-C (ABA-Complement) scheme and inversion (BA-C), too, some are indicated to add 得 between A and B but examples for that were not found. A few add C after AB.

For example (from CCL): 儿子游泳游得好 (son swims well – ABA-C), 那水兵泳游得非常之好 (the sailor swims very well – BA-C), ...打包得挺快... (...packs very fast... - AB-C),

2.1.2.5.12. Special cases

- 是...的. This construction is used for highlighting/emphasising what is placed within it. As for verbs, the usage is direct (for example, 我是11点回家的 – I came home at 11 o'clock). For

¹⁸⁸ He gives more samples of different split-ups for other *liheci*. For example, for our sample 离婚: 离了婚, 离了一次婚, 离过婚, 离成婚, 离过几次婚, 离不了婚, 离不成婚.

liheci, the scheme is 是...A 的 B. An example from Hoa (2005): ...两人是再中国大陆注册结婚的.

- 什么 which Hoa (2005) lists together with the splitting 个 that we discussed before. In this case 什么 means dissatisfaction or negation.

- Duplication. General schemes for verbs are ABAB (sometimes A — A or A 了 A). The majority of *liheci* use AAB or A — AB scheme, but a few can duplicate as verbs through ABAB. Hua Yushan gives these examples: 帮帮忙, 松一松手¹⁸⁹.

- Repetition through negation. As for verbs, two schemes can be used in different cases: AB 不/没 AB or A 不/没 AB. As for *liheci*, normally the second one is used. For example, 生不生气.

- combinations of different elements named above within *liheci*.

Ye (2006) indicates that the split usage of *liheci* is rather restricted and gives some examples, however, does not conclude about any rule for that:

| | 了 | 着 | 过 | 的 | 定语 | 领属词 | 宾语前置 |
|----|---|---|---|---|----|-----|------|
| 拜年 | + | - | + | + | + | - | + |
| 留学 | + | - | + | + | - | - | - |
| 跳舞 | + | + | + | + | + | - | + |
| 生气 | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 担心 | + | - | + | - | + | - | - |

As we can see among his samples only 生气 has all possible combinations. He also indicates that each morpheme in a *liheci* has a limit for elements which can be added.

Zheng (2010) investigates 洗澡 as a sample. On the example of 9 different dictionaries she shows combinations for 洗澡:

¹⁸⁹ He also gives some examples for adjectives which we do not accept as *liheci*, e.g. 努努力.

| 周氏 | HSK | 当代 | 常用 | 商务 | 8000词 | 应用 | 用法 | 人机 | 离合 | 合计 |
|----------|-----|----|----|----|-------|----|----|----|----|----|
| 动词重叠 | - | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | 3 |
| 动态助词 | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | 4 |
| 定语 | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | 7 |
| 结果补语 | - | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | 4 |
| 数量补语在中间 | + | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | 7 |
| 连动式 | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | 4 |
| 肯定否定相叠加 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| 可能补语 | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | - | 2 |
| 趋向补语 | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | 2 |
| 数量补语在后 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| 程度补语 | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| 时量补语在中+的 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| 情态补语 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| 后一粘着语素提前 | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| “是……的”句 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| “把”字句 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0 |
| “连……也”句 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | 1 |
| 总计 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 6 | |

As we can see, frequently across all the books only attributives and numbers (between AB) were used. The following were not found: 把-sentences, modal complements, 是...的, duration with 的 within AB, verbal classifiers after AB, and repetition through negation.

2.1.2.6. Combinations with objects

Secondly, when we speak about combinations, we should mention objects. Normally *liheci* are believed not to accept objects after themselves as there is a direct object within their own structure. However, there are some which do accept other objects¹⁹⁰. Ye (2006) names several types of possible objects:

1. Places. Among our samples, for example, 做客 and 散步 can do this¹⁹¹: *zuoke Shanghai* 做客上海 (to make a visit to Shanghai), *sanbu jietou* 散步街头 (to walk on the street). In this group he includes words of “calm” (stable) place 静位点 (when the action not just happens but passes from start to finish in that place and after a time the place does not change). This group can be inverted into the 在-place-*liheci* structure (在上海做客). The second subgroup is words denoting starting points. This can be inverted into the 从-place-*liheci* structure (one of examples he

¹⁹⁰ There may be no agreement on this as well. Lei (2017) indicates that the majority of scholars and dictionaries say that 帮忙 does not accept objects after AB, but there are some who consider it possible.

¹⁹¹ In CCL we can also find 出差上海。

gives is *fache* 发车 (to depart), in this case 发车上海 would be “to depart from Shanghai). One more subgroup is words of direction. For example, 出差上海 is to go on a business trip to Shanghai)¹⁹². The author indicates that this group can also be added to *liheci* through the complement *dao* 到 or preposition *xiang* 向 (出差到上海, 向上海出差). This is particularly important as it goes against the general scheme of adding complements to *liheci*. The next subgroup is words denoting the point of passing through (the place the action passes through). On the example of *zhuanche* 转车 (to have a transfer) he shows three schemes: 转车上海, 转上海的车, 从上海转车.

2. Objects (对象宾语). Ye gives an example 放心他的工作 (stop worrying about her work). He indicates that in this case the relationship between *liheci* and this object can be defined through prepositions such as 对.

3. 把-objects. Objects which can be converted into the 把-structure. One of Ye’s examples is 出口石油 – 把石油出口 (to import gasoline).

4. 有-objects which can be converted into the 有-object-*liheci* structure.

5. 和, 跟, 同, 与-structures.

6. Subject of action objects (施事). This is the situation when the object of *liheci* is, in fact, its subject. This noun normally cannot go alone and needs a number. Ye gives an example for 毕业: 毕业数千名大学生 (several thousands of students graduated).

7. Cause-objects (致使). *Liheci* have a sort of causative meaning and the structure can be inverted into 使-object-*liheci*. Ye gives an example for 保密 (to keep something secret, HSK 5): 保密这件事 – 使这件事保密 (to keep this matter secret).

8. Resultative objects, where the object is the result of *liheci*. For example, 专业会计 – 专业为会计 (to get a specialization and become an accountant).

9. “Aim” objects. This can be inverted into the 为...而 structure. For example, 担心你的前途 – 为你的前途担心 (to worry for your future (way)).

10. Numbers. Here he includes different numbers, among which quantities and durations. For example, 放假2天 (to have 2-day holidays/rest).

11. Possessive objects. Those which can be inverted into the 的-structure. For example, 劳驾小王 – 劳小王的驾 (to forgive Xiao Wang).

¹⁹² Ye (2006) also gives examples for 留学.

According to Ye (2006), Group number 2 is the most frequent one. He also highlights that there are still no dictionaries to consult on that as a rule but the real language material demonstrates this usage. One more thing he highlights is that split usages may seriously restrict adding objects. He gives an example for one of our samples, 帮忙: 同胞帮忙出力, 同胞帮过忙 are correct, but 同胞帮过忙出力 is impossible. He formulates the next rule: “if an S-structure includes¹⁹³ the following sequence form, then that S-structure is not perfect: “verb-complement 1 – complement 2” (not including intransitive verbs and verbs with cognate objects¹⁹⁴, and the complement is any complementing element), then the elements added after the verb cannot be more than two. Thus, when split up, the elements going after *liheci* are to be eliminated or relocated”. In simple words it means that when the *liheci* verbal morpheme apart from the *liheci* noun-object has any other complement within (for example, 了 or 过) it cannot add anything else. Ye observes several sub-cases of these restrictions derived from this rule. The third case is particularly interesting: actants which originally occupy the place of objects become attributes to the second morpheme in *liheci* (in cases of split usage with C1, C2). For example, *rugu* 入股 (to become a shareholder) has 2 correct options for objects: 入股工行 (to be a shareholder in the Industrial and Commercial bank of China), 入了工行的股, but 入了股工行 is impossible. Ye highlights that in the previous eras, for example, at the beginning of the 20th century, it was easier to find samples of *liheci* having objects. One of his examples is *ni muqin ye bangmang wo qingqiu* 你母亲也帮忙我请求 (your mother also helped my requests). In general, he speaks about changes in *liheci*+object usages depending on the period of time and different influences, including international relations of China. In the example sentences from varying times and regions which he gives we can even find such collocations as 帮忙你. He also highlights the influence of English on Chinese. He considers the (im)possibility of *liheci* to add objects to be a question of semantics.

Overall, I made several observations on Ye’s classification:

1. The samples he used as examples do not coincide with the samples which we defined as the most frequent ones, the majority of them consist of less frequent morphemes or present less frequent meanings.
2. In the case of Group 6, I am not sure if it is justified to define it as an object. It may also be a case of inversion.

¹⁹³ See deep structure (D-structure) and surface structure (S-structure).

¹⁹⁴ Cognate objects are objects with the same or related meaning as the meaning of the verbs, which are often seen in *liheci* (for example, 睡觉 – to sleep a sleep). A phenomena which is related but not fully identical is empty objects. Empty objects are those whose meanings are obvious through the verb (for example, in 吃饭, the meaning of 饭 “food” is obvious as it is the only thing which can be 吃-ed (eaten)).

3. There is no general rule on accepting other objects for *liheci* but there is a general rule restricting that. In the majority of cases *liheci* which accept objects after themselves function on the basis of case-relationships. If we compare it with languages which have a case system, for example, Russian, then all those objects will be objects of oblique (objective, not nominative) cases excluding the accusative case. One major exception to this is 把-objects which are accusative. This returns me to the idea that the tie within *liheci* is accusative. Ye (2006) says, the bigger the degree of grammaticalization of a *liheci* is, the fewer obstacles there are for syntactic constructions, and the bigger is the possibility for the *liheci* to have an object.

According to Zhang, Zhao (1996), those *liheci* which can add objects and add them cannot split up. For example, *wo zui fangxin zhejian shi* 我最不放心这件事 and *ta danxin ni mingtian laibuji* 他担心你明天来不了¹⁹⁵. Jing (2016) says only a few *liheci* can accept objects, among them 担心 and 放心.

I tend to think that adding objects is not a general rule for *liheci*. I see it as a process of transition from *liheci* to single words, from splitting up to being united and as a reflection of a non-codified spoken usage of native-speakers, which, in the case of China, may vary a lot depending on geographical zone and other factors. However, we should admit that any spoken language does not follow precise grammatical rules. Some *liheci* do it faster, others not. Still it will be difficult to find such examples as 结婚他 or 生气他¹⁹⁶ in massive usage. Even 帮忙他 given by Ye (2006) is an occasional sample from a particular author's writing but not the massive way to use this *liheci*. In his work he presents different factors influencing the possibility of *liheci*-object combinations but here I will omit this as it is not directly relevant for our cross-linguistic comparison.

As for verbs, they can also be divided into several groups. As indicated above, some of them may only accept direct objects and add indirect objects through prepositional structures, while others may accept both.

In general, I tend to agree with Hoa (2005), who says that the rules observed above are not equal for each *liheci* as all of them have differences in the solidity of IS. Some IS are more fixed

¹⁹⁵ I would not include this example in the description of objects as in this case it is not an object after the *liheci* but a subordinate clause "He worries that tomorrow you will not come on time".

¹⁹⁶ Plenty of Chinese and foreign works indicate using an object after a *liheci* as the main mistake of foreign learners of Chinese. For example, Sha (2002) says it is incorrect to say 生气他 or 操心孩子 and indicates that only a few samples can add objects (e.g. 劳驾, 担心, 出口, 放心). She also indicates, it is possible to add 完, 得, 了 after some of them (e.g. 跳舞, 洗澡, 游泳).

and rigid, others are looser. I tend to think, that this reflects the process of transition from splittable structures to unsplittable words.

Zhou (2010) gives a comparison of the *liheci* 见面 and the verb plus object combination *chitang* 吃糖 (to eat sugar/sweets). He shows that:

- It is possible to convert 我见过妈妈的面 into 我跟妈妈见过面 but the same is impossible for 吃糖;
- It is impossible to use 见面¹⁹⁷ with 把 and 被 (we cannot say 妈妈的面被我见过);
- An emphatic inversion is impossible for 见面 (we cannot say 妈妈的面, 我见了);
- We cannot say 我见了面.

So, on the one hand, *liheci* have more possibilities for combinations than verbs as they can add words related to both verbs and nouns. On the other hand, they are more restricted than “verb plus object” combinations.

2.1.2.7. Syntactic roles of *liheci* and verbs

Thirdly, let us look at the roles *liheci* and verbs can perform in a sentence.

| | <i>Liheci</i> | Verbs |
|----------------|---|---|
| Subject 主语 | 散步有利于身体健康 ¹⁹⁸ (Walking contributes to health) | ...对我帮助很大... - help to me is big/significant. |
| Predicate 谓语 | 和家人朋友一起散步 (Walk together with family and friends) | 这就清楚地告诉我们... - this clearly informs/ communicates/tells us... |
| Object 宾语 | 我喜欢散步* (I like walking) | ...而且我喜欢学习 – besides, I like studying. |
| Adverbial 状语 | 我吃惊地看着他* (I am looking at him in astonishment). | 李景端担忧地说... - Li Jingduan, worrying, said... |
| Attributive 定语 | 我每天散步的时间不一样* (Every day I walk at different | 学习的目的是为了更新补充知识,.. - the purpose of studying is for |

¹⁹⁷ Other *liheci* sometimes can go with 把 and 被. For example, 把澡洗了, 把洗澡洗了 (Li, Xu, 2014).

¹⁹⁸ Jing (2016). Other samples marked with * are from the same research. If not marked, the sample is from CCL.

| | | |
|--|-------|-------------------------|
| | time) | adding new knowledge... |
|--|-------|-------------------------|

Not split up *liheci* can fulfil the same roles in a sentence as verbs. When split up, they normally act as a verb and its object (thus, most typically as a predicate and its object), for example, ...它也能帮大忙... - this can also provide big help. There can also be other possible cases, e.g. A can become an attributive and B an object or a subject (...你能帮的忙不多... - help which he can provide is not big).

2.1.2.8. Inversion and related issues

Besides, unlike verbs *liheci* can be inverted (go in B...A form in a sentence). According to Bovi (2016), there are two main types of *liheci* at the aspect of inversion:

1. Freely inverted;
2. Poorly inverted and not inverted.

She says that the ability to invert depends on the relationship between the morphemes. If the meaning of the verbal and the noun morphemes are different, the *liheci* is more likely to be able to invert. However, this result should be verified because her work contains many contradictory and not well-developed points¹⁹⁹.

Apart from that, inversion (and sometimes splitting up – according to the context)²⁰⁰ is not universally applicable to all *liheci*. In some cases, when inverted, *liheci* can fall into a verb and an object with the sum meaning different from that of the *liheci*. As for our samples, we can find some of them in the work of He (2010) in the inverted form: 队排着, 牛吹过, 舞跳得, 婚不能离, 连婚都没结, 谁的面也不见. He analysed 325 samples, out of which 138 cannot invert, for example: 毕业, 吃惊, 劳驾, 留学, 散步, 失眠, 着急, 做客; 187 can invert²⁰¹: 报名, 出差, 吹牛, 打针, 担心, 道歉, 发烧, 放心, 鼓掌, 见面, 结婚, 考试, 离婚, 聊天, 跑步, 请假, 伤心, 生病, 生气, 睡觉, 跳舞, 洗澡, 游泳.

¹⁹⁹ For example, she accepts 吃饭 as a *liheci* but does not explain why it inverts freely although the morphemes have a connected meaning. At the same time, she names non-inverted *liheci* but later says they do not exist. As well she says that there are not many poorly inverted *liheci*, but the analysis was done on the basis of 50 samples where 18 showed to be poorly inverted (36%) etc.

²⁰⁰ He (2010) gives this example for *jiayou* 加油 (Go! Step on it! Try!) which separately means “to add oil”: 我为你加油 (the meaning of the *liheci*) and the inverted 油加满了 (added enough oil – the meaning of 2 separate independent words).

²⁰¹ Here he also included 学习.

2.1.2.9. Main conclusions

Overall, on the one hand, *liheci* have more possible combinations as:

1. They can add words referring to the verbal part or referring to the nominal part;
2. They can split up and invert;
3. In the split-up form, they can fulfil two roles in a sentence at the same time.

On the other hand, *liheci* function under strict limiting rules and are seriously less free than verb+object combinations.

2.2-. A comparative analysis of VN and verbs in Russian

2.2.1. General points

Unlike in Chinese, where *liheci* and verbs do not replace each other but rather exist in parallel, in Russian the majority of VN would have a synonymous one-root or different-root verb. Some of those verbs would be full synonyms, but some only partial. If we look at the five “most used” samples among those which we observed in Chapter 1, only for *стоять в очереди* it would be difficult (if possible at all) to find a verbal synonym.

At the same time, while in Chinese *liheci* are generally more spoken and neutral, in Russian these combinations in the majority of cases are less stylistically neutral than verbs²⁰². This is partially connected with a wider choice of combinations which they can form. This does not mean that they can never be neutral. In some combinations they may even be the only possible way to convey the idea (e.g. *okazat' pervyyu pomoshch*, to provide first aid – there is no way to express this through the verb *pomoch*). Still, in those cases when a synonymous verb does exist, it will be more spoken and neutral than the corresponding combination. Apart from that, OGIO stays at the periphery of science and are normally not taught at schools and non-linguistic institutions, in an average school book they would appear as a regular verb and a regular noun. PE are taught to

²⁰² See appendix for poll results.

school children but rather as a block of speech stylistics (along with epithets, metaphors etc.) and not comprehensively at the aspect of their formation and grammar.

2.2.2. Main characteristics of verbs

Russian verbs possess the following characteristics:

1. Verbal forms: infinitive, conjugated personal and impersonal forms, participle, *deprichastiye*;
2. Types: perfective/imperfective, reflexivity, transitivity, first or second conjugation;
3. Variable: number (singular, plural), mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative), person, gender, case (for participles).

2.2.2.1. A comparison of VN's V and verbs

The first element in VN is a verb, which means VN possess all the same verbal characteristics. For example, let us analyse оказать помощь and помочь:

| | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Infinitive (perfective and imperfective) | Помочь/помогать | Оказать/оказывать помощь | |
| Active imperfective participle, present tense (can vary in gender and number) | Помогающий | Оказывающий помощь | (a person) helping (somebody in the present) |
| Active imperfective participle past tense (can vary in gender and number) | Помогавший | Оказывавший помощь | (a person who was) helping (in the past) |
| Active perfective participle past tense (can vary in gender and number) | Помогший | Оказавший помощь | Having helped |
| Passive imperfective participle present | - | Оказываемая помощь | (help) being provided (to |

| | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
| tense (can vary in gender and number) | | | somebody). This particular verb does not have this form, but others may have. |
| Passive imperfective participle past tense (can vary in gender and number) | - | - | This pair does not have this form but others may have |
| Passive perfective participle past tense (can vary in gender and number) | - | Оказанная помощь | This verb does not have this form but others may have |
| Imperfective <i>deeprichastiye</i> | Помогая | Оказывая помощь | |
| Perfective <i>deeprichastiye</i> | Помогав/помогавши* | Оказав помощь | This form for the verb is disputable, it may not be literary but rather spoken |
| Conjugated (personal) forms in present tense | Я помогаю Мы помогаем Ты помогаешь Вы помогаете Он/она/оно помогает Они помогают | Я оказываю помощь Мы оказываем помощь Ты оказываешь помощь Вы оказываете помощь Он/она/оно оказывает помощь Они оказывают помощь | I, we, you, you (singular polite and plural), he, she, it, they. These forms mainly depend on the person |
| Conjugated (personal) forms in past tense | Я, ты, помог/помогла Он помог Она помогла Оно помогло Они, вы помогли | Я, ты оказал/оказала помощь Он оказал помощь Она оказала помощь Оно оказало помощь Они, вы оказали помощь | These forms mainly depend on the gender and number |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Conjugated (personal) forms in simple future tense | Я помогу Мы поможем Ты поможешь Вы поможете Он, она, оно поможет Они помогут | Я окажу помощь Мы окажем помощь Ты окажешь помощь Вы окажете помощь Он, она, оно окажет помощь Они окажут помощь | I, we, you, you (singular polite and plural), he, she, it, they. These forms mainly depend on the person |
| Conjugated (personal) forms in compound future tense | Я буду помогать Мы будем помогать Ты будешь помогать Вы будете помогать Он, она, оно будет помогать Они будут помогать | Я буду оказывать помощь Мы будем оказывать помощь Ты будешь оказывать помощь Вы будете оказывать помощь Он, она, оно будет оказывать помощь Они будут оказывать помощь | I, we, you, you (singular polite and plural), he, she, it, they. These forms mainly depend on the person |
| Subjunctive mood (past tense + бы/б, Infinitive + бы/б) | Помог(ла/ли/ло) бы Помочь бы | Оказал(а/о/и) бы помощь Оказать бы помощь | The ending depends on the gender and number |
| Imperative mood | Помоги Помогите | Окажи помощь Окажите помощь | For you (singular) and you (plural, singular polite, plural polite) |

As we can see on the example of participles, in some cases VN is the only way to convey a particular verbal idea. Passive participles mean that an object receives the action, which is not possible for each verb but can be more likely for VN as in this case the object which receives that action is included in them.

2.2.2.2. Reflexivity and transitivity

Reflexivity depends on each particular verb. Some verbs have it, others do not. Among VN there are some reflexive forms too, e.g. сочетаться браком (to get married), which can have a non-reflexive form сочетать браком as well (when a person unites others in a marriage – for example, a priest or an administrative worker at a wedding ceremony). Reflexivity cannot be freely added to any VN's verb.

Transitivity is another “innate” verbal characteristic as well as belonging to the first or second conjugation (type of conjugation which depends on the ending of the verb). At the level of IS those verbs in VN may be transitive if they are paired with a noun in accusative case which is a **patient**²⁰³ of their action. The complete VN combination is not.

2.2.2.3. Other aspects

Some verbs may form impersonal forms, especially in spoken or colloquial speech (e.g. “Ему не гулялось, не ходилось, не хотелось даже подняться вверх” (N. Gogol)), thus, it can also happen to some VN.

Some forms, as can be seen in the table, have numbers and genders; this is equally true for both VN and verbs.

Participles which comprise of features of both verbs and adjectives, as well as adjectives, decline in cases with the corresponding noun. An example from the work of Diakonova (2002) in the corpus: “Таким образом, уже первичная **помощь, оказанная** нами, подтвердила значимость и необходимость поддержки частного заказчика” (Thus, the primary **help, provided** by us, has already confirmed the importance and necessity to support the private customer).

According to what we observed above, VN overall have all the same forms as verbs, thus, differences in usage are defined by other aspects.

²⁰³ We should pay attention to the difference between a patient and a direct object. If we say *okazat pomosch* in its infinitive form, *pomosch* will be both, but if we convert the verb into a participle and say *pomosch, okazannaya*... it will only be a patient but not a direct object anymore. In Chinese this difference was not principally important as *liheci* can never be fully split, the majority of their parts are more than semantically adhesive, but in Russian the parts are formally independent words and the word order is generally much more flexible. Transitivity refers to patients, not to direct objects which can go in other cases apart from the accusative.

2.2.3. Nouns and VN's N

Nouns in Russian also have constant and variable morphological characteristics. In this case we are more interested in the variable ones which are two: number and case.

In VN nouns can change number when the meaning allows it, for example, it is possible to say вести разговоры (to conduct talks), издавать звуки (to emit sounds), стоять в очередях (to stay in queues), but it cannot be applied to помощь or душ. The case of nouns in VN is principally defined by verbs, and, as we saw above, verbs can change their forms; their new forms may demand other cases for nouns. Let us look at вести разговор²⁰⁴:

- “Наверное в школах со стороны педогогов надо **вести разговор** о сектанстве и проникновении их на детские сайты” – V in imperfective infinitive, N in accusative.
 - “Мой добрый совет — **не веди разговоров**, кроме как о погоде” – V in negative imperative mood, N in its plural form, accusative case.
 - “Будяевы обладали непостижимой способностью, **ведя общий разговор**, высказываться одновременно” – V in *deprichastiye*, N in accusative.
- Etc.

The majority of samples show the accusative case. In inverted positions we can also find nominative and other cases. For example, “...**разговор, который они вели** между собою, был слышен совершенно ясно среди неподвижной тишины темного и теплого вечера...” (the talk, which they conducted between themselves...). At this aspect, nouns can appear in any case, as the case is not defined directly by the verb anymore, although the noun and the verb are still semantically and syntactically connected.

2.2.4. Synonymous verbs and VN

Let us now look at synonymous verbs or verbs with similar meanings for our list of VN. Verbs marked with * can only be accepted as partial synonyms (as before we accepted some VN as partial synonyms which only have the same meaning as verbs or *liheci* in particular situations).

| VN | Verb of the same | Verb of another root | Number of verbal samples in the corpora over the |
|----|------------------|----------------------|--|
| | | | |

²⁰⁴ All example sentences are taken from the corpus.

| | root ²⁰⁵ | | number of VN samples |
|--|--------------------------|------------|------------------------------------|
| Расторгать брак Расторгнуть брак | | Развестись | 2305 : 200 |
| Совершать прогулку Совершить прогулку | Гулять, прогуливаться | | 19 272 : 2284 : 24 |
| Приносить извинения Принести извинения | Извиняться | | 3964/2858 ²⁰⁶ : 25 : 50 |
| Просить извинения | | | |
| Выражать сожаление Выразить сожаление | Сожалеть* | | 3230 : 534 |
| Испытывать беспокойство Испытать беспокойство | Беспокоиться | | 9451 : 145 : 95 |
| Проявлять беспокойство Проявить беспокойство | | | |
| Терять сон Потерять сон | ? | ? | |
| Страдать бессонницей | | | |

²⁰⁵ Kuzmenkova (2000) highlights 5 different groups of OGIO. The so-called “core group” includes those which have a synonymous (in Russian terms “correlated” verb, *korrelyat*, *коррелят*) same-root verb. She highlights that the synonymy is only formal, as they can only be real synonyms in one particular case: when within the context the single verb is used in the same very meaning as the noun in VN.

²⁰⁶ Numbers for perfective and imperfective forms.

| | | | |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Испытывать интерес Испытать интерес | Интересоваться | | 11 072 : 149 : 57 : 1481 |
| Питать интерес | | | |
| Проявлять интерес Проявить интерес | | | |
| Испытывать жар Испытать жар | | <i>Температурить</i> ²⁰⁷ | 51 : 24 |
| Подавать заявку Подать заявку | ? | ? | |
| Проводить встречу Провести встречу | Встречаться* Встретиться* | | 28 850/22 407 : 21 : 31 |
| Устраивать встречу Устроить встречу | | | |
| Заключать брак ЗаклЮчить брак | | Жениться | 19 447 : 261 : 35 : 1345 |
| Сочетаться браком | | | |
| Вступить в брак | | | |
| Страдать болезнью | Болезнь | | 27 578 : 1 : 278 |
| Переносить болезнь Перенести болезнь | | | |

²⁰⁷ May be a spoken or colloquial verb.

| | | | |
|--|------------------------------|----------|---------------------------|
| Проявлять гнев Проявить гнев | Гневаться* ²⁰⁸ | Злиться* | 1187 : 3502 : 20 |
| Исполнять танец Исполнить танец | Танцевать | | 11935 : 314 |
| Находить покой Найти покой | Успокоиться успокаиваться | | 13 469 : 1980 : 498 : 266 |
| Обретать покой Обрести покой | | | |
| Осуществить регистрацию Осуществить регистрацию | Регистрировать(ся) | | 1496 : 686 : 1 : 9 |
| Оформить регистрацию Оформлять регистрацию | | | |
| Брать отпуск Взять отпуск | ? | ? | |
| Быть в отпуске Находиться в отпуске | | | |
| Идти в отпуск Уходить/уйти в отпуск | | | |
| Отпрашиваться с работы Отпроситься с работы | | | |
| Осыпать насмешками ²⁰⁹ | Насмехаться | | 736 : 2 |

²⁰⁸ This is an old-style verb.

²⁰⁹ For this verb, its perfective and imperfective forms only differ in word stress (imperfective – *osypAt'*, perfective – *osYpat'*).

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| Проявлять беспокойство Проявить беспокойство | Беспокоиться* | Волноваться* | 9451 : 13 434 : 95 : 145 |
| Испытать беспокойство Испытывать беспокойство | | | |
| Хлопать в ладоши Хлопать в ладони Хлопнуть в ладоши Хлопнуть в ладони | | Аплодировать* | 1894 : 944 |
| Сделать укол Делать укол | Уколоть ²¹⁰ Колоть | | 991 : 27 697 : 865 : 11 |
| Сделать инъекцию Делать инъекцию | | | |
| Сделать скидку Делать скидку | ? | ? | ? |
| Приходить в удивление Прийти в удивление | Удивиться | | 17 823 : |
| Испытывать ужас Испытать ужас | Ужаснуться* | Испугаться | 1742 : 13 403 : 426 : 886 |

²¹⁰ This verb is not a real synonym for this VN, it can probably be used only in very few cases.

| | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------|--|
| Приходить в ужас Прийти в ужас | | | |
| Впадать в бешенство Впасть в бешенство | Беситься | Злиться* | 1056 : 3502 : 65 : 229 |
| Приходить в бешенство Прийти в бешенство | | | |
| Приходить в изумление Прийти в изумление | | | |
| Занимать очередь Занять очередь | | | |
| Стоять в очереди | | | |
| Испытывать горе Испытать горе | Горевать ²¹¹ Грустить | Страдать | 2 313 : 3 224 : 19 971 : 178 : 56 : 1 : 4 : 1 |
| Испытывать грусть Испытать грусть | | | |
| Предаваться грусти Предаться грусти | | | |
| Ранить душу | | | |
| Страдать душой | | | |
| Испытывать огорчение | | | |

²¹¹ A rather old-style verb.

²¹² An old-style verb.

| | | | |
|---|--|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Переносить огорчение Перенести огорчение | | | |
| Стоять в пробке Встать в пробке | ? | ? | |
| Страдать диареей | ? | ? | |
| Принимать душ Принять душ | | Мыться Купаться* | 2 127 : 5 104 : 1 624 : 82 |
| Принимать ванну Принять ванну | | | |
| Издавать звук Издать звук | Звучать* | Произносить* Произнести* | 19 335 : 32 622 : 1 614 |
| Быть в гостях | Гостить* | Посещать* | 8 197 : 8 975 : 14 : 57 : 108 |
| Идти в гости Пойти в гости | | | |
| Ходить в гости Сходить в гости | | | |
| Быть в сети | | | |
| Выходить в интернет Выйти в интернет | ? | ? | |
| Вести беседу Завести беседу | Беседовать ²¹³ Разговаривать | | 9 930 : 26 245 : 96 : 3239 |
| Вести разговор Завести разговор | | | |
| Осуществлять переезд Осуществить переезд | Переезжать | | 2 492 : 7 |

²¹³ A rather old-style verb.

| | | | |
|---|----------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| Задирать нос Задрать нос | | Заняться/Занятьсяс я (Хвалиться Возгордиться Кичиться Задаваться Бахвалиться and other (partial) synonyms depending on the context) | 456 : 422 |
| Оказывать помощь Оказать помощь | Помочь Помогать | | 50 662 : 4 631 : 195 |
| Предоставлять помощь Предоставить помощь | | | |
| Погружаться в сон Погрузиться в сон | Заснуть/засыпать Спать* | | 10 867 : 72 842 : 406 |

Even though these results are only approximate, it is clearly seen that the frequency of verbs are much higher than the frequency of VN. Many of these verbs translate the original Chinese *liheci* better than VN, as we some of the chosen VN are only partial synonyms. Only with a few expressions is there any difficulty in replacing them by a verb.

Zigangirova (1999) names the following reasons for the usage of VN instead of simple verbs in Russian:

1. The special functional-communicative role of nouns. Replacing the action from a verb to a noun may attract the attention of the listener and be the core of the whole speech expression. The action can be seen by the speaker as an abstract characteristic or result. The syntactic tie between the verb and the noun is weakened, which allows as to unite words which normally do not go together and add many other words related to one of the elements or to both of

them. The main aim of using VN is not changing stylistics but making it easier to construct the whole sentence/expression.

2. The semantic role of the noun. When an action is described through a noun, it raises the semantic potential of the expression. Within this: VN can normally describe an action more precisely than a single verb, as the noun can have additional semantic elements; the noun can obtain an additional metaphorical meaning; nouns derived from verbs can sound more abstract than the corresponding verbs, thus, adding official or any other stylistics. There are nouns with more complicated meanings than verbs, and nouns with a changed meaning.

3. The functional-communicative and semantic role of the verb in VN. The verb can highlight the importance of the expression, can characterize it at the aspect of action or result and place necessary accents in speech, and clarify contextual semantics of the expression.

Gutarova (2008) says that VN expresses a more precise, fragmented action than a simple verb. She highlights that there may be the following differences between VN and synonymous verbs:

1. VN may not only name the action but also judge it (e.g. обвинить *obvinit'* "to blame" simply names the action, but возводить обвинение *vozvodit' obvineniye* "to construct blaming" also characterizes it as unfair).
2. The intensivity of action.
3. VN can highlight different moments of the action/state characterized by a simple verb, e.g. the beginning.
4. VN can highlight making somebody do something or be in a particular state.
5. Highlight the attitude of different actors towards the action.

She says that, unlike simple verbs which only denote the action, VN show that action as a process or a state existing in different moments of time; and, that almost always it is possible to find a related (one-root or not) verb but it can rarely transmit all the shades of meaning which VN can. Makovich (1997) claims that apart from simply naming the action or state (as verbs do), VN characterize it, also sentences with VN have more paradigmatic possibilities than those with single verbs.

2.2.5. Combinations of verbs and VN

Now, let us look at some forms and combinations of verbs²¹⁴ and VN apart from those which we saw above²¹⁵. VN have varying possibilities to combine with other words, its verb is non-monovalent, and its noun can be added by attributives, etc. It can “split up” and invert. Its elements can change their forms.

2.2.5.1. Pronouns

| | Verb | VN | |
|-------------------------------|---|--|--|
| As subjects | Я помог ей встать. I helped her to get up. | Я оказал помощь гостю. I provided help to the visitor. | In VN inversion is possible but it will not sound neutral. |
| As indirect objects | Он мне помог с домашним заданием. He helped me with homework. | Он оказал мне помощь с домашним заданием. He provided help with homework to me. | Possible inversions for VN are: мне оказал помощь, мне помощь оказал, помощь мне оказал. Оказал помощь мне sounds rather unnatural in this particular sentence. |
| As possessives and reflexives | | Я готов расторгнуть свой брак. I am ready to cancel my marriage. Я хочу сделать себе скидку. I want to make a discount for myself. Он мог вести разговоры сам с | In Russian, <i>svoi</i> means one’s own; using my, his, her etc. speaking about oneself is not always natural. It is possible to construct an analogous sentence with the reflexive verb <i>razvestis’</i> (to |

²¹⁴ Within the aims of this work we only speak about verbs, although, in Russian linguistics they speak generally about predicates, as VN can be related to one-word predicates formed by other parts of speech, e.g. adjectives and words of state.

²¹⁵ Changes in tense, voice, person, etc. which can be realized with verbs, thus, can be realized with VN.

| | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| | | <p>собой часами. He was able to talk to himself for hours.</p> | <p>divorce). <i>Sebya/Sebe</i> (to oneself) is the only reflexive pronoun in Russian. The lit. translation of the last example is: he himself could conduct talks with himself for hours.</p> |
| <p>Question, indefinite, negative adjective-form pronouns</p> | | <p>Какую помощь ты можешь мне оказать? Which help can you provide to me? Я никакую помощь не могу тебе оказать. I cannot provide any kind (of) help to you. Я могу оказать тебе какую-нибудь незначительную помощь. I can provide to you some (literally what-ever or which-ever) insignificant help. Не веди с ним никаких личных разговоров. Do not conduct any personal talks with him.</p> | <p>As for the verb, it is possible to ask the same question through the adverb-form pronoun “how”: Как ты можешь мне помочь? (How can you help me?). And respond with the corresponding negative or indefinite pronoun. Noticeable, that VN can have a combination with how, too: How can you provide him help (как ты ему окажешь помощь?), in Russian the meaning of the two is very close but the stylistical accent is different.</p> |
| <p>Question, indefinite,</p> | | <p>Столько помощи</p> | <p>This sentence can be</p> |

| | | | |
|------------------------|--|--|--|
| negative | | <p>было ей оказано, и всё зря.</p> <p>So much help was provided to her, but it was all in vain.</p> | <p>converted into a verbal sentence (we helped her so much, but it all was in vain) with minimal changes in stylistics.</p> |
| Defining/determinative | | <p>Всякая помощь, оказанная вовремя, хороша.</p> <p>Any help provided on time is good.</p> <p>Вести любые разговоры о политике было запрещено.</p> <p>Conducting (“to conduct”) any talks about politics was prohibited.</p> | <p>We can convey the same meaning through a verbal sentence “To help on time is always good” but the general stylistics will undergo a shift, as in the VN sentence “help” is a highlighted word and the core of the whole sentence (we speak about the help itself, stressing its combination with ANY, not just the mere action of helping).</p> |
| Demonstrative | | <p>Та помощь, которую он мне оказал, была незначительной.</p> <p>That help which he provided (to) me with was insignificant.</p> <p>Те разговоры, что они вели, были абсолютно незаконны.</p> | <p>We can convey the same idea through a verbal sentence “he only helped me insignificantly” but the stylistics will undergo a shift, as in the VN sentence, “help” is a highlighted word and</p> |

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| | | Those talks which they were conducting were absolutely illegal. | the core of the whole sentence (we speak about the help, not about him and what he did). |
|--|--|---|--|

As we can see and will discuss further in the part of adjectives, in some cases it is possible to convey the same idea through VN+adjective/adjectival pronoun or a verb+adverb/adverbial pronoun. Combinations of pronouns are also possible, e.g. не веди с ним никаких разговоров ни о чем (don't conduct any talks about anything with him: with him, anything, and any are pronouns in the Russian sentence).

2.2.5.2. Infinitives

| | Verb | VN | |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|
| In combinations with infinitives | <p>Я помог ей встать. I helped her to get up.</p> <p>Я помог ей сделать домашнее задание. I helped her to do the hometask.</p> <p>Я помог ей стирать. I helped her to do the washing up (“to wash”).</p> | <p>-</p> <p>Я оказал ей помощь с домашним заданием. I provided help with the hometask to her.</p> <p>Я оказал ей помощь со стиркой. I provided help with the washing up to her.</p> | <p>Where verbs can add infinitives, VN can use corresponding nouns in case is where they can be formed from the infinitive. In the first sentence it is impossible as there is no noun for the verb “to get up”.</p> <p>Furthermore, not all verbs can be freely paired with infinitives, e.g. we cannot say интересоваться рисовать (to be interested “to paint”), this verb requires a noun (painting).</p> |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|---|
| | | | Some VN, we can add infinitives e.g. with the word “wish”. For example, я имел желание купить собаку (I had a wish to buy a dog). Я вышел в интернет поискать информацию (I “went out to the Internet” to look for information). However, I find this very limited. |
| In the form of infinitive | Я согласен тебе помочь . I agree to help you. В школе необходимо разговаривать о вреде курения. At school, it is necessary to talk about the harm of smoking. | Я согласен оказать тебе помощь . I agree to provide help to you. В школе необходимости вести разговоры о вреде курения. At school, it is necessary to conduct talks about the harm of smoking. | VN can go after adjectives, words of state, verbs etc. In the context where VN and its related verb are synonymous, they can be replaced with each other. |

2.2.5.3. Nouns

| | Verb | VN | |
|--|--|---|--|
| Nouns related to different parts of VN | - Я попросил мэра помочь детскому дому . | Какая была необходимость оказывать ему помощь ? | VN can go after a noun, complementing it. The noun in VN can accept other nouns (e.g. |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| | <p>I asked the mayor to help the orphanate.</p> <p>Он разговаривает со своим воображаемым другом целыми днями.</p> <p>All day(s) long he spends talking to his imaginary friend.</p> | <p>What was the necessity to help him?</p> <p>Я обратился к мэру с просьбой оказать помощь детскому дому.</p> <p>I addressed the mayor with a request to provide help to the orphanage.</p> <p>Он ведет разговоры со своим воображаемым другом целыми днями.</p> <p>All day(s) long he spends conducting talks with his imaginary friend.</p> | <p>help to the orphanage, submit a request for a scholarship etc.) to complement it (this possibility mainly depends on the semantics of the N in VN); and, as we saw in the previous chapter, sometimes N in VN can include a combination of two nouns presenting one joint notion (e.g. протянуть/подать руку помощи – to give the hand of help (to help)). Some verbs in VN, depending on their meanings can accept other nouns as well, e.g. Он осыпал брата насмешками (“he showered/covered his brother with mockery” – he was messing around/laughing at his brother).</p> <p>As well as in Chinese, accepting two patients/direct objects is impossible for the verb in VN.</p> <p>As for single verbs, we can say “Почему было</p> |
|--|--|--|---|

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|--|
| | | | необходимо помогать ему?” (Why was it necessary to help him?) but in this sentence there is no noun anymore. Or, “Я попросил мэра помочь детскому дому” (I asked the mayor to help the orphanage) – only the last noun is present. |
| Nouns related to the verb in VN | Он удивился и восторгнулся той неожиданной встрече. He became surprised and (got) excited because of that unexpected meeting. | Он пришел в удивление и восторг от этой неожиданной встречи. He came into surprise and excitement because of that unexpected meeting. | For some verbs in VN, it is possible to combine several homogeneous (going in the same grammar form) objects. As for single verbs, the same meaning can be expressed through homogeneous verbs related to those nouns. |

2.2.5.4. Other verbs

As we have already seen above, both single verbs and VN can go after other verbs. For example, в университете мы начали разговаривать/вести разговоры о политике (at the university we started talking/conducting talks about politics). Some VN and many verbs can accept infinitive forms to complement themselves. Other combinations of VN do not appear to be used.

2.2.5.5. Adverbs

| Verb | VN | |
|---|--|--|
| Врачи быстро ему помогли . Doctors helped him quick. | Врачи быстро оказали ему помощь . Doctors provided him | When VN and related verbs are synonymous in context, they generally can use the same adverbs, although, in |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>Он неожиданно взбесился. He unexpectedly got furious.</p> | <p>(with) help fast. Он неожиданно впал в бешенство. He unexpectedly fell into furiousity.</p> | <p>some cases, VN may prefer adjectives to characterize the action rather than the adverb used by a single verb. For example, он злостно насмеялся над братом (he cruelly laughed at/messed around with his brother), but он осыпал брата злостными насмешками (he showered his brother with cruel mockeries). This happens when the adverb characterizes the action, which in VN tends to be transmitted through the noun. In this example, mockeries were cruel, not the process of “showering”. In the example of providing help both adjectives and adverbs are possible. But, in the example of furiousity we can only use the adverb, as the falling into it was unexpected, not the furiousity itself.</p> |
|--|--|---|

2.2.5.6. Adjectives

| Verb | VN | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>Он мне значительно помог. He helped me significantly. Он мне помог финансово. He helped me financially. Он мне материально помог. He helped me materially. Он мне весомо помог. He helped me a lot (heavily).</p> | <p>Он оказал мне: - медицинскую помощь - первую помощь - значительную помощь - финансовую помощь - материальную помощь - весомую помощь He gave me: medical help, first aid, significant help, financial help, material help,</p> | <p>VN are very flexible in adding attributives. As for related verbs, in some cases we can use adverbs from the same root as certain adjectives but we can never use the adjectives themselves.</p> |

2.2.5.7. Combinations of words

| Verb | VN | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>Я помогу тебе чем смогу.</p> <p>I will help you with what I can.</p> <p>Мы можем помочь друг другу.</p> <p>We can help each other.</p> <p>Я помог ему финансово.</p> <p>I helped him financially.</p> <p>Я значительно помог своему коллеге.</p> <p>I helped my colleague significantly.</p> <p>Я должен срочно помочь своему коллеге всем, чем только возможно.</p> <p>I must urgently help my colleague with everything possible.</p> <p>Понятийные сближения между социальными языками России и Речи Посполитой могли бы существенно помочь пониманию адаптации перебежчиков.</p> <p>Conceptual convergencies between the social languages of Russia and</p> | <p>Я окажу тебе всю усиленную помощь.</p> <p>I will provide you (with) all possible help.</p> <p>Мы можем оказать друг другу помощь.</p> <p>We can provide help to each other.</p> <p>Я оказал ему финансовую помощь.</p> <p>I provided him (with) financial help.</p> <p>Я оказал своему коллеге значительную помощь.</p> <p>I provided my colleague (with) significant help.</p> <p>Я должен срочно оказать всю возможную помощь своему коллеге.</p> <p>I must urgently provide all possible help to my colleague.</p> <p>Существенную помощь для понимания адаптации перебежчиков могли бы оказать понятийные сближения между социальными языками России и Речи Посполитой.</p> <p>(К.Erusalimsky, 2010)</p> | <p>Taking into consideration valency of V and N in VN we can observe varying combinations. Unlike Chinese with its inflexible word order, in Russian it would be difficult to give a precise rule to limit the possibility of these combinations. As for verbs, they are naturally more limited in multiple combinations as they are a single element unlike VN which are two.</p> |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| the Commonwealth could significantly help understanding of adaptation of defectors. | Significant help for the understanding of adaptation of defectors could be provided by conceptual convergencies between the social languages of Russia and the Commonwealth. | |
|--|---|--|

2.2.5.8. Participle forms

| | verb | VN | |
|---|------|--|--|
| The verb (of VN) in its participle form | - | <p>Спасибо тебе за помощь, оказанную моей семье.</p> <p>Thank you for the help provided to my family.</p> <p>Заявка на стипендию, поданная тобой, была отклонена.</p> <p>The request for a scholarship submitted by you was declined.</p> | We can convey the same or very similar ideas with a single verb but not in the form of participle as participles complement other words (nouns). |
| With other participles. | - | <p>Он ушел в отпуск, оплачиваемый компанией.</p> <p>He left for vacations paid by the company.</p> <p>Он сделал себе инъекцию, не опробованную ранее ни на ком</p> | Many nouns in VN can be complemented by other participles, as participles are basically function as verbal adjectives in Russian. As we saw, single verbs cannot go with adjectival forms. |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| | | <p>другом.</p> <p>He had an injection (“did an injection to himself”), not previously tried on anybody else.</p> | |
|--|--|--|--|

2.2.5.9. *Deeprichastiye*²¹⁶

| | verb | VN | |
|---|--|---|--|
| When the verb (of VN) is in the form of <i>deeprichastiye</i> . | <p>Он ушел, не извинившись.</p> <p>He left not having apologized.</p> | <p>Он ушел, не попросив извинения.</p> <p>He left not having asked for pardon.</p> | <p>We can say “he left and hadn’t asked for pardon” but it will not be a <i>deeprichastiye</i> anymore. As well as participles, the <i>deyeprichastiye</i> is a mixed concept (an adverbial form derived from a verb); they complement other verbs. We could also say Он ушел, не извинившись – he left without apologizing, putting the single verb in the form of <i>deeprichastiye</i> with the same meaning as that of VN.</p> |
| With other <i>deeprichastiye</i> . | <p>-</p> <p>Он значительно помог, вызвав милицию.</p> <p>He significantly</p> | <p>Он подал заявку на стипендию, не сказав никому ни слова.</p> <p>He submitted an</p> | <p>Possible for both verbs and VN.</p> |

²¹⁶ In English terminology, the transgressive.

| | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|---|--|
| | helped (by) calling the police. | application for the scholarship not having said a word to anybody. Он оказал значительную помощь, вызвав милицию. He provided significant help (by) having called the police. | |
|--|---------------------------------|---|--|

2.2.5.10. Passive voice

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|---|
| | | | |
| For active verbal sentences | Тебе помогли только из сострадания. (They) only helped you because of feeling pity. | Помощь тебе была оказана только лишь из сострадания. The help was provided to you only because of feeling pity. Все эти разговоры были проведены только ради пропаганды. All those talks were conducted only for (the sake of) propaganda. | Personal or impersonal verb forms' active voice sentences can be converted into VN passive sentences if there are synonymous verbs and VN. Furthermore, they can be converted into active voice VN sentences. For example, we can say тебе оказали помощь только из сострадания (they only provided help to you because of feeling pity). In the second VN sentence the related verb "to talk" would not really |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|
| | | | be synonymous. <i>NOT ALL VN can be converted into passive voice constructions this way, but only those where N is the patient of V.</i> |
| For passive verbal sentences | <p>Дом был построен в 1990 году. The house was built in 1990.</p> <p>Дом был достроен в 1990 году. The house was completed (lit. finished being build) in 1990.</p> | <p>Строительство дома было осуществлено в 1990 году. The construction of the house was realized in 1990.</p> <p>-</p> <p>Строительство дома было завершено в 1990 году.</p> | <p>The first verbal sentence can be converted into the VN passive voice, but the second can only be translated through a simple word collocation “the construction was finished”.</p> |

2.2.5.11. Other aspects

VN can be found in different clauses of the same sentence, e.g. “Если человеку необходима скорая **помощь**, она будет **оказана** независимо от наличия или отсутствия у него полиса ОМС” (Sigachov, Portnyagina, 2013) – if a person needs urgent **help**, it will be **provided** to him whether they have or do not have the certificate of obligatory medical insurance. In this sentence “help” is an object of the verb “need”, while its VN verb goes in the second part of the sentence in the future passive voice form, functioning as a part of the predicate going together with the subject “it” (in Russian, “she”, as “help” is feminine).

Possibilities of VN are not only limited by grammar and syntax but also may be strongly influenced by their semantics. As we saw above, in various cases in which particular forms/combinations are possible for VN in principle there will always be some VN which cannot follow the general possible scheme due to their meanings. At the same time, possibilities for VN of different subtypes can also vary.

VN, as mentioned in chapter 1, may have synonymous VN, thus, the samples we used are not the only possible interpretations with those particular meanings.

Although, in this work we limited the VN under study to VN-L, we still should take into consideration that many Russian linguists accept predicative combinations as VN and that sometimes the non-predicative ones can be inverted into predicative and vice versa. For example, пожарные данного района **оказывают помощь** пострадавшим (the firefighters of this district are providing help to the victims) and **помощь оказывается** пострадавшим пожарными данного района (help is being provided to the victims by the firefighters of this district). It is important that the second sentence in Russian is **NOT passive**, it is in the active voice but the verb of VN goes in its reflexive form as if help was providing itself to others (lit: help provides-self to the victims by the firefighters of this district). Russian tends to use a significant number of impersonal, reflexive and infinitive sentences. This type of sentence can be also given in the passive voice, where in principle a passive form for the verb is possible. In this example, we can not form it, but we could do so if the sentence was in the past tense.

Gradinarova (2012) highlights that some verbs in Russian (e.g. сожалеть, to feel sorry) only exist in their imperfective form and the only possible perfective equivalent is the corresponding VN.

2.3-. A comparative analysis of VN and verbs in English

2.3.1. General points

As it was mentioned in Chapter 1 for both English and Russian, not all VN can have a related same- or different-root synonymous verb. If we have a look at the following samples – have a shower, give a shower – only one of them can be replaced with “to shower”²¹⁷ (the second one is roughly synonymous to “to wash”). In some cases a VN and a single verb may even appear to be antonymous. Gunkova (2011) also notices that in some VN-verb pairs we can observe a shift in meaning, e.g. between “to love” and “to make love”. Although these 2 samples have the same initial connection and formation model as any other pair, the final meanings are different, although, partially related to each other. However, as well as for Russian and unlike that in Chinese, in English it is usually possible to find a verb with, at least, a similar meaning.

²¹⁷ In Russian, for example, we could use the same verb “to wash” in its regular and reflexive (“to wash oneself”) forms as partial synonyms for these two VN. There is a similar phenomenon in Spanish, too: we can say *duchar* and *ducharse*. In English, it is less probable.

As VN normally have wider possibilities to form combinations with other words and have additional semantic functions it will not always be possible to find a fully analogous way to transmit the same idea through a simple verb.

It can be observed in various examples which we saw above that in English VN have a particular shade of a finite, fractional or quick action – this idea is also widely repeated among research works.

As well as in Chinese and Russian, VN in English can usually be modified by other words and form various combinations. Gunkova (2011) who offers a DS-verb comparison sees 3 principle possibilities for this:

1. quantification;
2. qualification;
3. post-modification.

The first of them is very similar to adding numerals+classifiers in Chinese or to adding numerals in Russian. In various cases when the N in VN is countable it is possible to add numbers or some idea of quantity. Qualification or the giving of a characteristic is another possibility. By post-modification she implies adding a clause or a prepositional phrase with additional information after VN. She highlights that some expressions (like “to have intention”) do not normally appear without a modifier.

Elements which can be used to modify N in these VN are: the indefinite article (to make a mistake), the definite article (to make the mistake), demonstratives (to make this/that mistake), adjectives in varying degrees (to make a big/bigger/the biggest mistake), varying determiners (to make no mistake, to make a few mistakes, to make many mistakes, every mistake we make etc.), emphasizing and exclamation constructions (what a mistake to make, to make such a mistake), possessives (to make my own mistakes), ordinal and cardinal numbers (to make the first mistake, to make at least one mistake), different combinations (o make that kind of mistake, do not make a single spelling mistake, to make one silly mistake).

Speaking about transitivity, the picture in English is basically the same as in Russian: at the level of IS, DV are transitive, at the level of OS they are normally not. Gunkova (2011) notices 3 exceptions: give, make, and do; these can have more direct objects, e.g. give me a kiss, make me a promise. Some VN in Russian can also do this but they are not considered transitive in combinations like “give me” and “make me” as “me” goes in the dative case but transitivity is defined through the ability to have a direct object in the accusative case. At the same time, she

notices that no VN formed with these verbs can be modified into a to-structure (e.g. it is possible to say “give me a kiss”, but “give a kiss to me” is impossible).

One more aspect is the passive voice. Cermakova (2016) who compares the usage of DS in formal and informal speech styles, and notes that passive voice is frequently used in formal texts and speeches and DS formed with abstract nouns contribute to that formality. At the same time, it should be noted that the position of VN in English is somewhere between the positions of Russian and Chinese. On the one hand, they exist in parallel with related verbs and a many nouns in VN are deverbal (like that in Russian). On the other hand, they do not compete with verbs in meaning and can be used neutrally, not replacing a more neutral synonymous verb (like that in Chinese). VN in English are not necessarily stylistically different from related verbs; they may often have (slightly or completely) different meanings and be preferred for other purposes rather than using a particular style. As for the principle ability of DS to be used in the passive voice, she cites Akimoto who proves that all DV apart from “have” can do it and that they often go without “by” added by the subject of the active action.

2.3.2. Main characteristics of verbs and nouns

In English, the verb has the following characteristics: tense, person, number, voice, and mood. Apart from that, English verbs can be preceded by auxiliary/modal verbs, can form the Gerund and past and present participles, and can be transitive or intransitive.

The only main changeable characteristics of nouns in English is their number. Not all nouns can change from singular to plural and vice versa, but many of them do. We can also consider cases, especially the possessive case (as basically the only one for nouns apart from their initial “subjective”/nominative case form).

2.3.2.1. A comparison of VN’s V and verbs

Similar to Russian, as V in VN is a verb, VN can have all the same verbal forms as simple verbs. Let us compare “to have a drink” and “to drink”.

| | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| Infinitives (simple active, perfect active, continuous active, simple bare | To have a drink To have had a drink To be having a drink Have a drink | To drink To have drunk To be drinking Drink | As for the perfect continuous infinitive, I think that, though in theory they are possible |
|---|--|--|---|

| | | | |
|--|---|--|---|
| active) | | | <p>for VN, they will hardly be widely used because of the amount of words. It is shorter to say “to have been drinking” than “to have been having a drink”, although it is not impossible.</p> <p>If we observe passive infinitives, I assume that their usage will be more restricted, first of all, by semantics of VN. Some of them may have it, but others not. For example, we can say “to be given a shower” but we cannot say “to be had a drink” or “to be made a mistake”. Thus, at this point VN must be less frequently used than verbs. At the same time, some VN can have “inner” passive voice, e.g. “a mistake was made”, when the N becomes the passive subject of its own V.</p> |
| Tenses (person and number can vary in each tense, e.g. | I have a drink – she has a drink I had a drink | I drink – she drinks. I drank I will drink | As for the single verb in this particular example, I tend to think |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| <p>I/he/she/it was, they/you/we were etc.)</p> | <p>I will have a drink I am having a drink I was having a drink I will be having a drink I have had a drink I had had a drink I will have had a drink I have been having a drink I had been having a drink I will have been having a drink</p> | <p>I am drinking I was drinking I will be drinking I have drunk I had drunk I will have drunk I have been drinking I had been drinking I will have been drinking</p> | <p>that without an object many of the sentences sound incomplete or unclear (what does “I drink” mean without any context?). As for VN, the majority of sentences sound complete even without a context. I also tend to think that more complex tenses like perfect continuous ones will hardly be used with VN. Although I created example sentences artificially, it may not be connected with VN themselves but rather with the usage of those tenses (e.g. Future Perfect Continuous, in general, is not widely used, and very limited semantically as it denotes actions which will last for a period of time before a particular moment in the future)</p> |
| <p>Passive voice</p> | <p>-</p> | <p>-</p> | <p>As for the verbal example in this case, we can say “I am drunk” but the meaning</p> |

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| | | | of it will be different from drinking and being given to drink. For VN in this particular case it is also impossible. However, for other samples passive voice can be used, e.g. “to be given help”. It is also noticeable that in VN the N itself can be the subject of the passive voice, e.g. “the help was given”. |
| Mood (indicative, imperative, interrogative, subjunctive/conditional) | I have a drink Have a drink! Can I have a drink of water, please? ^{*218} I would like to have a drink | I drink Drink! Can I drink...? I would like to drink... | The possibility to use different mood forms for VN can depend on semantics (e.g. it can sound weird to say “Don’t have a drink!” etc. At the same time, out of context the sentences with VN sound more complete than the verbal ones. |

As we can see, VN and V can basically have the same forms. There are some restrictions, but these are particular cases for each pair rather than rules. Many restrictions can depend on the semantics of each VN and verb, others depend on grammar; but what is more definitive for us, is that in general they can produce the same verbal forms.

In some VN we can also find variations for the number of N. Often depending on semantics or grammar, some VN can change the number, others cannot. For example, we can say “to take

²¹⁸ Here and further in this chapter, all the sentences marked with * are taken from BNC.

photos”, “to have drinks”, but it is not adequate to say “to give helps” (“help” is uncountable) or “to give showers” (the plural form does exist, but with the N in the plural this VN has no sense).

We should also notice that V in VN as well as simple verbs can form participles and the Gerund, but again there can be semantical and grammar restrictions (for more examples, see further).

2.3.2.2. The frequency of verbs and VN in corpora

Let us now look for related verbs for each of our VN samples and compare their frequency in the corpus.

| VN | A related verb of the same root | A synonymous verb of another root | Number of verbal samples ²¹⁹ in the corpora over the number of VN samples |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| To have a meeting | To meet | | 32354 : 778 |
| To take a walk | To walk | | 19882 : 772 : 190 : 50 : 100 |
| To go for a stroll | To stroll | | |
| Go walking | | | |
| To bring a pardon | To apologize | | 1524 : 2 : 8: 110 |
| To seek a pardon | | | |
| To make an apology | | | |
| To have (an) anxiety | | To worry | 7126 : 87 |
| To make an application | To apply | | 18990 : 585 |
| To be in a hurry | To hurry | | 2291 : 668 |
| To have an interest | | To wonder ²²⁰ | 11019 : 904 : 356 |
| To take an interest | | | |
| To catch a cold | ? | | ? : 58 : 151 : 11 |

²¹⁹ As was mentioned above, VN typically correspond with only one verbal meaning. For example, “to have a meeting” is basically meeting some people, but “to meet” can also mean “to meet requirements”, etc. BNC also includes the Gerund into “all” verbal forms, but the Gerund can function as other parts of speech. In the example of “to meet” its -ing form contributes about 4500 samples. This, in any case, does not change the fact that “to meet” shows more than 27,000 entries, but “to have a meeting” only about 778 if we calculate all possible forms. Predictably, verbs must show a much higher frequency in the corpus than VN.

²²⁰ It can be a contextual synonym in some cases, although, in general “to wonder” is not the same as “to be interested in”. There is a related verb “to interest” but it is not close in meaning with “to have an interest in”: *I have an interest in art, but art interests me*. The number of entries for “to interest” in BNC is 739 (33 of them are gerunds).

| | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| To have a cold | | |
| To get (a) fever | | |
| To have a dance | To dance | 3211 : 43 : 57 |
| To do a dance | | |
| To take a vacation | ? | ? : 9 : 165 : 151 |
| To have a holiday | | |
| To have a holiday | | |
| To make a joke | To joke | 1063 : 173 : 32 |
| To have a joke | | |
| To have worries (a worry) | To worry | 7126 : 360 |
| To have an injection | To inject | 980 : 35 : 44 |
| To give an injection | | |
| To give a discount | To discount | 616 : 29 |
| To get a surprise | To surprise | 1601 : 17 |
| To have a smoke | To smoke | 2713 : 32 |
| To take turns | ? | ? : 221 |
| To have a shower | To shower | 363 : 109 : 45 |
| To take a shower | | |
| To take a bath | To bathe | 441 : 50 : 262 |
| To have a bath | | |
| To make a sound | To sound | 9023 : 200 |
| To make a visit | To visit | 10991 : 171 |
| To have a talk | To talk | 28862 : 272 |
| To have a chat | To chat | 1253 : 203 |
| To have a conversation | | 207 |
| To drink a toast | ? | ? : 19 |
| To give help | To help | 39770 : 194 |
| To have a swim | To swim | 2302 : 14 : 34 |
| To go for a swim | | |
| To have a run | To run | 38304 : 68 : 10 : 4 |
| To take a run | | |
| To go for a run | | |
| To have a sleep | To sleep | 6319 : 48 : 45 : 6 : 11 : |
| To have a nap | To nap | 1 |
| To take a snooze | To snooze | |
| To have (a) breakfast | To breakfast | 223 ²²¹ : 156 |

²²¹ Among these entries, although the search was set only for verbal forms, there were many nominal usages of “breakfast”, so, it is highly likely that this proportion is wrong. At the same time, Cambridge Dictionary indicates “to breakfast” as a regular verbal usage for this word. They give the following examples: *She usually breakfasts alone.*

| | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| To have an accident | | To crash | 2109 : 238 |
| To take a photo | To photograph | To capture | 905: 2996 : 76 |
| Do diving | To dive | | 1015 : 1 |
| To take risks | To risk | | 1968 : 573 |
| To do a survey | To survey | To research | 60 |
| To do athletics | ? | | ? : 41 |
| To do judo | ? | | ? : 1 |
| To do karate | ? | | ? : 10 |
| To do gymnastics | ? | | ? : 1 |
| To do motor racing | ? | | ? : 2 |
| To do gardening | To garden | | 18 : 21 |
| To do painting | To paint | To draw | 4176 : 21401 : 38 |
| To do shopping | To shop | | 1580 : 183 : 328 |
| To go shopping | | | |
| To go cycling | To cycle | | 546 : 2 |
| To go fishing | To fish ²²² | | 965 : 96 |
| To go hang gliding | | | ? : 0 |
| To go horse riding | | | ? : 0 |
| To go water-skiing | | | ? : 1 |
| To go ice-skating | | | ? : 6 |
| To go swimming | To swim | | 144 |
| To go skiing | To ski | | 378 : 48 |
| To go rock climbing | | | ? : 1 |
| To go parachuting | To parachute | | 76 : 1 |
| To go travelling | To travel | | 8410 : 8 |
| To go windsurfing | To wingsurf | To surf ²²³ | 28: 191 : 4 |
| To go sailing | To sail | | 2646 : 30 |
| To go skate-boarding | To skateboard | | 23 : 0 |

They breakfasted hurriedly on coffee and toast. The first sentence we can replace with the corresponding VN, as well as with “to eat breakfast”. The second one we can replace with “they ate/had coffee and toast FOR breakfast” but hardly with the VN itself.

²²² Like many other verbs that have VN, this verb has more meanings than just catching fish. Cambridge dictionary gives at least 2 more: to try to find something, using your fingers to look for it, and to try to get something, without asking directly.

²²³ Only one of the meanings of this verb coincides with “to windsurf”.

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|---------|-------------|
| To go dancing | To dance | | 3211 : 58 |
| To go sightseeing | To sightsee ²²⁴ | | ? : 11 |
| To take part | To participate | | 2821 : 3297 |
| To make friends | ? | | ? : 413 |
| To make money | | To earn | 5222 : 868 |
| To make way | ? | | ? : 1883 |
| To make a suggestion | To suggest | | 27806 : 255 |

As we can see, in the majority of cases the number of verbal entries prevails over that of VN. The reasons for this were partially discussed above. There are a few VN which cannot be replaced with verbs as they denote actions which cannot be described by a single verb (e.g. to have a holiday, to catch a cold, etc.); this reminds us of Chinese, but unlike Chinese, in English those are few, thus, rather exceptional.

There are only a few which are more frequent than the corresponding verb: normally in those pairs where the verb can only have one meaning or is not neutral (“to breakfast”, for example, as it belong to the middle class speech only). “To participate” showed smaller frequency than “to take part”. Cambridge Dictionary indicates it as a B2 level word. This verb has no additional meanings apart from being involved in an activity. “To take part” is marked as B1. One more is “to garden” which is less frequent than “to do gardening”. The main usage of “garden” is nominal. The verb “to garden” is marked as only used in American English, which can explain its low frequency in the British Corpus. “To breakfast” formally shows a higher frequency but as it was commented in the footnote, BNC, adds nominal samples in the total number of entries. Considering that the gap between the final number for the verb and the corresponding VN is very low, it is likely that the VN is more frequent.

2.3.2.3. Some related issues

The question which comes out of this is that the frequency we extract from the corpus does not give us any idea about what is more frequent – a VN or a corresponding verb when it means the same as the VN. Here we should also add the fact that BNC makes mistakes in search. For example, if we take “to fish” setting to find all verbal forms it shows 965 entries in general. However, already the first example shows “fish” as a noun: *...if we can only just bring enough fish each and every time...* About the first twenty sentences cite different fishing laws.

²²⁴ This verb is given in Cambridge Dictionary with examples of its usage, but BNC does not recognize it.

Another issue to add to this is the big number of “variants” of English. Chinese is not homogeneous, it comprises of dialects or exists in parallel with other dialects/languages in China, however, it has its official standard – Mandarin Chinese which we learn as L2 or studying in corpora and research papers. Russian, though has local dialects (mainly regarding pronunciation and some specific words) is homogeneous. English, in turn, is divided into British English, American English, Australian English, etc. Even in student books for foreigners, British and American English are not firmly separated. So, any sort of statistics for English is more abstract. We cannot assume that VN forms with “have” are more frequent than those with “take” and vice versa because some of them are more used in the USA, others are more used in the UK. If we take British corpora, the frequency will be truer for Britain than globally correct.

However, these “statistics”, although each particular number may not be completely true, gives us the general idea about the usage of verbs and VN.

In my own perception, in English, verbs describe more stable and constant actions, whereas VN single, one-time, momentary actions. At this sense, verbs are more universal. For example, we can say “fish swim in the sea”, “people swim in the sea”, “I swim in the swimming pool on Mondays” – in all these sentences we cannot easily replace the verb with the corresponding VN. It is rare to say “fish have a swim in the sea” as if they did it occasionally or exceptionally. I also noticed that in some cases, VN where N is plural can denote “stable” and constant actions, e.g. if we say “he always makes suggestions” it is quite similar to “he always suggests (something)”, but in this case the VN sentence sounds to me more complete and possible to use without adding more words (similar to complemented verbs in Chinese), but the second one needs the addition of other words, otherwise what meaning does “he always suggests” have? Another example is “to take photos”, I tend to think that this VN with its N in plural overtakes the verb in usage as any language tends to economise and saying “he always takes photos in this place” seems to be much more natural, short and comfortable than using the long verb “he always photographs in this place”. Saying “he always captures in this place” is basically impossible as “to capture” needs an object. However, even for this pair, we can see that the number of verbal entries is more than 10 times higher than that of the corresponding VN. Some VN like “to have breakfast” where the N has no idea of number can also mean regular actions.

2.3.3. Combinations of verbs and VN

Let us now look at some possible combinations for verbs and VN.

2.3.3.1. Pronouns and determiners

In English there are the following main types of pronoun: personal (I, he, she, it...), possessive (his, your...), demonstrative (such, this, that...), indefinite (none, several, few, everyone, nobody...), interrogative (which, who...), reciprocal (each other, one another), relative (that, who, whom, whoever, which...), reflexive/intensive (itself, myself...). They partially overlap with the so-called determiners, words which go before the noun defining it. As long as both verbs and VN can use pronouns in various ways (mainly as subjects and objects), VN possibilities are higher due to the N within its structure which can accept determiners and those pronouns which only combine with nouns (e.g. demonstrative or possessive ones)²²⁵.

| | Verb | VN | |
|-------------|--|---|--|
| As subjects | <p>I will help you.</p> <p>It helped some (people) and consoled them on poverty.</p> <p>Both of whom helped and encouraged the young man.</p> | <p>O faithful wife, to you I will give help!*</p> <p>To some it gave help in sickness and consolation in poverty*.</p> <p>...both of whom gave help and encouragement to the young man*.</p> | <p>VN in English, as well as in Russian, are not monovalent, so, when they act as predicates, they can generally have all the same subjects as single verbs.</p> |
| As objects | <p>Help him, please.</p> <p>...to help anyone wanting to kick the habit.</p> | <p>Give him help, if he asks for it*.</p> <p>O faithful wife, to you I will give help!*</p> | <p>We can see that in some cases V in VN can add a pronoun-object without a preposition, but sometimes it needs one.</p> |

²²⁵ Different grammar and student books and resources may propose varying classifications of determiners, so, the one given in the table below is not universal, but it comprises the main frequently highlighted subtypes.

| | | | |
|----------------|--|---|---|
| | | ...to give help to anyone wanting to kick the habit*. | This may not be interchangeable. |
| Articles | | We're there for, to give the help and advice that people need on the day...* Why not make a visit to the International Motor Show...* | We cannot place articles with verbs, in this case we can reformulate the sentence from a VN to a verbal one, but it will not have the same logical stress as the original one. It is also possible to use the gerund but the logical stress will be lost in this case. For example: We are there to help and advise on what people need on the day. |
| Demonstratives | | In precisely what form is that help being given?*If you know you can give this help please contact the office at Epsom...* | A particular demonstrative if it is possible to use will coincide in number with the noun. These VN sentences can be paraphrased into verbal ones with similar meanings but using demonstratives will be impossible. |
| Possessives | | Where I made my mistake was in not checking back with his number in Freiburg...* ...it will make your | As we can see down below in the combinations with nouns VN can have possessives. As for possessive pronouns, this |

| | | | |
|------------------|--|--|---|
| | | visit to Royal Windsor complete*. | may vary from VN to VN. For “give help” BNC did not offer any sample sentences but this does not mean that this combination does not exist in principle. The VN sentence for “make a mistake” can be paraphrased into a verbal one but the logical stress will be lost. The verb “to mistake” is not normally used in the sense “to make a mistake”, but rather as “to be wrong about or fail to recognize something or someone” (Cambridge dictionary). |
| Quantifiers | | Under the Communist regime, orphans were treated as mentally handicapped and given little help*. Some help is given at the Driving Instructors' Association test day*. | We can paraphrase this type of sentences but not always with the same exact words (e.g. “giving little help” can be converted into “helping little” or “not helping much” etc., as “little” can also act as an adverb, but, for instance, “some” cannot). |
| Distributives | | You are sure to be given every help by your firm*. | |
| Difference words | | I may have another | BNC did not offer any |

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| (other, another) | | drink, I may not...* He had made another visit as well, about which he had not told the King*. | tokens for “give help” in this case, though “help” can be combined with “other” and even “another” in some cases, but in principle adding other and another to VN is possible and mainly depends on semantics. |
| Various pre-determiners, relative determiners and combinations of several determiners | | But I certainly believe, first of all, we have to give what help we can...* ...with whatever help we give them or with whatever help their family have to give them...* | |

Overall, those VN sentences which include N’s determiners, such as articles etc. are difficult to paraphrase into verbal ones because determiners are that group of words which precede nouns and modify them, thus, those sentences lose that logical stress on the N which they have as the N is emphasized (“determined”) by this category of words. It is possible to find a way to convey similar ideas through single verbs but the stylistics tends to be different.

2.3.3.2. Different verbal forms and combinations with other verbs

| | Verb | VN | |
|------------------|---|--|--|
| With infinitives | Julie was helped to increase her level of mobility... ...successful applicants are helped | Julie was given help to increase her level of mobility...* ...successful applicants are given | Both VN and verbs can freely combine with various infinitives, but it is not always possible to paraphrase a |

| | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| | to develop... | help to develop...* Her mental scars will take time to heal* . Perhaps I'll have a bath to see if that helps this backache...* | VN-sentence into a verbal one. |
| In the form of different infinitives | ...the Philippines and Thailand, to be helped with artificial propagation... ...it provides each student with access to someone ready and willing to help and advise on any matter which might affect his or her academic performance. | ...the Philippines and Thailand, to be given help for artificial propagation...* ...it provides each student with access to someone ready and willing to give help and advice about any matter which might affect his or her academic performance*. | The first sample is not fully synonymous, as “to be given help for ...propagation” seems to be similar to receiving some (material) resources for the needs of that propagation, but “to be helped with” seems to mean that they cannot do the propagation themselves, so they need help with its realization. |
| With the gerund | If they were found worthy they were helped, including cash and the tools to carry on a trade... ...wives may be helped with re-entering employment...* | If they were found worthy they were given help, including cash and the tools to carry on a trade...* ...wives may be given help in re-entering employment...* | The Gerund can be used in various ways: as a verb, an adjective, an active participle, etc. Depending on its function it can relate to different parts of VN (only to V, only to N or to the VN as a whole). According to that we can, or cannot, paraphrase the VN sentences into verbal |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---|--|--|
| | | | <p>ones using the gerund.</p> <p>We should also notice that there are some verbs which prefer pairing with the Gerund in general, others with infinitives, others (like “to try”) with both but conveying different meanings.</p> |
| In the form of the gerund | <p>We shall be visiting takeaways over the next six months and helping where it is needed.</p> <p>My objective has been to strengthen the recovery by helping business.</p> <p>...helping means giving time, thought and effort.</p> | <p>We shall be visiting takeaways over the next six months and giving help where it is needed*.</p> <p>My objective has been to strengthen the recovery by giving help to business*.</p> <p>...giving help means giving time, thought and effort*.</p> <p>Scotland's Yvonne Murray made no mistake, easing into second place in her heat*.</p> <p>The teacher does not make the mistake of finding a game that has all the stereotype trappings of horror and mystery*.</p> | <p>VN in the form of the gerund can also perform various functions (e.g. that of the subject, predicate, object, etc., or if we refer to the part of speech – of a noun, a verb, an active particle, etc.). So, basically VN in the form of the Gerund can do the same as verbs.</p> |

| | | | |
|--|---|--|---|
| With past participles (see active participles in the Gerund) | | | If V in VN goes in the form of the participle, it is the passive voice form (e.g. “a photo taken in the studio...”). Past participles are also involved in forming perfect tenses and conditionals, which we compared above. They can also function as adjectives, and in these cases they can pair with N in VN, e.g. “a written task”, “the required help” etc. |
| In the form of participles | ...so that the child could be helped and guided to meet his special needs. | ...so that the child could be given help and guidance to meet his special needs*. | |

2.3.3.3. Nouns

| | Verb | VN | |
|---|---|--|--|
| Nouns related to different parts or to the whole VN | The report criticises the authority for not helping the family . She'd have been helped by the Lord Chancellor's Department... Under this alliance the Black Prince agreed to help Pedro with his | The report criticises the authority for not giving help to the family...* She'd have been given help by the Lord Chancellor's Department...* Under this alliance the Black Prince | |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|---|--|---|
| | enemies... | agreed to give Pedro help against his enemies...* | |
| Nouns related to the V in VN | ...so that the child could be helped and guided... | ...so that the child could be given help and guidance... * | This is not equally possible for all VN, but possible for those which have related verbs very close to them in meaning. |
| Possessive relationship | | The Authority's main help is given through the inspectorate...* | We can paraphrase this VN-sentence into a verbal one with a similar meaning but it will not include the possessive as that can only be used with nouns. |

2.3.3.4. Adjectives

| Verb | VN |
|---|--|
| <p>...so that each child can be helped and encouraged in a specific way...</p> <p>...they wanted to help to Moscow's reforms (again/one more time/in a new way)...</p> <p>...had not been helped artificially to survive since February 22...</p> <p>...the Budget failed to help substantially to disabled people*.</p> <p>...in these cases the museum catalogue can help definitively.</p> <p>The French government helped similarly to some young Frenchmen...</p> <p>...who have helped generously and advised...</p> <p>They may also be able to tell you about local</p> | <p>...so that each child can be given specific help and encouragement...*</p> <p>...they wanted to give new help to Moscow's reforms...*</p> <p>...had not been given artificial help to survive since February 22...*</p> <p>...the Budget failed to give substantial help to disabled people*.</p> <p>...in these cases the museum catalogue can give definitive help*.</p> <p>The French government gave similar help to some young Frenchmen...*</p> <p>...who have given generous help and advice...*</p> <p>They may also be able to tell you about local</p> |

| | |
|---|--|
| organisations which helped practically with gardening or decorating. ...at the foot of the page to help immediately with the meaning of unknown words. | organisations which give practical help with gardening or decorating*. ...at the foot of the page to give immediate help with the meaning of unknown words. |
|---|--|

We can notice that in some cases it is possible to paraphrase VN-sentences into verbal ones without losing the general idea, substituting adjectives with related same-root or other adverbs and word combinations. However, we can also notice that it is not always possible, as, for example, “artificial help” and “helping artificially” are not the same. When we paraphrase an adjective + VN combination into an adverb+verb combination we need to be sure that the adjective and the adverb have absolutely synonymous meanings. For instance, Cambridge dictionary defines “definitively” as “*in a way that is not able to be changed or improved*” and “definitive” as “*not able to be changed or improved*” and “*considered to be the best of its type*”. The first meaning of the adjective can be replaced by the adverb in this case. In some cases, the position in the sentence may also play its role, e.g. “practically helped” may sound as “almost helped”, but “helped practically” is more similar to “helped in a practical way”.

2.3.3.5. Adverbs

| Verb | VN |
|------|---|
| | Help already given by BNA has gone long way towards expiation of political crimes*. ...the crown occasionally gave some help...* ...girls admitted they still made the mistake...* |

In Russian, we observed the following situation: when a VN and its related verb are synonymous in the context, they can use the same adverb, though, some VN prefer adjectives. It depends on semantics: adverbs characterize the action, but the action in VN is described through the N, but there are some related adjectives which we cannot use with the N with the same meaning as the adverb. In English, nouns in VN seem to be better able to accept adjectives which would characterize them as adverbs do with verbs. Although VN can accept adverbs, in the majority of tokens in BNC we can see that they prefer adjectival forms. Let us compare the “give help” VN in English and Russian:

In both we can say “to give immediate help” (оказать незамедлительную помощь), but saying “fast help” in Russian is impossible. In English too it would be unusual, we would prefer to

use the adverb instead. BNC as well does not show any combinations with “fast”. At the same time, we can use “fast” as the adverb in Russian for the same VN: быстро оказать помощь. In English it would not be so usual for this particular VN, as well as it is difficult to find this combination.

Al-Shemmary (ND) cites Duskova saying that “that there is, undoubtedly, a relationship between adjectives in delexical structures and adverbs of analogous single verbs as in the following examples: (22)- Have a quick shower. (23)- To shower quickly”. Another difference that we also observed in Russian is that VN can also use adverbs as they include V, but single (action) verbs cannot use adjectives this way; and when a VN can use both an adjective and a related adverb there can be discrepancies between the usage of each. For example, in the book of Alan J Porter “My journey with Joseph” (2009) we can find the following sentence: “After driving nearly one hundred and thirty miles in the unbearable heat, all I wanted to do was to **quickly have a shower** and collapse on a bed”. “Quickly have a shower” and “have a quick shower” sound synonymous, but we can notice a particular shift in the logical stress: in the first case, it is on “quickly”, in the second – on “shower”. As if in the first example the speed of the process was the main focus (at the same time it seems that VN is used to re-emphasize that the process is short or fast), but in the second one it is the process of showering itself. Also, we need to notice that not all adjectives are applicable to all nouns or may form a weird combination or there may be a difference between an adjective and a related adverb when used with VN. For example, the difference between “to give help fast” and “to give fast help” is in what “fast” characterizes. “To give help fast” is to help as soon as possible, but “to give a fast help” is like to help a little, briefly.

There are also adverbs which have no similar adjective, for example, still. In this case, both VN and a related single verb will have to use the same adverb. Also, there are numeral adverbs (like once, twice, thrice etc.) which, in theory, correspond with numbers/numerals, but, if we compare “I made a mistake **once** when a teacher told me that there wasn't prejudice in this school”* and “I made one mistake when a teacher told me that there wasn't prejudice in this school” we will see that the meanings, though close, are still different. Making one mistake and making a mistake once are not the same. First of all, we can see a clear stylistical difference: “one mistake” is something very clear, we know that there was just one mistake made, not two, not three etc; “mistake” in this case sounds emphasized because “one” is used to sound precise. “Once” in turn does not highlight the number of “mistakes” but rather shows us that the action happened in an unidentified period of time in the past (similar to the perfect aspect), and what is highlighted is the very fact of the action having happened.

2.3.3.6. Passive voice

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--|--|---|
| | | | |
| “Outer” passive voice | ...one hundred local firms have been helped . | ...one hundred local firms have been given help *. | By “outer” passive voice I imply that VN with V in its passive form pairs with another subject. |
| “Inner” passive voice | | Help is given with these two-hour courses by the farm's manager...* | By “inner” passive voice I imply that N of VN becomes the subject of the passivized V. |

Vrbinc (2005: 68) notices that there can be some DS which have no passive voice at all or that passive voice is rarely used for them (such as “give way”) and those for which there are 2 types of passivization:

“[...] the regular passive in which the direct object becomes subject (labelled (1) below), and a less acceptable passive construction in which the prepositional object becomes subject (labelled (2) below):

- (1) A terrible mess has been made of the house.
- (2) The house has been made a (terrible) mess of.
- (1) Was (any) allowance made for inflation?
- (2) Was inflation made allowance for?
- (1) (Good) care was taken of the children.
- (2) The children were taken (good) care of.

In Type b, on the other hand, the only acceptable passive is the irregular passive in which the prepositional object becomes the subject. Traffic on the major road should be given way to.”

In general, it is possible to notice that some VN can have two (I would call them “inner” and “outer”) passive functions, e.g. *he was given help* and *all possible help was given to him*. While some can only have the “outer” one pairing with other subjects and some can have no passive voice. For instance, it can hardly be possible to transform “to have a look” into the passive voice (both “a look was had” and “he was had a look” are incorrect).

2.3.3.7. Combinations of words

| | Verb | VN | |
|----------------------|---|---|--|
| Various combinations | <p>Cossiga visited Berlin in 2 days.</p> <p>...and an offence to photographe people on private property on a long distance...</p> <p>She laughed in an amused way.</p> <p>Too short to help him the way he needed.</p> <p>You offered to help her with her career, too*.</p> <p>I can only hope that we helped and supported her sufficiently/enough when the problems came along.</p> <p>...you are ready to help her any way she needs to adjust to her new and different life.</p> | <p>Cossiga made two-day visit to Berlin*.</p> <p>...and an offence to take long-distance photos of people on private property...*</p> <p>She gave an amused laught**.</p> <p>He gave a vogue reply**²²⁶.</p> <p>Too short to give him the help he needed.</p> <p>You offered to give her some help with her career, too*.</p> <p>I can only hope that we gave her sufficient help and support when the problems came along*.</p> <p>...you are ready to give her any help she needs to adjust to her new and different life.</p> | <p>As we can see some words which are used with single verbs can combine to become a single adjective for N in VN.</p> <p>Another wide-spread combination is an article + an adjective.</p> <p>One more frequent possibility is a pronoun (the person who receives the action) and an adjective or a determiner.</p> |

²²⁶ The sentences marked with ** are from "Alive to language..." (Arndt, Harvey, Nuttall, 2000).

It is noticeable that in BNC the most frequent combinations are those which only include one word (typically an article or a determiner) between V and N.

Sometimes, the words related to VN can be placed far from the VN itself, e.g. “**Big or small**, everyone hates to make mistakes but they happen”²²⁷. In this sentence “big or small” are related to “mistakes”, but the whole combination is placed at a distance from the VN.

We can see that, though in many cases we can find a way to paraphrase a VN sentence into a verbal one, it is difficult to make it completely synonymous, at least semantically and in stylistically. We observed the general possibilities for VN and verbs, but each particular sample can have its own restrictions depending on many criteria such as semantics and stylistics etc.

Bartsch (2004:170) comments:

“Despite the parallel existence of these seemingly synonymous expressions – full verb and delexical verb collocation – there is a systematic difference between the two. Whereas the full verb places the focus of the expression on the actual process or action of the communicative act, the delexical verb combination shifts the focus on the event of the verbal act of communication. The verb in *to advise somebody on an issue* has the process of advising as its focus whereas the delexical combination counterpart, *to give advice to somebody* shifts the attention to the event. Delexical word combinations thus allow a subtle stylistic shift of focus”.

At the same time, we can see that in the grammatical and syntactical aspects the difference is not as large: as VN have a verb, they can basically have all the same verbal forms and combinations with other words, and perform similar functions in a sentence. However, at the same time they include a noun and determiners, attributives and other elements related to the noun can be added.

2.3.4. Main conclusions

To summarize, we have seen that in Chinese the difference between VN and verbs mainly lay in the area of grammar and syntax: in the majority of cases they exist in parallel, and are not connected with each other, so the most significant difference is their interaction with other words in a sentence and the rules according to which they function under different circumstances. In English and Russian VN and verbs in the majority of cases exist in “pairs” and V in VN basically performs

²²⁷ A sentence from an open Google search, the original page is available at: <https://phanta.com/know-how/recover-from-making-a-mistake/>.

all the same functions as a regular related single verb, so, the discrepancies in usage tend to be more a question of stylistics, making various emphases in speech, highlighting specific aspects.

CHAPTER III. AN INTERLINGUISTIC COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LIHECI

3.1-. General comparison

3.1.1. The basic composition

In the previous chapters we paid little attention to the inner structure of *liheci*, focusing on the way they function in sentences and combinations with other words and looking at how their behaviour differs from that of verbs. However, in this chapter we will need to look at the IS in a more detailed way, as the inner structure of *liheci* and their counterparts in other languages is the main discrepancy which influences other, less significant differences.

When we speak about *liheci* in Chinese, **we deal with character-morphemes, but not with completely independent words**, thus, we can assume *liheci* to be single words which can split up. A particular role in this may be attributed to the tendency in Modern Chinese to form polysyllabic words from ancient monosyllabic ones. This cannot be done in Indo-European languages which we observed as in those languages speakers operate with independent words. They may not be semantically independent when together but as soon as they are split up, each of those two parts will behave independently, having its own meaning and making combinations with other words. They will not merge into one word in the near future, if ever. Overall, **in Chinese we have two morphemes being united in one word (or a proto-word), in the other languages we have two words united in a supra-word structure.**

3.1.2. The parts of speech of the elements and related issues

Another important aspect is when we deal with Indo-European *liheci*-like constructions in the majority of cases we can clearly define the parts of speech of each part, whether they are verbs, nouns, substantivied adjectives etc. In Chinese, due to the original absence of parts of speech, plus the fact that those morphemes do not normally function as independent words anymore, the quality of each part remains unclear. In this context, **in Indo-European languages, having a verb and its noun/substantivied complement in the structure is defining, but in Chinese we need to be sure about both IS (having a verb and a noun-like complement) and OS (functioning together as a verb).**

3.1.3. *Liheci* and verbs

Another thing to consider is that in Chinese *liheci* are as neutral as verbs, and in the majority of cases they convey those verbal meanings for which there are simply no verbs; that is to say, they exist in parallel with simple verbs; while in Russian and English, VN tend to have synonymous verbs and differ from them, first of all, stylistically. In Chinese *liheci* seem to be a medium stage of word formation (or we can even consider them a word-formation principle). They have no direct connection with synonymous verbs, they do not replace them for the sake of semantics and stylistics, so, the question in Chinese is more about grammaticalization. We can even observe many signs of *liheci* moving toward being completely united words. In the other languages, though it can be a shift from synthetic to analytical languages, it is still rather a question of semantic and stylistic differences at the moment: VN are directly connected or made of corresponding verbs, they primarily differ in the meaning they convey and much less in grammar or syntax. We can add to this that for native speakers, when both a verb and a *liheci* exist, *liheci* appears to be more widely used in spoken Chinese (see further about the history and the appendix for the poll results). It sounds less formal and more neutral. However, in English and Russian VN have additional semantic differentiation. They may refer to an action shorter than that of the correlated verb, it may include a particular stylistical undertone, it may be preferred in some special speech styles such as the official speech style, it may even form fixed expressions used in highly formal written documents.

3.1.4. Lexical and other properties of the elements

Another point to notice is that in English and Russian we can observe the same tendency: in VN combinations the verb becomes to a high extent delexicalized and the noun gives the meaning

to the whole combination. The verb, as was previously mentioned, is not completely deprived of its semantic meaning, as it may preserve some general aspects such as giving-taking etc., but separately it may have a completely different meaning (e.g. in English DV without nouns are used in their primary meanings, like make – to create, take – to grab, etc.) or no clear meaning at all (this is especially evident in Russian where some verbs out of their VN combinations have no real translatable meaning at all). In Chinese, this is not the case. We cannot definitively say that the first part plays the grammatical role and the second one the semantic role. The meaning of VN may be spread between both or, in case of proto-*liheci*, be held primarily in the first element. For Chinese this is more a question of etymology, the basis on which two morphemes were united into a single word. At the same time, in English and Russian parts of VN, if separated, normally have a related meaning to the whole, as the semantics is held in the N. In Chinese, rather often if we separate *liheci*, their parts have no related meaning with the whole VN or this meaning is only derivable through metaphorization.

3.1.5. VN formation models

In Russian and English, we observe rather stable models for VN formation: there are lists of verbs which tend to unite with some types of nouns to form a VN. In Chinese, though there are some multisemantical verbs like 开, 打, 发, we still cannot find strict and productive fixed models of formation. For example, we have 帮忙, but we will not find any other *liheci* with the verb 帮 and another noun; we have 生病 and 生气, but we cannot find other combinations with 生. Chinese *liheci* seem to be a result of a particular formation in a particular period of time but not general and developing models.

We can also see, especially in Russian, that there are “interrelated” VN, synonymous, antonymous, formed from the same verb, etc. In Chinese, they basically exist separately; each of them denoting one particular verbal meaning which is normally not presented by any verb.

Furthermore, we saw that in some cases in English and Russian VN can include more than two elements (when in AB B is a fixed sum of $B_1 + B_2$) but in Chinese those cases are much more difficult to find and can be considered rather exceptional (whether it is due to the 儿 suffix which only contributes to pronunciation or due to a rare 2-syllable noun which paired with a polysemantic verb, such as 开玩笑 or 感兴趣). In terms of words, in Chinese we always deal with two words but in Russian and English it is not strict.

Those are some very general ideas which we can summarize from the previous chapters. In this part we are to pay attention to further details.

3.2-. The history of VN formation

3.2.1. In Russian

In Russian, as it was previously mentioned, the general V+N model was formed in the X-XI centuries (Laguzova, 2003) and the majority of modern OGIO in Russian were formed in the late XVIII – early XIX centuries on the basis of the verbal loss of its precise meaning with the usage of the model which existed in Old Russian. One of the most ancient examples which Laguzova shows in her work is VN with the verb “to come (into)” (*priyti v* прийти в) which could make combinations with a big chain of different nouns, such as come into love (*priyti v ljubov'*), come into anger (*priyti v gnev*), come into glory (*priyti v slavu*), etc. We can notice that, though now this model is not so productive. There still remain in the modern Russian language some OGIO made with it: to come into furiosity *priyti v yarost'* or *priyti v beshenstvo*. Now, the N in this combination cannot be freely replaced with other words, even if they are synonymous, for example, we cannot say “come into anger” (*priyti v zlost'*) because it simply does not exist, so we can suppose that the original OGIO model became drastically less productive²²⁸; in modern Russian, according to Laguzova (2003), it can only be combined with nouns which mean intensive states/feelings which are actively expressed in the outer world. Indeed, we can notice that nowadays it is possible to say “come into excitement” (*priyti v vostorg*) but impossible to say “come into love” or “come into happiness” because love and happiness describe constant long-term states. At the same time, it is noticeable that, although with some changes, the model formed in the X (!) century still productively functions in the language.

Different OGIO models appeared in varying periods of time in Russian. At some stages they could be more or less productive, and some were adopted from other languages. Laguzova (2015) gives some examples, among which one with the verb “to express” *vyrazit'* and an accusative case' noun which came to Russian from French in the XVIII century. She notices that some OGIO models were already formed in the period of the Slav language, while the majority of elements which formed OGIO appeared later, between the X and the XVII centuries; and their further developments in the XVIII-XIX centuries was due to the development of different book genres, such as official documents and written fiction. She highlights that OGIO keep developing and in Modern Russian they spread through the printed means of mass media, in journals, military memoirs and literature, and that development is connected with the expanding valency of the verbs,

²²⁸ There are more nouns which can be combined with “come into”: *priyti v zameshatelstvo*, *priyti v uzhas*, *priyti v otchayaniye*, *priyti v vostorg* and others.

their ability to unite with new nouns which have recently appeared in the language to describe new notions. She notices that OGIO which are typical of written styles now adopt words which are only used in spoken Russian, including those words which do not exist in literary Russian (e.g. slang words). Many combinations have become the so-called “speech stamps” (fixed expressions which are always used in their actual form, especially popular in bureaucratic documents and speeches), e.g. to make a written inquiry *delat’ pismennyi zapros*. It can also be used now to highlight different stylistical features of a particular speech, such as irony. At the same time, Laguzova (2003) notices that there is no comprehensive investigation which would describe the history of OGIO.

3.2.2. In English

In English, the history of DS is much better studied than that of their counterparts in Russian. Patricia Ronan (ND) says:

“Light verb constructions have been investigated in the different periods of English, but typically from a synchronic perspective of the period in question rather than from a diachronic perspective [...] Akimoto & Brinton (1999) [...] investigate the Old English equivalents of the light verbs which are most frequent in contemporary English, namely *dōn*, *macian*, *sellan*, *giefan*, *niman* and *habban*. Potential period-specific light verbs are not identified. [...] For the Middle English period, Denison (1981) is a comprehensive survey of different kinds of group verbs in one text, the *Ormulum*, while Matsumoto (1999; 2008) draws on a large corpus in which she identifies uses of the most frequent light verbs. Ronan (2012b) investigates especially the use of foreign-derived predicate nouns in some Chaucer materials. For the Early Modern period, Hiltunen (1999) investigates light verbs in drama texts, Tanabe (1999) studies their use in the Paston Letters, while Kytö (1999) examines collocational and idiomatic properties of the most frequent verbs in the combinations. Claridge (2000) is a corpus-based study of different kinds of group verbs in the roughly 1.2 million word Lampeter Corpus, which spans the period from 1640 to 1740 (Claridge 2000: 5). Claridge (2000: 5, 132) identifies 32 verbs which are used in 241 light verb constructions, with *make*, *take*, *give*, *have*, *put* and *do* leading the table, followed by *be*, *set*, *lay*, *beg*, *call*, *stand*, *crave*, *run*, *see* and *bring* with more than 10 tokens each (2000: 122).”.

According to Algeo (1995), the boost of DS formation in English was closely connected with the loss of inflections (which began in the Old English period) which differentiated the part of

speech and further freer conversion of verbs into nouns. Ronan (ND), in the part of her investigation devoted to Old English, finds 93 DV tokens and the most frequent of them do not coincide with those which we saw in Modern English. They are: *fremman* – to perform, *niman* – to take, *habban* – to have, *wyrcean* – to work, cause, *dōn* – to do, *sellan* – to give. She supposes that the usage of DV in that period was strongly dependent on the genre of the text (the highest usage was detected in the poetic text *Beowulf*). In Middle English, she notices a significant change from the previous period. The list of the most frequent DV modifies into: have, make, do, take, and give; and the general usage of DV increased. In Modern English, the usage rose again.

Apart from general historical overviews, it is also possible to find more particular etymological analysis of DV and N, e.g. Klich (2010) shows the etymology of “make” as a DV:

[...] the earliest known use of this verb comes from Middle Low German *māken*, and Old High German *mahhōn* (Middle High German *machen*, German *machen*). [...] Further etymology is uncertain. Old English *macian* and *gemacian* (which continued into Middle English as *imake*) are much less common than DO v. [...] In Old English, senses of make like: to produce [...], then to cause to be, to render, and to appoint to the office of; to raise to the dignity of; to create (a person) a noble [...]

3.2.3. In Chinese

In Chinese there are various works which investigate the history of *liheci* formation. Li, Chao (2007) highlight that without knowing the origin of *liheci* we cannot understand the phenomenon comprehensively. According to them, the very first *liheci* appeared in the Song period (X-XIII centuries). In a grammar reference book of that period they found two samples:

- *Chang re/ruo* 唱喏 (a type of male etiquette in ancient times and a “greeting” sound made at the time of greeting);
- *Chiku* 吃苦 (to suffer (from troubles)). They notice that this sample existed even earlier, in the Tang period (VII-X centuries).

Both words had *liheci* usage, could go together and could split up. At the same time, they say that even in the Yuan period (XIII-XV centuries) the number of existing *liheci* was very small. In three different published pieces of that time, they again only found two words: *baochou* 报仇 (to take revenge) and *suixin* 随心 (to follow one’s heart, to live according to one’s dreams). A very

interesting fact they notice, is that **at the very beginning of *liheci* formation all of them belonged to the verb-object type.**

In the Ming period (XIV-XVII centuries) the growth of the number of *liheci* was rather fast. They found 125 verb-object samples and included in the general table some samples which we rejected in our research (e.g. 出来, 认真 etc.) (only 6 in total). Two of those six, compound words 安心 and 白眼 showed a verb-object *liheci* behavior. The authors also say that some words, like 洗澡, may alter their behaviour in different works of varying periods; 洗澡, originally a compound of two words with the same (or very close) verbal meaning, suddenly started behaving as a verb and a noun/object in *Jinping mei cihua* 金瓶梅词话 (“Plum flowers in a golden vase”, 1617, a novel). They cite Zhou Yuan who noticed the following sequence in word development: a combination of separated word collocations -> compound -> verb-object *liheci*. Li Liang thinks that non-VO compounds have to change their behaviour to be VO-like as only VO combinations in the end can be *liheci* (when separated the parts behave as V and O regardless of their original qualities as we noticed in the 1st chapter), but for the comfort of usage in spoken Chinese, people start using other non-VO structures as *liheci*. I would suppose that for Chinese which is rather restricted by its word order rules and the absence of flexivity *liheci* are a comfortable way to make the language more flexible, to keep, on the one hand, the conveyed idea clear and at the same time to avoid syntax and grammar complications which would appear if using unsplittable verbs. *Liheci* are more “creative” and “compact” than simple verbs.

The authors show that, unlike modern Chinese where three morphemes (了, 着, 过) appear between V and N more often, in the previous periods in the majority of cases they splitted up to accept 了. They believe that one of the reasons why *le* started appearing between the two elements instead of going after them is that the verbal particle *le* was easy to confuse with the grammar (tense) word *le*.

Li, Chao (2007) say that many authors dedicated their works to the question of *liheci* formation. They refer to Wang saying that one of the reasons why *liheci* appeared in the language is that sentences describe events and within events the most important elements to describe them are verbs and nouns; *liheci* include both verbs and nouns, so they are used to describe events. They also highlight the conclusions of some other authors, emphasizing that modern Chinese, unlike monosyllabic Old Chinese, prefers to operate with disyllabic structures and keeps forming them slowly but some of those structures have not fixed their functions yet.

There are as well works which investigate the development of particular *liheci* samples in history.

We may suppose that the most general reason of VN formation in languages are the fact that a verb + a noun combination is, as stated above, the most useful form to describe actions. However, we may also notice that the particular development of this combination in each language may be different due to its specifics. It is interesting that in Chinese single morphemes used to unite into two-morpheme compounds and then split up to be *liheci*. At this aspect, we abundantly see the main difference of Chinese *liheci* and its western analogues which is completely due to the features of the Chinese language itself: we operate with to some extent meaningful morphemes which can unite into meaningful words, while in Indo-European languages we operate with normally meaningful words which form supra-word combinations.

With the history of *liheci* formation in mind we can address once again the question of compounding, parts of speech and word collocations. It seems rather clear that historically *liheci* appeared as word collocations which in some cases were used unsplit and in others split. Some of them like *xizao* could appear on the basis of compounding or other polysyllabic word formation methods which we briefly named in the 1st chapter. Later, *liheci* started being not only a particular combination but a word formation principle as well. The principle was so comfortable that other words which were originally unsplittable adopted it to split up. Those combinations became stable and moved to the state of single words. The words which originally formed them became morphemes, independently unproductive in many cases, which cemented the combinations as single words. The compounding which we can find in the history of *liheci* and modern *liheci* is not the same. Compounding creates a new, fixed combination which acts as one word from several independent words and describes constant, fixed notions. In “Complex Lexical Units. Compounds and Multi-Word Expressions” (2019) they compare “grass frog” and “grass slug”, the first being a compound, the second, not. According to the authors, first of all, “a lexical item functions as a semantical, or conceptual unit. [...] grass frog refers to a unitary concept, a certain species. [...] By contrast, while speakers of English will be able to assign an interpretation for grass slug, they do not have stored it as a unit together with a certain conventional concept, or stable referent”. There are compounds in Chinese, like *daguaner* which was discussed in the first chapter, but first of all, modern *liheci* are not compounds because they do not consist of productive words. At the same time, the meaning of words in compounds are very clear and the compound to a high degree is a sum of its parts, whether they are endocentric or exocentric²²⁹. Let us say a grass frog is a frog abiding in the grass where “grass” has a very clear meaning of a type of low green plant and frog is a particular animal; for *liheci* as we have seen before it is not the same. In Russian and English VN are not compounds as

²²⁹ An endocentric compound is a direct sum of its parts, e.g. a grass frog is a type of frog. Exocentric compounds are not so transparent in meaning, e.g. a pickpocket is not a type of pocket, but a person who picks from pockets. However, as we can see the general idea in both cases is still summing up the meanings of the parts.

well. In “Complex Lexical Units. Compounds and Multi-Word Expressions” (2019) there is a reference to Gaeta, Ricca (2009) who define four criteria to distinguish between compounds and other expressions: morphological+ lexical+, morphological+ lexical-, morphological- lexical+, morphological- lexical-. Compounds belong to the 1st type: they are a result of a morphological process (uniting stems to form a new word) and stored as lexical items. Non-morphological but lexical items are multi-word expressions (MWE), such as “hit the road” or “heavy smoker”.

Regarding parts of speech, as discussed before, in Chinese, we can consider *liheci* a part of speech, but in Russian and English it is impossible.

In all the three languages VN are a subject to varying disputes.

Let us now move to the comparison of samples. I consider this case study important as it may have a purely practical implication in teaching Chinese as a second language and it can promote further understanding of the phenomenon under study in all the three languages.

3.3-. Case study

睡觉

shuijiao

*Proto-*liheci*

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additonal options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| To sleep a sleep | Погружаться в сон | To have a sleep | To have a nap To take a snooze |

The Russian equivalent for this sample is not stylistically neutral, besides, it is not fully synonymous as it means “to fall asleep”, rather than “to sleep”.

Being a proto-*liheci*, this sample can omit its second part and act as a monosyllabic verb. In Russian and English, it is impossible.

We can see that in Russian N is not the patient of V, it is used with a preposition (into) and appears in the accusative case.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

...天天 12 点睡觉, 每天晚自习, 早自习...

Every day go to sleep at 12, every night self-study, every morning self-study...

Каждый день ложиться спать в 12, вечером учиться, утром учиться...

In this sentence it would be impossible to translate the Chinese sample with its English and Russian equivalents, as in English “to have a sleep” means a short, limited in time, action, but in the original sentence there is no idea of limitedness, it only says that the actor goes to sleep late (at midnight) and sleeps until early morning when continues to self-study. The Russian counterpart is stylistically inappropriate.

...“水饺”的原始信息是“睡觉”

The original message of “dumplings” is “sleeping”. Изначальное значение пельменей в бульоне – это «сон».

This sentence is based on a word play: “dumplings (in water)” in Chinese has the same pronunciation as our *liheci* sample – “*shuijiao*”. In this case it would be possible to use “having a sleep” instead of “sleeping” in English, as well as in Russian. Depending on the translator it would be possible to interpret the word play through «погружать (пельмени) в воду» - «погружаться в сон» (to “dive” (put) dumplings into water - to dive (oneself) into dream): *изначальный смысл погружения пельменей в воду – это погружение в сон*. However, without imitating this word play, the usage of the Russian equivalent would be impossible.

例如“吃饭之前先洗手、睡觉之前吃了一片安眠药”也可以...

For example, “washing one’s hands before eating, taking a sleeping pill before sleeping” is also possible. Например, «мыть руки перед едой, принимать снотворное перед сном» - тоже допустимо.

In this case it would be possible but not really justified to use the equivalents in translation. We can notice that when the sample is used unsplit it mainly functions as a verb or a noun, which requires a verbal, gerund or noun translation in English and Russian. Another obstacle for translating it through VN is that in Chinese this sample is absolutely stylistically neutral but in English and Russian no.

There is a sentence where using VN can be preferable in English: “饥时吃饭, 困时睡觉”. It literally means “eat when hungry, sleep when tired” but stylistically the accent could be (better) placed a different way: when hungry, eat something, when tired, have a sleep. However, using the Russian equivalent is impossible here as it is not fully synonymous.

In some sentences in CCL this sample can be translated as “to fall asleep” according to the context – in these ones it can be acceptable to use the Russian equivalent if it is not too different stylistically. For example, 当天晚上下车很晚了, 我就睡觉了 (that day at night I got off the car late, and (immediately) fell asleep) or 我唱两句她就睡觉了 (I sang two lines, she immediately fell asleep): in these two sentences we can equally use the given VN and the verb *zasnut** (to fall asleep).

Now let us look at some split samples.

...回家后先是睡不着觉...

After returning home, firstly could not sleep (fall asleep). После прибытия домой первое время (поначалу) не мог заснуть (спать).

This is probably the most frequent combination. In the original Chinese sentence *shuijiao* is split up by the potential infix *bu* and the complement of result *zhao*. This combination means “not to be able to sleep (fall asleep)”. In this case using English VN is impossible as there is no idea of limitedness. Russian VN is impossible to use as well as it is inappropriate stylistically.

有人说这孩子睡着觉就生出来了。

Some people say this child was born sleeping. Говорят, что этот ребенок родился спящим.

In this case it would be possible to translate the original Chinese sentence through English and Russian VN, however, it would not be neutral in style (in the Chinese extract without context it is not clear whether it is a fact or, for example, an irony, so, we can accept some VN translations in the latter case). For example, “they say this child was even born while taking a nap” – irony; этот ребенок родился погруженный в сон – in Russian it sounds more serious, profound, probably worrying due to the style of this VN.

就像一个多日都没能睡上一个好觉的人。

[...] looks like a person who has not had a good sleep for many days. Похож на человека, который (как следует) не спал много дней.

In this case English VN is appropriate as there is a particular idea of a period of time. Besides, we can combine it with an adjective (to have a good sleep). In Russian, it would be stylistically impossible.

一次我正在桥底下睡大觉

Once I slept right under the bridge.
Однажды я заночевал под мостом.

This piece of sentence would need the surrounding context to be translated correctly. The difficult part here is 睡大觉 which can be literally translated as “to sleep deeply” but in this sentence, I believe, there is no special accent on the characteristics of sleeping; the main idea is that the actor really had to sleep on the street, under the bridge and the use of *da* here may only highlight that they were really sleeping there the same way as people normally sleep at night in their homes, not just had a short insignificant stay in that place. In English, “deep sleep” refers to a particular stage of sleeping when your brain and body activity slows down. So, saying “once I had a really deep sleep under the bridge” would be rather awkward. The combination “a profound sleep” is theoretically acceptable in English but may sound as irony and the accent again would be on the characteristics of sleeping rather than on the action. In Russian, I would not even use the verb “to sleep”, but rather “to night” or “to spend night” (заночевать, провести ночь).

胡乱睡了一觉之后，没有去看医生

After taking a nap, (I) did not go to the doctor. После сна не пошел к врачу.

In this sentence, I consider using English VN absolutely appropriate for translation as in the original Chinese sentence there is a particular idea of a limited or finished event. Russian VN would be stylistically inappropriate here, so it can only be translated as a noun (after “sleep” I did not go to the doctor). One more word which indicates that the action was not long or profound is 胡乱 which means “at random” or “randomly”. The actor fell asleep, probably, without any intention, and after that sleep did not go to the doctor.

脸上的表情很冷漠，接着又歪过脑袋继续睡他的觉了

His face (facial expression) was very cold (indifferent), then he put down his head again and continued his sleep. Выражение его лица было/стало абсолютно безучастным, он снова уронил голову и продолжил спать/заснул.

In this sentence I do not find it appropriate to use the English VN as there is no idea of shortness of the event of sleeping but it is acceptable and justified to use a combination of a word and a noun “to continue sleeping”. In Russian, in theory, we can also say “to continue his sleep” but it would sound rather unnatural.

她会提前把闹钟上好，关上手机，踏踏实实地睡上一觉。

She will set up an alarm in advance, turn off her phone and very calmly fall asleep. Она заранее поставит будильник, выключит телефон и спокойно заснет.

In this case we can use Russian VN as it is translated as “to fall asleep” and it would be appropriate stylistically: и спокойно погрузится в сон. The English one cannot be used.

她要多睡会儿觉

She needs to sleep a little more. Ей нужно еще немного поспать.

In this case, in English it would be acceptable to say “she needs to have a little more sleep” as we have that idea of a short period of sleeping. In Russian, the VN we have is not acceptable.

那天晚上，年过半百的窦老师为了解出这道难题少睡了多少觉。

God knows how little the professor Dou who was more than 50 years old slept that night to understand/resolve that difficulty. Кто знает, как мало пришлось спать той ночью пятидесятилетнему профессору Доу, чтобы разрешить эту трудность.

In this sentence, *shuijiao* is split up by *duoshao* which normally means “how much/many” but in this case functions as an interjection together with *shao* which means “less”, so, the final meaning is similar to “god knows how little he slept”. In English, it would be possible to use VN “how short the sleep he had”. The Russian VN is inappropriate.

比如，当你学习疲劳，想睡上一觉的时候你的同屋却想听音乐

For example, when you are tired of studying and want to sleep, your roommate(s) (on the contrary) want to listen to music. Например, когда ты устал от учебы и хочешь поспать, твой сосед по комнате наоборот хочет слушать музыку.

In this case, using English VN would not be fully justified as there is no idea of time limitation of the action, but Russian VN could be used within certain translation styles, e.g. it would be appropriate to say “например, когда ты устал от учебы и уже мечтаешь погрузиться в сон...” and it would not sound as irony but rather as emphasizing the wish to sleep.

[...]是因为有过一次考前没有睡好觉，考得不理想的经历。

[...] because she did not have enough sleep before [the exam] and got any poor result. ...из-за того, что она мало спала перед экзаменом и получила плохой результат.

In this case we can translate *shuihaojiao* as “sleep enough” or “sleep well” and in English it can be appropriate to translate it through the corresponding VN but in Russian we cannot.

有时候，她看到我为一些事情着急，吃不好饭睡不好觉，就劝导我，着急是不解决任何问题的。

Sometimes, when she saw that I was worrying for something, could not eat well, could not sleep well, she started persuading me that worrying would not resolve any problems. Иногда, когда она видела, что я волнуюсь из-за чего-то, плохо ем, мало/плохо сплю,

она начинала убеждать меня, что волнение не решит никаких проблем.

In this case, it appears not to be justified to use English VN in translation and impossible to use it in Russian.

Above, we studied some examples from the CCL corpus, but in the previous chapters we also had some sample sentences for different split usages of *shuijiao*:

他和他的女友第一次睡了觉 – He and his girlfriend had slept for the first time. In this case both English and Russian VN are impossible to use as they refer to sleeping in its primary meaning. However, it would be possible in both languages to use “make love” etc. equivalents.

一夜没睡着觉 – One night without sleeping. The verbal suffix *zhe* refers to a particular (stable, constant) state, that is why using English VN would be impossible as it refers to a limited action. Russian VN might be stylistically inappropriate.

几乎没有在一点钟之前睡过觉 – almost had not slept before one o'clock. The Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate, English VN could be possible but less compact to use (had not had any sleep).

睡过一觉之后头皮会感到负担 – after sleeping head skin may feel uncomfortable. The Russian VN is inappropriate. The English VN is not justified as there is no idea of limitedness or short action.

没轮值的队友大部分在补昨晚没睡的觉 – many of the teammates who had not taken turns on duty did not sleep last night. Russian VN is inappropriate, English VN is not justified.

睡一个钟头的觉 – to sleep one hour. It is possible to say “to have a one-hour sleep”. In Russian due to its non-neutral style this combination would sound weird.

If we now look through dictionaries, we may also find some interesting entries. The Zhonga dictionary gives these examples:

睡早觉 – to go to sleep early. There are 2 sentences in CCL for this combination. In English “to have an early sleep” can only be used as a slang expression. In Russian it is difficult to find an equivalent;

睡午觉 – to sleep at midday (during the day). There are 140 sentences in CCL for this combination. In English, in some occasions it is acceptable to say “to have a midday sleep”, e.g. “I need to have a midday sleep”;

睡长觉 – is translated as “to fall asleep forever” (to die), but can also mean “to sleep long”. There is one entry in CCL for this combination where it is used as “to die”²³⁰. In Russian there is a fixed expression уснуть вечным сном (to fall asleep with a forever dream) which means to die, but it is not a VN as it is impossible to cut out the middle adjective. There is also a VN забытья сном (to forget oneself with a dream/sleep), which is stylistically not neutral as well. Normally it is used in the context of falling asleep after something bad happened not to think about it and it can add varying adjectives, including “long” – забытья долгим сном.

睡了八小时的觉 – to sleep eight hours. In CCL there are ten sentences with a different number of hours.

睡懒觉 – to be fond of sleeping and get up late (sleep too much). There are 153 entries in CCL, e.g. “睡懒觉坏处多多” – getting up late has lots of disadvantages.

In CCL for Old Chinese, there are 1084 entries of the unsplit usage of *shuijiao* and 12851 for *shui* alone.

Having analysed some translations for this sample, we could notice that in many cases translating *liheci* via VN is not possible not because of their grammar or syntax capacities but rather due to different stylistics and not fully identical semantics.

游泳

youyong

*Proto-*liheci*

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additonal options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| To swim a swim | - | To have a swim | To go swimming Совершить заплыв |

The Russian equivalent for this sample is not stylistically neutral, it can only be used within the scope of sport topics. Furthermore, it sounds rather outdated.

Being a proto-*liheci*, this sample can omit its second part and act as a monosyllabic verb, unlike In Russian and English. Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus²³¹, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

²³⁰ Liu Cixin (刘慈欣). The original text extract: “最后? 你在哪儿? ”在国内, 要睡长觉了。 ” “什么? ” “我得了白血病 [...]” (“Finally? Where are you?” – “In the country, I have to sleep a long sleep (die)” – “What?” – “I got leukemia” [...])

²³¹ For this sample, I used 语料库在线.

今天是游泳比赛最后一天...

Today is the last day of the swimming competition. Сегодня последний день заплыва (соревнований по плаванию).

In this case, it is impossible to translate our sample through the English VN. Here, *youyong* functions as an attribute for the word “competitions” (as an adjective or attributive noun, like “shoe” in “a shoe shop”?); it could also be represented by the gerund in its English translation, but not by VN. Russian VN, though used only in sport, would also not be used here, but it is possible to use its N to translate the whole sample.

...帮助他们温习功课, 还和他们一起看电影、游泳。

... help them to revise their homework, and also watch a movie with them, have a swim. Помочь им выучить домашнее задание, посмотреть с ними фильм, поплавать.

In this part of the sentence, without context, it is not clear whether they are speaking about doing these actions once or repeatedly. If once, it is possible to translate as “to watch a movie, to have a swim”. If repeatedly, it would be much more appropriate to use the plural to say “watch movies and swim with them”. Russian VN would be stylistically inappropriate.

象一个又大又深的游泳池

Similar/looking like/like a big and deep swimming pool. Как/похож на/словно большой и глубокий плавательный бассейн.

In this case, *youyongchi* can be considered a lexicalized compound²³² as well as its translation in English and Russian (плавательный бассейн). VN cannot be used here.

²³² “An item that is the output of a morphological process and that is listed in the lexicon with a stable meaning” (Finkbeiner, Schlücker, 2019).

这些国家购买的门票大多集中在游泳、体操和跳水比赛时间。

Most of the tickets purchased in these countries are from swimming, gymnastics and diving competitions. В этих странах большая часть билетов была продана на соревнования по плаванию, гимнастике и дайвингу.

In this case VN cannot be used, as here they mention repeated sport activities, not a single action.

有几个人在游泳，有几个人在划船。

Some people are swimming, some people are boating. Несколько человек плавает, несколько человек занимается греблей.

In this case, as we refer to the continuous aspect of the action (happening now or around this moment) it is possible to use VN in English: “some people are having a swim”. Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate.

我说，我不会游泳。

I say (mean) I can't swim. Я говорю, я не умею плавать.

Translating this sentence through VN is impossible in principle as it describes an ongoing inability to swim, not a temporary/short/limited action.

As for its split usage, it should be noted that there were very few samples in the corpus: only the following one in the first ten out of 41 pages in total where the A element was found (4048 entries).

浩浩还曾在城外的天崖河中痛痛快快地游过泳，摸过鱼。

Haohao as well used to happily swim in the Tianya river outside of the city and catch fish (with hands). Хаохао радостно плавал в загородной реке Тянья и ловил руками рыбу.

In this sentence, we have two elements which indicate processes happening in the past: the suffix *guo*, which can be roughly seen as the suffix of perfect tenses and the adverb *ceng* which

indicates the distant past. For this reason, without further context, we can reasonably suppose that the author describes something that *used to* happen constantly in the life of the individual, thus, using English VN is inappropriate. Russian VN can be used semi-ironically, depending on the style of the text, e.g. Хаохао радостно совершал заплывы в загородной реке Тянья и ловил руками рыбу.

...如坚持多年的游泳、长跑... - if one keeps swimming and running many years...

他游泳游了一个小时了 – he swam for one hour. “He had a one-hour swim” is also possible to say.

儿子游泳游得好 – one’s son swims well.

In all these sample sentences using VN in Russian is impossible.

The Zhong dictionary gives one split example: 游了一天泳 – to swim a whole day. Using VN here is unlikely.

帮忙

bangmang

*Proto-*liheci*

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|----------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| To help a hurry/rush | Оказывать помощь, Предоставлять помощь | To give help | |

This sample is one of those whose Indo-European equivalents appear to be rather neutral in style and applicable in many cases, though in Russian they obviously have semantical restrictions. The second one sounds very formal and can mainly belong to the scope of politics and official institutions. The first one may often belong to the scope of medicine.

It is not just a proto-*liheci*, functioning in competition with its single verb but also that sample which has an exact and rather widely used synonym.

We can see that in both Russian VN N is the patient of V, it is used without any prepositions and appears in accusative case.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

当小辛需要我帮忙的时候，我一定尽最大努力——我暗想。

When Xioaxin needs my help, I will try my best – I think so. Когда Сяосину понадобится моя помощь, я сделаю все возможное – я так думаю.

In this sentence, bangmang is used as a noun and the most appropriate translation in both English and Russian is via using the noun (help), although, in general, it would be possible to use VN (e.g. “when Xiaoxin needs me to give him/her help...”, “когда Сяосину нужно будет, чтобы я оказал ему помощь...”).

一次，他见到校工种花，便主动去帮忙...

Once, when he saw the school workers planting flowers, he took the initiative to help... Однажды, когда он увидел, как работники школы сажают цветы, он взял на себя инициативу помочь ...

In Russian, it would be acceptable to use the first VN: он взял на себя инициативу оказать им помощь... The second one is inappropriate stylistically. In English, it is also possible to say “to give them help”.

没有帮忙，却帮了倒忙。

Did not help at all, on the contrary did an ill turn. Не только не помог, но и оказал медвежью услугу.

In Russian and English, it would be possible to use both VN in the 1st part, roughly depending on the context: “не только не оказал никакой помощи/не только не предоставил никакую помощь, но и оказал медвежью услугу” or “did not give any help”. The second VN in Russian can be translated as “supplying help” and is often associated with material help, though not always. In the second case, in both VN is impossible and we have to translate it through the corresponding idiomatic expressions.

两者之间不是互相帮忙，而是互相拆台。

The two are not just not helping each other, but dismantling each other's position. Они (двое) не только не

помогают друг другу, но и подрывают позиции друг друга.

In Russian, depending on the context it would be possible to use both VN: “они не только не оказывают/предоставляют друг другу помощь(и)...”. In English, using VN is impossible in this case.

有什么事需要帮忙的，可以来信

If you need any help, you can send (us) a letter. Если тебе понадобится какая-либо помощь, можешь прислать письмо.

In this case, absent the context we do not know how (in)formal the text is. If it is more formal, in Russian, it is possible to use VN for translating: “если Вам будет нужно, чтобы Вам предоставили какую-либо помощь...”. If it is neutral or informal, it is better to use the noun. In English, using VN is inappropriate.

你能帮帮忙吧？

Could you give (me) a little help? Ты мог бы оказать мне небольшую помощь?

In this sentence, both Russian and English VN are possible to use for translation because the duplicated AAB *liheci* has an idea of shortness or small amount of the action.

办丧事别疼钱，帮了忙的乡亲们不能不招待呀！

While organizing funerals, don't save money, (all) those people who gave help must be welcomed. На похоронах не экономь, люди, оказавшие помощь, не могут не быть приглашены.

In this sentence, it is possible to use VN in both English and Russian. The action happened in the past and was probably limited in duration.

朋友们，你们帮我个忙吧！

Friends, give me some help! Друзья, окажите мне помощь!

In this sample, *ge* split the *liheci* and gives a tone of a limited action, similar to “a piece of help”, so, in both English and Russian VN is possible.

您无论如何得帮我这个忙

You have to give me this help anyway.

Вы все равно должны оказать мне в этом помощь.

In this sentence, it is possible to use VN in Russian, but I would prefer to use *оказать услугу* (to do a favour) or *оказать содействие* (to give assistance), because the first one can be better combined with “this” than “help” (*вы все равно должны оказать мне эту услугу*) and the second one can be better combined with “in this” than “help” (*вы все равно должны оказать мне в этом содействие*). In Russian, saying “give this help” or “give help in this” can be acceptable but I do not find it 100% correct, as “this help” sounds as “the help”, as something definite, having already happened; although in Russian there are no article, but it does not sound fully correct to give precise help which has already been given. “To give help in this” is also an unusual combination, which may be possible in theory but rather reproduces the model of “give assistance in this”. In English, it can be possible within particular context.

"有人买，有人卖，我在当中帮点忙，能怨我吗？"

Some people buy, some people sell, I am in the middle giving some help, can you blame me? Некоторые продают, некоторые покупают, я между ними оказываю некоторую помощь, можно ли меня обвинить?

In this case, we again can translate the sample through VN because *dian* indicates a particular (limited or small) amount.

自己也该自觉些，帮不了正忙也别帮倒忙

You should also be conscious of yourself, if you can't give any real help, don't do an ill turn. Нужно также осознать самого себя, если не можешь оказать никакой реальной помощи, не оказывай медвежью услугу.

Here we can see the same *liheci* used in its split form twice. In the first case we can translate it through VN in both Russian and English, partially because of *zheng* which modifies the noun making it more “limited” (only real help, not just any kind of help), but in the second case it is impossible.

这可好透了，你们可帮了咱山里旺村的
大忙呀！

Just in time, you can give our
mountaneous village Wangcun great help!
Как раз во время, вы можете оказать
огромную помощь нашей горной
деревне Ваньцунь.

In both English and Russian, we can translate this sentence through corresponding VN as there is a particular idea of limitedness in time or amount of that help, which is modified by *da* (big). It is also noticeable, that as well as in Chinese we can place all the inserted elements between V and N in both English and Russian.

你反而帮了坏人的忙啊！

Instead/on the contrary, you helped bad
people! Ты наоборот помог плохим
людям!

In this sentence, the first Russian VN could probably be used if the surrounding context was appropriate, but the second one does not correspond to it stylistically. In English, it would be possible to say “you gave help to bad people” or “you gave bad people help”.

我跟您哥哥是朋友，他帮过我忙。

Your elder brother and me are friends, he
has/had helped me. Мы с Вашим
старшим братом – друзья, он помогал
мне.

In Russian, it is possible to use both VN, depending on the absent context, as it would define the style of the text. The pronoun *nin* refers to the second singular polite person, which means that the text can be rather formal. “Мы с Вашим братом друзья, он оказал/оказывал/предоставил/предоставлял мне помощь” – could be equally possible in various contexts. In English, it is also possible “he has/had given me help”.

“帮什么忙？”

How may I help you? Помочь чем-нибудь?

In this case, in Russian it would be possible to use VN within certain situations. For example, “оказать какую-нибудь помощь?” or “Предоставить какую-нибудь помощь?”, but it is not as neutral as the single verb. In English, it would also be acceptable to say “May I give you any help?”.

In the previous chapters we had these sentences:

...贵族家里养的帮闲或帮忙的人 – in an aristocratic family, a person who served or helped, в аристократической семье человек, который развлекал или прислуживал. Using VN seems impossible in both cases, as it is a description (or definition) of a person who was dedicated to doing those things constantly.

...即便有了女儿的帮忙... - even if the daughter gave help..., даже если бы дочь оказала помощь... Apart from VN, this part of the sentence could be well translated through the noun “help” and through the related verb.

你帮了我们一个最大的忙 – you gave us the biggest help, ты оказал нам величайшую помощь. VN is possible in both cases, but in Russian it is not possible to translate “biggest help” literally in a not inverted sentence. However, it would be possible to invert it this way: самую большую помощь оказал нам ты. This inversion is not a neutral sentence anymore.

Both Zhonga and BKRS dictionaries give these two samples:

帮倒忙 – to do an ill turn, оказать медвежью услугу. An English there is no corresponding VN, but in Russian the situation is very interesting. On the one hand, there is VN оказать услугу (to do a favour) but in this case it is intertwined with the phraseme (idiom/multi-word expression) медвежья услуга (lit.: bear’s favour) which means “an ill turn”, a situation when somebody’s favour or help only did harm.

帮了大忙 – gave big help, оказал большую помощь.

跑步

раобу

*Proto-*liheci*

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| To run a step | Совершать пробежку | To have a run, to take a run, to go for a run | |

The Russian VN is not completely stylistically neutral, usually it is used within the area of sport training, not just any running, and refers to the exercise which people do if they want to keep fit. In English, it can be much more neutral.

It is a proto-*liheci*, functioning in competition with its single verb as *pao* can be used independently without *bu*.

We can see that in the Russian VN N is the patient of V, it is used without any prepositions and appears in accusative case.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

有人练太极拳，有人练跑步，为了延长生命，好多做些事情

Some people practice Taichi, some people practice running, in order to prolong life, [they need to] do lots of things. Некоторые люди занимаются тайдзи, некоторые совершают пробежки, чтобы продлить жизнь нужно делать/делают много вещей.

In English, I find it more appropriate to use “practice” + the gerund which functions as a noun than VN, but in Russian, within this particular context, VN seems to be a much better option as it exactly describes sport exercising, I used the plural form of N to show, in this case, that the activity takes place often/regularly.

大家跑步，溥仪狼狈地跟在后面

Everybody is running and Pu Yi is following them (behind) in panic. Все бегут, и Пу И в панике следует за ними.

In both English and Russian using VN is impossible stylistically.

一个队员跑步过来：“队长，宋老爹来了！”

One of the team members ran over: “Captain, Song Dadie has come!”.

Подбежал один из членов команды:
«Капитан, Сун Дадие пришел!».

This sentence is very interesting because the directional complement *guolai* is added directly after *paobu*, not within its elements after *pao*, as if *paobu* was a single verb. It is impossible to translate it through VN as in this case it does not describe the action of running or having a run but a manner in which the team member came to the captain (came running).

晨起跑步，是将军晚年生活中一项重要
内容。

Running in the morning is an important
part of the General's elderly life. Бег по
утрам – важная часть старости
генерала.

In this sentence, using VN is inappropriate as there is no idea of shortness or limitedness of the process. In Russian it is possible to use “утренняя пробежка” instead of “бег по утрам”.

我们到园子里去跑步，锻炼身体

We went to a/the park to run and exercise.
Мы пошли в парк бегать и заниматься
спортом.

In this sentence, using VN is rather inappropriate as there is the second verb “to run” and there are no criteria to judge about the shortness or limitedness of the event.

第一节课是体育，大象校长让大家跑步，
看谁跑得最快

The first class is P.E., the rector let
everyone run to check who is the fastest.
Первым уроком физкультура, директор
велел всем совершить пробежку, чтобы
посмотреть, кто бежит быстрее всех.

In this particular sentence, in Russian VN is more appropriate than the verb as the action is a limited sport-related activity. In English, it is equally possible to use VN, e.g. “...told them to have a run...”.

(...) 腿、脚背、脚掌的生理结构都比较
适合弹跳和跑步

The physiological composition of legs,
insteps, feet is appropriate for jumping
and running. Физическое строение ног,

ступней, подъем ног в достаточной мере соответствуют прыжкам и бегу.

In this sample, in both English and Russian, it is impossible to use VN as there is no idea of the limitedness of the action in time. Paobu is used as a noun, as well in Russian it is only appropriate to use a noun, and in English – the gerund performing as a noun.

调各营营长跑步到这儿来

Tell the battalion commanders to run here.
Скажи командирам батальонов бежать сюда.

In both Russian and English, it would be impossible to use VN as there is no idea of limiting the time of the action.

所以"跟着右派分子跑了一步"或"几步"

So, (he) ran one step with the right wing, or a few paces. Поэтому пробежал один шаг с правыми, или же несколько шагов.

In Russian, using VN is impossible because there is no context of sport activities in this sentence but we still use the literate verb-noun translation “to run a step/steps”. In English, it is possible to say “he had maybe a step or a few paces run with the right wing” or “he ran one step with the right wing, or maybe a few steps”.

崔连登挣扎地立起来，跑了两步，又摔倒

Cui Liandeng tried his best to get up, ran two steps and fell again. Цуй Лянден изо всех сил пытался встать, пробежал два шага и снова упал.

In both English and Russian, it is impossible to use the corresponding VN, however, it is only possible to use the literal verb-noun translation “to run a step/steps” as there is a numeral counting the number of steps.

他回转身伸手就可以抓到，金蓉却要跑四五步才能够到。

He just turned out, stretched his hand and managed to grasp (it), but Jin Rong had to run four or five steps to be able to reach

(it). Он лишь повернулся и протянул руку и смог достать (его), а Дзин Рону пришлось пробежать четыре или пять шагов, чтобы дотянуться.

In Russian, using VN is impossible because there is no idea of sport activities in this context. In English, it is possible to say “he had to have a four or five steps run”.

杏仙跑了几步，站到河岸边的土坎上，
顺眼望去

Xingxian ran a few steps, stood on the ridge by the river bank, and looked down. Синсянь пробежал несколько шагов, встал на гребне у берега реки и посмотрел вниз.

In Russian, it is impossible to use VN as there is no idea of sport activities in this context, but we still can only use the verb-noun combination “to run a step/steps” as there is a number-related pronoun indicating the number of steps. In English, it is equally inappropriate in this particular context of a sequence of events.

小虎跳出了掩体，几步跑上去，已经抓住一个(...)

The baby tiger jumped out of the shelter, only ran a few steps and already got one. Тигренок выпрыгнул из убежища, пробежал всего несколько шагов и сразу же поймал одного.

The situation in Russian is the same as in the previous sample. In English, we can say “only had a few steps run”. It is interesting that in the original Chinese sentence *paobu* goes inverted to emphasize the little number of steps the tiger ran.

她紧跑了几步，就抓住了程世方的手

She ran a few steps and grabbed Cheng Shifang's hand. Она пробежала несколько шагов и схватила Чен Шифан за руку.

In both Russian and English, using VN is impossible because of semantic difference.

他不比小队员们少跑一步，可是队员们
每天七角多的生活费

He does not run a single step less than
other team members, but they get 7 jiao a
day for living. Он бежит ни на шаг
меньше, чем другие члены команды, но
они получают 7 дзяо в день на жизнь.

In both English and Russian, it is impossible to use VN in this context, however, we still have to use a verb-noun combination because the noun is strongly emphasized here.

In the previous chapter we also saw these examples:

队列跑着步，分组向前运动着 – the queue is running, in subgroups moving forward. In both Russian and English, it would be semantically inappropriate to use VN.

每周定期进行一次以上跑步的人超过了 100 万人 – People who regularly run more than 1 time a week are more than one million. In Russian, it would be much more appropriate to use the VN as the sentence is about the sport activity. In English, it is also possible.

如果经常坚持进行这样的跑步 – If you keep running like this (lit.: if you usually keep conducting this type of run). In Russian it is more appropriate to use the VN (если вы продолжаете регулярно совершать *такие* пробежки), in English the given version seems to be more accurate.

跳舞

tiaowu

*highly ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additonal options |
|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|
| To jump a dance | Исполнять танец | To have a dance To do a dance | |

This Russian VN is not completely stylistically neutral. It refers to performing a dance, which sounds like a particular dance which is probably prepared beforehand. For example, in a dance competition or in a wedding, it is possible to say that couples “perform a dance”. The English one seems to be rather neutral.

We can see that in both English and Russian VN N is the patient of V, in Russian it is used without any prepositions and appears in the accusative case.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

只注意跳舞，而对学习、工作不注意，
这样也不对。

Just paying attention to dancing, but not
paying attention to studies or work is not
correct either. Только лишь уделять
внимание танцам, но не уделять
внимание ни работе, ни учебе – это
тоже неправильно.

In this sentence, *tiaowu* functions as a noun and within the semantics of this sentence it is impossible to translate it using English or Russian VN, only through a noun or the gerund functioning as a noun.

在这里，你可以织毛衣、唱歌跳舞、漫
无边际地闲聊

Here you can knit (sweaters), sing, dance
and chat without stopping. Здесь ты
можешь вязать, петь, танцевать и
болтать бесконечно.

In this sentence there is no idea of a time limit in time or no idea of special activities, so using either English or Russian VN is not possible.

有好多入本来不会跳舞，这时也跳得那
样热情

At the beginning many people didn't
know how to dance, now they dance so
enthusiastically. В начале многие не
умели танцевать, а сейчас танцуют с
таким энтузиазмом.

In both Russian and English, it is semantically/stylistically inappropriate to use VN to translate this sentence.

只须尽情地和大家一起唱歌或欣赏跳舞

One just need to sing with others as much
as you like or enjoy dancing. Нужно
только лишь от всей души петь с
остальными или наслаждаться
танцами.

In this sentence there is no idea of time limit, nor of any special activities, so using VN is impossible in both English and Russian. The most appropriate way is to use a noun or the gerund functioning as a noun.

她爱唱歌，会跳舞，擅长摄影，喜好集邮。

She likes singing, she can dance, she is good at photography and likes stamp collecting. Она хорошо поет, умеет танцевать, сильна в фотографии и коллекционирует марки.

In English, it would be inappropriate to say “can have a dance” and it does not have the same meaning as “can dance”. In Russian, though in theory it is possible to unite the first two parts to use the VN (она хорошо поет и исполняет танцы), it is still much more stylistically appropriate to use the verb.

他们跳的“剪子舞”是一种竞技性的舞蹈

The “Scissors dance” they perform/dance is a kind of competitive dance. «Танец ножниц», который они исполняют – это соревновательный танец.

In English, it is impossible to use the VN because there is no idea of a limit in time, though we still have to use a verb-noun combination, but in Russian the VN is the best and basically the only possible way to translate this sentence.

他们跳着“乖嘎”舞，摇动手帕向我们表示欢迎

They are performing the “Guaiga” dance and welcoming us by waving their handkerchiefs. Они исполняют танец Гуайга и приветствуют нас взмахами платочков.

In English, it is semantically impossible to use this particular VN in this context, although we have to use a verb-noun combination, but in Russian it is the most appropriate way to translate it.

这对一个以跳民族舞为主的青年演员来说...

This is about a young actor who mainly performs folk dances. Это о молодом

актере, который в основном исполняет
народные танцы.

In English, it is semantically impossible to use this particular VN in this context, although we have to use a verb-noun combination, but in Russian it is the most appropriate way to translate it.

你要跳什么舞？

What dance would you like to dance?

Какой танец ты бы хотел исполнить?

Depending on the context, in Russian it can be more appropriate to use the verb (e.g. in a daily situation, when someone invites another person to dance) or the VN (e.g. in a dance competition). In English, it is not natural to use the VN.

您今晚的打扮真漂亮，舞跳得更漂亮

You are so beautifully dressed tonight and
dance even more beautifully. Вы сегодня
так красиво одеты и танцуете еще
красивее.

In the original Chinese sentence *tiaowu* is inverted, probably to emphasize the noun “dance”, but also probably just because of the demands of syntax, as the following complement can only be added to the verb. In both English and Russian, it is semantically inappropriate to use VN.

个男低音说：“我可以请您跳一次舞吗？

The bass said: “May I ask you to dance?”

”

Бас сказал: «Можно пригласить Вас на
танец?»

In this sentence, it is impossible to use the Russian VN because it is stylistically inappropriate. In English, it is unnatural to say “may I ask you to have a dance?” but we can say “may I have this dance?”.

她终于从天上慢慢飘了下来，一路上还
跳着舞呢

Finally, she slowly came down from the
sky dancing the whole way. Наконец она
медленно спустилась с неба, танцуя на
протяжении всего пути.

In English, it is also possible to say “she finally slowly came down from the sky, having a dance the whole way”. In Russian, using the VN is stylistically inappropriate.

小李，跳一段丰收舞吧

Xiaoli, let's have a dance for the good harvest! Сяоли, давай исполним танец в честь хорошего урожая!

In this sentence, in both English and Russian, we can use both VN and verbs. For example, in English we can equally say “let's have a dance for the good harvest?”, “let's have a good harvest dance?” “let's dance for the good harvest?”.

西域传来的《柘枝舞》原来是一个人跳的

The Zhezhi dance was originally danced by one person. Танец «Ветви кудрании» изначально исполнялся одним человеком.

In English, we cannot use the VN but we still have to use a verb-noun combination in the passive voice. In Russian, the VN is the only appropriate way to translate this sentence. Russian VN is splitted into the subject of the sentence (N) and the reflexive form of the verb (to perform oneself), which corresponds with the passive voice in English in this particular case.

然后她好象得到了宽慰，又唱着跳起舞来了

Then, she seemed relieved and, singing, started dancing. Затем она, похоже, расслабилась и, подпевая, начала танцевать.

In English, using the VN is semantically inappropriate. In Russian, it is possible, but only within the context of performing an artistic activity.

生气

shengqi

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| To bear anger | Впасть в бешенство/ | - | To get angry, to feel |

| | | | |
|--|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| | /ярость, приходиться в бешенство/ярость | | anger – combinations which are not VN |
|--|---|--|---------------------------------------|

The Russian equivalent for this sample is not stylistically neutral, it can only be used within the scope of extreme, sudden anger.

In English, there are no equivalent VN. Let us check how we can translate sentences with this sample and analyse some sample sentences from the corpus²³³, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*it*” usage:

算了吧，回绝就好了，生气不值得呢！

Let it go, rejection is OK, it’s not worth getting angry. Забудь об этом, отказал(и) и ладно, не стоит из-за этого злиться.

In Russian, depending on the context, it is possible to use the VN (не стоит из-за этого впадать в ярость).

他会生气，会认真地和你辩驳。

He may/will get angry and seriously argue with you. Он может разозлиться и начать серьезно спорить с тобой.

In Russian, it can be appropriate to use the VN (он может впасть в ярость), depending on the context.

²³³ For this sample, I used 语料库在线.

我没法不生气，又没法表示自己太生气

I can't help being angry, and also can't express how angry I am. Я не могу не злиться, и также не могу выразить, насколько я зол.

In Russian, depending on the context, it can be possible to use the VN (я не могу не впадать в ярость).

你为什么 not 生气?

Why don't you get angry? Почему ты не злишься?

In Russian, depending on the context, it can be possible to use the VN (почему ты не впадаешь в ярость?), however, I do not find the possible use of this combination too wide.

司马校长真的生气了。

Rector Sima really got angry. Декан Сыма действительно разозлился.

In Russian, depending on the context, it can be possible to use the VN (Декан Сыма действительно впал в ярость / впал в настоящую ярость).

他们生了气，把家里所能拿出来的东西都卖成钱

They got angry and sold all the things which could take from the house. Они разозлились и продали все вещи, которые смогли вынести из дома.

In this case, we can use the combination “to get angry” (or to get mad) in English and the verb with the same meaning in Russian. Depending on the context, in Russian it is possible to use the VN: они впали в ярость и продали все вещи...

刘德衷又生她的气，又心疼她

Liu Dezhong got angry at her again and again felt sorry for her. Лиу Дечжон снова разозлился на нее и снова испытал к ней жалость

In Russian, using the VN seems syntactically impossible as this VN cannot really take an indirect object-pronoun. In English we can use the same combination as in the previous sentence.

好不容易有几个人生起气来，组织了一个消费者团体

Finally, some people started getting angry and formed a consumer group. В конце концов несколько человек стали злиться и сформировали группу потребителей.

In Russian, it is theoretically possible to use the VN but I find it stylistically inappropriate in this case for the level of anger and because we need to convey the idea of the beginning of the action which is represented by the complex verbal complement *qilai* in the Chinese sentence, but “started falling into anger” does not sound 100% correct. In English, we can use the same combination as in the previous sentence.

“我带个金属圈，你生什么气？”

I brought a metal ring, what are you mad at? Я принес металлическое кольцо, почему ты злишься?

In Russian, we could use the pronoun “what” but only with the verb (на что ты злишься?). In English, it is possible to say “what are you angry with?”.

孩子这一宵的劳作惹他父亲生了很大的气，经过母亲的劝解

The child's labour that night made his father very angry. Труд ребенка той ночью разозлил его отца.

In Russian, it would be possible to use the VN depending on the context and can even be more appropriate because in the original Chinese sentence, we can see *dade qi* “a big anger” (труд ребенка той ночью заставил его отца впасть в ярость).

心下还有几分生她们来晚了的气

There was still some anger in (my?) heart because they came late. На сердце все еще была некоторая злость из-за того, что они пришли поздно.

This Chinese sample is very interesting because there are several words related to the *liheci*. Firstly, it is *jige* (several) related to *qi*. In Russian and English. “anger” is uncountable, but in Chinese even uncountable words can use a classifier, *jige* in this meaning can be translated as “some” to indicate an unclear but not too big amount of anger. Secondly, the reason for the anger is introduced through *de* as a descriptive clause: *tamen laiwan le* (they came late). For the reason of “not too big” amount of anger using the VN in Russian is stylistically/semantically inappropriate.

她突然生了方叔叔的气

She suddenly got angry with uncle Fang.
Она неожиданно разозлилась на дядю Фанга.

In this case, in Russian, we cannot use the VN for the same syntactic reason as in one of the previous samples.

邓龙方正在为自己没能迫使司蒂烈签字把苏东存入汇丰银行的关税提出来生自己的气

Deng Longfang is angry with himself for failing to force Stillie to sign the customs' tax deposit at HSBC bank for Eastern Europe's entrance. Дэн Лонфан зол на самого себя за то, что не смог заставить Стили подписать таможенный тариф вхождения Восточной Европы в Гонконгско-Шанхайскую банковскую корпорацию.

In this sentence, using the Russian VN is impossible for the same syntactic reason as before.

"白得象日本人就惹你生那么大的气
吗? "

"Is it so irritating to be as white as the
Japanese?". Неужели так раздражает
быть таким же белым, как японцы?

In the original Chinese sentence it is “that big anger”, but the subject of the sentence is “being as white as...” which later uses a telescopic verb similar to “let” (“it let you bear that much big anger), so, in Russian, it would, in theory, be possible to use the VN in a similar structure with a telescopic verb but it would not sound natural. In English, we can say “does it really make you get so angry”.

“娘，你上了年纪，生不得气呀

Mother, you are getting older, you
shouldn't get angry. Мама, ты стареешь,
тебе не следует злиться.

In Russian, depending on the context, it can be possible to use the VN (тебе не следует впадать в ярость).

In the previous chapters we saw the following three samples:

检察长一听也生了气... – the inspection heard it and got angry. In Russian it is appropriate to use the VN in case of a strong feeling.

我正生着气 – I'm angry right now. In Russian it would be impossible to use the VN because the original sentence describes a current state which implies the continuous aspect, but we cannot be “falling” into anger, as it is a fast, immediate, very strong action.

...生过气、发过火... – having been angry, having lost temper. In Russian, within a particular context it could be possible to use the VN in the perfect aspect.

结婚

jiehun

*highly ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| To establish a marriage | Заключать брак, вступать в брак, | - | Выйти замуж, To get married, to |

| | | | |
|--|-------------------|--|---------------------|
| | сочетаться браком | | register a marriage |
|--|-------------------|--|---------------------|

These Russian VN are not stylistically neutral. They sound rather formal and may be used in official texts and documents. English VN were not found. The “additional options” are not VN but they may be much more stylistically neutral and appropriate for translation of this sample.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

结婚是一种具有重要的法律意义的行为

Marriage is an act of great legal significance. Брак является актом большого юридического значения.

In this sentence, we have to use a noun to convey the meaning of the sentence correctly. We can make a noun form of the VN (вступление в брак) which will be stylistically appropriate, however, it is not the VN itself and the simple noun represents the idea fully enough.

结婚以后，夫妻间的权利和义务随之发生。

After getting married, there appear rights and responsibilities between husband and wife. После вступления в брак права и обязанности между мужем и женой будут соблюдаться.

In this sentence, in Russian, we have to use a noun, however we cannot use the simple noun “marriage” as saying “after marriage” will sound as “after the marriage has finished”, and the only appropriate way to translate it is using the noun-form of the VN.

小沈结婚了，今年3月，当她抱着出生不久的婴儿在丈夫的陪同下来访时...

Xiaochen got married; in March of this year, when she visited with her new born baby and her husband... Сючен вышла замуж. В марте этого года, когда она посетила (нас) в сопровождении мужа со своим новорожденным ребенком...

In this sentence, I find using the Russian VN stylistically inappropriate.

他又催着我和他登记结婚。

He urged me to register a marriage with him again. Он снова призвал меня вступить с ним в брак.

As *dengji jiehun* (to register a marriage) is a formal expression, in Russian, using any of the three VN is the most appropriate to translate it.

可这时的罗南已经和农村姑娘盼秋结婚了。

But by that time Luo Nan had already got married with the country girl Pan Qiu. Но в то время Луонан уже женился на деревенской девушке Панцю.

In this sentence, in Russian, using the VN is possible depending on the context, for example, if it is a historical text describing past events, we can say “Луонан уже вступил в брак с деревенской девушкой Панцю”.

花儿和小池结了婚，饭吃得饱...

Huaer and Xiaochi got married, ate enough food... Хуаэр и Сяочи поженились, ели досыта...

In this sentence, in Russian, using the VN is possible but only within a formal context or a less modern mode of speech.

听说他也曾结过婚，但是他的身边没有孩子，也没有女人。

I heard he got married again, but there are no children and there is no woman beside him. Я слышал, он снова женился, но рядом с ним нет ни детей, ни женщины.

In this sentence, in Russian within a particular context or a particular speech characteristic of the speaker it is possible to use the VN and it can sound rather neutral: say я слышал, он снова вступили в брак. However, the simple verb is still more neutral and universal.

我问你：你哪天跟他结的婚？

I want to ask you when day you married him. Я хочу спросить

тебя, в какой день ты вышла за него
замуж.

In this sentence, using the Russian VN is possible if the general context is rather official (в какой день ты заключила с ним брак), for example, it could be used in a conversation with a lawyer.

可是结了婚的人，也不一定就搞不好事
业。

But married people do not necessarily
have bad careers. Но женатые люди не
обязательно имеют плохую карьеру.

In this sentence, using the Russian VN is possible and can sound rather neutral (но люди, которые вступили в брак, не обязательно...), however, I believe that the general idea of this sentence is better translated through a simple adjective (or participle in English).

你结过婚了没有？

Have you ever been married? Ты
когда-нибудь был женат (была
замужем)?

In this sentence, using the Russian VN is inappropriate not only because of the official style but also because of the perfect tense in the original sentence. If we use the VN, the meaning of the sentence will be distorted as instead of asking if the person has ever been married, we will ask if the person has ever registered a marriage.

只有正式结了婚，我才能顺理成章地把
华岑接出去。

Being only officially married, I can
logically/naturally/legally remove Hua
Sen. Только будучи официально
женатым, я могу естественным путем
убрать Хуа Цен.

In this sentence, in Russian it is stylistically and semantically appropriate to use the VN: ТОЛЬКО вступив в законный брак...

结了婚的男人就都想离婚啦？

Do all married men want to get divorced?
Все женатые мужчины хотят
развестись?

In this sentence, in English we can say “Do all men who got married want to get divorced?”. We can do the same in Russian using the VN (все мужчины, которые однажды вступили в брак, хотят развестись?) and it would sound rather neutral.

丁玉吃惊道：又**结过婚**吗？

Ding Wang was astonished: “Married again?”. Дин Ван удивленно сказал: «Женился снова?»

In this sentence, using the Russian VN is theoretically possible but may only be used within a very narrow, not completely neutral, context. As long as we use the simple verb, we imply that the speaker was astonished at the fact that the person he/she is speaking about is married again. However, if we use the VN, we will imply that he/she is astonished at the fact that the person conducted the act of registering another marriage.

也许他曾经**结过婚**，有过孩子

Perhaps he is already married and has children. Возможно, он уже женился, и у него есть дети.

In this sentence, using the Russian VN is possible but it will not sound completely neutral, it may be appropriate for an excessively polite, more formal or more old-style speech (возможно, он уже вступил в брак...). Also, depending on the context, the meaning of the sentence can be the following: “probably he has/had already been married and has/had had children” (возможно, он уже бывал женат, и у него были дети). In this case using the Russian VN appear inappropriate.

我是一个没有**结过婚**的女人，我还年轻。

I am a girl who has never been married, I’m still young. Я девушка, которая никогда не была замужем, я еще молода.

In this sentence, using the Russian VN is possible and can be rather neutral (я девушка, никогда не вступавшая в брак...).

生病

shengbing

*highly ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| To bear an illness | Переносить болезнь, страдать болезнью | To have a cold | To catch a disease. To fall ill. |

Russian and English VN, in this case, are only contextual synonyms as they do not coincide with the meaning “to fall ill”, which is not a VN. The second Russian VN may sound more literal than neutral.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

你生病了，一个人躺着发烧，眼泪汪汪的。

You fell/are ill, alone, you’re staying in bed with fever and your eyes full of tears.
Ты заболел, в одиночестве лежишь в постели с температурой, и твои глаза полны слез.

The English VN cannot be used as they do not coincide in meaning. The second Russian VN may be used but may add a dramatic tone (ты страдаешь болезнью...), it may also sound rather old-style, as in modern spoken Russian this VN can hardly be used.

医务人员的工作使我们少生病或生了病能得到治疗

Medical staff work to keep us healthy and give us treatment when we fall ill. Задача медицинского персонала состоит в том, чтобы мы редко болели, а, заболев, получали лечение.

In both English and Russian, it is impossible to use VN for semantical and stylistical reasons.

今天早上快六点了，你们还不见妈妈起床，以为妈妈生病了。

Today at 6 o’clock in the morning you still hadn’t seen their mom wake up, it turned out that she had fallen ill. Сегодня в 6 утра вы увидели, что мама еще не проснулась. Оказалось, она заболела.

In both English and Russian, it is impossible to use VN for semantical and stylistical reasons.

我们什么都不怕，就怕生病！

We are not afraid of anything; we are only afraid of falling ill. Мы ничего не боимся, только боимся заболеть (болезней).

In both English and Russian, it is impossible to use VN for semantical and stylistical reasons.

人在生病的时候，体温往往会升高

When people are ill, often their temperature can rise. Когда человек болен, во многих случаях у него может подняться температура.

In this sample, using the English VN is impossible as it is not synonymous, in Russian it is possible but may sound old-fashioned (когда человек страдает болезнью...).

...以为我生了什么病，都来看我。

[Friends] thought I fell ill and all came to visit me. [Друзья] решили, что я заболел чем-то, и все пришли проведать меня.

In Russian, it would be possible to say «я подхватил какую-то болезнь» (I caught a disease) as a modern spoken variant to highlight the original Chinese *shenme* which refers to an unknown type of disease. In English we can also say “caught an illness”.

"我记得你回来，也生了一场病。"

I remember you returned and caught an illness. Я помню, ты вернулся и подхватил болезнь.

This sample is similar to the previous one, we can use the combinations with “catch” and they are preferable but not the given VN. At the same time in both English and Russian it is impossible to use the numeral “one” as in the original Chinese sentence.

他们也怕生这种病。

They are also afraid of catching this (kind of) illness. Они тоже боятся заразиться этим (типом) заболевания.

In this case, using the English VN is semantically impossible. As for the Russian VN, if the sentence emphasized the idea of passing through the illness (being ill before recovering), not just falling ill, in some context, it might be possible to use the first VN (они тоже бояться перенести этот тип болезни). It is also possible to use the simple verb with a cognate object: они тоже бояться заболеть этой болезнью.

"其实这还是怪我生了不治的病。"

Actually, this is still because I have an incurable disease. По правде говоря, это все же потому, что я болен неизлечимой болезнью.

In English, it is impossible to use the VN in this case. In Russian it is possible and sound neutral: "...из-за того, что я страдаю неизлечимой болезнью".

苹果树绝不会生腐烂病

Apple trees never rot. Яблони никогда не гниют.

Using the Russian and English VN is semantically impossible here.

在端午节后，妈妈生了病，家里也没有闲钱

After the Dragon Boat Festival my mother fell ill and our family had no spare money. После Фестиваля Драконьих Лодок мама слегла с болезнью (заболела), и дома не было лишних денег.

In both English and Russian, using VN is stylistically or semantically inappropriate.

她又把侄子招来当儿子，又死了，都是因为生了病，没有钱治。

She again asked her nephew to become her son and died because she fell ill and had no money for treatment. Она вновь призвала племянника стать ее сыном и

умерла, все потому, что была больна и не имела денег на лечение.

In both English and Russian, using VN is stylistically or semantically inappropriate.

痢痢头王姑娘生的是肺癆病。

The illness the bald grandaunt suffers from is tuberculosis. Болезнь, которой страдает плешивая сестра деда – туберкулез.

In English using the VN is impossible, in Russian it is probably the most appropriate option as it can be split between the main and the subordinate clauses.

他们的传统观念，病不是风生，就是火起，不是火起，就是水涌上来的

According to their tradition, if illness is not wind-borne, then it is brought by fire, if not by fire, then from water. Согласно их традиционным поверьям, если болезнь не порождается ветром, то приходит из огня, если не изогня, то поднимается из воды.

In this case it is grammatically and syntactically impossible to use the English and Russian VN, as the verb of the liheci is used in its “passive” form (“wind bears illness”).

毕业

biye

*completely adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| To end a profession | - | - | To leave school, to finish school |

This is one of those samples for which no analogous VN were found in English and Russian.

Let us check how we can translate sentences with this sample and analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

毕业后，我分配到农场里工作

After graduation, I was assigned to work on a farm. После окончания института я был назначен на работу на ферме.

In this sentence *biye* can be translated as a noun, so, in English we can use “graduation” and in Russian the combination “graduation from an institution/university/school etc.”.

现在虽然规定必须大学毕业才能取得出国的资格，可是大学毕业的程度也太不整齐。

Although it is now required to graduate from the university to obtain the qualification to go abroad, but it's not clear what degree is required. Хотя сейчас и требуется окончить университет для получения ценза на выезд за границу, необходимая академическая степень не слишком четко обозначена.

In English, in both cases we can use “graduation”, in Russian, in the first case it is more appropriate to use the combination “to graduate from the university”, in the second case it is not necessary to repeat it as it is clear from the context.

大学毕业要经过所学的科学、马列主义的考试和该生的毕业论文。

To graduate from the university, you must pass in the science of your major, the Marxism-Leninism exam and write a course paper. Чтобы окончить университет, вы должны сдать экзамен по изучаемой науке и экзамен по марксизму-ленинизму и написать дипломную работу.

In the Chinese sentence *daxue biye* can be considered a nominal combination, but in both English and Russian it is more appropriate to translate it with the verbal combination “to graduate from the university”.

The absolute majority of “*li*” samples were represented by those split by 了:

听说，他在大学**毕业了业**，到外边去作事。

I've heard he graduated and went to work abroad. Говорят, что он окончил университет и уехал работать за границу.

In English, in this sentence we can use the verb “to graduate”, in Russian the same combination “to graduate from the university”.

予同说，“我们得让子女在**大学毕业了业**，才算尽了责任。”

Yu Tong said, “We have to let our children graduate from the university and only then our responsibility will be fulfilled”. Ю Тхун сказал: «Мы должны позволить нашим детям окончить университет, только тогда наш долг будет выполнен».

In both Russian and English, we can use “to graduate from the university”.

若是**中学毕业了业**，不能或不愿升学

If (you) graduated from middle school and cannot and do not want to keep studying... Если (вы) окончили среднюю школу и не можете или не хотите продолжать учебу...

In both Russian and English, we can use “to graduate from middle school”.

顺哥儿**高中毕业了业**，一心想考大学，苇妮儿偏要他试养鹅。

Shun Ge'er graduated from high school and wanted to go to the university, but Wer Ni'er wanted him to raise geese. Шунь Гэр окончил школу и хотел поступать в университет, но Вэй Нир хотела, чтобы он разводил гусей.

In both Russian and English, we can use “to graduate from (high) school”.

庆山有二十冒头了,前年从高中毕的业,
穿件皮夹克,象个城里青年。

Qingshan is a little bit older than 20, the year before last he graduated from high school, he wears a leather jacket and looks like a young city man. Циншаню двадцать с небольшим, в позапрошлом году он окончил школу, он носит кожаную куртку и похож на городских ребят.

In both Russian and English, we can use “to graduate from (high) school”.

离婚

lihun

*completely ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivavalent | English equivalent | Additonal options |
|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| To separate a marriage | Расторгать брак | - | To get divorced |

The Russian VN sound much more formal or official than the verb развестись (to get divorced), so, it may be more appropriate to use in official documents or formal texts. In English there was no VN found and the general meaning of this sample is conveyed by the combination “to get divorced”.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

谁也不能强迫不愿离婚的人离婚。

No one can force a person who doesn't want to get divorced to divorce. Никто не может заставить человека, не желающего разводиться, развестись.

In Russian it is syntactically and grammatically possible to use the VN, it can also be semantically appropriate within the context of a legal divorce, as this VN mainly corresponds with the legal procedure of divorce. The verb is more neutral in this case.

群众问他"包办的是否都得离婚?"

The crowd asked him, "Do all the married through parents' negotiation have to divorce?". Толпа спросила его: «Должны ли все, кто вступил в брак по договоренности родителей, развестись?»

In Russian it is syntactically and grammatically possible to use the VN, it can also be semantically appropriate within the context of a legal divorce, however, the verb is more neutral.

人家和和睦睦的夫妻,还要上级来"决定"离不离婚,这样做显然是和政策不符的。

Husbands and wives in a mutual agreement still have to wait for the decision from higher authorities to divorce or not, which obviously does not correspond with the political course. Мужья и жены, достигшие согласия, все еще должны ждать решения высших инстанций о том, разводиться им или нет, что не соответствует политическому курсу.

In this sentence, in Russian, it would be equally possible to use the verb and the VN as the context is rather formal (расторгать им брак или нет).

同时,在第二十四条和第二十八条中,分别地规定了离婚登记和复婚登记的问题。

At the same time, the (issues of) registration of divorce and remarriage are specified in Articles 24 and 28, respectively. В то же время вопросы регистрации развода и повторного брака указаны в статьях 24 и 28 соответственно.

In Russian, instead of регистрация развода it is possible to use расторжение брака, but in any case, it should be translated as a noun.

与丈夫办理离婚手续，到美国“嫁”一个白人。

Got divorced with her husband and came to the USA to “get married” with a white man. Развелась с мужем и уехала в США, чтобы «выйти замуж» за белого мужчину.

In the original Chinese sentence, *lihun* is used as a noun in the combination “*banli lihun shouxu*” (to conduct the procedure of divorce) which may be considered rather formal, so it is equally appropriate to use the Russian VN (расторгла брак с мужем...).

叶向真同志终于与其离了婚。

Comrade Ye Xiangzhen finally divorced him/her. Товарищ Е Сианчжень наконец-то развелся (ась) с ним/ней.

In this sentence it is equally appropriate to use the Russian VN: наконец-то расторгла с ним/ней брак.

过去离过婚的当事人，还须交验离婚证件

People who have divorced in the past must also submit a divorce certificate. Люди, которые в прошлом расторгли брак, также обязаны предоставить свидетельство о расторжении брака.

In this sentence, in Russian it is equally possible to use the single verb and the VN, however, as in the second part we have to use the nominal combination расторжение брака which corresponds with the VN it may result in an undesirable repetition of the same words which is often considered inappropriate in Russian.

在他 7 岁时父母就离了婚，他和两个妹妹都由父亲监护。

him stayed under the guardianship of his father. Родители развелись, когда ему

His parents divorced when he was seven years old, and his two younger sisters and

было 7 лет, он и его две младшие сестры остались под опекой отца.а

In this sentence it is possible to use the VN: родители расторгли брак, когда ему было 7 лет. However, we should notice that using the VN can give additional connotations. This VN refers only to the legal procedure of getting divorced, so, if we use it instead of the verb we may in some occasions mean that people only got a divorce certificate in that moment, but we do not characterize their relationship, so, they may have had it broken long before the legal divorce, or even keep being in a relationship, just being legally divorced. When we use the verb it normally means that the relationship is over as well.

她的父母亲在她很小时就离了婚，她受过许多折磨，也锻炼了一种执犟的脾气。

Her parents got divorced when she was a very little baby, she went through a lot of heartache and developed a very stubborn temper. Ее родители развелись, когда она была совсем маленькой, она перенесла много мучений и выросла с очень упрямым характером.

The situation in this sentence is the same as in the previous one.

我是一个离过婚的男人，是一个开饭店的男人，是一个没有才华的男人，是懦夫，是窝囊废、酒鬼……”

I am a divorced man, a restauranter, a man without any talent, a coward, a worthless wretch, an alcoholic... Я разведенный мужчина, владелец ресторана, мужчина без единого таланта, трус, тряпка и алкоголик...

In this sentence, it is only appropriate to use the adjective in Russian.

姚婷婷那么漂亮，各方面条件那么优越，结果还不是要嫁给一个离过婚，还有孩子的人。

Yao Tingting is so beautiful and so excellent in every way, so, she doesn't want to get married to a divorced man with children. Яо Тинтин такая красивая и во всем хороша, потому не хочет

ВЫХОДИТЬ замуж за разведенного мужчину с детьми.

In this sentence, it is as well only appropriate to use the adjective in Russian.

为这事跟他吵了几次仗，差点闹得离了婚。

After arguing with him several times over this matter, she almost got a divorce.

После нескольких ссор с ним по этому поводу, она едва не развелась.

In this sentence, using the Russian VN is syntactically possible but the general style seems inappropriate.

哎，这岁数稍大的或者是离过婚的，你们能给介绍吗？

Hey, can you introduce me to someone a little older or a divorcee? Эй, можете представить меня кому-то чуть старше или разведенному?

In this sentence, it is as well only appropriate to use the adjective in Russian.

再者说了，老夫老妻的了，离什么婚哪！

Besides, in an old married couple what divorce is there! К тому же, о каком разводе может идти речь в пожилой женатой паре!

In this sentence, in Russian we need a noun. We can use the general noun развод or form a noun from the VN расторжение брака. Depending on the context both can be appropriate, but we still cannot use the VN itself.

几年前，爸爸和妈妈离了婚，丢下她走了。

A few years ago, her parents got divorced and abandoned her. Несколько лет назад ее родители развелись и бросили ее.

In this sentence, using the VN is stylistically inappropriate.

发烧

fashao

*highly ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To emit temperature | ИСПЫТЫВАТЬ жар | To get fever | To have a cold |

The Russian VN may sound rather old-style in some cases, while the English one seems to be quite neutral. “To have a cold” may be a contextual synonym in this case.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

"果然发烧了,"舅舅说,"是晚上着凉了
吧?"

“Indeed, a fever”, said the uncle, “was it cold at night?”. «Действительно у него жар», - сказал брат матери, - «Было холодно ночью?».

In English we can use the VN, in Russian it is possible but may sound rather unnatural.

他发烧不退, 脸色绯红。

His fever persists and his face is very flushed. Жар не спадает, и лицо у него очень красное.

In this case in English it does not seem possible to use the VN as “to get fever” is a momentary action which we cannot combine with “persist” or “doesn’t pass”. In Russian it is syntactically and grammatically possible in theory but would sound very unnatural.

他的脸有点发烧。

His face was a little feverish. Его лицо немного горело.

In both English and Russian it seems impossible to use the VN because “face” does not live a separate life from the rest of the body, thus, cannot get fever “separately”. The Russian translation given here is also not very natural as the translation of *fashao* гореть means to burn or to be on fire which implies very high temperature, thus, it does not combine well with “a little bit” немного.

郭福见着慧觉很不自然、脸上**发烧**的原因，藏在他那澄澈如水的心里。

Guofu clearly saw that the reason of his disembodied feeling and flushed face was hidden in his water-like transparent heart. Гуо Фу ясно увидел, что причина его неестественного состояния и обьятого жаром лица кроется в его прозрачном как вода сердце.

The situation in this sentence is similar to the previous one.

李宗仁病了，感冒引起肺炎，**发烧**超过39度。

Li Zongren fell ill. Her cold progressed to pneumonia and she had a fever of over 39 degrees. Ли Цунжень заболела, простуда привела к пневмонии и температуре выше 39 градусов.

In Russian, it is in theory possible to say испытывать жар выше 39 градусов, but it may sound unnatural in this context. In English “to get a fever higher than 39 degrees” is also possible to say.

In the 语料库在线 there was only one split usage of this sample:

但是有一位老太太，却因为黄磷在衣袋里自己**发火烧**起来，几乎把她灼伤。

However, there was one old woman who almost burnt herself because some yellow phosphorus in her pocket ignited fire and started burning.

However, this sentence does not really contain fashao, it is only a coincidence of two words fahuo (to ignite fire) and shao (burn).

The Bkrs dictionary also gives this split usage: 他在发高烧。 - He has a high fever (he got a high fever). In Russian, it is possible to translate through the VN: он испытывает сильный жар.

抽烟

chouyan

*highly ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To emit fume | - | To have a smoke | |

In Russian there was no corresponding VN found, in English “to have a smoke” is paired with the verb smoke, and may have some semantic restrictions.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

他不抽烟，可脸色却象抽烟很厉害的人的脸色。

He doesn't smoke, but the colour of his face is like that of a heavy smoker. Он не курит, но цвет его лица похож на цвет лица заядлого курильщика.

In this case, as we speak about smoking normally or constantly, we cannot use the English VN. In the first part we use the verb “to smoke”, in the second part it is more appropriate to use the noun “smoker”, as well as in Russian.

他先学会沉默，后来又学会抽烟。

He learnt to stay silent first, and then to smoke. Сначала он научился молчать, а затем курить.

As well as in the previous sentence, the English VN cannot be used as there is no idea of shortness of the action.

“妈妈，爸爸在书房里抽烟！”

Мом, dad is smoking in the study room!
Мама, отец курит в кабинете!

In English, “dad is having a smoke in the study room” is also possible.

不过，我抽烟是为了工作呀！”

However, I smoke because of my work!
Но я курю из-за / ради работы!

In this sentence, as we speak about smoking constantly, we cannot use the English VN.

爸爸为什么要**抽烟**呢？

Why does dad smoke? Почему папа курит?

The situation is the same as in the previous sentence.

胖子倒在沙发上，沉思着，**抽着烟**，看着一个个烟圈圈儿追逐着

The fat man fell on the sofa meditating, smoking a cigarette, watching each smoke circle chasing after each other. Толстяк упал на диван, медитируя, выкуривая сигарету, наблюдая, как дымовые кольца гонятся друг за другом.

In English, “The fat man fell on the sofa, meditating, having a smoke, watching each smoke circle chasing after each other” is also possible.

坐下，**抽支烟**吧。

Take a seat, have a smoke. Присядь и выкури сигарету (покури).

In this case, using the English VN is more appropriate than using the verb as we speak about a short, momentary action, as in the Chinese sentence, using the classifier *zhi* adds the idea of limitedness.

我最近工作比较忙，**抽支烟**提提神。

I've been busy with my work lately, and smoking a cigarette chills me out. В последнее время я был довольно занят на работе, а курение поднимает дух.

The classifier *zhi* in the original sentence adds the idea of limitedness of the action, so using the single verb in the form of gerund (smoking) is possible but may not fully convey the original idea. “I've been busy with my work lately, and having a smoke chills me out” is also possible.

打我记事起，从来没见过爸爸抽过烟，
平时他也最不赞成别人抽烟，可现在他
自己为什么突然抽起烟来了呢？

As far as I remember, I have never
seen my father smoke, and he
usually disapproves of other people
smoking, so now why has he
himself suddenly started smoking?
Насколько я помню, я никогда не
видел, чтобы мой отец курил, и
он обычно не одобряет курение,
но почему он вдруг начал курить?

In this sentence, as we speak about a constant action, we cannot use the English VN.

从此，爸爸的烟越抽越厉害

Since then, my father has been smoking
more and more. С того времени отец
курит все больше и больше.

The structure in the original Chinese sentence is very interesting: “father’s smoke is more and more smoked”. “Since then, my father has been having a smoke more and more” is also possible in English but the meaning is slightly different, as it mainly means a repetitive manner to do one limited action (e.g. to have a smoke every Tuesday) but not smoking in general.

他抽了一口烟，喷出缕缕烟雾，"她欠缺
些什么呢？"

He had a smoke, blew out a long cloud of
smoke: “What does she lack?”. Он
затянулся и выпустил клуб дыма:
«Чего же ей не хватает?».

In this sentence, using the VN is possible but may not be the most natural way to convey the idea. The first part of the sentence basically means “he took a drag on his cigarette”.

我默默地抽着烟。

I was smoking in silence. Я курил в
тишине.

In this sentence the suffix zhe indicates a continuous state of doing something, so, it is appropriate to use the verb. “I was having a smoke in silence” is also possible.

程保生嗓音都变了，好象指导员抽不抽他这支烟，关系着他一生命运兴衰。

Cheng Baosheng's voice even changed, as if his whole life depended on whether the instructor accepted his cigarette or not. Даже голос Чэн Баошэна изменился, как будто вся его жизнь зависела от того, примет/выкурит ли инструктор его сигарету..

In this sentence in English it seems impossible to use the VN, however, if we paraphrase and slightly change the meaning we can say “if the instructor would have a smoke with him or not”. As for Russian, we can use a combination of a verb and a noun which is not a VN (“to accept his cigarette” or “to smoke his cigarette”).

他想着，狠狠抽了几口烟，吞下去了。

Thinking, he ferociously took several drags smokes and swallowed. Раздумывая, он сильно затянулся несколько раз и проглотил.

In this sentence, “thinking, he ferociously had a smoke” is another possible translation in English, but the meaning is slightly different because it describes the whole action of smoking.

打针

dazhen

*highly ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| To hit a needle | Делать укол (инъекцию) | To give/have an injection | |

In Russian there the combination with укол may be more neutral in style and does not demand other words, while the combination with инъекция sounds more formal (medical) and normally would need a clarifying word (an injection of *something*). In English the difference is in the object of the action (to inject somebody – to get injected). The correlated verbs in both languages may also

need an object (to inject *something*), for this reason their usage may be rather restricted in the context of giving or taking injections.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*it*” usage:

每天给他打针、按摩。

Every day, give him an injection and do massage. Каждый день делайте ему укол и делайте массаж.

In this case, in both English and Russian it seems to be more appropriate to use the VN. On the one hand, they are neutral in style, on the other hand they correspond in meaning with a short action done every day. In Russian, using the verb may be in principle impossible.

也别为我打针服药了，做点吃的就行！

And don't give me injections or bring medicine, just make me something to eat, that's enough! И не надо делать мне уколы и давать лекарства, просто приготовь что-нибудь поесть, этого будет достаточно!

As well as in the previous sentence, it is more appropriate to use the VN here as the correlated verbs do not really match with the original sentence semantically.

周凯生，下次打针，给我狠狠的扎，扎痛些。

Zhou Kaisheng, next time you give me an injection, do it properly until I feel a slight pain. Чжоу Кайшен, в следующий раз, когда будешь делать мне укол, коли как следует, до легкой боли.

“Zhou Kaisheng, next time you inject me, do it properly until I feel a slight pain” is also possible to say but I consider the VN more appropriate as it describes a short, single action and “to inject” demands an object. In Russian, using the verb is impossible.

"这是小顾，你们的小大夫，以后你不听话，她可要给你打针哩！"

"This is Xiao Gu, your doctor, if you don't do what you're told in the future, she will give you an injection!". Это Сяогу, твой

доктор, если в будущем не будешь слушаться, она сделает тебе укол.

In Russian, using the verb is impossible. In English, I consider VN a better option, although we can in theory also say "...she will inject you!", but it sounds less complete without an object and unnatural.

主任说先治咳嗽，又照片子，又电疗，又打针。

The director said to treat the cough first, then take an X-Ray, do electrotherapy and then given injections. Директор сказал в первую очередь вылечить кашель, сделать рентген, пройти электротерапию и делать уколы.

In both English and Russian using verbs would be impossible as there is no object that would clarify what is to be injected.

从打了第一针起，我们就天天坐在镜子面前守着，屁股都坐肿了！

Since the first injection, we've sat in front of the mirror every day, and our buttocks are swollen. С момента первого укола мы все дни проводили перед зеркалом, и наши ягодицы были распухшими!

This sentence can be translated in many different ways. The shortest and probably the most natural one is with the noun. However, it is also possible to use the VN in the passive voice: since we were given the first injection / с того дня, как нам был сделан первый укол. It is also possible to use an impersonal sentence: since they gave us the first injection / с того дня, как нам сделали первый укол. In English, we can also use the other VN: since we had the first injection.

打了一百多针封闭液，没等伤好又训练。

He had more than a hundred injections of the confining liquid, and didn't wait (for the injury) to recover. Он сделал более ста уколов уплотняющей жидкости и не ждал, пока травма восстановится.

In this case, it is only possible to use the VN as there is a number modifying the second element. It is interesting that in the original sentence the *liheci* not just splits up but also accepts a direct object (the confining liquid).

“给李局长打一针镇静剂，让她去休息！”

Give the director Li an injection of the tranquilizer and let her have a rest!
Сделайте директору Ли укол успокоительного, и пусть отдыхает!

In Russian, it is possible to use the correlated verb with an object (вколите директору Ли успокоительное) but it may sound less neutral and even impolite, depending on the context. In English, “inject director Li with a tranquilizer” is also possible. In this case again the *liheci* splits up and accepts a direct object.

差不多还等了一点多钟，才有人来给他打盐水针。

[he/we] waited more than an hour before they came to give him an injection of salin solution
Ждал(и) больше часа, прежде чем кто-то пришел, чтобы сделать ему укол соляного раствора.

In English “he waited more than one hour before he was given an injection of salin solution”, “a salin solution injection”, “before he was injected with salin solution” or “before they injected him with salin solution” are all equally possible. In Russian, the situation is the same as in the previous sentence.

“她们为什么不给我打退烧针？”

Why doesn't she give me an injection for my fever? Почему она не делает мне укол жаропонижающего?

In Russian, the situation is the same as in the previous sentence. In English, using the VN is the best option.

连打了几针也不见好转。

Even after several injections, there has been no improvement. Даже после нескольких уколов не видно улучшения.

Using the noun is the most appropriate way to translate this sentence in both English and Russian, although in theory using the VN is possible. In this case, in Russian there is no difference between the two possible N.

已给你打了三针记忆增强剂。

[?] have already given you three injections of a hypermnesia intensifier. Уже сделал(и) тебе три укола интенсификатора гипермнезии.

In Russian, using the verb would be stylistically inappropriate. In English, “have already injected you with a hypermnesia intensifier three times” is also possible as well as using the passive “you have already been given...”. In this sentence the liheci splits up and accepts a direct object.

打过针后，达曼德立即把发生的事情通知警察局和洛别尔。

Immediately after the injection, Damand told the police and Lobel about what happened. Сразу после инъекции Даманд уведомил полицейский участок и Лобеля о том, что произошло.

Using the noun is the most appropriate way to translate this sentence in both English and Russian, although in theory using the VN is possible.

早就不碍事了，打了针，吃了药，肚里的水都吐出来了。

I stopped worrying about that a long time ago, I had an injection, took medicine and spit up water from my stomach. Это уже давно не имеет значения (не важно), я сделал укол, принял лекарство и выплюнул воду из желудка.

In this case, using the verb is impossible in both English and Russian as the action only occurred once and has a limited character and there is no object clarifying the verb.

打了一针，已经不那么痛了。

I had an injection and it doesn't hurt that much anymore. Сделал укол, и уже не болит так сильно.

In this case, using the verb is impossible in both English and Russian as the action only occurred once and has a limited character and there is no object clarifying the verb.

打折

dazhe

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To hit a percent/discount | Делать скидку | To give a discount | |

Both Russian and English VN are rather neutral in style. In Russian the usage of the correlated verb is very limited to a particular context (for example, when the exact number of percentages is named), in English it would also demand other words for clarification.

Interestingly, the absolute majority of joint samples in the corpus (cncorpus.org) used *dazhe* in the meaning “to break” (for example, to break a leg), and there were only 8 samples in total. In CCL there were 500 samples for the joint usage, including the meaning “(to) discount). Let us check how we can translate sentences with this sample and analyse some sample sentences from the corpus for “*li*” usage:

有的也给些打折让利什么的优惠

Some also give some discounts and other benefits. Некоторые делают разные скидки и предлагают другие выгоды.

In this case, in both English and Russian we can only use VN as there is an idea of a particular number of discounts which is expressed through *xie* in the original Chinese sentence. It is interesting that *dazhe* is used with the verb *gei* which means “to give”.

想想你在电商大战中抢的打折货和在欧美抢购的奢侈品

Think about the goods conquered in the Great internet retail war at a big discount

and about the luxury goods bought in Europe and America. Подумай о товарах, захваченных в Великой Войне Электронной коммерции со скидкой и о предметах роскоши, приобретенных в Америке и Европе.

In both English and Russian we cannot use the VN and have to use the noun “discount”, though in the original Chinese sentence it has an adjectival usage (lit. “discounted goods”).

那家店是从来不打折的，我也纳闷。

That store never gives discounts, it confuses me too. Тот магазин никогда не делает скидки, я тоже в недоумении.

In Russian using the VN is the only possible translation, in English it also sounds more appropriate.

你会买有些夹脚的打折鞋吗？

Would you buy shoes that were a little narrow at a discount? / if they were on sale? Ты бы купил слегка узковатые туфли со скидкой?

This is a similar case where we can only use the noun to translate, while in the original Chinese sentence the use is adjectival (discounted shoes).

内衣的价格越来越贵，却很少降价打折。

The price of underwear is going up and up, and it's rarely reduced or discounted. Цены на нижнее белье становятся все выше и выше, и редко бывают скидки.

Using the VN to translate this sentence would be difficult. It could be possible to say “few discounts are given” but it sounds very unnatural and in the original sentence the exact combination is “few reductions and discounts” and we cannot use “given” for “reductions”.

As for the split usage, there were only a few examples in both corpora, and the majority of them are combinations with numbers:

吹捧他一番可以弄来起码**打八折**价的电冰箱、热水器、电饭煲什么的。

Reel him in with refrigerators, water heaters, electric cookers and anything else he can get at least a 20% discount on. Рекламируйте его с помощью холодильников, водонагревателей, рисоварок и других товаров, на которые может быть сделана как минимум двадцатипроцентная скидка.

As in this sentence it is not really clear who will give and receive discount, using the VN in the passive voice is the most appropriate way which allows to avoid clarifying this.

六杯一壶，**打六五折**，每套七元五角

6 cups in 1 pot, at a 35% discount, each set 7.50 RMB. 6 чашек и 1 чайник, со скидкой 35%, каждый набор 7.50 юаней.

This is a part of an informative advertisement, not a regular sentence, so we can only translate it as short separate pieces, using the noun “discount”.

徐家汇路二六五号向明百贷商店组织到一批**打六折**的人造革男手套，每副一元八角三分

Xiangming Baidai store, 265, Xujiahui road, gives a 40% discount for artificial leather male gloves, each pair 1.83 RMB. Магазин Сианмин Бадай, ул. Сюдзяхуй, 265, предоставляет сорокапроцентную скидку на мужские перчатки из искусственной кожи, каждая пара 1.83 юаня.

This sentence can be translated in a different way, but using the VN sounds appropriate. In Russian we have to replace the verb in the VN with *предоставить*, as in “to provide help”, because it is more appropriate in the context of this kind of promotion.

散步

sanbu

*completely ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| To scatter a step | Совершать прогулку | To take/have a walk, to go a stroll, go walking | |

In English all the three VN may be rather stylistically neutral. In Russian it may belong to a higher or more official style. “To take a walk” and “to have a walk” are synonyms.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

几个朋友轻松愉快在公园或郊外散步

Several friends, happy and relaxed, take a walk in a park or in the suburbs. Несколько друзей совершают непринужденную прогулку в парке или за городом.

In Russian, it is also possible to say «несколько друзей непринужденно совершают прогулку в парке или за городом» «несколько друзей непринужденно прогуливаются в парке или за городом», using the VN or the verb with the adverb непринужденно. In English it is also possible to use the verb. All options seem to be equally neutral.

弼时同志在北京养病时,常到景山散步。

When comrade Bi Shi was recovering his health in Beijing, he often walked in Jingshan. Когда товарищ Би Ши лечился в Пекине, он часто гулял в Цзиншань.

Although using the verb seems the most natural way to translate this sentence, it is still possible to use the VN in both English and Russian. In Russian, «он часто совершал прогулки по Цзиншань» can belong to the book style rather than to neutral speech style. In English, “when

comrade Bi Shi was recovering his health in Beijing, he often took walks/a walk in Jingshan” can even sound more natural in this context.

一年一度海棠花开时，邓大姐总要请总理来海棠树下散步。

Every year, when the Begonia flowers bloom, sister Deng invites the prime minister to take a walk under the (Begonia) trees. Каждый год, когда зацветает бегония, сестра Дэн приглашает премьер министра совершить прогулку под деревьями бегонии.

In this case, in both English and Russian, it is stylistically and semantically more appropriate to use the VN, however the verb is also possible.

只有在星期六晚上和星期天上午，爸爸才体息一会儿，有时检查检查我作业，有时讲故事给我听，或者陪我和妈妈去散步、看电影。

Only on Saturday nights and Sunday mornings could my dad take some rest, sometimes checking my homework, sometimes telling me stories, or taking a walk or watching a movie with me and my mom. Только лишь субботними вечерами и по утрам субботы мой отец мог немного отдохнуть, иногда проверяя мою домашнюю работу, иногда рассказывая мне истории, иногда прогуливаясь или смотря кино со мной и моей мамой.

In English, it is equally possible to use both the verb and the VN. In Russian, using the VN seems stylistically inappropriate.

一天他们散步时，雅茹突然失声笑了起来。

One day when they were taking a walk, Yaru couldn't but start laughing. Однажды, когда они прогуливались, Яру не выдержал и рассмеялся.

In Russian, using the VN is possible but may sound very book-like. In English, it is equally possible to use the verb: “one day when they were walking, Yaru couldn’t but start laughing”.

In both corpora there was only a small number of split samples, the majority of them was split by verbal suffixes *le*, *zhe*, *guo*, and *zhe* samples were much more frequent than those of *le* and *guo*:

夜空闪烁着繁星，亮堂堂的街灯下，一对对情侣悠闲地**散着步**。

The night sky was shining with stars, and under the bright street lights a couple of lovers were taking a carefree walk. Ночное небо сияло звездами, и под яркими уличными огнями влюбленная пара совершала беззаботную прогулку.

In Russian, it is equally possible to use the verb with an adverb (беззаботно прогуливалась). In English, “and under the bright street lights a couple of lovers were walking leisurely” is also possible.

病恹恹的一起到银石滩去**散了步**

The ill went together to Silverstone beach to take a walk. Больные вместе отправились на прогулку на пляж Сильверстоун.

In Russian, using the noun is the most appropriate way to translate this sentence. It is possible to use the VN, but it may demand a non-neutral context (they came there specifically in order to take a walk). In English, using the VN is the most appropriate option, although the verb is also possible.

平时我也到这竹林中来读过书**散过步**

Normally I would come to this forest to read a book or to take a walk. Обычно я приходил в этот лес читать книги и прогуливаться.

In Russian, it is syntactically possible to use the VN but the style may be inappropriate or too old-fashioned which can work in the corresponding context. In English, it is possible to use the verb but in combination with “to read a book” the VN sounds more organic; using the single verb we would also need to say “to read” instead of “to read a book”.

爷俩一边**散着步**，父亲一边讲故事

Granddad is walking while father is telling stories. Дедушка совершает прогулку, а отец рассказывает истории.

In both English and Russian, it is possible to use the VN: “granddad is taking a walk while father is telling stories, «дедушка гуляет, а отец рассказывает истории». The preferred option may depend on the context.

“你和她一起**散过步**吗？”

Have you ever walked with her? Ты когда-нибудь гулял с ней?

In Russian, using the VN may be stylistically inappropriate. In English, “have you ever taken a walk with her” is also possible.

他当然会走路，可不懂得一个人**散步**。

He is certainly able to walk, but he doesn't understand about walking alone. Он, конечно, способен ходить, но он не знает, как гулять одному.

Depending on the context, in English, it may be possible to use the VN in the second part of the sentence: “he is certainly able to walk, but he doesn't understand about taking a walk alone” is also possible. In Russian, it seems to be impossible.

担心

danxin

*completely ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| To bear a heart | Проявлять беспокойство, испытывать беспокойство | - | |

The Russian VN are not as stylistically neutral as the related verbs (беспокоиться or волноваться), for example, though it is, in general, syntactically possible, they would hardly ever be used in the negative imperative mood (don't worry). In English no corresponding VN was found.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

尽管那时的中国移民数量很少，但还是引起了俄罗斯社会的**担心**。

Although the number of Chinese immigrants at that time was small, it still caused concern in Russian society. Хотя в то время число китайский иммигрантов было невелико, это все равно вызывало беспокойность в российском обществе.

In Russian, as the tone of this sentence is rather formal, it is possible to use both VN if we slightly change the structure of the second part: «российское общество все равно испытывало беспокойство» or «российское общество все равно проявляло беспокойство». Using the verb would be less appropriate due to the stylistics. In the original Chinese sentence, *danxin* is used as a noun.

比如：“我现在对你有些**担心**”

For example, “Now I’m a little bit worried about you”. Например, «Сейчас я немного за тебя волнуюсь».

In Russian it is possible to use the VN - «Сейчас я испытываю за тебя некоторое беспокойство» - but it may have a rather formal, book-style or parental tone.

但是如果你吃的是绿色食品，就不用**担**心了。

But if the food you ate was green, no need to worry. Но если Вы съели зеленый продукт, не стоит беспокоиться.

In Russian it is also appropriate to use the VN испытывать беспокойство (но если Вы съели зеленый продукт, не стоит испытывать беспокойство).

在审计中，不必太过于**担心**客户骗你。

During audit, no need to worry too much if the client cheats you. Во время аудита не нужно слишком беспокоиться, если клиент Вас обманет.

In Russian, it is equally appropriate to use the VN: «Во время аудита не нужно испытывать/проявлять слишком сильное беспокойство, если клиент Вас обманет».

在 1997-1998 年亚洲金融危机期间，世界都在**担心**中国经济继而世界经济会被连带拖下水。

During the Asian financial crisis of 1997-1998, the world was worried that the Chinese economy, and then the world economy which was tied to it, would be dragged down. Во время азиатского финансового кризиса 1997–1998 годов мир беспокоился о том, что китайская экономика, а затем и мировая экономика потерпят крах.

In this case, in Russian it is possible to use the VN and the more stylistically appropriate one would be испытывать беспокойство: мир испытывал беспокойство, что китайская экономика, а затем и мировая экономика потерпят крах.

In the corpora there were only a few split samples, but with a variety of inserted elements:

这个“鬼”刘爷爷，白白让我替他**担了这**
么多天的心！

This “ghosty” granddad Liu made me worry for him so many days in vain! Этот «призрачный» дедушка Лиу напрасно заставил меня столько дней испытывать за него беспокойство.

In this case, in Russian using the other VN may be stylistically inappropriate or incorrect, depending on the context, but it is equally possible to use the verb.

这确乎叫我们这些做教师的**担着**一份
心。

This is exactly what makes teachers like us worry. Это именно то, что заставляет нас, учителей, испытывать беспокойство.

In Russian, both VN and the verbs are equally possible to use (проявлять беспокойство / волноваться / беспокоиться).

方仲明眼中闪着坚定的光辉,沉着地说:
"也好,他不管,我们倒少担一点心!"

Fang Zhongming's eyes flashed with a firm glint and he said calmly, "Okay, he doesn't care, so we have less to worry about!". Глаза Фан Чжунмина вспыхнули непоколебимым светом, и он спокойно сказал: «Хорошо, ему все равно, значит, нам меньше о чем беспокоиться!»

In Russian, it would be syntactically difficult to use the VN in the combination with the given words.

妻子每天都为他担着一份心。

His wife worries about him every day.
Его жена волнуется за него каждый день.

In this sentence, in Russian it is syntactically possible to use VN, but depending on the context, it may be restricted by stylistics.

道歉

daoqian

*completely ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|---|---|--------------------|
| To speak an apology | Приносить извинения, просить извинения (прощения), выражать сожаление. | To seek a pardon, to make an apology, to give an apology | |

Both Russian and English VN may not be as stylistically neutral as the related verbs and demand a special, more formal, context.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

对。我会向人家**道歉**，如果有机会的话，我还希望能去看望一些老同志。

Right. I will apologize to my family, and if I have the opportunity, I would also like to visit some old comrades. Верно. Я извинюсь перед семьей, и, если у меня будет такая возможность, мне бы также хотелось навестить некоторых старых товарищей.

In Russian, it is equally possible to say «я попрошу прощения у семьи», but the other VN may be too formal in the context of family. In English, “I will make an apology to my family” is also possible while the combinations with “pardon” may be too formal.

如果是这样我向你**道歉**！

If it's so, I apologize to you! Если это так, то я прошу у тебя прощения!

In Russian, using this VN is the most appropriate way to translate this sentence. As for the verb, it is possible to say «если это так, то прости меня», but the meaning is slightly different from the original sentence as instead of “I apologize to you”, we say “forgive me”. In English, “I give you an apology” is also possible, and “if it's so, I seek your pardon” is possible but less spoken and not modern (may sound like a sarcasm).

小花猫忙**道歉**说：“对不起，对不起。

The colourful little cat quickly apologized: “I'm sorry, I'm sorry”. Маленький пятнистый кот быстро попросил прощения: «Извини, извини».

In Russian it would be also possible to use the verb “извинился”; as for the other VN, syntactically, it is possible to use them, but they demand a more formal or ironical context in this case, so, their usage would be dependent on it. In English, “the colourful little cat quickly made an apology”, “the colourful little cat made a quick apology” are both possible.

到现在其实它都没有跟中国人正式**道歉**

So far, they haven't officially apologized to the Chinese. Они все еще не принесли китайцам официальные извинения.

In Russian, it is possible to use the verb but the VN sounds more formal, thus, more appropriate in this context. In English, “they haven’t made an official apology to the Chinese” is also possible.

她坐在我的对面，开始向我道歉

She sat in front of me and started apologizing. Она села передо мной и начала просить прощения.

In Russian, the other VN may sound too formal and inappropriate without a corresponding context. It is also possible to use the verb («и начала извиняться»), but in this case the tone may sound lighter than that of the used VN. In English, “and started making her apologies” is also possible.

There were very few split samples in the corpora with a small variety of inserted words (了, 着, 过, and 一 with different classifiers):

她向山羊道了歉，便向池塘蹦去。

She apologized to the goat and jumped towards the pond. Она извинилась перед козлом и прыгнула в сторону пруда.

In Russian, it would also be possible to say «она попросила у козла прощения», but the other VN may sound too formal. In English, “she made an apology to the goat and jumped towards the pond” is possible in general, but “to make an apology” is very formal and in case it is a children story or a less formal text it would be a stylistically inappropriate mixture of registers.

解答旅客问题送一个微笑、旅客不满意
时道一声歉

Reply to the passenger’s question, give them a smile, and when they are not satisfied, offer your apology. Ответь на вопросы пассажира, улыбнись, и, когда он недоволен, принеси извинения.

In Russian, it is the most appropriate to use this VN as the context is rather formal. It is also possible to use the verb извинись. In English, it is possible to use the verb. “Reply to the

passenger's question, give them a smile, and when they are not satisfied, make an apology" is also possible.

芮小丹说：“算了，他道过歉了。”

Rui Xiaodan said, "Forget it. He apologized.". Руи Сяодан сказал: «Забудь об этом, он извинился».

Syntactically, it would be possible to use the VN in both English and Russian, but semantically and stylistically the verbs are more appropriate. Rui Xiaodan said, "Forget it. He made an apology." Is also possible.

干杯

ganbei

*semantic *liheci*

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To dry a cup | Поднять тост | To drink a toast | |

Both Russian and English VN may be only partially synonymous to this *liheci*.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

应该好好地庆祝，来，干杯！

We should celebrate it well, come, let's drink a toast! Мы должны как следует это отметить, давай, выпей!

In Russian, I consider using the VN semantically inappropriate as there is no idea of saying a toast, just drinking alcohol. In English, as it rather has a meaning to drink some alcohol to something, it is possible.

一般都必须干杯；实在不能喝酒的客人，可用无名指蘸酒

Normally, you have to drink during a toast. As for the guests who can't drink, they can dip their ring fingers in their

drinks. Как правило, пить обязательно.

Что касается тех гостей, которые

действительно не могут пить алкоголь,
они могут окунуть безымянный палец
в напиток.

In English, it is more natural to translate this sentence the given way than using the VN. In Russian, the VN can be used but it may not fully coincide with the original meaning in this context, as, it does not simply mean to drink alcohol but also implies to say “a toast”, but in the original Chinese sentence, the meaning is to drink alcohol.

“为祖国干杯！”

Cheers for the Motherland! За Родину!

In this case, in Russian no verb and no VN normally would be used. It is in general possible to use the verb “to drink” (Выпьем за Родину!), but hardly natural to use the VN. In English, the given expression would normally not be used as well. In general, for this kind of semantics, people only tend to pronounce what exactly they are drinking for.

“为了我们的友谊，为了你的健康，干杯！”

"To our friendship, to your health, cheers!" За нашу дружбу, за твое здоровье!

This case is similar to the previous one. Naturally no verb and no VN is needed.

为什么干杯前要碰杯？

Why do people clink (each others') glasses when toasting something?
Почему нужно чокаться рюмками, прежде чем выпить?

In English, it is appropriate to use the VN but in Russian for the same semantic reason as before (no saying a toast in this sentence) it is hardly possible.

There were only a few split-up samples with a rather limited number of combinations:

这晚，连滴酒从不进嘴的兰娣，也捣鼓起豪兴，跟丈夫干了一杯。

That night even Landi, who had never drunk a drop of alcohol (before in her life)

was very excited and drank a toast with her husband. В ту ночь даже Ланди,

которая никогда не пила, наполнилась воодушевлением и выпила бокал со своим мужем.

In English, it is more appropriate to use the VN to show the limitedness or shortness of the action, while in Russian it is semantically inappropriate as well as in some previous cases.

好吧，你们先去干一杯吧，待我把这事情和李岩将军交待好了，再来陪你们。

So, you go first and drink a toast, I'll talk to general Li (Yan) about this matter and I'll join you later. Хорошо, вы идите первыми и выпейте что-нибудь, а я расскажу об этом деле генералу Ли Ян и позже присоединюсь к вам.

This case is similar to the previous one. In English, the VN is more appropriate as there is an idea of limitedness of the action, in Russian, the VN is semantically inappropriate.

来，老友情，不要金，不要银，干一杯！

Come on old friends, we don't need gold, we don't need silver, let's drink a toast! Давайте, старые друзья, не нужно ни золота, ни серебра, поднимите тост!

In English, the VN is the most appropriate way to translate this combination which is supposed to be short in time or limited in occurrences. It could also be possible to use “have a drink”, although, the meaning can be slightly different. In Russian, using the VN is possible but its usage may depend on the context.

两人都爆发出无有无不有的大笑，对视着干了第一杯酒。

Both laughed out loud, and drank their first glasses of wine. Оба громко рассмеялись и выпили первый бокал вина.

In this case, we do not deal exactly with the liheci, rather with the combination “to drink a glass of wine”, where bei functions as a classifier and “wine” is the real object of the verb. In both Russian and English, “both laughed out loud, and drank the first toast” is another possible translation but it has a slightly different meaning.

随后，他一声不响地连干了三杯酒...

Then, without saying a word, he drank three glasses of wine... Затем, не сказав ни слова, он выпил три бокала вина...

In this case again we do not deal with the *liheci* but with the combination “to drink a glass of wine” and, in this context, in both English and Russian using the VN seems to be semantically inappropriate.

吹牛

chui niu

*semantic *liheci*

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To blow a cow | Задирать нос | - | |

This idiomatic *liheci* is partially synonymous to the Russian PE. The Russian VN can be used in a rather neutral speech style, however it still has a tone of irony. In English there was no similar combination found. Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL to check how we can translate them, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

别人或许会觉得我在吹牛，其实我不是在吹牛。

Others may think I'm bragging, but I'm not (bragging). Другие могут подумать, что я хвастаюсь, но я не хвастаюсь.

Depending on the context, it may be possible to use the VN in the first part of this sentence: «другие могут подумать, что я задираю нос, но я не хвастаюсь».

回去我可以向别人吹牛，我当了一晚‘总统’。

When I go back, I can brag to others. I became “president” for a night. Когда я вернусь, смогу хвастаться перед другими, что одну ночь был «президентом».

It would be syntactically possible to use the VN if slightly change the structure of the sentence, but semantically the meaning would not be exactly the same, as the VN implies looking down upon others, not just simply bragging.

广告是“吹牛的艺术”

Advertising is "the art of bragging".

Реклама - это "искусство хвастовства".

In this case, it is generally possible to use the VN (реклама – это искусство задирать нос), but it does not sound natural and would hardly be used in this combination.

好吹牛的人不为大家欢迎

Braggers are never welcomed by people.

Хвастуны не приветствуются людьми.

It is possible to use the VN and say «те, кто задирают нос, не приветствуются людьми», but the meaning can be slightly different (thinking too much of oneself or looking down upon others instead of bragging) and the phrase is less compact.

不给那些爱吹牛者吹牛的机会

Don't give those braggers a chance to brag/show off. Не давай этим хвастунам

возможности хвастаться.

In the second part of the sentence it is possible to use the VN. Partially it may be even more appropriate, although slightly different in meaning, as we would not have to repeat “braggers” and “brag” (Не давай этим хвастунам возможности задирать нос).

In both corpora there were only very few split samples with a very poor variety of elements accepted inside:

“首长，到底是谁吹了牛？”

Boss, in the end, who was bragging? Шеф,

так кто все же хвастался?

Depending on the context it may be possible to say «шеф, так кто все же задирал нос» using the VN.

好家伙，动动破笔头，吹吹牛，就赚来九十块

Wow, breaking the pen and bragging about it will get you 90 yuan. Ух ты, ломая ручку и хвастаясь , ты заработаешь 90 юаней.

Depending on the context it may be possible to use the VN: ломая ручку и задирая нос; this can also be stylistically attractive as this way we create a parallel between two verbs and their objects.

One of the samples is 大吹其牛(说) which can be rather considered a fixed expression with the meaning “to exaggerate” than a particular usage of this *liheci*.

他顿时涨红了脸:“你去打听一下,我什么时候吹过牛!”

He blushed all of a sudden: "Go and ask, when was I bragging?!" Он мгновенно покраснел: «Пойди и спроси, когда я хвастался!»

Depending on the context it may be possible to use the VN: «пойди и спроси, когда я задираю нос!»

请假

qingjia

*highly ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| To ask holidays | Брать отпуск, отпрашиваться с работы | To take a vacation, to have a holiday | |

The English VN do not fully correspond with the meaning of this *liheci* and can be only considered contextual synonyms. The first Russian VN means to take a vacation, while the second is just to ask for leave, thus, their usage may depend on the meaning of the original sentence.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

要求员工少**请假**、缩短假期

A requirement to employees is not only to take fewer vacations but to shorten them. Требование к сотрудникам меньше брать отпуска и сократить длительность отпуска.

In Russian, depending on the context, both VN can be appropriate: требование к сотрудникам меньше отпрашиваться с работы и сократить длительность отпуска. In English, “to have fewer holidays” is also possible.

工资不说，如果需要**请假**，那工资就会被扣除掉

Notwithstanding the salary, if it's necessary to take a vacation, the salary will be deducted. Не говоря о зарплате, если взять отпуск, он будет вычтен из зарплаты.

In Russian, depending on the meaning, both VN could be used. In English, “notwithstanding the salary, if it's necessary to have a holiday, the salary will be deducted” is also possible.

当时我是一名工人，想考大学，既不能**请假**复习，又缺乏复习资料。

At that time, I was a worker and wanted to enter the university. I could not take a vacation to revise and lacked studying materials. В то время я был рабочим, хотел поступить в университет, но не мог взять отпуск для повторения и не имел учебных материалов.

In Russian, depending on the meaning, both VN could be used. In English, “I could not have a holiday to revise and lacked studying materials” is more semantically inappropriate as “holidays” are not for revising materials.

因身体虚弱不得不经常**请假**

Because of weak health, there is no other choice but to take vacations often. Из-за слабого здоровья часто приходится брать отпуск.

In Russian, depending on the meaning, both VN could be used. In English, “because of weak health, there is no other choice but to have frequent holidays” is also possible.

每逢初一月半，赵明诚请假回家

Each month from the 1st to the 15th, Zhao Mingcheng takes a vacation to return home. Каждый месяц с 1 по 15 число, Чжао Минчен берет отпуск, чтобы вернуться домой.

In Russian, depending on the meaning, both VN could be used. In English, it is also possible to use “he has a holiday” or “he has some holidays”.

我担心出什么意外，一打听，说他请了个假，要迟到二三天。

I worried that something unexpected had happened, asked him, and he said he had taken a vacation and would be two or three days late. Я волновался, что что-то случилось, спросил его, он сказал, что взял отпуск и опоздает на 2-3 дня.

In Russian, I consider this VN more appropriate than the other one for semantics. In English, we can also say “he’d had a holiday”, however, it may be a more spoken option than written.

我爸爸向医院请了假，去看这出戏的演出。

My dad asked for leave from the hospital to watch the play. Мой отец отпросился из госпиталя, чтобы посмотреть спектакль.

In both English and Russian, the usage of VN would depend on the context, however it may be still inappropriate semantically as the time one needs to watch a match is shorter than the time implied by “vacations” and “holidays”. In case the dad works at the hospital all the four can be used, however, in case, he attends it as a patient, for example, for some constant procedures, all of them are equally impossible to use.

将军痛楚地缩回手说：“我今天请了一个小时的假，是来赔礼的，不是来要钱的！”

The general retracted his hand in pain and said, "I asked for an hour of leave today and came to apologize, not to demand

money”. Генерал болезненно одернул руку и сказал: «Я отпросился на час сегодня и пришел, чтобы извиниться, а не чтобы требовать деньги».

In English, it is hardly possible to use the VN, as it is not really possible to say “a one-hour vacation” or “a one-hour holiday”. In Russian, отпроситься с работы could be used in a particular context, as normally, “work” is not the word used for military officers.

你得请几天假在家好好地照顾她。

You have to take a few days off to take good care of her at home. Ты должен взять отпуск на несколько дней, чтобы как следует заботиться о ней дома.

In Russian, depending on the context both VN can be possible to use (in this case “to take a vacation” is more general than “to ask for leave at work”, so, it can be used regardless of the context). In English, “You have to take several days vacation for several days” is also possible.

我已请好了假，明天去北京

I have already asked for vacation and will go to Beijing tomorrow. Я уже взял отпуск и завтра еду в Пекин.

In Russian, depending on the context both VN can be possible to use. In English, the VN are inappropriate.

“娘替我在小队里请过假了！”

Mom asked for some leave for me in the squad. Мама взяла для меня отпуск в отряде.

In both English and Russian it would be semantically inappropriate to use the VN. In Russian, “work” does not correspond with “squad”. In English both “to take” and “to have” mean to go somewhere for holidays but not to ask to get days off.

“嫂嫂，娘根本没有给你请过假，快快割麻来吧。”

Sister-in-law, mother didn't give you any vacations at all, come quick to cut the hemp. Сестра (старшего брата),

матушка вовсе не давала тебе отпуск,
быстро иди жать лен.

In both English and Russian, we can paraphrase this sentence to “mother didn’t allow you to take a vacation” («вовсе не разрешала тебе брать отпуск») to use the VN.

请了十天的假绕弯回家看看

He took a ten-day vacation to walk around and visit his family. Он взял десятидневный отпуск, чтобы прогуляться и навестить семью.

Depending on the context, in Russian it would be possible to use the second VN, in English the other VN are also possible.

"向站长请一星期假。"

Ask the Head of Station for a week off.
Отпросись на неделю у начальника станции.

In Russian, it is possible to make the following combinations with the VN: отпросись на неделю с работы у начальника станции and возьми недельный отпуск у начальника станции. We should notice that the meaning will be slightly different, as the first sentence simply imply a week off, while the second may imply having rest or holidays in an organized way because of the word отпуск. In English, “take a week-long holiday from the Head of Station” is also possible.

他请个假回去看看对象

He took a vacation to go back to visit his girlfriend. Он взял отпуск, чтобы вернуться проведать свою девушку.

In Russian, depending on the context we can use both VN. In English, the other VN are also possible but may be less natural.

伤心

shangxin

*highly ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--|-------------------------|--------------------|
| To hurt a heart | Испытывать горе (грусть), Предаваться грусти, ранить душу, страдать душой, испытывать (переносить) огорчение, причинять (доставлять) страдания, причинять боль | To break one's heart | |

This is an interesting sample as in English there is one VN found, whose verb is not withing the most frequent delexical verbs, but in Russian they are very numerous and probably not all the existing mentioned. The Russian VN are not fully synonymous, their usage may depend on the context. The English VN is also only a partial synonym for this liheci and it cannot be used in all occasions. It is also necessary to take into consideration that this liheci means both “to be sad” and “to make sad”, which may result in using a different V.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

这次伤心的落第，使我再也无心问津考场之事。

That sad failure in the imperial exam made me never be interested again in the matters of the exam room. Этот грустный провал на императорских экзаменах заставил меня потерять интерес к делам экзаменационной комнаты.

In this case *shangxin* is used as an adjective, but it is impossible to convert the VN into an adjective. It would be possible to use a participle (for example, этот провал на императорском экзамене, причинивший мне страдания) but it would be less compact and natural than to use the adjective.

当然，使孩子非常伤心的父母是为数不多的。

Of course, not many parents make their children really sad. Конечно, не многие родители сильно огорчают своих детей.

In Russian, it would be syntactically possible to use almost all of the VN where the verb has the general semantics of to give or to make (somebody feel something), for example, не многие родители причиняют сильные страдания своим детям or не многие родители сильно ранят душу своим детям, or it is possible to use the verb “make” to use the rest of the VN, for example, не многие родители заставляют своих детей испытывать сильные страдания. All these versions may be appropriate depending on the context, but they are less compact than using the verb, thus, may be less natural or neutral. In English it is rather semantically inappropriate to use the VN.

我们多伤心呀！

We are so sad! Мы так огорчены (расстроены)!

In Russian, it is syntactically possible to use some of the VN, for example, мы испытываем такие страдания, but their usage may depend on the context. In English it is semantically and syntactically inappropriate to use the VN.

她用被子蒙住头，伤心地嘤嘤啜泣……

She covered her head with a quilt and wept sadly... Она накрыла голову одеялом и горько заплакала...

In Russian, it would be difficult both syntactically and semantically use the VN. It is basically impossible to form an adverb which would describe the following verb from VN, and “wept sadly” is also not the same as “weep for feeling sad” at the aspect of semantics.

他好象遭了天雷轰顶、伤心得不得了。

He seemed to be struck with lightning and suffer enormously. Казалось, он был поражен молнией и испытывал неимоверные страдания.

In Russian, this VN is equally appropriate as the correlated verb, but other VN may be semantically incorrect in this meaning. It is noticeable that in this case shangxin accept a verbal complement after it as if it was a single verb. In English it is semantically and syntactically inappropriate to use the VN.

There were not so many split-up samples and the absolute majority of them uses the possessive structure with 的:

由于我们既容不得真错误，也容不得"假错误"，不知伤了多少同志的心

As we are intolerant to both true and "false" mistakes, we don't know how many comrades we made suffer. Так как мы не прощаем ни настоящие, ни «ложные» ошибки, мы не знаем, скольким товарищам были причинены страдания.

In Russian, depending on how we organize the phrase syntactically we can use almost all the VN which imply "suffering", not "sadness". At the same time, I consider using the VN in the passive voice more neutral as by this we avoid mentioning the source of suffering which is not clear without more context. In English it is semantically inappropriate to use the VN.

如果非给钱就会伤人家的心。

If we don't give money, it will/can hurt our family. Если не дать денег, это может причинить страдания (боль) членам семьи.

In Russian, in this case it is equally possible to use the two used VN or the correlated verb(s). In English it is semantically inappropriate to use the VN.

得把话说得委婉些，别太伤了老子的心。

You should speak gently, don't hurt Laozu too much. Ты должен говорить тактично, не причиняй слишком много страданий Лаою.

Depending on how we paraphrase this sentence, we may use different VN and correlated verbs with a very similar final meaning. In English it is possible to use the VN in general meaning but the usage may depend on the context, and it is also impossible to combine it with “too much” as “to break heart” already implies the highest degree of suffering.

儿子的不满，使她马上敏感地伤起心来

The dissatisfaction of her son immediately made her sensitive and sad. Неудовольство сына сразу же сделало ее чувствительно-грустной.

In Russian, it is possible to use those VN which are related to feeling sad, for example, “сразу же заставило ее испытать грусть”, but it would be hard to combine them with the word “sensitive(ly)”. In English it is semantically and syntactically inappropriate to use the VN.

拒绝吧，太伤她的心

Refuse it, it hurts her too much. Откажись от этого, это причиняет ей слишком много страданий.

Depending on how we paraphrase this sentence, we may use various VN with the semantics of making somebody suffer as well as we can use the verb “to make” with those VN which mean “to suffer”. As in one of the previous cases, the general meaning of English VN would work but it is impossible to combine it with “too much”.

我的话那一句伤了她的心呢？

What in my words hurt her? (What did I say to hurt her). Что из моих слов заставило ее страдать (расстроило ее)?

Depending on how we paraphrase this sentence, we may use various VN with the semantics of making somebody suffer as well as we can use the verb “to make” with those VN which mean “to suffer”, for example, причинило ей страдания (огорчения) or заставило ее испытывать грусть,

but the last option is too long and not very natural. In English it is syntactically possible to use the VN but its usage is strongly dependent on the context and may be inappropriate.

她觉得自己用那两个可怕的字伤了对方的心。

She felt that she had broken the other person's heart with those two terrible words. Она чувствовала, что причинила страдания другому человеку этими двумя ужасными словами.

The usage of the VN in both English and Russian in this case depends on the semantics of the context, as “she” may have made the other person feel sad or suffer or feel completely hard-broken. In this translation I base on the fact that the words were “horrible”, which means a high degree of the suffering “she” may have provoked.

她实在不忍伤老师的心。

She honestly couldn't bear to (have) hurt the teacher's feelings. Она действительно не смогла бы причинить боль учителю.

Depending on the context, in English it may be possible to use the VN, however, I rather think that “to break heart” is semantically too strong in this case. In Russian, depending on the context and on the way we paraphrase the sentence, we may equally use several different VN and correlated verbs.

原谅我，刚才我太冲动，说话伤你的心。

Forgive me, I've been too impulsive and hurt you with my words. Прости меня, я был слишком импульсивен и причинил тебе боль своими словами.

Depending on the context, in English it may be possible to use the VN, however, I rather think that it is not fully natural to say directly “I broke your heart with my words” because the register is too high. In Russian, depending on the context and on the way we paraphrase the sentence, we may equally use several different VN and correlated verbs.

开玩笑

kaiwanxiao

*highly ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivavalent | English equivalent | Additonal options |
|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| To open/start a joke | - | To make a joke, To have a joke | Осыпать насмешками |

In Russian no corresponding VN was found, the additional option means “to laugh at (somebody)” which may only be used in a rare contextual occasion.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

朱镕基总理曾开玩笑说，他也要做个收费员，担子轻，收入高。

Premier Zhu Rongji once joked that he should also be a toll collector, because the burden is light and the income is high. Премьер Чжу Рундзи однажды пошутил, что ему стоило бы также быть сборщиком пошлин, бремя не велико, а зарплата высока.

In English, “premier Zhu Rongji once made a joke that he should also be a toll collector, cause the burden is light and the income is high” and “premier Zhu Rongji once had a joke that he should also be a toll collector, cause the burden is light and the income is high” are both possible.

他稍后承认自己喜欢开玩笑、四处闲逛和迎接挑战。

He later admitted that he enjoyed joking, hanging around, and taking on challenges. Позже он признался, что ему нравилось шутить, гулять и принимать вызовы.

In English, “he later admitted that he enjoyed making jokes, hanging around, and taking on challenges” and “he later admitted that he enjoyed having a joke, hanging around, and taking on challenges” are both possible.

我开玩笑说，互联网是我的信仰，你有信仰吗？

I joked that the Internet is my belief, do you have a belief? Я в шутку сказал, что интернет – это моя вера, а у тебя есть вера?

In English, “I made a joke that the Internet is my belief, do you have a belief?” and “I had a joke (with them) that the Internet was my belief, do you have a belief?” are both possible.

有时候我跟朋友开玩笑

Sometimes I joke with friends. Иногда я шучу с друзьями.

In English, “sometimes I make jokes with (my) friends” and “sometimes I have a joke with friends” are both possible.

别开玩笑，你知道我的意思。

Stop joking, you know what I mean. Хватит шутить, ты понимаешь, о чем я.

In English, “stop making jokes, you know what I mean” and “stop having a joke, you know what I mean” are both possible.

There were very few split-up samples, but with various combinations between V and N:

也许他想和我开个玩笑，让我等到午夜过后再来。

Maybe he wanted to joke with me and let me wait until after midnight. Может, он хотел пошутить со мной и заставить меня ждать до полуночи.

In English, “maybe he wanted to make a joke with me and let me wait until after midnight” and “maybe he wanted to have a joke with me and let me wait until after midnight” are both possible.

在这一年中，我停止了一切娱乐，谢绝了一切应酬，但命运有时会给人开开玩笑

This year, I have stopped all entertainment and refused all social interaction, but fate sometimes makes

jokes with people. В этом году я прекратил все развлечения и отказался от всего социального общения, но судьба иногда подшучивает над людьми.

In English, “this year, I have stopped all entertainment and refused all social interaction, but fate sometimes has a joke with people” and “this year, I have stopped all entertainment and refused all social interaction, but fate sometimes jokes with people” are both possible.

"博士，请原谅，我跟你开了个玩笑。"

"Doctor, excuse me, I made a joke with you." «Доктор, извините, я пошутил над вами».

In English, "Doctor, excuse me, I had a joke with you" is possible but may sound insulting and “Doctor, excuse me, I joked with you” is also possible.

我呆呆地站着，揣度这青年人会开什么玩笑。

I stood still, wondering what the young man would be joking about. Я стоял на месте, гадая, над чем будет шутить молодой человек.

In English, “I stood still, wondering what the young man would make jokes about” is also possible, as well as “I stood still, wondering what the young man would have a joke about”. “Have a joke” normally cannot use the plural form of the N.

在开一些荒诞不经的玩笑之前，每个人都必须懂得这一点。

Everyone must know this before making some ridiculous jokes. Каждый должен знать это, прежде чем делать дурацкие шутки.

In Russian, we have no choice but to use “to do/make jokes” because we have to be able to use the adjective “ridiculous”, but it is not a common combination and it does not sound fully correct. It is also possible to paraphrase it into “to joke in a ridiculous way”. In English, “everyone must know this before having some ridiculous jokes” is impossible because “to have a joke” cannot be

combined with “ridiculous” and many other attributives (“have a bit of a joke”, “have a little joke” and other quantitative attributives are possible).

二岁，脑子里没一点正经玩意，老想着同外星人干一架或进行时光旅行到古代遑遑能，同老前辈们开个历史玩笑

At the age of two, I didn't have any serious stuff in my head. I always thought about having a fight with aliens or traveling in time to ancient times to make a historical joke with the previous generations. Когда мне было два года, у меня в голове не было ничего серьезного, я все время думал о том, чтобы подраться с инопланетянином или отправиться в прошлое и сыграть историческую шутку с древними людьми.

In English, “or traveling in time to ancient times to have a historical joke with the previous generations” is also possible. In both English and Russian we have to use a verb-noun combination to be able to add the adjective “historical” which in this sense cannot be converted into the adverb “historically”. In Russian, as there is no VN, I used the combination “to play a joke” which is normally not used separately but only in the fixed PE “to play a cruel joke” (сыграть злую шутку), replacing “cruel” with “historical”.

跟咱们开了个不大不小的玩笑？

Did they just make a joke with us? Они просто пошутили над нами?

In English, “were they just joking with us?” and “did they just have a joke with us?” are both possible.

这不是在作航天表演，它为什么开这样的玩笑？

This is not a space show, why does it make this kind of joke? Это же не космическое шоу, почему оно так шутит?

In English, we need to use a VN to be able to add “this kind of” as in the original Chinese sentence. “This is not a space show, why does it has this kind of joke?” is also possible in English.

故障

guzhang

*highly ashesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivavalent | English equivalent | Addititonal options |
|---------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| To hit a palm | Хлопать в ладоши (ладони) | - | |

In English no VN was found, although there is a combination synonymous to the Russian OGIO “to clap hands”. The Russian VN is neither universally synonimuous to the liheci, it has a wider meaning that the verb “to applaud” as it can also mean “to clap hands” in general.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from the corpus, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

同为创业者，我为王微**鼓掌**。

As/like an entrepreneur, I applaud Wang Wei. Как (и) предприниматель, я аплодирую Ван Вэй.

In Russian, using the VN is both stylistically and semantically inappropriate.

如果你去听我的相声，愿意**鼓掌**或者喊“噫”都可以

If you come to listen to my crosstalk, if you want you can applaud or shout “eee”. Если придешь послушать мой юмористический диалог, если хочешь, можешь хлопать в ладоши или кричать «иии».

In Russian, both the verb and the VN are possible in this case.

不管在什么场合，什么会上，我只要说话大家都**鼓掌**。

No matter what occasion or meeting, as soon as I start talking, everybody starts applauding. В любой ситуации, на

любом собрании, стоит только мне начать говорить, все тут же начинают аплодировать.

In Russian, it is semantically and syntactically possible to use the VN, but its usage may depend on the style of the text, as it sounds far less formal than the verb.

北台观众站起来鼓掌。

The audience in Beitai stood up and applauded. Зрители в Бэйтае встали и зааплодировали.

As in the previous case, In Russian, it is semantically and syntactically possible to use the VN, but its usage may depend on the style of the text.

我估计我那时候就算不会唱歌，大家也会鼓掌。

I think, even if at that time I didn't know how to sing, everybody would still applaud. Думаю, даже если бы в то время я не умел петь, все бы все равно аплодировали.

As in the previous case, In Russian, it is semantically and syntactically possible to use the VN, but its usage may depend on the style of the text.

北大的学生看球，女排输一分鼓一回掌！"

The students of Beida watched the match, the women's volleyball team lost one point and (they) clapped hands. Студенты Бейда смотрели матч, женская волейбольная команда потеряла одно очко и (они) захлопала(и) в ладоши

Without any context, we cannot know if it is an occasion which happened once (they lost, they clapped), or we can translate it as something that happens constantly (when the students watch a match, if the female team loses, they clap hands). We also do not know who claps, the students or the female team. In any case, I consider that semantically it is more appropriate to use "to clap

hands” in both English and Russian, as “to applaud” we normally use when we want to praise somebody, not when we are happy that someone loses.

掌鼓得特别响，笑得也特别开心，他觉得多鼓一次掌，多使一把劲就能把那些小脚女人促动一下，应该是猛醒的时候了。

The applause was especially loud and the laughter was especially happy. He felt that one more round of applause and one more effort could make those timid and conservative men move, it had to be the time of awakening. Аплодисменты были особенно громкими, а смех был особенно счастливым: он чувствовал, что еще один аплодисмент и еще одно усилие, и эти консервативные узколобые люди начнут двигаться, что это должно быть временем пробуждения.

It is interesting that in the original sentence, in the 1st case, the verbal compliment with *de* is added right after the *liheci* as if it was a verb. In Russian, in the 1st case it is possible to use both the verb and the VN, as well as the noun, in the 2nd case it is impossible to use the VN nor the verb as we need to be able to add “one more”. However, if we paraphrase the sentence, we can use both in this kind of translation: if they clap hands one more time, is they make one more effort (если хлопнуть в ладоши еще раз, если сделать еще одно усилие).

于是“哗——”地鼓起掌来了。

So, (they) started applauding noisily.
Поэтому с шумом зааплодировали.

In Russian, it is possible to use the VN and the choice between the verb and the VN may depend on the style of the text and its semantics.

毛主席那慈祥的脸微笑着，鼓着掌。

Mao’s kind face was smiling and he was applauding. Доброе лицо председателя Мао улыбалось, и он аплодировал.

In Russian, it is possible to use the VN and the choice between the verb and the VN may depend on the style of the text and its semantics.

检查团的成员也都鼓了掌。

The members of the inspection team also applauded. Члены инспекционной группы тоже (за)аплодировали.

In Russian, it is possible to use the VN and the choice between the verb and the VN may depend on the style of the text and its semantics.

报名

Baoming

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|--------------------|
| To report a name | Подавать заявку Осуществить регистрацию, оформить регистрацию | To make an application | |

The 1st Russian VN as well as the English VN can only be contextual synonyms. The other Russian VN asound rather formal and may not be neutral in style.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

不要错过考试报名时间

Don't miss the exam registration time. Не пропустите время регистрации на экзамен.

In both English and Russian, it is inappropriate to use the VN. Syntactically, it is possible to say, for example, “don’t miss the time to make an application for the exam” but semantically and stylistically it would be incorrect as the “exam registration time” is a rather fixed commonly used combination.

各地**报名**考试的费用不同，一般每科目在 20-50 元左右

The registration fee for the exam varies from place to place, generally around 20-50 yuan per subject. Стоимость регистрации на экзамен варьируется от места к месту, как правило, около 20-50 юаней за предмет.

The situation in this case is similar to the previous one. “Registration fee” is a rather stable combination in common use. It is interesting that in the original sentence they say *booming kaoshi*, so the *liheci* accepts an object as if it was a verb.

宁波却是 11 月考试，所以若你四月份的没通过，你可以试试**报名**宁波的。

The exam in Ninbo is in December, so, if you fail the exam in April, you can try to register for the exam in Ninbo. Экзамен в городе Нинбо проводится в декабре, поэтому, если ты провалишься на апрельском экзамене, ты можешь попробовать подать заявку на экзамен в Нинбо.

In both English and Russian, in this case it is possible to use the VN “to make an application” and the verb “to register”, partially because of the semantics of the verb “to try”, which means that the registration is not definitive, but rather an attempt to register. As in the previous case, the *liheci* accepts an object (*Ninbo de [kaoshi]*).

获得**报名**注册号，打印**报名**表

Get your registration number and print the registration form. Получи регистрационный номер, распечатай регистрационную форму

In this case we need an adjectival form, so, it is impossible to use the VN in both languages.

1935 年红军出川时，她偷偷**报名**参加了红军

When the Red Army left Sichuan in 1935, she secretly signed up. Когда в 1935 году Красная Армия вышла из провинции

Сычуань, она тайно вступила в Красную Армию.

In this case in both English and Russian, using both the correlated verbs and the VN is inappropriate, as they cannot be combined with the word “army”.

There were only a few split samples with a very narrow variety of inserted elements:

石头胡同的孩子们兴冲冲地报了名。

The children in the stone alley registered happily. Дети в каменном переулке с радостью зарегистрировались.

In this case, without any context, we cannot know whether the “children” made an application for something, registered or reported their names (in order to register). Syntactically it is possible to use all the three options but the real translation would depend on the contextual meaning.

既然报了名，就要学好。

As you have registered, you should study hard. Теперь, когда вы зарегистрировались, вам нужно хорошо учиться.

In English, it is semantically impossible to use the VN as the word *jiran* shows that the action has already happened, so they actually registered not simply made an application. The same is true for the related Russian VN. The two other Russian VN can be used in case the context is very formal.

耿常炯想，“我连名都没报，怎么传出这样的消息来？”

Geng Changjiong thought, "I didn't even give my name. How could this news spread?" Гэн Чанцзюнь подумал: «Я даже не назвал свое имя. Как могла распространиться эта новость?»

Syntactically, it is possible to use the verb “to register” in English or the same verb and the “realise a registration” VN in Russian, but semantically, within the context we have, we definitely need to use the combination “to report a name”.

我先报个名！

Let me sign up first! Дайте мне сначала зарегистрироваться!

In both English and Russian it is possible to use the verb and the VN, but without any context we cannot decide which one is semantically more appropriate.

我给您也报了个名！

I registered you too! Я тебя тоже зарегистрировал!

In both English and Russian it is possible to use the verb and the VN, but without any context we cannot decide which one is semantically more appropriate.

其实阿贵今天已经去报过名

In fact, Agui has already registered today.
На самом деле, Агуи уже зарегистрировался сегодня.

In both English and Russian it is possible to use the verb and the VN, but without any context we cannot decide which one is semantically more appropriate.

见面

Jianmian

*completely adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|----------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| To see an appearance | Проводить встречу, Устраивать встречу | To have a meeting | |

Both Russian and English VN are only contextual synonyms for this *liheci*. The Russian VN may also be rather formal, so their usage would also depend on the style of the text.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

首次见面只是礼节性的闲聊。

The first meeting was just for a courtesy talk. На первой встрече была только светская беседа.

In both English and Russian it is possible to paraphrase this sentence in order to use the VN, for example, “the first time we had a meeting, it was just for a courtesy talk”, but it is less compact and natural.

现在再说皇帝和内阁日常**不见面**

Now let's say again that the emperor and the cabinet do not have a meeting every day. Сейчас давайте вернемся к вопросу о том, что император и кабинет министров не проводят встречи ежедневно.

In both English and Russian, it is possible to use the VN and the verbs, the choice may roughly depend on the context.

做为朋友不一定要**见面**，有时只要读一
读您的大作

In order to be friends, it is not necessary to meet (face to face), sometimes it's enough to read your work. Чтобы стать друзьями, не нужно видеться, иногда достаточно просто читать Ваши произведения.

In both English and Russian it is possible to use the VN, but their usage may strongly depend on the context and sound less natural.

是谁安排你们**见面**的？

Who arranged your meeting? Кто устроил вашу встречу?

In Russian, using this VN is the most and basically only correct way to translate the original sentence. In English, it is also possible to say “who arranged for you to meet?” or “who arranged for you to have a meeting?” but the register is different.

为何他与亲生儿子**见面**而不相认？

Why do his biological son and him meet but don't recognize each other? Почему он и его биологический сын видятся, но не признают друг друга (не знакомы)?

In this context, in both English and Russian, using the VN is semantically inappropriate.

演出完毕，她和老廖夫妇见了面。

After the performance, she met the Liao couple. После окончания спектакля, она встретила супругов Ляо.

In Russian using the VN is stylistically (as well as probably semantically) inappropriate. In English, we cannot use the VN if the meeting was not prearranged, which is supposed but not fully clear in this context.

你们看，一场患难之交，生离死别，不能够见个面

You see, companions in misfortune who separate forever can never have enough meetings. Видите ли, между товарищами по несчастью, что расстаются навсегда, не может быть достаточного количества встреч.

In this case, the English VN is much more appropriate than the verb as we have to convey the meaning of “enough”, but the Russian VN are stylistically inappropriate.

海琴，这都发生在你约我见最后一面的那个晚上。

Haiqin, this all happened the night you asked me to have the last meeting. Хайцин, все это произошло ночью, когда ты попросил меня встретиться последний раз.

In English, it is also possible to use the verb. In Russian, the VN can be used if the context is formal (a formal meeting).

多么好的一个孩子，竟不能见爹一面。

Such a good child, but after all can't see his father. Такой хороший ребенок, но все-таки (оказывается) не может увидеть отца (видеться с отцом).

In both English and Russian, using the VN is stylistically inappropriate.

见惜玉面朝里墙，躺在那里一动不动。

[I] saw Xiyu facing the inner wall, lying without movements. Увидел Сию неподвижно лежащей лицом к внутренней стене.

In both English and Russian, using the VN is semantically impossible.

每次一见他的面，听见他那伪善的声音，她就起着强烈的反感。

Every time she saw him and heard his hypocritical words, she felt a strong aversion. Каждый раз, когда она видела его и слышала его лицемерный голос, она чувствовала сильное отвращение.

In both English and Russian, using the VN is semantically impossible. "Every time she had a meeting with him" sounds more related to business.

"好几天总见不到你的面，晚上民校也不去上！

I haven't seen you for several days, I/you didn't even go to the evening class! Я не видел тебя несколько дней, я / ты даже не пошел / пришел / пошла / пришла в вечернюю школу!

In both English and Russian, using the VN is semantically impossible.

我们要见一次面，坐公共汽车路上要走七天！

We're going/need to meet once, and it's seven days on the bus! Мы собираемся встретиться один раз, и это семь дней в автобусе! "

In Russian, it is possible to use the VN if the context is about organizing a meeting, not seeing somebody. In English, "we're going/need to have one meeting, and it's seven days on the bus!" is also possible.

为要急急硬着头皮度过见父亲第一面的难关，我叫育秀陪着我到田里去。

In order to withstand the difficulties of the first meeting with dad fast and with

courage, I asked Yuxiu to accompany me to the field. Чтобы скрепя сердце пережить трудности первой встречи с отцом, я попросил Юсию пойти со мной на поле.

In both English and Russian, it would be semantically and stylistically inappropriate to use the VN.

既然来到了东京，还怕见不着面？

Now that you've arrived in Tokyo, are you still afraid you won't meet? Теперь, когда вы прибыли в Токио, вы все еще боитесь, что не встретитесь?

In both English and Russian, it would be semantically and stylistically inappropriate to use the VN.

起床

Qichuang

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To stand a bed | - | - | |

In both English and Russian no corresponding VN was found. In English this meaning is normally conveyed by “to get up” or “to wake up”, in Russian by the similar verbs “вставать” and “просыпаться”, or we can also use the longer combination “to get up from the bed” (вставать с кровати), but this combination may belong to a lower speech style and cannot be always equally appropriate as the verb “to get up”.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

她在“凤凰”工作多年，每天早上四点半起床，赶到公司上早班。

She has been working in Phoenix for many years and gets up at 4:30 every morning to rush to the company for her morning shift. Она много лет работает в

Фениксе и каждое утро встают в 4:30 и спешит в компанию на утреннюю смену.

In both English and Russian we can use “get up” or “wake up”.

她妈妈说，她每天都是自己上闹钟，5点钟就起床，而且从来就没有叫过苦

Her mom says she sets the alarm by herself every day, gets up at 5 and has never complained. Ее мама сказала, что она сама каждый день заводит будильник, встает в 5 и никогда не жаловалась.

In both English and Russian we can use “get up” or “wake up”.

班上有好多同学喜欢晚睡、晚起，起床后没时间在家里吃早餐，拿起一个面包，一边吃一边就往学校跑。

Many students in the class like going to sleep late and they get up late. They don't have time to eat breakfast at home after getting up, so, they pick up a bread and eat while rushing to school. Многие ребята в классе любят поздно ложиться и поздно вставать, после подъема у них нет времени на завтрак, поэтому они хватают хлеб и едят на бегу в школу.

In both English and Russian we can use “get up” or “wake up”.

他每天早晨5点钟就起床去爬山。

Every day he gets up at 5am and goes climbing. Он встает в 5 часов каждое утро, чтобы подняться на гору.

In both English and Russian we use the verb “to get up” which, in this case, is more semantically appropriate than “to wake up”.

就是说，如果巴士 9:30 离开去做投篮练习，我就得 8:30 起床。

So, if the bus which goes to the basketball practice leaves at 9:30, I have to get up at 8:30. То есть, если автобус, который едет на баскетбольную практику, отправляется в 9:30, мне нужно встать в 8:30.

In both English and Russian we use the verb “to get up” which, in this case, is more semantically appropriate than “to wake up”.

There were very few split samples with a vary poor variety of inserted elements:

我按着花钟的指示，天才蒙蒙亮就起了床。

I followed the indications of the floral clock, and got up with the first glimmer of dawn. Я последовал указанию цветочных часов и проснулся с первыми лучами рассвета.

Depending on the context, both “to get up” and “to wake up” can be used.

在大年三十的晚上，我儿媳妇病得起不来床

On New Year’s Eve, in the evening, my daughter-in-law was ill and unable to stand. Вечером в канун нового года моя невестка была больна и не могла встать с постели.

In English, using “to stand” is more appropriate than “to get/wake up” as she may not be asleep, just ill and in bed and the sentence says “in the evening”; in Russian it is stylistically more correct to use the full combination but we replace the noun *krovat* with with the noun *postel*, which is higher in style and more appropriate for novel-like texts.

见面

Jianmian

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To go out for a duty | - | - | |

In both English and Russian no corresponding VN was found. In English this meaning is normally conveyed by “to go/be on a business trip”, in Russian by the similar combinations “отправляться в командировку” and “быть в командировке”.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

出差人员必需随身携带的差旅费

Business travelers should carry with themselves the money allocated for travel expenses. Командированным лицам необходимо иметь при себе деньги, выданные на сопутствующие расходы.

In the original sentence, *chuchai* is used in the adjectival function, so we can translate it accordingly in both English and Russian.

在日常工作中，不论是出差，还是外出开会，随时都可以对下属进行指导。

In daily work, you can guide your subordinates at any time, whether on a business trip or in a meeting. В повседневной работе вы можете руководить своими подчиненными в любое время, в том числе во время командировки или деловой встречи.

In the original sentence, *chuchai* is used in the adjectival function, so we can translate it accordingly in both English and Russian.

最好具有理工科背景，有销售消费品的经验，能在省内出差。

It is best to have studied science and engineering, have experience in selling consumer goods, and be able to travel within the province. Лучше всего иметь научно-технический бэкграунд, опыт продажи потребительских товаров и

ИМЕТЬ ВОЗМОЖНОСТЬ ПУТЕШЕСТВОВАТЬ В
ПРЕДЕЛАХ ПРОВИНЦИИ.

In this case, in both English and Russian we use the verb “to travel” as the context makes the meaning clear.

我们去北京出差、上海出差

We go on a business trip to Beijing, to Shanghai as well. Мы бываем в командировках в Пекине, бываем в Шанхае.

Without any context we do not know which tense we should use, whether it is a regular action or something in the future. With the context we may choose between to be and to go on a business trip.

这次来北京也不是出差的，而是准备在这
这儿待下来长期发展的

This time I'm in Beijing not because of a business trip, but I plan to stay for a long-term (project) development. В этот раз я прибыл в Пекин не в командировку, а для долгосрочного развития.

In both English and Russian we can use the nominal combination “business trip”.

There were very few split samples with a very poor variety of inserted elements:

大学毕业三年没有出过差的刘新偶然有
个进京公干的殊遇

Liu Xin, who hasn't been on a business trip in his three years after graduation from university, has suddenly turned out to have a special job in Beijing. Лю Синь, который ни разу не был в командировке за три года после окончания университета, неожиданно оказался в Пекине на специальной работе.

In both English and Russian, we can use “to be on a business trip” in the perfect aspect.

谈起知道她能唱歌，请她为公司出一趟差，广播一次。

Speaking about her ability to sing, ask her to go on a business trip for the company and do a broadcast (at least once). Говоря о ее умение петь, попросите ее съездить в командировку ради компании и выступить один раз в эфире.

In both English and Russian, we can use “to go on a business trip”.

着急

Zhaoji

*completely adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| To experience/to suffer from an emergency | Испытывать беспокойство, проявлять беспокойство | To have anxiety, To be in a hurry | |

The main meaning of this liheci is “to worry” or “to hurry” (because of worrying), to feel anxious. Both English and Russian VN may be semantically or stylistically limited in use for translation.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

人们可以使用“唔”“啊”之类的音节，表示“话还没有说完，你别着急”之类的意思。

People can use sounds like “wu” and “a” to show their speech isn’t finished and you shouldn’t hurry. Люди могут использовать звуки вроде «у» или «а», чтобы показать, что они еще не договорили и тебе не нужно торопиться.

Depending on the contextual meaning, it is possible to use the Russian VN in the sense “you shouldn’t worry”, but if the meaning is “you shouldn’t hurry (to start speaking)”, it is impossible. In English it is rather stylistically and semantically inappropriate.

你别着急，你先听我讲啊。

Don't worry until you've heard what I've said. Не волнуйся, сначала послушай, что я скажу.

The Russian VN “to feel worried” is stylistically inappropriate in this case, while “to demonstrate being worried” is semantically inappropriate. In English both are rather stylistically and semantically inappropriate.

别着急，有一天这个编剧就会出现。

Don't worry, one day this screenwriter will appear (again). Не волнуйся, однажды этот сценарист объявится.

Both English and Russian VN are stylistically and semantically inappropriate.

这样干了半年，我开始着急。

After doing this for half a year, I started to worry. Через полгода с того момента, как я начал делать это, я стал волноваться.

In Russian it is possible to use one of the two VN: через полгода с того момента, как я начал делать это, я стал волноваться. In this case it is stylistically neutral. In English, “after doing this for half a year, I started to have anxiety” is also possible.

她的中文读写能力却逐渐下滑，这使我很着急。

However, her ability to read and write in Chinese is gradually declining, which makes me worry. Тем не менее, ее способность читать и писать по-китайски постепенно снижается, что вызывает у меня беспокойство.

In Russian, I used another VN which means “to make somebody worry”, however, it is also possible to say «что заставляет меня испытывать беспокойство» with the same meaning using one of the two VN. In English both are stylistically and semantically inappropriate, because of the difference in register, although grammatically it would be possible. We should also notice that in the original sentence, *zhaoji* is used as an adjective.

There were only a few split examples with a very poor variety of inserted words.

着什么急呀？

What are you worried about? О чем ты
беспокоишься?

Depending on the context, it can also mean “what’s so urgent?” or “why hurry?”. Both English and Russian VN are inappropriate.

白云着了急，话象连珠炮一样又急又快。

Bai Yun got worried, and his words became
impatient and fast as drumfire. Бай Юнь
занервничал, и его слова стали быстрыми
и нетерпеливыми как пулеметный огонь.

In Russian it would be possible to say «Бай Юнь начал испытывать беспокойство» but it may be stylistically limited, depending on the context. In English using the VN are rather stylistically and semantically inappropriate.

李金海着过急、生过气，逼过女儿学习，
但效果不好

Li Jinhai has been anxious, has been
angry, and has tried to force her daughter to
study, but there has been no effect. Ли
Цзиньхай и нервничала, и злилась и
заставляла дочь учиться, но все
безрезультатно.

In Russian it would be possible to say «Ли Цзиньхай и проявляла беспокойство, и злилась» but it may be stylistically limited, depending on the context. In English using “she has had anxiety” is also possible.

吃惊

Chijing

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| To eat an alarm | Приходить в удивление, испытывать ужас, приходить в ужас, приходить в изумление | To get a surprise | |

The general meaning of *chijing* is to be shocked, to be amazed/surprised. Both Russian and English VN can be contextual synonyms limited in usage both stylistically and semantically.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

让外国人略感吃惊的原因是由于语用规则的差异造成的。

What surprised foreigners a little was the difference in pragmatic rules. Что немного удивило иностранцев, так это разница в прагматических правилах.

In this type of emphatic sentence, in both English and Russian it is impossible to use the VN. We can translate this sentence more literally (e.g. “the reason which made foreigners feel a little bit surprised...”) and use one of the VN in Russian but it will be a very unnatural way to construct this sentence.

最让人吃惊的是他对发生在自己身上每一件事情的时间地点人物都如数家珍。

The most astonishing thing is that he perfectly knows the time, place and participants of everything that happened to him. Самое удивительное то, что он отлично знает время, место и участников всего, что с ним произошло.

If we paraphrase this sentence into “what makes people feel most surprised”, it will be possible to use the “astonishment” VN in Russian. The English VN is impossible to use.

这个消息公布的时候，非常令人吃惊。

When the news was announced, it was very surprising. Когда была объявлена новость, все очень удивились.

In Russian it is possible to use both “astonishment” VN, e.g. «все пришли в сильное удивление» and in this case it sounds rather neutral. In English, “When the news was announced, everybody got a big surprise” is also possible.

李小龙非常吃惊，也大为感慨。

Bruce Lee was astonished and deeply moved. Брюс Ли был очень поражен и остро воспринял.

In Russian, it is possible to say «пришел в сильнейшее изумление» which is rather appropriate in style. The English VN is semantically/stylistically inappropriate, although in general it is possible to use “he got a surprise”.

儿童出生时便有五种情绪反应，分别是吃惊、痛苦、厌恶、最初步的微笑和兴趣。

Children are born with five emotional reactions: surprise, pain, disgust, an instinctive/first smile and interest. Дети рождаются с пятью эмоциональными реакциями: удивление, боль, отвращение, первая улыбка и интерес.

In both English and Russian, we cannot use the VN as we need a noun describing the feeling of surprise.

There were very few split samples with a vary poor range of inserted elements:

我再一次去找刘俊生的时候，使我吃了一惊，他在一夜之间瘦了一圈，眼睛大了，脸色苍白

his eyes were big, and his face was pale. Когда я снова пошел к Лю Цзюньшену, я был ошеломлен: он похудел за ночь,

When I went to Liu Junsheng again, I was taken aback. He had lost weight overnight,

его глаза были большими, а лицо бледным.

The English VN is stylistically inappropriate, although in general it is possible to say “I got a surprise” in this sentence. Among the Russian VN, depending on the context, we could use the two related to fear, for example, «когда я снова пошел к Лю Цзюньшену, я испытал ужас (я пришел в ужас)».

我的强硬立场使吉原先生大感意外，他吃了一惊，脸胀着通红，但态度依旧顽固。

My tough position surprised Mr. Yoshihara. He was startled, his face flushed with redness, but his attitude remained obstinate. Моя жесткая позиция удивила мистера Ёсихара: он был поражен, его лицо покраснело, но он все еще упорствовал.

In English, “He had got a surprise, his face flushed with redness, but his attitude remained obstinate” is also possible. In Russian, it is possible to use all the four VN depending on the context (astonishment or fear).

放心

Fangxin

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To relieve a heart | Находить покой, обретать покой | - | |

The general meaning of *fangxin* is to be calm down, to rest assured. Both Russian VN are not stylistically neutral. They rather belong to the book style or a more old-speech style. In English no corresponding VN was found.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

在光绪初年中国在高丽的威信甚高，所以政府很放心，就不注意日韩条约了。

In the early years of Guangxu, China's prestige in Korea was very high, so the government was calm and did not pay

attention to the Japan-Korea treaty. В первые годы существования Гуансу престиж Китая в Корее был очень высок, поэтому правительство было спокойно и обратило внимание на договор между Японией и Кореей.

In this case, using both Russian VN are stylistically inappropriate. As well, in the original sentence the *liheci* is used as an adjective, so an adjectival form is preferable to convey the same meaning.

对于公司的管理层来说，只要看到第三段就**放心**了：这是一个无保留意见的报告，或者说是个"干净"的意见。

As for the company's management, you just need to look at the 3rd paragraph to calm down: it's a report of an unbiased conclusion or, in other words, an impartial opinion. Что касается управления компанией, достаточно лишь посмотреть на третий пункт, чтобы успокоиться: это отчет о безусловном выводе или, иными словами, «чистая» точка зрения.

In this case, using both Russian VN are stylistically inappropriate.

不过，等审计师听完了律师介绍的背景后，就**放心**了

However, when the auditor heard the context which the lawyer explained to him, he felt relieved. Однако, когда аудитор услышал подробности, представленные юристом, он успокоился.

In general, using the Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate in this case. However, if it is a part of a fiction text, it may be possible to say, for example, «он обрел покой».

这是个好问题，不会挨打的，**放心**问吧，
不骗你。

It's a good question, you won't be beaten,
feel safe to ask, and don't lie to yourself.
Это хороший вопрос, тебя не побьют,
спрашивай спокойно, не лги себе.

In this case, using the Russian VN is stylistically and syntactically impossible.

放心，甲醛无色无味，吃了只会慢性中
毒。

Rest assured that formaldehyde is
colorless and tasteless, and it will only
cause chronic poisoning when eaten.
Будь уверен, формальдегид бесцветен
и безвкусен, если съесть, он только
вызовет хроническое отравление.

In this case, we can translate fangxin as “be sure” or “stay calm”, depending on the context, but both Russian VN are stylistically and semantically impossible to use. We should also notice, that these VN can hardly be used in the imperative mood, except some kind of religious/spiritual teaching where it will be stylistically and semantically appropriate.

There were rather few split-up samples with a poor variety of inserted elements:

不过，现在总算**放了心**。

However, now I am finally calm.
Тем не менее, сейчас я , наконец,
спокоен.

Depending on the context it may be possible to use the Russian VN, for example, «наконец обрел/нашел покой».

啊，我悬着的心**放**了下来。

Ah, my mood calmed down. Ах, мое
сердце успокоилось.

Literally this sentence is translated as “ah, my hung heart got free”. Depending on the context, in Russian it may be possible to use the VN, however, the original structure will be lost, even though we can say “I let my heart calm down” (я позволил своему сердцу обрести покой) or “my heart calmed down”.

他放了一半心。

He got semi-calm. Он наполовину успокоился.

In this case, the sentence means that he got partially (one half) calm. Using both Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate.

你放一百个心。

Rest assured! Будь спокоен!

In this case, it is not really a split-up form of the liheci, but a (semi-)fixed expression which means not to worry and be sure. Using the Russian VN to translate it is stylistically and semantically inappropriate.

王政学见船长点了头，放了些心。

Wang Zhengxue saw that the captain nodded and calmed down a little. Ван Чженсюэ увидел, что капитан утвердительно кивнул, и слегка успокоился.

Both Russian VN mean a very high degree of calm and cannot be used with “a little”.

可是说真的，她怎么放得下心呢？

But to tell the truth, how can she calm down? Но если говорить правду, как она может успокоиться?

Depending on the context and style of the text, it may be possible to use the Russian VN.

感兴趣

Ganxingqu

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|---|---|--------------------|
| To feel interest | Испытывать интерес, Питать интерес, Проявлять интерес | To have an interest, To take an interest | |

Both Russian and English VN are rather neutral in style, although питать интерес seems to be more old-fashioned or belong to the book style. In English “to have an interest” is similar to “to be interested”, it describes a more constant action, while “to take an interest” refers to a particular occasion when a person who may normally be interested in something suddenly do not pay much attention to it.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

大部分均较我年长，中文也较我好，但对自然科学不感兴趣。

Most of them are older than me and speak Chinese better than me, but they are not interested in natural sciences. Большинство из них старше меня, и знает китайский лучше меня, но они не интересуются естественными науками.

In this case, in Russian it is equally possible to use the verb and all the 3 VN (но они не проявляют/испытывают/питают интереса к естественным наукам). In English, “most of them are older than me and speak Chinese better than me, but they do not have/take an interest in natural sciences” are both possible.

这是我们很感兴趣的一个问题。

This is a question that we are very interested in. Это вопрос, который нас очень интересует.

In Russian it is equally possible to use the verb and all the 3 VN (e.g. это вопрос, к которому мы проявляем сильный интерес). In English, “this is a question that we have/take much/a lot of interest in” are both possible.

第三，人文主义感兴趣的主要是理想社会

Third, humanism is mainly interested in the ideal society. В-третьих, гуманизм в основном заинтересован в идеальном обществе.

In Russian, using all the three VN is semantically impossible. These VN are normally used when the subject of the action is a person who can have an interest in something/someone, but it is not possible to use with “humanism”. In English, “humanism mainly takes an interest in the ideal society” is possible and widely used but may sound unnatural in some cases as “getting interested” cannot be normally combined with the subject “humanism”; the version with “have” is more appropriate, but it is still rather unnatural.

他们对于瑜伽论的哲学不**感兴趣**

They are not interested in the philosophy behind yoga. Их не интересуется философия йоги.

In Russian it is equally possible to use the verb and all the 3 VN (e.g. они не испытывают интереса к философии йоги). In English, “they do not have/take an interest in the philosophy behind yoga” are both possible.

其他经理就开始对我**感兴趣**了

Other managers started being interested in me. Другие менеджеры начали интересоваться мной.

In Russian, it is possible to say «другие менеджеры начали проявлять ко мне интерес», while испытывать интерес and питать интерес may be possible but stylistically limited or dependent on the context. In English, “other managers started having/taking an interest in me” are both possible.

There were very few split-up samples with a very poor variety of inserted elements:

不过，奇怪呀，哥哥以前可从未对那些布玩具**感过兴趣**，怎么……？

However, it’s weird, my brother has never been interested in those cloth toys before, why ...? Однако, странно, мой брат никогда раньше не интересовался этими игрушками из ткани, почему ...?

In Russian it is equally possible to use the verb and all the 3 VN. In English, “my brother has never had/taken any interest in those cloth toys before” is also possible.

于是她感着了兴趣，再向下读。

So, she got interested and kept reading.

Тогда она заинтересовалась и прочитала дальше.

In English, “so, she took an interest in it and kept reading” is possible but may sound very unnatural depending on the context, In Russian, using the VN is syntactically possible but it may be strongly restricted by the semantics and stylistics of the context.

夫人对这谈话感不到兴趣地说。

The lady was speaking without any interest in that conversation. Леди говорила, не испытывая никакого интереса к этому разговору.

The literate translation for this sentence would be “the lady was speaking without having reached to feel interest in that conversation”. In English, “the lady was speaking without having/taking any interest in that conversation” are both possible. In Russian, using the VN is probably the most natural way to convey this idea, however, other translations, including using the verb, are also possible.

作者对这葡萄节原不感十分的兴趣

The author was not very interested in that grape festival. Автор не слишком интересовался этим фестивалем винограда.

In English, “the author didn’t have/take much interest in that grape festival” is also possible. In Russian, all the 3 VN are equally possible to use.

我马上感了兴趣：棋呆子居然也有故事！

I immediately became interested: chess nerds, to my surprise, had stories! Мне сразу стало интересно: у шахматных ботанов, оказывается, есть истории!

In English, using the VN is possible (“I immediately began to take an interest”). In Russian, it is possible to say «я внезапно испытал интерес», the other VN are semantically inappropriate.

洗澡

Xizao

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| To wash a bath | Принимать душ, Принимать ванну | To take/have a shower/bath | |

Both English and Russian VN are rather neutral in style, but they may be narrower in meaning than the original liheci, for example, in the previous chapters we saw *xihaizao* “to bathe in the sea” which cannot be translated through these VN.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

大家都要洗澡嘛，男人跟女人都要洗澡
嘛对不对，脏兮兮的。

Everybody should take a bath, (the) men
and women all should take a bath, right?
So dirty. Все должны (по)мыться,
мужчины и женщины все должны
(вы)мыться, верно? Такие грязные.

Without any context we do not know if they speak in general (all people should bathe) or a particular case. VN are more appropriate for a particular case as they denote a short, limited in time action.

这两个人都不洗澡你看到没有。

Neither of these two shower(s), do you
see it? Ни один из этих двоих людей не
моется, заметил?

In Russian, similar to the previous case, we need the context to know if it is always like this or a temporary action. Syntactically and stylistically, it is possible to use both the verbs and the VN, but semantically we depend on the context. In English, we can also say “to take a shower” or “to take showers”, however, it also affects the semantics, as we maybe do not describe a general action. To make the sentence unchangeable we would have to add “ever” (“neither of these two ever take(s) a shower”).

那一段日子，我睡觉、洗澡、吃饭的时间都想着如何把搜索做好。

Those days, when sleeping, taking a shower/showering, eating, I was all the time thinking how to do a good search. В те дни, когда спал, принимал душ, ел, я все время думал, как качественно провести поиск.

In Russian, both the verb and the VN are possible to use. In English, the VN are also appropriate, as we have a time period limited by “those days” and they are stylistically neutral.

晚 10 时入另室祈祷和沉思，然后洗澡。

At 10pm [I] go to another room to pray and meditate, then take a shower. В 10 вечера (я) иду в другую комнату молиться и медитировать, затем принимаю душ.

Without the context, we do not know who is the actor in this sentence, highly likely it is the imperative mood (go and then take shower). In any case, using both the verbs and the VN are equally possible in English and Russian.

使用方法：最好在洗澡时涂在脸上，洗澡后清洗掉，前后大约 15 分钟。

How to use: it is best to apply it on the face 15 minutes before taking a bath, and wash it off 15 minutes after taking the bath. Применение: лучше всего наносить его на лицо, когда принимаете ванну, и смывать его после принятия ванны, примерно за 15 минут до и после.

In both Russian and English, we can use the VN. In English the Gerung form is the most appropriate, in Russian, in the 1st case we can use the verbal form, in the 2nd case we have to use the nominal form of the VN.

There were rather few split-up samples and the majority of inserted elements were represented by 了, 过 and some wider combinations with 了 and 过:

等她**洗了澡**，我们穿过天桥徒步找餐厅去。

After she took a bath, we crossed the bridge and went to (look for) a restaurant on foot. После того как она приняла ванну, мы пересекли мост и пешком отправились в (искать) ресторан.

In Russian, it is equally possible to use the verb and the VN. In English using the VN makes the first short part of the sentence sound more complete than a single verb, although it is also possible.

喝够了，他又用鼻子吸足水，喷在身上，干干净净地**洗了一个澡**。

Having drunk enough, he sucked water with his nose again, blew it out on himself and washed himself clean. Выпив достаточно, он снова втянул носом воду, разбрызгал ее на себя и дочиста вымылся.

In this case, using the VN is semantically and stylistically appropriate in case we mean that after having done that he took a bath, but not in case he washed himself with the water from his nose, but syntactically impossible, as we have to combine it with “clean” or “until he became clean”, which is an adverb in Russian and an adjective in English, but both can only be combined with the verb in this meaning.

他**洗过矿泉澡**站在阳台上

He took a mineral bath and went to stand on the balcony. Он принял минеральную ванну и вышел постоять на балкон.

In this case, in both English and Russian it is possible to use the verb, but using the VN is easier and more stylistically appropriate as we need to combine it with the adjective “mineral”. We can also use the perfect/deepriichastiye form (having taken a mineral bath, he stood on the balcony).

陆虎士吃过饭，**洗过澡**，浑身疲倦，可不想马上睡觉。

Mister Lu had eaten, had taken a bath, his whole body was exhausted, but he didn't want to go to sleep immediately. Господин Лу поел, помылся,

чувствовал усталость во всем теле, но не хотел сразу идти спать.

Using VN is possible in both English and Russian, but may be limited depending on the context. For example, in Russian, if the text describes ancient times, it is impossible to say “to have a shower” because “shower” did not exist, but possible to say “to have a bath”, as “bath” may have a more generalized meaning than just the baths that we have now.

吃了顿香油味扑鼻的面条，洗了个温水澡，然后在床上躺下来，说不出的舒适

After eating the tangy noodles with sesame oil, to take a warm bath, and then to lay down on the bed, it's an indescribable comfort. Съев острую лапшу с кунжутным маслом, принять теплую ванну, а затем лечь на кровать, это невероятный комфорт.

In both English and Russian, it is more appropriate to use the VN in the combination with “warm”, although using the verb is not impossible, but less natural in this case.

小猪崽好象洗过一次澡似的：黑的是黑的，白的是白的，真是黑白分明...

It seems that the little piglet have/has taken a bath once: black is black, white is white, but in fact as distinct as black from white... Похоже, что поросенок (поросята) однажды принимал(и) ванну: черный – это черный, а белый – это белый, на самом деле, огромный контраст...

In both English and Russian, it is equally possible to use the verb and the VN.

可能是药物和洗热水澡起了点作用。

Probably, the medicine and taking hot baths had an effect. Возможно, лекарства и горячие ванны оказали воздействие.

In English, it is more appropriate and natural to use the VN, while in Russian – the combination of nouns.

你们快去上班，**澡洗了**，**冰砖也吃了**，
去吧！

Quick go to workt, you have taken a shower, eaten ice-cream, go! Быстро отправляйтесь на работу, вы приняли душ, съели мороженое, идите!

In the original sentence, *xizao* is used inverted to emphasize it, so it can be literally translated as “a shower has been already taken, an ice-cream already eaten”, the same inversion we can do in Russian (душ вы уже приняли, мороженое уже съели), so, the VN are more syntactically appropriate in this case.

我**洗一个澡**要去睡觉了，我觉得有点累
啦！

I am going to bed after taking a bath (because) I feel a bit tired! Приму душ и пойду спать, я немного устал.

In both English and Russian, using the VN is more natural and appropriate, however, other translations are also possible.

聊天儿

Liaotian(er)

*proto-*liheci*

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| To talk a day | Вести беседу, Вести разговор | To have a talk/chat/conversation | |

The Russian VN may be stylistically not neutral as they rather seem to belong to the old-style or book-style speech. The English VN are more neutral in this case.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

大学生每周上网的时间并不少,但多用于网络游戏、网上聊天或其他娱乐性目的

College students spend a lot of time online every week, but they mostly use the Internet for online games, online chats or other entertainment purposes. Студенты проводят много времени в сети каждую неделю, но в основном они используют интернет для онлайн-игр, онлайн-чатов или других развлечений.

In this case, in both English and Russian, it is more natural to use the noun, however, saying "to chat online" is also possible. As we speak about this action in general, using the VN is rather inappropriate.

他们边吃饭边聊天

They chat while eating. Они общаются за едой.

In English, "they have (a) conversation(s)/a talk while eating" is also possible. In Russian, «они ведут разговоры за едой» is syntactically possible, but its usage is highly dependent on the context, especially whether we speak about a single time or a constant action and what the general style of the text is.

它提供了 40 多个模块,包括日历表、活动计划、联系人名单、聊天室、论坛、写字板、测试等部分

It provides more than 40 modules, such as calendars, event plans, contact lists, chat rooms, forums, writing boards, tests, etc. Он содержит более 40 модулей, в том числе календари, планы мероприятий, списки контактов, чаты, форумы, доски объявлений, тесты и т. д.

In this case "chat room" is a fixed name for this kind of facility which cannot be changed nor translated through VN.

她问我,你们聊天怎么不给我插嘴的机会?

She asked me, "When you were talking, why didn't you give me a chance to say a

word?” Она спросила меня: «Почему, когда вы разговаривали, вы не дали мне вставить ни слова?»

In English, “she asked me, “when you were having a talk, why didn’t you give me a chance to say a word?” is also possible. In Russian, it is possible to use the VN, but thir usage depends on the style of the context.

她却不走，坐在凳子上和我聊天

But she didn’t leave, she sat on a stool and talked to me. Но она не ушла, она сидела на стуле и говорила со мной.

In English, “but she didn’t leave, she sat on a stool and we had a conversation” or “she had a chat/talk with me” are also possible because “a talk” can be a one-way action, but “a conversation” is less hierarchical and implies that both sides participate equally. In Russian, using the VN is possible depending on the context, its style and tense, for example, we can say «она не ушла, она села на стул и завела со мной разговор».

There were rather few split-up samples, but with a bigger variety of inserted elements:

一边吃，一边还在和屈原、杜甫聊大天呢。

While eating, I was still chatting with Qu Yuan and Du Fu. Во время еды я все еще болтал с Цюй Юань и Ду Фу.

In Russian, depending on the style of the context, it is possible to use the VN. In English, “while eating, I was still having a talk/conversation with Qu Yuan and Du Fu” is also possible.

审讯结束后，审讯官布莱克中尉对我表示了谢意并和我聊起天来。

After the trial, the interrogator Lieutenant Black thanked me and we had a talk. После суда ведущий следствие лейтенант Блэк поблагодарил меня и завел разговор.

In Russian, using the VN is more appropriate in this case, as if we say “started talking” using the verb it may sound as if before he refused to talk to the speaker (probably because of being angry

with them) and after something changed started talking again. In English, “thanked me and we talked”

写出来的目的就是为了解大家聊聊天。

The purpose of writing is to engage with everyone. Цель написанного – пообщаться со всеми.

In Russian, using the VN is syntactically possible but may be stylistically and semantically inappropriate. In English, “the purpose of writing is to have a talk with everyone” is possible, too.

市井臣民[...]凑个乐趣儿，聊聊天，怡情爽心， [...]?

People of the city gather to have fun, chat, and calm their minds. Жители города собираются, чтобы повеселиться, поболтать, улучшить настроение.

Liaoxiantian is a fixed expression which means “to chat idly”, used here in its duplicated form. In English, “people of the city gather to have fun, have an idle chat, and calm their minds” is also possible. In Russian, using the VN depends on the style of the context, but may rather be inappropriate.

他们守着大肚子茶壶，慢慢地喝着酽茶，兴奋地聊着天，而且尽说些不相干的事。

They were sitting beside a big-bellied teapot, slowly drinking strong tea, chatting with excitement and speaking about irrelevant things. Они сидели рядом с пузатым чайником, медленно попивали крепкий чай, воодушевленно болтали и рассказывали вещи, не имеющие отношения к делу.

In Russian, using the VN is possible, but probably not the most natural way to convey this idea. In English, “they were sitting beside a big-bellied teapot, slowly drinking strong tea, having an excited conversation and speaking about irrelevant things” is also possible.

然后蹲下来跟狗聊会儿天

Then [he] sat down and chatted with the dog for a while. Затем присел и немного поболтал с собакой.

In Russian, using the VN is stylistically impossible in the context of talking to a dog. In English, “then [he] sat down and had a short conversation with the dog”.

没事的时候,就撑着两条拐棍各处走动,
和人家聊闲天。

When there is nothing to do, I walk around with two walking sticks and idly chat with others. Когда нет дел, я гуляю повсюду, опираясь на два посоха, и непринужденно разговариваю с людьми.

In Russian, it is possible to use the VN, but their usage may depend on the style of text (и веду непринужденные разговоры). In English, “when there is nothing to do, I walk around with two walking sticks and have idle chats with others” is possible to say as well, but it sounds much more formal. “To have a talk” cannot be used together with “idle” as it is stylistically incompatible.

不存在这个问题: 十点以后, 除了夜班
人员外, 同事们都回家了, 根本没有人
同她聊过天。

This was not a problem, after ten o'clock, except for the night staff, all the employees had gone home, and no one talked to her. Этой проблемы не существует: после десяти часов, кроме сотрудников ночной смены, все коллеги ушли домой, и с ней вообще никто не разговаривал.

In Russian, using the VN is highly likely stylistically inappropriate within the context. In English, using “had a talk to her/had a talk with her” is also possible.

总书记和幼儿教师王巧珍聊了天, 了解
了她的籍贯、教龄, 了解了她教的孩子、
同学

The general secretary talked to Wang Qiaozhen, a preschool teacher, and found out her place of birth, how long she had been teaching and how many children she had taught. Генеральный секретарь поговорила с учительницей дошкольных учреждений Ван

Цяочжэнь, узнал, где она родилась, сколько лет преподает, а также о детях, которых она учила.

In Russian, it may be possible to use the VN, but the usage is highly dependent on the style of the context. In English, “the general secretary had a talk with the preschool teacher Wang Qiaozhen” sounds unnatural.

发音

Fayin

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To emit a sound | Издавать звуки | To make a sound | |

This *liheci* is often used as a noun “pronunciation” and this usage may prevail over the verbal one. It is also mainly used in the scientific (linguistical) context, not in the neutral speech. At the same time, both Russian and English VN literally mean “to make a sound”.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

要掌握语言，还得有灵活发音的能力。

To master a language, you also need to have the ability to articulate sounds in different ways. Чтобы овладеть языком, нужно также иметь способность свободно артикулировать.

In this case, both Russian and English VN are semantically inappropriate.

男女老少，人人都有自己的发音特点

Men and women, young or old, everyone has their own specific way of pronouncing words/sounds). Мужчины, женщины, взрослые и дети, все имеют свои особенности произношения.

In this case, in Russian using the VN is semantically inappropriate. In English, it is possible to use “making sounds”.

我们常常听到一些同学说，**发音原理枯燥、难学。**

We often hear from students that the principles of pronunciation are boring and difficult to learn. Мы часто слышим, как некоторые студенты говорят, что принципы произношения скучны и трудны для изучения.

In this case, both Russian and English VN are semantically inappropriate.

我们说话多利用呼气，非洲有些语言还利用**吸气发音。**

We make sounds as we breathe out/exhale, and some African languages sounds are also made while breathing in. Мы говорим на выдохе, в то время как некоторые африканские языки при произношении задействуют вдох .

In English, it is possible to use the VN, as in this case it is clear what “to make sounds” means due to the information we have in the first part of the sentence, however, to avoid repetition in the second part it is better to use the passive voice form of the VN. In Russian, it could also be possible, but it is difficult to combine it with other words semantically.

下面分别介绍**发音部位和发音方法。**

The following describes phonemes and how to pronounce them. Ниже описываются элементы и методы произношения.

In this case, both Russian and English VN are semantically inappropriate.

There were very few split-up samples with repetitive combinations of inserted elements:

他[...]把 r 这个**音发得特别重。**

He pronounces his Rs particularly strongly Он произносит звук Р особенно сильно.

In Russian, using the VN is semantically inappropriate. In English, it can be possible to say “he makes his Rs particularly strong”, however, adding “sounds” may be unnatural.

但是对于习惯发齿间擦音的人、可以设计一种学习方法

But for those who already use/can pronounce fricative interdentals, a learning method can be designed. Но для тех, кто привык произносить фрикативные интерденталы, может быть разработан метод обучения.

In both English and Russian, using the VN is semantically and syntactically inappropriate.

到儿童开始说出词时，他已只能发母语用到的音了。

By the time the child first started speaking/talking, he could only pronounce the sounds in his mother tongue. К тому времени, когда ребенок начал говорить, он мог произносить звуки только своего родного языка.

In Russian, using the VN is generally possible, but stylistically inappropriate in the context of a speaking child. In English, it is possible to use “to make sounds” with no big difference.

发舌尖后音时，舌尖要翘起来，抵住前硬腭

To pronounce a retroflex sound, the tip of the tongue should touch the front palate.

При произношении смычно-фрикативного звука, кончик языка должен быть приподнят к переднему небу.

In this case, using the Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate. In English, “to make a retroflex sound” is also possible to say.

搬家

Banjia

*semantic *liheci*

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To move a home | Осуществлять переезд | - | |

In English no corresponding VN was found. The Russian VN may not be completely neutral in style as it sounds more formal.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

不久，母亲果然搬家来上海

Not long after that his mom actually moved to Shanghai. Вскоре мама действительно переехала в Шанхай.

In this case, using the Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate.

他们早搬家了。

They moved out a long time ago. Они давно (заранее) переехали.

Depending on the context, it may be possible to use the Russian VN.

如今未来市的居民们喜欢搬家。

Now, people in the future city want to move out. Сейчас жителям будущего города нравится переезжать.

In this case, using the Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate.

人家都说，'蚂蚁大搬家，雨点跟着下。'

People say/They say: when ants move their nest somewhere else, it will start raining. Говорят, что, если муравьи перебираются на новое местожительства, будет дождь.

Using the Russian VN is stylistically and semantically impossible, as “moving to another place of living” cannot be used for animals nor insects.

"小腰腰要搬家了！"

Xiao Yaoyao is about to move! Сяо Яояо собирается переезжать!

Using the Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate in this case.

There were rather few split-up samples with repetitive inserted elements (mainly 了 and 次).

他们原以为搬了家事情就了结了，可事情的发展并不象他们想的那样。

They thought it had ended when they moved, but things didn't go as they expected. Они думали, что все закончилось, когда они переехали, но все пошло не так, как они ожидали.

Using the Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate in this case.

“别人家都搬了！”

Everyone else has moved! Все остальные переехали!

Using the Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate in this case.

这辈子怕搬不了家罗。

I'm afraid I'll never be able to move anywhere else. Боюсь, за всю жизнь я так и не смогу переехать.

Using the Russian VN may be possible in certain styles of context.

搬了一辈子家，早年从泗州盱眙县（今安徽盱眙）迁到灵璧县（今安徽灵璧），又迁到虹县（今安徽泗县）。

[He] has been moving his whole life, in early years from Sizhou to Lingbi, then to Hong County. [Он] всю жизнь переезжал: в ранние годы из Сычжоу в Линби, а затем в округ Хун.

Using the Russian VN is stylistically inappropriate in this case.

[...] 而彩电在工厂仓库里并没有搬过家。

But the colour TV didn't move from its place in the factory storehouse at all. Но цветной телевизор вовсе не переместился внутри заводского склада.

In this case, in Russian, it is not appropriate to use the VN, but also not really possible to use the verb, as the meaning of *banjia* in this case is not changing one's place of living.

结果一两年间"财神婆"就搬了四次家。

As a result, "the God of Wealth" moved four times in one or two years. В результате, «Бог Богатства» переехал 4 раза за 1 или 2 года.

In this case, depending on the context, it is possible to use the VN in Russian. For example, if the context is sarcastic, we can say «осуществил переезд 4 раза».

出国

Chuguo

*highly adhesive

| Element translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additonal options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| To go out a country | - | - | |

In both Russian and English, there was no corresponding VN found, however, in both there are expressions with the same meaning (to go abroad and *выезжать за границу*) which can be used for translation as well as some general verbs.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for "he" usage and then for "li" usage:

"我妈妈出国考察去了。"

My mom went abroad on a fact-finding trip. Моя мама уехала за границу вести исследования.

In this case, in both English and Russian we use the expression "to go abroad".

但他们的崇高目标大多是考研究生、出国留学。

However, most of their lofty goals are to take postgraduate exams and study abroad. Но большая часть их высоких целей – это поступить в аспирантуру и уехать учиться за границу.

In this case, in both English and Russian we use the expression “to go abroad”.

……为什么要出国呢？

Why go abroad? Зачем ехать за границу?

In this case, in both English and Russian we use the expression “to go abroad”.

难道出国就一定能比在国内学到更多东西？

Will you really learn more abroad than at home? Неужели, уехав за границу, научишься большему (чем на родине)?

In English, it is enough to use “abroad”, which is also possible in Russian. In Russian, we can also use “to go abroad”.

她的脑袋里成天想的是“托福”，想的是出国。

All day long her head was filled with (ideas about) “TOEFL” and “going abroad”. Весь день ее мозг думал про «TOEFL» и «поездку за границу».

This sentence literally means “what was thought in her brain all day long is “TOEFL” and “going abroad”. In English, we can use the same expression, in Russian it is more comfortable to use the corresponding nominal expression.

There were extremely few split-up samples mainly with 了:

后来，孩子的几个烹调班的同学，大都成了厨师，有的“掌勺”还出了国。

Later, most of the child(ren)’s classmates from the cooking group became cooks, and some “senior chefs” went abroad. Позже большинство одноклассников

ребенка из кулинарного класса стали поворотами, а некоторые уехали за границу.

In this case, in both English and Russian we use the expression “to go abroad”.

堵车

Duche

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To block a car | Стоять в пробке | - | |

The Russian VN is only a partial synonym for this sample as it means “to be in a traffic jam”. In English no VN was found.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

北京刚下了场一指深的大雪，路上堵车

There has just been a heavy snowfall in Beijing, so there are traffic jams on the roads. В Пекине только что прошел сильный снегопад, на дорогах пробки.

In this case, using the Russian VN is semantically inappropriate.

堵车，根本原因是道路建设滞后于经济的发展。

The main reason for traffic jams is that the road construction lags behind economic development. Основная причина пробок на дорогах в том, что строительство дорог отстает от экономического развития.

In this case, using the Russian VN is semantically inappropriate.

堵车最长的一次达到7天7夜

The longest traffic jam was 7 days and 7 nights. Самая долгая пробка на дороге длилась 7 суток.

In this case, using the Russian VN is semantically and syntactically inappropriate, as well as an English we use the noun.

快到长城的时候，因为汽车堵车，我们全都下车步行。

Nearing the Great Wall, we all got off and went on foot because the bus got stuck in a traffic jam. Возле Великой Стены, автобус встал в пробке, поэтому мы вышли и пошли пешком.

In this case, in Russian, using the VN is not only appropriate, but is almost the only possible way to convey the idea.

“哈！你来晚了，肯定是因为堵车，走吧，去我的宿舍聊！”

"Ha! You are late. It must be because of a traffic jam. Let's go and talk to my dorm!"
"Ха! Ты опоздал, должно быть стоял в пробке, пойдём в мое общежитие и поговорим!"

In this case, in Russian, using the VN is not only appropriate, but is almost the only possible way to convey the idea.

There were extremely few split-up samples, even among the most frequent infixed elements, 过 is not included:

等到两个小时过后，你再给他们打个电话，就说你堵了车了什么的，随便找个啥样的借口都行。

Two hours later call them again and say you're in a traffic jam of whatever; any excuse will be OK. Через два часа позвони им снова и скажи, что стоишь в пробке или что-то еще, любая отмазка подойдет.

In this case, in Russian, using the VN is not only appropriate, but is almost the only possible way to convey the idea.

关机

Guanji

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To turn off a device | - | - | |

In both Russian and English, there was no corresponding VN found, however, in both there are expressions with the same meaning (to turn off the device/mobile phone) which can be used for translation.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

关机时必须将该 Workfile 存盘，否则会丢失。

When shutting down, the working file must be saved on the disk, otherwise it will be lost. Выключая устройство, обязательно нужно сохранить рабочий файл на диске, иначе он будет утерян.

In English, we can use “shutting down” or “switching off the device”, in Russian we as well use the same combination.

这一次，亚铭的电话几乎就打不通了，老是关机

This time, Ya Ming's phone was almost unreachable, forever shut down. В этот раз телефон Я Мина был практически недоступен, все время выключен.

In this case we use the participle forms in both English and Russian without any nominal object.

记者们打电话询问王治郅在哪里，因为他自己关机了。

The reporters called and asked where Wang Zhizhi was because he had switched off his phone. Репортеры позвонили и спросили, где находится

Ван Чжичжи, потому что его телефон
был выключен.

In both English and Russian, we can use “switched off”.

在飞机上应关机

You should switch off your device(s) on
the airplane. В самолете все мобильные
устройства должны быть отключены.

We use “to switch off a device” in the active voice in English and in the passive voice in
Russian.

在医疗设备附近时请关机。

When near medical equipment, please
switch off your devices. Находясь рядом
с медицинским оборудованием,
пожалуйста, отключите свои
мобильные устройства.

In both English and Russian, we use “to switch off a device”.

There were extremely few split-up samples, even among the most frequent infixes,
过 and 着 are not included:

而我的两台机为什么都关了呢？”

But why are both my devices turned off?
Но почему оба мои устройства
выключены?

In the original sentence, the liheci is inverted. In English and Russian, we use “devices are
turned/switched off”.

小段把小拖开到学校附近，就关了机

When Xiaoduan brought Xiaotuo close to
the school, [he] turned off the
device/phone. Когда Сяодуань подвез
Сяотхуо близко к школе, он(а)
выключил(а) устройство (телефон).

Without any context, we do not know if it is a mobile phone or another device, but, in any case, we use “to turn off” in both English and Russian.

开机

Kaiji

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To turn on a device | - | - | |

This *liheci* is antonymous to the previous one and as well have no corresponding VN in English and Russian, but in both languages, we can use “to switch/turn off a device”.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

机内有定时器，只要设定好定时录像程序，就可自动**开机**，记录节目。

This device has a timer, you just need to set it, and it will turn on automatically to record the programme. В этом устройстве есть таймер, нужно только задать настройки, и оно включится автоматически и запишет программу.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to turn on”.

阴雨天白天不要**开机**：这是因为阴雨天光线不足，热成层不明显

Do not turn it on when it is raining: on rainy days, there is not enough light, and thermal stratification is not pronounced. Не включайте устройство, если идет дождь: в дождливые дни недостаточно света, и температурное наслоение может быть незамечено.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to turn on” with “it” or “the device”.

这时，正确的做法是将有限的**开机**时间安排在夜间或黎明。

At this time, the right approach is to set a limited available machine time for night or early morning. В настоящее время верным подходом будет запланировать ограниченное время запуска на ночь или раннее утро.

In this case in both English and Russian, we have to use a fixed expression which means the time of turning on.

晴天时中午**开机**：这时开机的主要目的是搅水，打破热成层。

Turn it on at noon on a sunny day: the main aim of this is to stir the water and prevent thermal stratification. Включите устройство в солнечный день в полдень: основная цель этого - размешать воду и остановить термическое расслоение.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to turn on” with “it” or “the device”.

In corpora there were no relevant split-up examples, however, we can find some in the open search of Baidu, especially in phrases of daily usage, for example:

手机**开不了机**的时候,试试这 4 种方法!

If your mobile phone won't turn on, try these four steps! Если твой телефон не включается, попробуй эти четыре способа.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to turn on”.

留学

Liuxue

*completely adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To stay (for) a study | - | - | |

In both Russian and English, there was no corresponding VN found, however, in both there are expressions with the same meaning (to study abroad) which can be used for translation.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

大学生则只想进大城市，上大机关，或出国留学。

Students only want to move to big cities, join the main large organizations or move to study abroad. Студенты хотят только уехать в большой город, вступить в главные учреждения или уехать учиться за границу.

In both English and Russian, we can use “to study abroad” or “to leave/move to study abroad”.

留学日本 7 年多的时间，日本出入国管理局给我的印象是一个不通人情

After studying in Japan for more than 7 years, I was impressed by the Japanese Immigration Bureau. Проучившись в Японии более 7 лет, я был впечатлен Японским иммиграционным бюро.

In both English and Russian, we can use the gerund/deepriichastiye form or a noun.

1924 年赵清留学英国，与一英籍女同居，生一子一女。

In 1924, Zhao Qing studied in the UK, lived with a British woman, and gave birth to a son and a daughter. В 1924 году Чжао Тсин учился в Великобритании и жил с англичанкой, у них родились сын и дочь.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to study” as later we add the country. It is noticeable, that in this and in the previous example the object of place goes after the liheci.

20 世纪初叶，许多赴欧美留学的学生开始回国

In the early 20th century, many students studying in Europe and America began to return to China. В начале 20 века многие студенты, обучающиеся в Европе и Америке, начали возвращаться в Китай.

In both English and Russian, we can use “studying”.

过去我不是在前苏联留学

I didn't study in the former Soviet Union. Я не учился в бывшем Советском Союзе.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to study” as later we add the country

There were very few examples of split-up usage:

在这学校里有四五个美国教员，其他的中国教员不是在美国留过学，就是准备要去美国的。

There are four or five American teachers in this school. Other Chinese teachers either have studied in the United States or are planning to go there. В этой школе четыре или пять американских преподавателей, а другие преподаватели из Китая либо учились в Соединенных Штатах, либо планируют поехать в Соединенные Штаты.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to study” as later we add the country. It is also noticeable that in the original sentence the place-object is not added after the split-up *liheci* but goes before it with the preposition *zai*.

旅长不做参加了革命，还到国外留过学。

The brigadier did not participate in the revolution, moreover, he studied abroad. Бригадир не участвовал в революции, а также учился и за границей.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to study”.

留了学也可以解脱这种自卑心理

Studying abroad could also relieve this inferiority complex. Обучение за границей также может облегчить этот комплекс неполноценности.

In English we can use the gerund form and in Russian the nominal form of “to study abroad”.

拉肚子

La duzi

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To pull a stomach | Страдать диареей | - | |

In English no corresponding VN was found. The Russian VN can be more formal or medical, however, it is necessary to notice that in Russian may not be any neutral way to convey this meaning, as normally it stays beyond the limit of polite topics to discuss.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

后来上课迟到老师问我为什么迟到，我就说，我拉肚子

Later, when I was late for class and the teacher asked me why, I said, I had diarrhea. Позже, когда я опоздал на урок, и учитель спросил почему, я сказал, у меня был понос.

Using the Russian VN is stylistically impossible in this context. It is possible to use another word which means “diarrhea” to make it more “neutral”, however, this sentence overall would never be said in Russian.

今天拉肚子，明天胃又痛，高血脂，脂肪肝

Diarrhea today, stomach pain again tomorrow, high cholesterol, fatty liver. Диарея сегодня, и снова боли в животе

завтра, гиперлипидемия, ожирение
печени.

Syntactically, in both Russian and English we can use the noun.

“半夜吃西瓜会拉肚子”

Eating watermelon at night may lead to
diarrhea. Употребление арбуза ночью
может привести к диарее.

Syntactically, in both Russian and English we can use the noun. Stylistically, the translation will depend on the context.

一天拉肚子十几次就是不舍得吃药。

After having diarrhea more than ten times
a day [he] is not willing to take the
medicine. При диарее больше 10 раз в
день нет желания принимать лекарства.

In this sentence, we do not know the acting subject. It can be a person from the context, but it can also be a generalized sentence (e.g. there will not be any wish to take medicine). In Russian we can directly translate it as an impersonal sentence, which is also appropriate if there is a personal subject. The style depends on the context, in this translation I used the noun in both English and Russian.

他拉肚子两天了，身子软得像棉花。

He had diarrhea for two days, and his
body was soft like cotton. У него была
диарея в течение двух дней, и его тело
было мягким, как хлопок.

In Russian we can use the VN (он два дня страдал диареей). It is also noticeable that the complement of duration is placed after the liheci, but not in between its elements.

There were very few split-up samples:

战士王喜安病的拉了四天肚子，指导员
劝他在家休息

The soldier Wang Xi'an had diarrhoea for
four days, and his instructor told him to
stay at home and rest. Солдат Ван Сиань

четыре дня страдал диареей, и инструктор посоветовал ему отдохнуть дома.

In Russian, using the VN is the most appropriate.

失眠

Shimian

*completely adhesive

| Element translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| To lose a sleep | Терять сон, страдать бессонницей | - | |

In English no corresponding VN was found. The Russian VN are stylistically and in some cases semantically different. The first one is “to lose sleeping” which may be used in both literal and figurative meanings, the second one rather belongs to the sphere of medicine.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

他的每天吸烟量增至一包半，睡眠变得困难，甚至失眠。

He started smoking a pack and a half a day, developed sleep problems, even insomnia. Он стал курить по полторы пачки в день, появились проблемы со сном, даже начал страдать бессонницей.

In Russian, we can translate this sentence in different ways, including using the VN “to suffer from insomnia”, while the other VN is rather stylistically inappropriate. In English, we can simply use the noun.

那天夜里，由于兴奋，我有些失眠

That night, because of excitement, I couldn't sleep. В ту ночь из-за волнения я страдал бессонницей.

The difficulty of that sentence is in youxie which means “a little, some” and gives an idea of something short or not very high in degree. For this reason, in Russian, we cannot use “to lose sleeping”, because it is impossible to lose it a little and the general meaning of the VN is to be unable to sleep at all. We can use the “insomnia” VN with an approximate semantics, but the most correct way to translate this sentence would be to use the verb (I couldn’t sleep for a while).

二是引起焦虑和早醒失眠。

The second causes anxiety and insomnia.
Второе вызывает беспокойство и бессонницу.

In this case, in both English and Russian, we can only use the noun “insomnia”, as well as in the original Chinese sentence where it is used as a noun.

此粥对神经衰弱、失眠多梦疗效甚好，
无论失眠新久，均适用。

This porridge is good for treating neurasthenia, insomnia and drowsiness, no matter how long the sleep problems have lasted. Эта каша очень эффективна при неврастении, бессоннице и сонливости, независимо от того, как долго длится бессонница.

In this case, in both English and Russian, we can only use the noun “insomnia” in both languages.

会使人产生头疼、头晕、疲乏、嗜睡、
易倦、胸闷、失眠、抑郁、易怒、
记忆力减退、食欲不振、神经衰弱等症

It can cause headaches, dizziness, fatigue, drowsiness, tiredness, tightness in the chest, insomnia, depression, irritability, memory loss, loss of appetite, neurasthenia, and others. Может вызывать головные боли, головокружение, усталость, вялость, усталость, стеснение в груди, бессонницу, депрессию, раздражительность, потерю памяти, потерю аппетита, неврастению и др.

In this case, in both English and Russian, we can only use the noun “insomnia” in both languages.

There were rather few solit-up examples:

但是和余永泽一样，她也在想着自己的心事，一夜都失了眠

But like Yu Yongze, she was thinking about her own things and she couldn't sleep all night. Но, как и Ю Юнцзе, она думала о своих собственных делах и не могла спать всю ночь.

In this case, we can use both VN in Russian but their usage depends on the context as well as on the style of the text. The given verbal translation is the most neutral one.

龚云华出过汗，失过眠，掉过泪。

Gong Yunhua sweat, lost sleep, and shed tears. Гун Юньхуа потел, терял сон и лил слезы.

In Russian, we can use both VN but their usage depends on the context. In this sentence, absent the context, the verbal tense is not fully clear, which may limit some VN usages.

看病

Kanbing

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additonal options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| To look a disease | - | - | |

In both English and Russian no corresponding VN was found. We can find some combinations which convey the same meanings as the *liheci* (“to examine a patient” and “to visit a doctor”).

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

他找到给他看病的那位医生

He found the doctor who (had) examined him. Он нашел того врача, который осматривал его.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to examine”.

我自己的孩子去医院看病也会有这种感觉，看病怎么那么贵，而且服务又差，根本看不上病。

My own children may have the same feeling when they go to hospital to be examined, why is it so expensive, but the service is still bad and they don't examine you properly. У моих собственных детей может возникнуть такое чувство, когда они пойдут на осмотр в больницу, почему это так дорого, хотя сервис плох, и осмотр не проводят как следует.

In this sentence, kanbing is used thrice, the 3rd usage is split. However, in English and Russian translations it is not necessary to repeat it several times and we can also vary between the verb “to examine” (“to be examined”) and the noun.

正如一位医生给病人看病，必先诊断一番，确定病因，才能对症下药。

Just like a doctor who examines a patient, he must first make a diagnosis and determine the cause of the disease before he can prescribe any treatment. Подобно тому, как врач осматривает пациента, он должен сначала поставить диагноз и определить причину заболевания, прежде чем он сможет выписать лекарство.

In both English and Russian, we can use “to examine a patient”.

这些电脑大夫能给病人看病

These computer doctors can examine patients. Эти компьютерные врачи могут осматривать пациентов.

In both English and Russian, we can use “to examine a patient”.

There were rather many split-up samples with a bigger variety of inserted elements:

小高看了鸭病后，分析是大头瘟并发禽出败

Having examined the duck(s), Xiaogao decided it was a head infection, that had been complicated by pasteurellosis. Осмотрев уток, Сяогао заключил, что это было воспаление лобной пазухи, осложненное пастереллезом.

In this case, in both English and Russian we can use the verb “to examine”.

假如平均每人每年看一次病测一次体温，测一次体温用十分钟[...]

If an average person sees a doctor once a year to have their temperature taken, and this takes minutes, then [...] Если среднестатистический человек посещает врача раз в год, чтобы измерить температуру, а измерение температуры занимает 10 минут, то [...]

In both English and Russian, we can use “to see a doctor”.

你听了一定会感到奇怪：怎么会给蚊子看起病来呢？

You may be surprised to hear this: how can you examine sick mosquitoes? Вы должны быть удивлены, услышав это: как вы можете осмотреть комаров?

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to examine”.

一来是看看他的病，二来和他商量商量卖余粮的事儿。

First, to examine him, second to discuss selling the surplus grain with him. Во-первых, осмотреть его, во-вторых, обсудить с ним продажу излишков продовольствия.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to examine”.

我请卫生员给他看了病

I asked the health worker to examine him.

Я попросил медработника осмотреть его.

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to examine”.

他见过蔡京，北宋的蔡京，他给蔡京看过病。

He had seen Cai Jing, Cai Jing in the Northern Song Dynasty, and he had examined/treated Cai Jing. Он видел Цай Цзина, Цай Цзина из Северной династии Сун, и он осматривал Цай Цзин, (когда тот был болен).

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb “to examine”. Here as well as in some previous examples, we can add “when he was ill” if the medical connotation is not clear within the context.

打包

Dabao

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To do a pack | - | - | |

In both English and Russian no corresponding VN was found. In both languages we can use the verb “to pack”.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

在搬迁途中,行李打包、联系车船、照顾老人完全都由工作人员负责

During the relocation, the staff is responsible for packing the luggage, contacting vehicles and vessels, and

caring for the elderly. В пути за упаковку багажа, связь с паромом, заботу о пожилых людях полностью отвечают сотрудники.

In both Russian and English, we need a nominal form, so we can use the gerund “packing” and the noun which means both “a pack” and “packing” in Russian.

不一会儿，他拿了几张牛皮纸和一些绳子来打包。

After a while., he took out a few sheets of craft paper and some rope and started packing. Через некоторое время он взял несколько листов крафт-бумаги и несколько веревок и начал упаковывать(ся).

In Russian, the verb “to pack” deminds a direct object, in this case, absent the context, we can use it in the reflexive form, which, however, may be mistaken as it normally means packing all things (probably to move to another place); with the context, we could simply add “things”. We can also use the noun “packing”. In English, we can use the gerund.

“把剩菜打包？”

(Should I) Pack the leftovers? Упаковать остатки еды?

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb.

一些出土的材料被打包后几乎没有启封整理过

After they were packed, some of the unearthed materials were hardly ever unboxed and put in order. После упаковки некоторые материалы раскопки так и не были распечатаны и разобраны.

In Russian, it is semantically easier to use the noun, in English we can use several verbal forms.

3 家博物馆已花了近半个月时间进行修整、装箱、**打包**等工作。

The three museums have already spent almost half a month, repairing, boxing and packing up other works. Три музея потратили уже почти полмесяца на ремонт, закупку, упаковку и другие работы.

As well as in the original Chinese sentence, we need a nominal form in both languages, so we can use the gerund in English and the corresponding noun in Russian.

There were rather few split-up samples:

吃饱了喝足了，临走时刘强也把桌上吃剩下的都替胡春**打了包**

Having eaten and drunk enough, Liu Qiang packed what was left on the table for Hu Chun before leaving. Наевшись досыта и напившись вдоволь, Лю Цян упаковал оставшееся на столе для Ху Чуна перед отъездом.

In both languages, we can use the verb.

"还没**打过包**吗？到达多久了？

Haven't you packed your bag yet? How long has it been? Еще не упаковал сумку? Сколько времени уже?

In both English and Russian, we can use the verb. The tense depends on the context.

红寺堡大河乡 4 村的农民涂志福正**打着包**要出门，

Tu Zhifu, a famer from Hongsibao Dahe County is packing before he goes out. Тху Чжифу, фермер из одного из поселков Хунсыбао Дахэ, упаковывается и собирается выходить.

The literal translation would be “packing, going to go out”, however, in both English and Russian, we can simply use the verb.

打工

Dagong

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To do a work | Заниматься подработкой | - | |

In English no corresponding VN was found, the same meaning is usually conveyed by “a second job” or “to work on the side”. The Russian VN may not be a precise synonym and be less neutral than the correlated verb.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

不少的留守儿童因为父母在外打工

Many children are left behind because their parents are away from home working part-time jobs/working on the side. Многие дети оставлены, потому что их родители подрабатывают вдали от дома.

In Russian, we can use the VN but the verb sounds more natural.

父母外出打工对孩子的学习确实造成了一定的影响,特别是对小学生。

The fact that parents are away from home earning a living has a particular effect on their children's education, especially for primary school students. Тот факт, что родители подрабатывают вдали от дома, оказывает определенное влияние на детей, особенно на младших школьников.

In Russian, we can use the VN but the verb sounds more natural.

有的外地打工者没有长远打工的思想，
因此怕签订了合同

Some migrant workers aren't interested in long-term work, so they are afraid of signing any contracts. Некоторые трудовые мигранты не думают о долгосрочной работе, поэтому они боятся подписывать контракт.

In this sentence, in the first case, the *liheci* is used with a sustantivator and is translated in both English and Russian as “migrant workers” or “working migrants”. The second usage is translated as “work”. In Russian, the VN can be used but will hardly sound natural.

除了有固定的人力之外，一般都有所谓
假日工，就是专门在节假日来打工的人
员。

Apart from regular employees, there are normally the so-called seasonal workers, who only work on (public) holidays. В дополнение к фиксированной рабочей силе, как правило, есть так называемые праздничные работники, которые работают исключительно в праздничные дни.

In this case, in Russian we can equally use the verb “to work”, the verb “to work (part time to get extra money)” and the VN.

我马上就要去超市上班，而我的感觉也
特别好，我喜欢一边打工一边读书。

I'm going to work in the supermarket soon, and I feel pretty good about it. I like working and studying at the same time to make a little extra money on the side. Я скоро иду на работу в супермаркет, и я чувствую себя особенно хорошо, мне нравится одновременно подрабатывать и читать книги.

In this case, in Russian, we can equally use the VN and the correlated verb.

There were rather many split-up samples but with repetitive inserted elements:

两位书记四点过就出来打早工，做到这拂晓时分，还不见别的人出来。

Apart from the two secretaries, who went to work just after 4 in the morning, there was no sight of anyone else. После 4 часов утра на утреннюю подработку вышли два секретаря, кроме них на рассвете не было видно ни души.

In this case, in Russian we need a noun, we can use either “work” or “part time work for extra money”.

这个暑假打了工，一定要给妹妹买布做件春装。

[I] had a job this summer, now I need to buy cloth to make a spring dress for my little sister. Я подрабатывал этим летом, теперь нужно купить ткань на весеннее платье младшей сестре.

In Russian, we can use the VN but the verb sounds more natural.

这里不少人都到外地打过工。

Many local people have gone elsewhere to find second jobs. Многие здешние люди подрабатывали на чужбине.

In Russian, we can use the VN but the verb sounds more natural.

众人替美国佬打着工，赚着美国佬的钱

Everyone works for the Yankees and makes money for the Yankees. Все работают на янки и зарабатывают деньги на янки.

In both English and Russian it is more appropriate to use the verb “to work”.

放假

Fangjia

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|----------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| To relieve a holiday | Брать отпуск, быть в отпуске, идти в отпуск, находиться в отпуске, уходить в отпуск, дать отпуск | To take a vacation, to have a holiday | |

All Russian and English VN are rather neutral in style, but their usage may depend on the context.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

佛光山的丛林学院为什么规定每周放假一天？

Why does Foguang Mountain forestry institute stipulate a day off every week? Почему лесной институт на горе Фогуан предусматривает один выходной день в неделю?

In this sentence, in both English and Russian we need to use “a day off”, as normally it is impossible to use the word “holidays” for one day only. It is also interesting that the duration goes after the *liheci* in the original sentence.

除了法定的公共假期以外，加拿大还有一些不放假的节日

In addition to statutory public holidays, Canada also has some other public holidays. В дополнение к официальным каникулам в Канаде также есть рабочие праздничные дни.

In this case, in Russian, we may only be able to use “working”, while the literal translation is “non-holiday festives”. In English, it is enough to use “other” as “statutory” already implies not working.

现在放假了，学生就把凳子都带回家了。

Now they're on holiday, the students have taken the stools home. Сейчас каникулы, и студенты забрали все стулья домой.

In Russian, we have to use the word which means school holidays/vacations, in English we also use the noun.

你会在**放假**第一天就写作业吗?

Are you going to do your homework on the first day of the holiday? Ты будешь делать домашнее задание в первый день каникул?

In both English and Russian we need to use the noun, as well as in the previous sentence, in Russian it is the word “school holidays”, in English it is holidays.

每逢感恩节，美国全国**放假**三天

Every Thanksgiving holiday is three days in the United States. В каждый День Благодарения, в США три выходных дня.

In both English and Russian, it is more natural to use “a day off”. In Russian, it would be possible to say “to give 3 days off” or “to give three days of holidays”, but it may depend on the context (it sounds less neutral and more informal). It is interesting that in the original sentence the duration complement goes after the *liheci*.

几天后，学校**放了农忙假**，朱秀芸和刘晓玉结伴回了朱家庄

A few days later, the school started farming break, Zhu Xiuyun and Liu Xiaoyu went back to Zhu's house (together). Через несколько дней школа ушла на фермерские каникулы, Чжу Сююнь и Лю Сяюй вместе вернулись домой к Чжу.

In English, we can use “to begin vacation”, in Russian we need to use the fixed expression “to leave for school vacations”.

考试成绩中有一门得第一，或者两门第二的学生，得以出席学校举办的宴会，然后**放荣誉假**两天，可以回家与父母团聚。

The student who got the best scores on the exam or the two students who got the second-best scores can attend a banquet held by the school, and then take two days off as a reward, and can go home to see their families. Один студент, получивший лучший результат на экзамене, или два студента, занявшие второе место, могут присутствовать на банкете, проводимом школой, а затем взять почетный двухдневный отпуск, могут поехать домой и воссоединиться со своими родителями.

In Russian, using the VN is the most appropriate way to translate this sentence. In English, using the VN is semantically inappropriate.

第一，离元旦还有两天；第二，新年一开头就**放探亲假**，别人会有意见。”

First, there are still two days before New Year's Day; second, family holiday starts on New Year's Day, and other people will have their own opinions. Во-первых, до Нового года еще два дня, во-вторых, семейный отпуск начинается в начале нового года, и у других будут свои мнения. "

The literal translation of this sentence would be “as soon as new year begins, everybody will take family vacations”, so, in both English and Russian we would use the VN to be able to add “family” as an adjective. However, the literal translation in this case, depending on the context, may not be the most natural way to convey this idea.

最使煤矿工人高兴的，是矿上决定春节**放四天假**。

What made the coal miners happiest was that the mine closed for four days over Spring Festival (during spring festival).

Что порадовало шахтеров больше всего, так это то, что на шахте решили взять отпуск на четыре дня во время Весеннего Фестиваля.

In Russian, VN is the most appropriate way to translate this sentence, as we need to be able to combine it with “4 days”. Depending on the context, various VN can be possible, e.g. дать четырехдневный отпуск, уйти в отпуск на четыре дня, побыть в отпуске четыре дня. In English, “to take 4-days vacation”, “to have 4-days holiday” both would sound rather unnatural, as in this case they did not decide to have rest by their own will but the 4 days off were stipulated by their boss.

"那么你今天不要出街吧，既然放一天假，你也落得休息一天，"她说。

“Then don't go out today, since you took a day off, stay here and rest”, she said. «Тогда не выходи сегодня на улицу, раз взял один выходной, тогда останься и отдохни один день», - сказала она.

In both English and Russian, using the VN will hardly be possible, as “holidays” and “vacations” are not really appropriate to use with one day only.

1991年夏天，放了假的孩子在院里嬉闹。

In the summer of 1991, the children who were on vacation were playing in the courtyard. Летом 1991 года во время каникул дети играли во дворе.

In Russian, we have to use the word “school vacations”. In English, saying “the children who had holidays” would sound rather unnatural.

三年来没有放过假，是，这是我的工作

Three years without any time off, yes, that's my job. Три года без отпуска, да, это моя работа.

In both English and Russian, we need a noun to make it sound the most natural way. However, we can also paraphrase the sentence and use the VN, e.g. “I haven't taken a vacation for 3 years”.

快**放着**假了，她会回来的，到时来玩儿吧。

It's almost the holidays, she'll be back, come to play. Скоро отпуск, она вернется, приходи играть.

In both English and Russian, we need a noun to make it sound the most natural way. However, we can also paraphrase the sentence and use the VN, e.g. “we will soon have holidays”, however, in this case, without the context we cannot decide about the most appropriate translation.

刷卡

Shuaka

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To swipe a card | - | - | |

In both English and Russian no corresponding VN was found. In both languages we can use the combination “to pay by card”.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

车辆异地加油可**刷卡**

Vehicle refueling can be paid by card.
Заправка машины может быть оплачена картой.

In both English and Russian, we can use “to pay by card” in the passive voice.

如果多在商场电子化建设上下下功夫，方便人们**刷卡**购物，就能吸引更多人的消费。

If you put more effort into the electronic equipment of shopping centers and make payment by card more convenient for customers, you can attract more consumption. Если приложить больше усилий к электронному оснащению торговых центров и сделать оплату покупок картой более удобной для

покупателей, можно привлечь больше потребителей.

In this case, it is more appropriate to use the combination of nouns “payment by card”.

在消费的人群中,刷卡购物、刷卡旅游已成时尚

Paying by card when doing shopping and travelling has become fashionable. Среди покупателей стало модно оплачивать покупки и путешествия по карте.

In both English and Russian, we can use “to pay by card” in the most appropriate form (the Gerund in English, the verb in Russian).

刷卡族中以年轻人居多。

The majority of people who pay by card are the young. Большинство тех, кто расплачивается картой – молодые люди.

In both English and Russian, we can use “to pay by card”.

银行卡不但越来越通用,而且越来越好用,刷卡消费日益显现安全便捷优势。

Bank cards are not only becoming more and more versatile, but also easier and easier to use. Paying by card affords the advantages of safety and convenience. Банковские карты не только становятся все более и более универсальными, но и все более удобными в использовании. Оплата кредитными картами все больше демонстрирует преимущества безопасности и удобства.

In both English and Russian we can use “paying by card” (in Russian, it is a combination of nouns).

There were extremely few split-up samples in both corpora. No combination with 了, 着, 过 found:

取款机刷不了卡,要“麻烦”银行

If the ATM is not reading the card, it ‘s necessary to “annoy” the bank. Если банкомат не принимает карту, нужно «беспокоить» банк.

In this case, as we speak about an ATM, we cannot use “to pay by card”, but rather “to read a card” in English or “to accept a card” in Russian.

排队

Paidui

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additonal options |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| To arrange a line | Занимать очередь, стоять в очереди | - | To take turns |

In English no corresponding VN was found, however the VN “to take turns” may be a partial synonym in some cases. Both Russian VN are rather neutral and do not have a correlated verb.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

可以提价, 别愁卖不了, 店门口排队争购的多着哩!

You can raise the price. Don’t be afraid of not selling it, because the queue near the shop entrance that is rushing to purchase it is very long. Вы можете поднять цену и не волнуйтесь, что не сумеете продать товар, очередь у входа, которая спешит купить его, велика.

In both English and Russian, we need a noun. In Russian, it is possible to paraphrase the sentence and say “people who stay in the queue...” to use the VN, however, it will be slightly different from the original sentence.

在生产过程中，员工们**排队**等待领取所需的工具或原料所花费的时间是要计入成本的。

During the production process, the time spent by employees on waiting in line to receive the required tools or materials is included in the cost. В процессе производства время, потраченное сотрудниками в очереди на получение необходимых инструментов или сырья, включается в стоимость.

In Russian, both VN are semantically and syntactically impossible to use.

佛门的戒律和规矩却是发自内心，心甘情愿的。比如**排队**，是大家自觉自愿地**排队**，没人强迫

The precepts and rules of Buddhism come from the heart and are fulfilled willingly. For example, if there is a need to be in a queue, everybody does it on one's own initiative, and nobody forces them. Заповеди и нормы буддизма исходят из самого сердца и выполняются добровольно, например, если нужно стоять в очереди, все стоят в ней по собственному желанию, никто никого не принуждает.

In Russian, it is normally inappropriate to use the same word or expression twice in the same sentence, so, we translate just one of the two usages and replace the second one with a pronoun. In this case, depending on how we paraphrase the sentence, both VN can be used.

不会，我敢保证你不会得奖，前面还有八、九百人在**排队**呢！

Nope, I can guarantee you won't win the prize. There are eight or nine hundred people waiting in line! Нет, я могу гарантировать, что вы не выиграте приз. В очереди восемь или девятьсот человек!

In Russian, it is possible to use *стоять в очереди*, however, it is less natural than using the noun.

你猜我怎么回答？我告诉他：“那你排队吧！要杀我的人一大堆，还轮不到你呢！”

Guess what I answered. I told him, “Then wait in line! There are so many people who want to kill me, it’s not your turn now!” Угадай, что я ответил. Я сказал ему: «Тогда занимай очередь! Так много людей хотят убить меня, твоя очередь еще не подошла!»

In Russian, the used VN is the most appropriate way to translate this sentence. If we paraphrase it, we will also be able to use the other VN, but it will be less natural.

有一位女生报考 T O E F L , 排了一夜队才报上第 5 6 名！

One girl who wanted to register for TOEFL spent the whole night in the queue and was the 56th! Одна студентка, которая хотела зарегистрироваться на TOEFL, простояла в очереди всю ночь и была 56ой!

In Russian, the used VN is the most appropriate way to translate this sentence. Using the other VN is impossible.

战犯们依次走出车厢，然后排着队走出火车站。

One by one the war criminals left the carriage and then went out of the station in a line. Военные преступники один за другим вышли из вагона, а затем по очереди покинули вокзал.

In Russian, we have to use the fixed combination “по очереди” (in turn, taking turns), the VN cannot be used.

排了一会儿队，照例买一个馒头一个土豆汤，出了食堂门

After waiting in line for a while, I bought a steamed bun and some potato soup as

always and left the cafeteria. Простояв некоторое время в очереди, я как обычно купил паровой пирожок и картофельный суп и вышел из столовой.

In Russian, the used VN is the most appropriate way to translate this sentence. Using the other VN is impossible.

你们排你们的队就是了。

Just stay in your queue and that's it. Вы просто стойте в своей очереди, вот и все.

Depending on the context, in Russian, both VN can be used.

做客

Zuoke

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|---------------------|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| To do a guest | БЫТЬ В ГОСТЯХ, ИДТИ В ГОСТИ, ХОДИТЬ В ГОСТИ | To make a visit | |

All the three Russian VN are rather stylistically neutral, the English one is only a contextual synonym.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

这是野生动物第一次到我家做客，女儿很激动，让我从楼上跑下来看。

This was the first time a wild animal had come to visit my house. My daughter was very excited and told me to run downstairs to look. Это был первый раз, когда дикое животное пришло в мой дом, моя дочь была очень взволнована

и попросила меня спуститься вниз,
чтобы увидеть его.

In Russian, we can equally say “had come to my house”, “had come to be a guest in my house” (using the VN, *пришло в гости*) or combine them and say “had come to my house to be a guest”. In English, we can use “to visit my house”. If the general style of the text allows, it might be possible to use “to make a visit”.

宋耀如请孙中山到自己家中**做客**。

Song Yaoru invited Sun Yat-sen to visit his home. Сон Яору пригласил Сунь Ятсена посетить его дом.

As we speak about well-known politicians, all the three Russian VN are stylistically inappropriate to use. In both languages we can use “to visit his house”.

在突尼斯，养驴的多少象征着主人身份的高低，去别人家**做客**、小孩子上学、送姑娘出嫁都要牵驴

In Tunisia, the number of donkeys represents the owner, when visiting other people's homes, sending children to school and sending girls to their weddings, Tunisians must lead donkeys. В Тунисе количество ослов указывает на статус их владельца. Когда люди идут в гости, отправляют детей в школу, выдают девочек замуж, они должны вести ослов

In Russian, depending on how we paraphrase the sentence, we can use the VN or another verb-noun combination. The English VN is stylistically inappropriate.

到人家**做客**，要先脱帽而后入室。

When entering someone's home, you should take off your hat before you come into the room. Приходя в гости к другим людям, вы должны сначала снять шляпу и только затем войти в комнату.

The used VN may be the only appropriate way to translate this sentence. The English VN is stylistically impossible to use.

“陈老，东莞人很惦念你，你就来做客吧！”

Chenlao, people in Dongguan are very worried about you, come and visit!
Ченлао, люди в Дунгуань беспокоятся о тебе, так что приезжай в гости!

In English, “people in Dongguan are very worried about you, so come to make a visit” is stylistically inappropriate as “to make a visit” sounds too formal. In Russian, the VN «приходить в гости» may be the only appropriate way to translate this sentence, however, we need to replace the verb “to come on foot” with the verb “to come by transport”, as the person is supposed to come to another locality.

There were rather few split-up samples with a restricted variety of inserted elements:

择吉日佳期，邀三亲六眷和外婆家做满月客。

Choose a lucky day and invite your family and your grandmother's family for the baby's one-month birthday. Выберите счастливый день и пригласите всех родственников и семью бабушки по материнской линии в гости на месячины ребенка.

In Russian, syntactically, we could use the VN (прийти в гости) but it would sound rather unnatural, as well as in English, because in both languages using the verb “to invite” itself conveys the idea of visiting someone’s house.

但他到英国却在狄更斯家里做过客，并受到狄更斯热情的鼓励

But he was a guest in Dickens's home in England, and was warmly encouraged by Dickens. Но он был гостем в доме Диккенса в Англии, и Диккенс горячо его поддержал

In Russian, we can equally use “to be a guest” and the VN “to be in guests” (он был в гостях), however, the first option is stylistically more appropriate.

上网

Shangwang

*highly adhesive

| Literal translation | Russian equivalent | English equivalent | Additional options |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| To (go) up the Internet | БЫТЬ в сети, ВЫХОДИТЬ в интернет | - | |

The Russian VN mean “to be online” and “to go online” respectively, they are neutral and do not have a correlated verb. In English, no corresponding VN was found.

Let us analyse some sample sentences from CCL, firstly for “*he*” usage and then for “*li*” usage:

学习者只要上网就可以进行课前预习、课后复习。

Students just need to go online to be able to prepare for class and revise materials after class. Ученикам нужно лишь выйти в интернет, и они смогут подготовиться к уроку и повторить материал после урока.

In Russian, the used VN is the only possible way to translate this sentence.

巨大的上网人数，带来了巨大的商机。

The huge number of Internet users has brought huge business opportunities. Огромное количество интернет-пользователей принесло огромные возможности для бизнеса.

In both English and Russian, we can only use “Internet users” (or “people using the Internet” which is less natural).

您曾经说过，您是一个不会用电脑上网的人，您现在对网络的想法是否发生变化呢？

You said once that you didn't use the computer to go online, have you changed your mind about using the internet? Вы

однажды сказали, что не используете компьютер для выхода в интернет, Ваше мнение об интернете изменилось?

In Russian, it is in generally possible to use the second VN (чтобы выходить в интернет), however, it may sound less natural than the used combination of nouns and may shift the logical accent (it probably sounds more like “you don’t use the computer to access the Internet, but do use it for something else).

现在徐良无聊的时候，会在家里上网。

Now when Xu Liang is bored, he will go online at home. Теперь, когда Сюй Лян скучает, он дома выходит в интернет.

In Russian, the used VN is the most appropriate way to translate this sentence.

“我上网查阅了新闻，发现春运的信息十分零散

I checked the news on the internet and found that the information about public transport during spring festival is very fragmented. Я ознакомился с новостями в интернете и обнаружил, что сообщения о пассажирских перевозках во время китайского нового года очень разрозненны.

In both English and Russian, we can only use “on the Internet” or “online”, as the *liheci* involved in the SVO principally fulfils the role of a prepositional structure before the main verb.

上网购物无疑是一个不错的选择。

Online shopping is often the best choice. Интернет-магазины, несомненно, хороший выбор.

In Russian, we can use “online shopping” or “Internet shops” as well as “purchases online” (онлайн шоппинг, покупки онлайн), using the VN is impossible.

但一个性变态者上了网就可能成为白马王子。

But on the internet a pervert can come across as prince charming. Но в

интернете извращенец может стать очаровательным принцем.

In Russian, it is possible to use the VN (выйдя в интернет), however, it does not sound fully natural.

他说, 以前没上过网, 今天来学习学习, 以后自己会买台电脑在家上网。

He said he had never used the internet before, and that he'd come that day to learn how to, and that now he was going to buy a computer so he could use the internet at home. Он сказал, что раньше ни разу не выходил в интернет и пришел сегодня поучиться, чтобы потом купить компьютер и пользоваться интернетом дома.

In Russian, in the first case using the VN is the most appropriate, in the second case, we can use “to use the Internet”, but not the VN.

如今不懂英语, 你就玩不了电脑, 上不了网。

These days, if you don't speak English you can't use computers or the internet. На сегодняшний день, если ты не знаешь английский, ты не можешь ни играть в компьютер, ни пользоваться интернетом.

In this case, in both English and Russian, it is only semantically appropriate to say “to use the Internet”.

护士骆宁一边上着网, 一边和记者介绍着她们的这个小秘密。

Nurse Lo Nin was surfing the net while telling reporters secrets. Медсестра Ло Нин одновременно сидела в интернете и рассказывала журналистам о их маленьком секрете.

Considering that the action is continuous, in Russian, it is only possible to use the fixed expression “to sit on the Internet” which means to spend (long) time on the Internet, using the VN is impossible.

Overall, in the majority of cases where it is impossible to use VN to translate *liheci*, it happens due to differences in stylistics or semantics.

CONCLUSIONS

Chinese *liheci* which are commonly believed to be a unique phenomenon absent in other languages are, in fact, a particular form of a universally spread verb+noun construction with an indivisible verbal meaning which is present in many other languages and which is believed by some researchers to be a universality across world languages.

Liheci in Chinese, as well as OGIO in Russian and DS in English, display specific characteristics which differentiate them from analagous structures in other languages. Their main feature originates in the character-morpheme-word ambiguity which is present in the modern Chinese language. Characters, each of which preserves their original meanings, are no longer independent but are rather meaningful parts of polysyllabic/polymorphemic words. Thus, in Chinese *liheci*, V and N are often not be words at all; however, they act as a verb and a noun which share one joint semantic meaning but not grammar-syntax characteristics. In Chinese, two morphemes unite in one splittable (proto-)word while in English and Russian two words unite in a supraword structure. This difference is the root cause of the discrepancies between *liheci* and their counterparts in other languages, but not the only one. In Chinese, *liheci* is not only a type of structure/word, but a whole principle which may be found in other joint-split combinations. In Chinese with its rigid word order and character-word duality, splitting-uniting is a convenient way of forming a sentence. This is observed not only in the *liheci* structures as limited in this work but also in other cases. Chinese *liheci* are not a homogeneous group but they can be divided into subtypes on the bases of various criteria, e.g. the quality of morpehemes, their ability to transpose or accept direct objects, etc. However, they share some fundamental characteristics which unite them in a special type of word that can be found, first of all, to contrast with simple verbs. We concluded that to consider a verb+noun combination to be a *liheci* in modern Chinese, the joint meaning must be broader than the sum of the meanings of its elements at the level of its outer structure; while for those combinations whose meanings can be derived from their elements, one of the elements must show some kind of undisputable adhesivity. Variations in the degree or type of adhesivity also underly the *liheci* classification proposed in this research.

Despite the fact that the detailed discrepancies between *liheci* and VN in English and Russian can be found in the end of each chapter, it is worth highlighting that, unlike Russian and English, the majority of *liheci* are not connected with correlated verbs and often denote verbal notions which are not denoted by any simple verb because *liheci* are often wrongly classified as a type of verb. It is also worth mentioning that Chinese *liheci* can be considered a type of word and a part of speech, but not in English and Russian VN.

Throughout this work, we observed a number of differences between *liheci* and verbs in Chinese, as well as between *liheci* and analogous structures in English and Russian. Nevertheless, despite particular grammatical, syntactical, stylistical and other discrepancies, these structures share the same fundamental principles of formation and function. Surprisingly, even in English and Russian, two languages in which words function independently, the main underlying principle of VN combinations is adhesivity. This adhesivity may vary in quality as in Chinese it is applied to characters which cannot be independent words, but it is basically identical. All of them consist of a verb and a noun-behaving object of this verb that present a joint verbal meaning which is lost if they are fully separated. They can accept other words and word combinations related to both parts and their elements can be separated in a sentence. Without context which applies its restrictions, many *liheci* can be appropriately translated through synonymous VN in English and Russian.

There are still a number of questions regarding *liheci* which remain unanswered and which need further study and comparison with VN in other languages, such as a detailed analysis of IS and OS and the underlying rules of their formation, the quality of morphemes, the direction of further development of *liheci* as a word and *liheci* as a principle, and others. In spite of this, this research which provides a basic comparison of *liheci* and verbs and *liheci* and VN in English and Russian presents a fundamental basis for further research in the field. There exist works which compare Russian OGIO and English DS with VN in other languages, including some widely studied second languages, e.g. German and French, and less commonly studied, such as Urdu and different Slavic languages. This allows comparison of *liheci* with VN in those languages on the basis of compilation.

Overall, we can conclude that:

- 1. *Liheci* is not a unique Chinese phenomenon, but a particular variation of a widely spread V+N construction whose analogues can be found in many languages across the world.**
- 2. The main difference of *liheci* is that they are formed from character-morphemes but not independent words.**
- 3. *Liheci* can be studied in contrast to verbs in Chinese and VN in other languages.**
- 4. *Liheci* should not be included in the category of verbs.**

The clear presence of similarities and discrepancies between *liheci* and verbs and *liheci* and analogous structures in other languages makes it possible to study and teach them contrastively.

Though the topic of contrastive instruction of *liheci* goes far beyond the aims of the present investigation, some basic ideas derived from the studied material are given in the Appendix.

APPENDIX

A. Surveys

In order to provide further practical information in the part I elaborated several questionnaires for native speakers and advanced second language learners. Each of the three questionnaires were created in the corresponding language to limit the respondents to those who have a sufficiently high level, in order to minimize random answers.

The questionnaire for Chinese included the following questions:

1. 你是 (you are)

- 中国人 (Chinese)
- 外国人 (a foreigner)

2. 你的学历: (your academic degree)

- 本科 (语言) (a bachelors in linguistics)
- 本科 (别的) (a bachelors in another field)
- 硕士 (语言) (a masters in linguistics)
- 硕士 (别的) (a masters in another field)
- 博士 (语言) (a Ph.D. in linguistics)
- 博士 (别的) (a Ph.D. in other fields)

3. 你知道离合词是什么吗? (do you know what *liheci* are?)

- 知道 (yes)
- 不知道 (no)

4. 下面哪些词语是离合词? (which of these words are *liheci*?)

看到, 羊肉, 吃饭, 生气, 睡觉, 吹牛, 走出来

5. 一般情况下你更常用哪一个 —— 帮助还是帮忙? (which do you normally use more often – *bangzhu* or *bangmang*?)

6. 帮助和帮忙这两个词语有什么区别？（比如，一个更正式，书面的，口语的，等等）（**what is the difference between *bangzhu* and *bangmang*? For example, in stylistics, in usage – more often used in spoken language or writing, etc.**）

7. 别的语言有没有像离合词一样的词语？哪些语言？（**Are there other similar categories in other languages? Which ones?**）

- 西班牙语 (Spanish)
- 英语 (English)
- 俄语 (Russian)
- other

8. 离合词是 (*liheci* are)

- 词 (words)
- 词组 (collocations of words)
- 短语 (phrases)

9. 离合词是词类 (*liheci* is a part of speech)

- 是 (true)
- 否 (false)

10. 抱怨的怨是动词还是名词？（**is the second morpheme in *baoyuan* a verb or a noun?**）

- 动词 (a verb)
- 名词 (a noun)

10. 游一次泳：这句话的次是动量词还是名量词？

- 动量次（游一次）
- 名量词（一次泳）

Overall, 56 people responded to these questions, among them 81.8% were native Chinese speakers and 18.2% Chinese L2 learners. The plurality (30.4%) completed a non-linguistic BA degree in contrast with 12.5% who have a BA in linguistics. Among the others, 19.6% and 8.9%

have an MA and Ph.D. in linguistics, respectively; 19.6% got MA in another field, 8.9% were Ph.D. holders in other studies, 1.8% had a special education background.

71.4% of respondents knew what *liheci* were; among them 22% included 看到, 2% included 羊肉, 48% included 吃饭, and 44% included 走出来 in the group of *liheci*. 生气, 睡觉, 吹牛 got 34%, 48%, 48% positive answers, correspondingly.

78.6% prefer using *liheci* over verbs in daily speech, the majority of them are native Chinese speakers.

Native speakers indicated that 帮助 is a more formal / more often used in books while 帮忙 is more used in daily speech. Many respondents, including natives, indicated that they did not know or there was no difference between these two words. Ten people mentioned grammar-syntactical differences.

38.3% believed that *liheci* also exist in English in contrast with 23.4% for Spanish and 6.4% for Russian. 2.1% voted for German. 38.3% think that *liheci* only exist in Chinese.

46.2% consider *liheci* to be words, 36.5% - word collocations, 13.5% - phrases.

60.8% agreed that *liheci* are a part of speech.

58.9% think that the second element in 抱怨 is a noun, 41.1% that it is a verb.

56.8% indicated that the classifier in 游一次泳 is verbal, while 43.2% believe it is nominal.

In the English questionnaire, 53.6% of participants were non-native advanced speakers, 32.1% were native speakers (UK), 7.1% were native speakers (USA), and 7.1% were native speakers from other regions (51 people in total).

Among them, those who completed non-linguistic studies made up 32.1% (BA), 21.4% (MA) and 7.1% (Ph.D.). Linguistic degrees were held by 3.6% (MA). 17.9% had completed secondary education as well as 17.9% completed other types of education.

The answers for the question “**Which of the following terms are you familiar with?**” were:

Delexical verbs - 7.1%

Delexical structures - 7.1%

Function verbs - 32.1%

Desemanticized verbs - 3.6%

Light verbs - 14.3%

Lexically empty verbs - 10.7%

Empty verbs - 10.7%

Vector verbs - 3.6%
Explicator verbs - 7.1%
Thin verbs - 7.1%
Weak verbs - 35.7%
Support(ive) verbs - 25%
Stretched verbs - 7.1%
Multi-word verbs - 25%
Expanded predicates - 7.1%
Noun phrases - 42.9%
None of the above - 39.3%

Some of the answers to the question “**What is the difference between "to have a drink" and "to drink"?**” were:

“To drink is a general statement. To have a drink is more specific”.

“Drink is the act of drinking, To have a drink it a something that you have to do. "have a drink with friends" for example”.

“To have a drink could be a desire or an act. To drink is the act of drinking”.

“"To have a drink" is take a only one drink. "To drink" could be more of one drink”.

“Have a drink is a one time event. To drink can be drinking achohol”.

“To drink is the infinitive and can be used in a wide variety of structures. To have a drink implies drink on one occasion, it does not sound like a serious drink or a large amount are consumed”.

However, there were no systematicaly repeated answers for this question.

58.6% believed that in “go shopping” the Gerund form functions as a noun, 41.4% that it acts as a verb.

75.9% consider “look” in “to have a look” to be a noun, while 24.1% think it is a verbal infinitive.

Some answers for the question “**Why is it possible to say "to have a drink" but impossible to say "to have an eat"?**” were:

“Drink is also a noun, while eat can only be used as a verb”.

“A drink is a noun. Eat is not. I've heard used "some eats" as referring to food, but am not sure it's grammatically correct”.

“Because drink is a contable word, while eat is a uncountable word”.

“Eat is not a noun. My favourite drink is correct English. My favourite eat is not correct English. Eat can only function as a verb”.

Overall, the only repeated opinion is that “drink” can be a noun, while “eat” cannot.

62.1% prefer to use “to take part” rather than “to participate”.

79.3% normally use “to have a shower” instead of “to shower”.

65.5% more often say “to be in a hurry” than “to hurry”.

75.9% more regularly use “to go fishing” than “to fish”.

72.4% prefer to use “to take a shower” to “to have a shower”.

90.9% people who participated in the survey for Russian were native speakers, among them 31.8% graduated from secondary education, 40.9% possessed a BA degree, 18.2% an MA and 9.1% Ph.D. in non-linguistic research areas (49 people in total).

90.9% are not familiar with any of the given terms (OGIO, VN, OP, AGIC). 9.1% know OGIO.

100% have never been taught the topic of OGIO.

77.3% more often use “*potoch*” than “*okazat’ pomosch*”.

Some answers to the question “**В чем, по Вашему мнению, отличие “беспокоиться” от “испытывать беспокойство”**” (what is the difference between “to worry” and “to feel a worry”) were:

“Беспокоиться о чем то, испытывать беспокойство по поводу чего-то” [to worry about something, to feel a worry towards something - a different case].

“В применении данных выражений: беспокоиться о ком-то, испытывать беспокойство по какому-либо поводу” [in the usage of these expressions: to worry about somebody, to feel a worry for some reason].

“Беспокоиться - это более разговорное слово, а испытывать беспокойство используется больше в литературе” [“to worry” is a more spoken word, while “to feel a worry” is more used in books].

“Смысловых отличий нет, только стилистическое, «беспокоиться» - более упрощенный вариант” [there are no differences in meaning, only stylistical ones, “to worry” is a simpler option].

“Испытывать беспокойство более официальный вариант, нежели беспокоиться” [“To feel a worry” is more official than “to worry”].

“Беспокоиться в конкретный период, испытывать беспокойство действие продолжительного характера” [“to worry” in a particular period, “to feel a worry” is a long-term action].

However, there were no systematically repeated opinions.

Some questions appeared irrelevant as 100% declared not to have studied the topic of OGIO, among them:

Are OGIO a part of speech? (90.9% answered positively); What are VN that do not have a correlated same-root synonymous verb? (81.8% - not OGIO, 18.2% - OGIO); What OGIO do you use more often? (only a few were named: выражать благодарность, принимать во внимание, оказать помощь, одержать победу, принять решение, выражать благодарность, принимать участие); You believe that (1) OGIO always belongs to a particular register, e.g. the official speech style - 38.1%, (2) OGIO can be used in stylistically neutral speech (61.9%); Are OGIO a midway point from a synthetical to analytical language? (63.6% answered yes); Are OGIO PE? (90.9% answered negatively).

B. A brief note on the methodology of teaching *liheci* to foreign students

While translating *liheci* with verbs may be stylistically more correct as we could see in Chinese the majority of them are neutral or more neutral in style than verbs as well as verbs in other mentioned languages, in this author’s opinion it can lead to a number of problems for a foreign student:

- they do not understand the principle difference between verbs and *liheci*;
- they do not understand why cases like 帮助 and 帮忙 are translated with the same verb;
- they do not understand why *liheci* do not act as verbs, especially in collocations with other words, thus, they perceive them as exceptions and memorize them without properly understanding them.

They may also not understand how to distinguish between types of verbs in those cases when *liheci* are classified as a type of verb.

For these reasons, I find it important to categorize *liheci* as a group which is separate from verbs, give them a definition and explain how they are used. As we see in this work, *liheci* do not form a homogeneous group, but may include morphemes of different qualities and demonstrate different abilities to interact with other words; not all of them can split up or invert equally etc. A

comprehensive study to determine laws and rules which influence *liheci* properties and behaviour to group them and study their sub-groups should be conducted.

However, currently a few easy steps can be followed to make studying *liheci* easier:

1. Explain to students that *liheci* and verbs are two separate phenomena (or two different parts of speech, depending on one's understanding of this), thus, in sentences and word combinations they function differently.
2. Explain to students that the majority of *liheci* may not have verbal synonyms and that *liheci* tend to be more stylistically neutral.
3. Explain to students the main differences of functioning of *liheci* and verbs and give examples. In this aspect, we would need to show that there are discrepancies not only between *liheci* and verbs but also between monosyllabic, polysyllabic verbs, and verbs with empty objects, etc. As a minimum, we would need to show the difference between proto-*liheci* and others, *liheci* formed from polysemantic verbs and others etc.
4. Explain to students that *liheci* are not a phenomenon unique to Chinese but that a similar category may exist in their native language or another language they know.
5. In comparison with examples in other languages, show the main principles of *liheci* functioning.
6. Explain to students that *liheci* and VN will not fully coincide in usage and behaviour. Show examples of as many formal similarities and real discrepancies as possible. If this step is omitted students may start making mistakes using *liheci* where or in the same way as they use VN in their native languages.

C. “*Liheci*” in Spanish.

In Spanish, verb+noun constructions such as “*dar un grito*” (“to give a shout”) which is correlated with the verb “*gritar*” (to shout) also exist. Across research papers Spanish delexical verbs are called “verbos de apoyo” (support(ive) verbs)⁵, while independent verbs are often named “verbos plenos” (complete verbs).

“Las construcciones con verbos de apoyo o soporte son sintagmas verbales en los que se combinan verbos aparentemente vacíos de significado léxico (y, por tanto, escasamente predicativos) con nombres que denotan eventos (por tanto, no referenciales); es decir, en ellas parece alterado el reparto habitual de tareas entre ambas categorías léxicas”.

⁵ Some other terms can also be found, e.g. *verbos ligeros* (light verbs) and *verbos soporte* (supportive verbs).

(De Miguel, 2008)

As well as in English and Russian, one Spanish light verb can form various combinations with different nouns, e.g. *dar explicaciones*, *dar un salto*, *dar un golpe*, *dar ayuda*, *dar un paseo*, *dar comienzo* and others which often have synonymous same-root verbs (*explicar*, *saltar*, *golpear*, *ayudar*, *pasear*, *comenzar*). They also share some other similarities with VN in the languages observed in this research.

Other frequent delexical verbs in Spanish are *hacer* (to do), *tener* (to have), *tomar* (to take), *echar* (to cast).

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