

SEMANTICS AND SYNTAX OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF DEGREE IN RUSSIAN

EGBERT FORTUIN

1. Introduction

In this paper, I will provide a semantic-syntactic analysis of the construction of degree in Russian. In the introduction, I will provide a general overview of this construction and the main features of the construction that I will analyze in this paper.

I will use the term ‘construction of degree’ for sentences consisting of the degree word *достаточно* (*dostatočno* ‘enough’) or the degree word *слишком* (*sliškom* ‘too’), and usually a subordinate clause introduced by *чтобы* (*čtoby*, that-IRR ‘to’). Two examples are given below:¹

- (1) А те, кто нуждается, не могут даже рта **достаточно широко** раскрыть, чтобы его проглотить. (*Московские новости*, 2002.07.18)
and those, who need, not can even mouth enough wide-ADV open-INF, that-IRR it swallow-INF
‘And those who need it, cannot even open their mouths wide enough to swallow it.’
- (2) Но проблема-то **слишком серьезная**, чтобы оставлять ее без внимания. (*Мебельный бизнес*, 2002.05.15)
but problem-FEM-NOM PART too serious-ADJ-FEM-NOM, that-IRR leave-INF her without attention
‘But this problem is too serious not to pay attention to it.’

¹ The examples are either from the *Национальный корпус русского языка* (NKRJa) or the internet. In the case of examples taken from the NKRJa which are from the 19th century, I have indicated the date. – Throughout the paper, I will provide glosses (and translations) for most of the Russian sentences for those readers who do not read Russian. I do, however, not strive for a complete representation of all grammatical and morphological features, and only provide as much information as is relevant for the discussion. – With regard to the grammatical status of the degree words, it must be noted that the degree word *слишком* is not morphologically marked as an adverb. Etymologically, it can be seen as the contraction of [*с + лишком*] ‘with surplus’. As such it differs from *достаточно* or its (near) synonym *довольно*. Both these forms are adverbs derived from adjectives (*достаточный, довольный*).

In the literature (e.g. Meier 2003), the meanings of these forms are usually stated in terms of a scale. In the case of expressions like *достаточно*, the degree on the scale is equal to or larger than some contextually given minimum, whereas in the case of expressions like *слишком*, the degree is larger than some contextually given maximum. It is also remarked (e.g. Heim 2001; Meier 2003), that these degree words are associated with a specific kind of modality. More specifically, expressions like *достаточно* are used to indicate that the degree is such that the situation referred to in the subordinate clause can be realized, whereas sentences with expressions like *слишком* express that the degree is such that the situation in the subordinate clause cannot be realized.² Note, however, that the Russian data are not fully in accordance with the semantic characterizations given here. Firstly, there are also sentences where the modality associated with the subordinate clause is closer to necessity than possibility, for example:

- (3) Все это **слишком очевидно, чтобы пускаться** в более подробные разъяснения. (*Звезда*, 2001)
 all that too obvious, that-IRR engage-INF in more detailed explanations
 ‘This is too obvious, for us to (*have to*) start giving even more detailed explanations.’

Furthermore, in some contexts *достаточно* can be interpreted in such a way that the realization of the situation in the subordinate clause is in fact presented as something that cannot or should not be realized (see Švedova 1980: 601):

- (4) Он **достаточно талантлив, чтобы решать** такие задачи. (Švedova 1980: 601)
 he enough talented, that-IRR solve-INF such problems
Possible interpretation: ‘He is talented enough not to have to solve such problems.’

In the examples of the construction of degree above, the degree word is applied to an adverb or adjective, but the degree words can also be applied to verbs:

- (5) Знала, что он **слишком любит** меня, чтобы допустить наш разрыв. (В. Шахиджанян, *1001 вопросов про Это*)
 knew-SG-FEM, that he too loves me, that-IRR allow-INF our break up
 ‘I knew that he loved me too much to allow us to break up.’

² In most sentences, *слишком* or *достаточно* occur before the element which they modify. In neutral speech, especially in written language, it often occurs immediately before this element, but this is not necessarily the case. If accented, the degree word may also follow the element it modifies. In this paper, I will not go into the word order of the construction.

With some gradable verbs, the degree word is not always applied directly to the verb as in (5), but can also occur with an adverb that modifies the verb. An example is the verb *знать* (*znat'* 'know'), which can occur both with and without the adverb of quality *хорошо* (*xorošo* 'well'):

- (6) Он **слишком хорошо** знал свой город, чтобы его могли интересовать детали. (Д. Гранин, *Месяц вверх ногами*)
 he too good-ADV knew his city, that-IRR him could interest-INF details
 'He knew his city too well to be interested in details.'
- (7) [Я] **слишком** знал Глинку, чтобы пытаться втирать ему очки. (А. Та-тищев, *Земли и люди: В гуще переселенческого*)
 I too knew-SG-MASC Glinka-ACC, that-IRR try-INF rub-INF he-DAT
 glasses
 'I knew Glinka too well to try to pull the wool over his eyes.'

Minimal pairs can also be found with or without the quantifier *много* (*mnogo* 'much') with verbs such as *страдать* (*stradat'* 'to suffer'). Consider for example the following sentences, both from the nineteenth century:

- (8) [Я] **слишком много** страдала и слишком долго ждала этого, чтобы теперь ожидать еще дольше. (Н. Лесков, *Гора* (1888))
 I too much suffered-SG-FEM and too long waited-SG-FEM that-DEM-GEN, that-IRR now wait-INF still longer
 'I have suffered too much, and I have waited too long to wait any longer now.'
- (9) Ты дурак после этого совершеннейший, если не понимаешь того, что я слишком сегодня несчастлив и **слишком страдаю**, чтоб издеваться надо мной и делать наставления мне. (А.Ф Писемский, *Ваал* (1873))
 you fool after that-GEN uttermost, if not understand-2SG that-DEM-GEN, that I too today unhappy-ADJ-SHORT-SG-MASC and too suffer-1SG, that-IRR mock-INF before me-INSTR and do-INF admonition me-DAT
 'You are the biggest fool, if you do not understand that today I am too unhappy, and suffer too much for you to mock me and admonish me.'

The degree words can also be applied to nouns. In the case of *слишком* this use occurs with the quantifier *много*, and in the case of *достаточно* this quantifier is not used in most sentences:

- (10) У прокуратуры было **достаточно времени и шансов**, чтобы доказать вину г-на Вавилова перед законом. (*Известия*, 2002.06.16)
 at public.prosecutor was-SG-NEUT enough time-GEN-SG and chance-GEN-PL, that-IRR prove-INF guilt mister-GEN Vavilov-GEN before law

‘The public prosecutor had enough time and opportunity to prove that mister Vavilova was guilty before the law.’

- (11) [С]лишком много намеков, чтобы опытный зритель получил ощутимую оплеуху в финале. (*Н. Новгород*, 2002.03.11)
too much hints-GEN, that-IRR experienced audience received perceptible slap.in.the.face in final
 ‘Too much hints for the experienced audience to get a slap in the face at the end.’ [i.e. the audience of the opera knows what is coming]

In many sentences, in fact in all the examples given above, the main clause with the degree word occurs with a subordinate clause introduced by *чтобы* (*čtoby*, that-IRR ‘to’). In most cases, the predicate of the subordinate clause is an infinitive, as is the case in the examples above such as (1). The subject of the infinitive is either coreferent with the subject of the main clause (as in (5)), or generic (as in (2), ‘people in general’). There are also rare instances where the subject of the infinitive is expressed by a dative noun or pronoun. In such cases the subject of the infinitive and the subject of the main clause are usually non-coreferent:

- (12) Ты ведь привез **слишком** много новостей, **чтобы нам выслушивать** их в спешке. (В. Скворцов, *Сингапурский квартет*)
 you after.all brought too much news-GEN-PL, that-IRR we-DAT listen-INF them in hurry
 ‘After all, you brought too much news, for us to listen to it quickly.’

In sentences where the object of the infinitive is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, the object is usually expressed (as in (2) above), but there are also sentences where this is not the case:

- (13) **Намеки** были слишком прозрачными, чтобы не **понять**. (В. Слипенчук, *Зинзивер*)
hints were too obvious, that-IRR not understand-INF
 ‘The hints were too obvious, not to understand them.’

In some sentences a finite verb is used in the subordinate clause, especially in contexts where the subject of the main clause and the subject of the subordinate clause are non-coreferent. In many contexts, sentences with a finite verb have a modal expression in the subordinate clause, typically verbs that express possibility:

- (14) Все-таки мое пребывание на вершине было **слишком коротким**, чтобы я **мог спокойно уйти**. (*Известия*, 2003.01.10)
 nevertheless my stay at top was too short, that-IRR I could quietly leave-INF

‘Nevertheless, my stay at the top was too short to be able to leave without any worries.’

However, finite sentences without modal expression occur as well, for example (11) given earlier.

Although I will use the term construction of degree for sentences with *слишком* and *достаточно*, it can also be used for sentences with *довольно* and *чересчур*. The adverb *довольно* (*dovol’no*), can be seen as a (near) synonym of *достаточно* (‘enough’), and the degree word *чересчур* (*čeresčur*) is a (near) synonym of *слишком* (‘too’):

- (15) Ты еще **чересчур молодая**, чтобы так вести себя. (Л. Аркадий, *Двор*)
 you still too young-ADJ, that-IRR so behave-INF yourself
 ‘You are still too young, to behave yourself like that.’
- (16) Мы теперь **довольно знаем** Лопухова, чтобы видеть, что он был человек не сантиментальный. (Чернышевский, *Что делать?*)
 we now enough know Lopuchov, that-IRR see-INF, that he was man not sentimental
 ‘We now know Lopuchov well enough, to see that he was not a sentimental man.’

The semantic element ‘too’, which is usually expressed by a degree word, may also be expressed by a (predicatively used) short form of an adjective, which in Russian may express that the degree is too high (see Groen 1998):

- (17) Ты еще **мал и глуп**, чтобы меня обманывать.
 you still small-ADJ.SHORT and stupid-ADJ.SHORT, that-IRR me fool-INF
 ‘You are still too small and too stupid to fool me.’

The construction of degree shares particular semantic-syntactic features with the construction consisting of *настолько* (*nastol’ko*), *столь(ко)* (*stol’(ko)*), or *так* (*tak*) (all mean ‘so (much)’) and a subordinate clause introduced by *чтобы* (*čtoby*, that-IRR; ‘to’) or *что* (*čto*, that; ‘that’):

- (18) Лидеры КПРФ не **настолько глупы**, чтобы этого не понимать. (*Весть Калуга*, 2002.10.17)
 leaders KPRF not so stupid-ADJ.SHORT-PL, that-IRR that-DEM-GEN not understand-INF
 ‘The leaders of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation are not so stupid, that they wouldn’t understand that.’

- (19) Переходящие запасы оказались **настолько велики**, что даже средний урожай этого года обвалит на рынке цены. (*Известия*, 2002.04.24).
 carry-over stock turned out so huge-ADJ.SHORT-PL, that even average harvest of this year will decrease on market prices
 ‘The carry-over-stock turned out to be so huge, that even the average harvest of this year will decrease the prices on the market.’

As I will show, there are also important semantic differences between the construction of degree and this construction.

In the literature, the construction of degree has received relatively little attention. The existing analyses are mainly from people working within formal semantic frameworks (e.g. Bierwisch 1989, Meier 2003, Heim 2001). These analyses deal with the construction in English or German, and focus on the question of how one can represent the semantics of the construction in formal logic frameworks. To my knowledge, no systematic analysis of the construction of degree in Russian exists, with the exception of Apresjan et al. 2004, who provide a small semantic analysis of the degree word *слишком*.

In the existing analyses the modal character of the construction is either explained by postulating a possibility operator in the semantic representation of the degree word (Heim 2001), or in the semantic representation of the subordinate clause (Meier 2003). However, the specific relation between the meaning of the main clause, containing the degree word, and the meaning of the modal subordinate clause remains largely unexplained.

Furthermore, because the existing analyses do not deal with Russian, specific Russian phenomena such as the occurrence of sentences like (4), where *достаточно* is used to express that the situation in the subordinate clause should not be realized, are not taken into account. Such sentences pose a problem for the existing formal analyses where *enough* is defined in terms of minimum.

The construction is also very interesting from a syntactic-semantic point of view. The degree words can be combined with different parts of speech: adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and nouns. As I remarked, in the case of verbs the adverbs *много* and *хорошо* are sometimes used. The specific combinatory rules remain, however, largely unexplained. To give an example, it is not fully clear what constitutes the class of verbs that can occur both with and without *хорошо* (see (6) and (7)), and whether there is a difference in meaning between sentences with or without *хорошо*. The same question can be asked for verbs that can occur both with and without *много* (see (8) and (9)).

In this paper, I will provide an extensive analysis of the semantics and syntax of the construction of degree, which will address the above questions. This analysis may shed more light on the construction of degree in Russian. Furthermore, it may contribute to the study of the semantic-syntactic properties of

degree expressions in general (see for example Kennedy and McNally 2005, who deal with this issue).

The paper is divided into two main parts. In the first part (section 2), I will discuss the meanings of *слишком* and *достаточно* respectively. In the second part (section 3), I will focus on the semantic-syntactic side of the construction. This part deals with the way in which the degree words are combined with the different parts of speech: adjectives, adverbs, verbs and nouns. Finally, in section 4, I will give my conclusion.

2. Meaning of the degree words

2.1 Слишком ('too')

The meaning of *слишком* ('too') can be defined as follows:

слишком X: 'Such a degree of X, that it exceeds the appropriate limit (maximum) with respect to Y (such that it leads to negative consequences)'

The meaning given here can also be formulated differently by making explicit that exceeding the maximum means that a lower degree is needed:

слишком X: 'A lower degree of X is necessary with respect to Y'

The semantic element of 'appropriate limit' or 'maximum' is always connected to a standard Y (see also Meier 2003, for discussion of the term maximum). This can be illustrated with regard to a sentence such as the following:

(20) Ребенок слишком толстый.
'The child is too heavy.'

In this sentence, *слишком* ('too') presupposes that children can be more or less heavy, and that when one is 'adding up' this property, at some point one can say that the weight has such a degree that it exceeds a maximum, and is evaluated negatively. Here, Y can be thought of as an implicit standard of a healthy weight. In other cases the evaluation of having too much of a particular property, is relative to a contextually given standard, for example:

(21) Бумага слишком толстая, чтобы ее разорвать.
'The paper is too thick to tear apart.'

Here, it is only expressed that the thickness of the paper exceeds the appropriate limit of thickness, *with respect* to the realization of the action given in the subordinate clause (Y). Note that the subordinate clause is introduced by the conjunction *чтобы* (that-IRR, 'to'), which has an instrumental meaning in sentences like these:

чтобы Y: ‘instrumental in the realization of Y’

The instrumental meaning is sometimes stressed by using *для того* (for that, ‘in order’):

- (22) [Н]о он был **слишком самостоятельным для того, чтобы** сделать карьеру в системе власти. (*Известия*, 2002.04.28)
 but he was too independent for that-DEM-GEN, that-IRR make-INF career in system power-GEN
 ‘But he was too independent to make a career in the system of power.’

The general structure of the whole construction (including the degree word and the subordinate clause) can be defined as follows:

X *слишком* Y, *чтобы* Z: ‘degree Y of X exceeds the maximum with respect to being instrumental in the realization of Z’

A similar instrumental meaning occurs in sentences where the standard is expressed by the prepositional phrase [*для* (‘for’) + noun], which expresses a noun associated with the realization of some situation:

- (23) Наверно, я **слишком прост для всех этих интриг**. (В. Пелевин, *Откровение Крезера*)
 probably, I too simple for all these intrigues
 ‘Probably, I am too simple for all these intrigues.’

In most cases, the use of an instrumental subordinate clause implies that because of the (relatively) high degree the situation expressed in the subordinate clause cannot be realized. The interpretation of a sentence like (21) can be paraphrased as follows:

We consider the situation where someone wants to tear apart the paper, and presuppose that one needs a particular degree of thickness to be able to do that. Put differently, at a particular degree of thickness, tearing apart the paper becomes impossible. We determine that the degree of thickness is such that tearing apart the paper is not possible. That is, the degree exceeds the maximum with respect to being instrumental (here making it possible) to tear apart the paper.

In the literature, the meaning of possibility is even treated as part of the semantics of the degree word (Heim 2001) or the subordinate clause (Meier 2003) (see also section 1.). The first option does not account for all sentences, because there are many sentences without a subordinate clause which do not express or imply impossibility of any kind (for example (20)). Although the postulation of a possibility operator in the subordinate clause would account for the majority of

cases, there are, however, also sentences with a different modality type, such as (3) given earlier. This sentence could be paraphrased as follows:

We consider the situation where there is no intention or desire to give even more detailed explanations, and presuppose that one needs a particular degree of clarity, for such a situation to be the case. Put differently, at a particular degree of clarity, giving detailed explanations becomes senseless, useless and unnecessary. We determine that the degree of clarity is such that giving detailed explanations is not necessary. That is, the degree exceeds the maximum with respect to being instrumental (here making it necessary) to give detailed explanations.

Furthermore, in many sentences labels such as possibility or necessity are not fully adequate to describe the modality associated with the construction:

- (24) Я **слишком** чту людей, **чтобы оскорблять** их платной любовью. (М. Цветаева, *О благодарности*)
 I too honor people, that-IRR insult-INF them paid-INSTR love-INSTR
 ‘I honor people too much, for me to insult them by means of paid love.’
 [in other words, I honor them to such an extent, that I would not do such a thing]
- (25) Дело **слишком** мелкое, **чтобы** вы в него **вмешивались**, мой высокий коллега. (Ю. Домбровский, *Обезьяна приходит за своим черепом, часть 3*)
 case too trivial, that-IRR you in him interfere-PL-PAST, my esteemed colleague
 ‘That case is too trivial for you to interfere in it, esteemed colleague.’ [in other words, that case is so trivial that it makes no sense for you to interfere in it]

This suggests that the modality must be seen as an interpretation, rather than as a discrete meaning, and that it cannot be described on the par with the modality expressed by modal forms. It is therefore better to treat the specific modality associated with the subordinate clause as a specific interpretation of the subordinate clause, which arises because of the interaction of the meaning of the degree word, the meaning of the subordinate clause, especially the meaning of *чтобы*, and the pragmatic context in which the sentence occurs. This means that it cannot be ascribed to one of the constituents of the construction alone (degree word, *чтобы*, predicate of the subordinate clause), but occurs because of the interaction of all these elements together. In my view, the reason why the most frequent interpretation is that of possibility is essentially pragmatic in nature. In contexts where we talk about the appropriate degree for something, the most natural interpretation is that the degree is appropriate for something we

would like to do. Similarly, in contexts where we talk about a degree which exceeds the appropriate degree, we usually talk about circumstances blocking something that we want to do. Therefore, in order to arrive at an interpretation of necessity specific clues are needed. The specific way the modality comes about is a topic which deserves a separate analysis, but which fall outside the scope of this paper.

It should be noted that in most sentences *слишком* does not necessarily express a high degree, but only a high degree with respect to some (implicitly) given standard. A possible exception is constituted by sentences with negation, like the following where *слишком* is used to express that the degree of the property expressed by the adjective to which it is applied is not very high, but rather low:

- (26) Комната была тесной и **не слишком уютной**.

room was narrow and not too cosy

‘The room was narrow and not too cosy.’

- (27) **Не слишком хорошо** понимаю.

not too well understand-1SG-PRES

‘I do not understand that too well.’

This use of *слишком* is rather close to that of an intensifier (*не слишком X* ≈ ‘not very X’). In most uses, however, the use of *слишком* only implies a relative degree. This means that some instance of X may be portrayed as having a high degree with respect to some contextually given standard, but a low degree from a more general perspective, for example because it has a low degree with respect to the class of X. This is the case in (28) where a gun is judged to be small, for example because it is smaller than the average gun, but big with regard to someone’s hands:

- (28) Я посмотрел на пистолет, совершенно бесполезный для меня, хоть и с полной обоймой, **такой маленький**, но все равно, **слишком большой для моей руки**. (www.kras.fatal.ru/greger.htm)

I looked at gun, totally useless for me, although and with full charger, such small, but anyway too big for my hand

‘I looked at the gun, which was totally useless for me, although it was fully loaded, and a small one, but it was nevertheless too big for my hands.’

As such, it differs from degree words like *чрезмерно* (*črezmerno* ‘overly’), which also express that the degree exceeds a maximum, but which always expresses an absolute high degree of something (e.g. a high degree with respect to the class of X):

- (29) [О]бтянутый гладкой кожей руль **чрезмерно скользкий**, а рычаг переключения передач слишком отодвинут вправо и назад. (*За рулем*, 2004)
 covered smooth-INSTR leather-INSTR steering.wheel overly slippery, but lever shift gears-GEN too moved.aside to.the.right and backwards
 ‘The steering wheel, which is covered with smooth leather, is overly slippery, and the gear shift lever is positioned too much to the right and to the back.’

This explains why the following sentence where *чрезмерно* occurs with a subordinate clause which provides a standard of comparison is not acceptable (see also Apresjan et al, 2004):

- (30) ?Он **чрезмерно** глуп, чтобы додуматься до этого самому. (Apresjan et al 2004: 1044)
 he overly stupid, that-IRR come.up.with-INF to that self
 corresponding sentence in English: ?‘He is overly stupid, to be able to come up with that idea by himself.’

Someone who is overly stupid is so, in the mind of the speaker, without any restriction, hence it is not possible to use a subordinate clause that provides a relative standard (‘with respect to’).

- чрезмерно* X: ‘The degree of X is higher than the upper boundary of appropriateness (maximum), such that the degree is at the extreme end of the scale (which is evaluated negatively)’

Apresjan et al (2004: 1045) argue that verbs with the prefix *пере-* can also express the meaning of *слишком*, for example in the case of the verb *перестараться* (‘try too hard’), *пересолить* (‘use too much salt’), or *перепить* (‘drink too much’). The use of the prefix *пере-* (lit. ‘over’) suggests that some maximum has been exceeded. It should be noted, though, that like *чрезмерно*, these verbs do not indicate a relative degree. Because of this they cannot occur with a subordinate clause that provides a standard. In those sentences where these verbs are used with a subordinate clause with *чтобы*, the conjunction expresses the goal of the action mentioned in the main clause, for example:

- (31) Это санитарструктор **перестарался**, **чтобы** не загрязнилась рана. (militera.lib.ru/memo/russian/altunin_at/04.html)
 that sanitary-officier tried.too.hard, that-IRR not became.dirty wound
 ‘It’s because the sanitary officer tried too hard not to let the wound become dirty.’

As such it differs from sentences with *слишком*, where the subordinate clause can provide a standard:

- (32) Слишком долго был солдатом и **слишком старался** быть солдатом, **чтобы** помнить всякое-такое.
(zhurnal.lib.ru/s/sterhow_a/rubezh.shtml)
too long was soldier and too tried be-INF soldier, that-IRR remember-INF such things
'For too long he had been a soldier, and tried too hard to be a soldier to remember such things.'

Some verbs with the form [за-.....-ся] like *засиживаться* ('sit/'stay (too) long'), *заговориться* ('talk (too) long/much') which can express that the subject overly indulges in some action, show a similar restriction. These verbs never occur with a restrictive subordinate clause, for example:

- (33) Бойтесь, что **засидимся**, – смеется Лида. (*Новый Мир*, 2002)
be.afraid.2PL-PRES, that sit.too.long.1PL-FUT, laughs Lida
'Are you afraid, that we will keep on sitting here for too long?', Lida said jokingly.'

Besides *слишком*, the form *чересчур* (*čeresčur*, 'too') is used. Like *слишком* it can occur with all parts of speech (see section 3 for an overview of the syntactic possibilities of *слишком*). Apresjan et al. (2004: 1044) argue that *чересчур* expresses a subjective evaluation of the speaker, and has a more emphatic meaning. According to them, this explains why *Сейчас слишком рано, магазин еще закрыт* ('It's too early. The shop is still closed.') sounds better than the same sentence with *чересчур*. This opinion is in accordance with the observation of the native speakers that I consulted that *чересчур*, and not *слишком*, may also be used to indicate that the degree exceeds the standard to a large extent ('much too much'). In the case of *слишком*, special intonational emphasis or reduplication (*слишком-слишком*) is needed to achieve a similar effect. However, I am not sure whether the specific semantics observed by Apresjan plays a part in all contexts. The degree words *слишком* and *чересчур* are quite often used in the same text for, what at least seems, stylistic reasons, that is to avoid repetition of the same word:

- (34) Теперь они атакуют ее за то, что она **слишком великая** и **чересчур** справедливая. (*Известия*, 2001.08.12)
now they attack her for that, that she too great and too righteous
'Now they attack her for being too great and righteous.'

In such sentences *чересчур* is a stylistically marked synonym of *слишком*. Further research is needed here.

2.2 *Достаточно* ('enough')

The basic meaning of the adverb *достаточно* ('enough') can be formulated as follows:

*достаточно*₁ X: 'A higher degree of X is not necessary or desirable (appropriate degree) with respect to Y'

The meaning of *достаточно* (and its (near) synonym *довольно*) can be illustrated with the following sentence:

- (35) Он ел достаточно.
'He ate enough.'

Here, the adverb *достаточно* presupposes that one can eat more or less, and that when someone is 'adding up' the amount of food that is eaten, it is possible to say at some point that this person can stop eating, and that there is no necessity to continue eating. The sentence implies that some contextually given minimum has been reached with respect to eating (see Meier 2003, for the notion of minimum). Note, however, that the sentence itself does not provide any information about the question whether eating more would be appropriate or not.

In (35) the standard Y remains implicit, and is interpreted differently depending on the context (with respect to someone's health; with respect to not being hungry, etc.). Like in the case of *слишком*, the standard can also be expressed by a subordinate clause introduced by (*для того*) *чтобы*, or a prepositional phrase with *для* ('for'). Again, the subordinate clause is prototypically interpreted as a case of possibility, but there are also sentences which are closer to necessity than possibility:

- (36) С этой стороны мы были **достаточно** вооружены, **чтобы не иметь основания беспокоиться**. (В. Коненко, *У Льва Николаевича Толстого*).
from that side we were enough equipped, that-IRR not have-INF reason worry-INF
'With regard to that, we were equipped well enough, not to have any reasons to worry.'
- (37) В горах, **достаточно** высоко, чтобы по вечерам **ходить в куртках**. (www.moto.ru)
in mountains enough high, that-IRR during evenings go-INF in jackets
'In the mountains, high enough (for it to be a good idea/to have) to wear a jacket during the evenings.'

In other contexts the modality cannot be classified with labels such as possibility or necessity, and is better described as ‘making sense to engage in an action’:

- (38) Потом, ведь и материальный статус физиков был в СССР **достаточно** высок, **чтобы идти в физики**, а не в историки.
 (www.altruism.ru/sengine.cgi/5/7/8/8/2)
 besides, after.all and material status physicists-GEN was in SSSR enough high, that-IRR go-INF in physics, and not in history
 ‘Besides that, the material status of physicists in the Soviet Union was high enough to become a physicist, in stead of a historian.’ [i.e. for it to be a good idea, etc.]

With regard to the modality, see my analysis for *слишком* given in section 2.1.

At this point, I would like to point at the conceptual difference between *достаточно*, which indicates that the degree is appropriate, and *слишком*, which indicates that the degree exceeds the appropriate degree. This fundamental difference in meaning can be illustrated with the following combinations:

- (39) ?немного достаточно
 little enough
- (40) немного слишком
 little too
- (41) ?едва слишком
 hardly/barely too
- (42) едва достаточно
 hardly/barely enough

Note that with *достаточно* the use of *немного* (*немного* ‘a little (bit)’) is marked because the degree is either conceptualized as appropriate or not (ok or not), and not as partly appropriate. The form *слишком* displays a different picture. To indicate that the degree is a little bit above the maximum, the form *немного* (‘a little’) can be used. This is possible, because in contrast to *достаточно*, this degree word indicates the deviation from the appropriate degree. This deviation may be smaller or larger. In the case of *достаточно*, it is also possible to use *едва* (*edva* ‘hardly’, ‘barely’). This form emphasizes that if the degree were a little less, this would amount to a degree under the minimum. With *слишком* the use of *едва* is marked, because *едва* suggests a negative evaluation, which is not in accordance with the idea that the speaker wants to express that a little bit less, and the degree would have been perfectly fine (see Verhagen 2005: 45–50, for an analysis of the English *barely*, which shows similar features as *едва*).

Besides *достаточно*, the form *довольно* is used as in (16) given earlier. In modern Russian, this form seems to have the same meaning as *достаточно*. A different opinion is expressed by Dagurov (1994: 59), who argues that according to the correct norm, *достаточно* is used to indicate a sufficient degree with respect to some condition, whereas *довольно* is used as a moderator, indicating a rather high degree of something (in his terminology *приблизительно* ‘approximately’, *до некоторой степени* ‘to a certain extent’):

- (43) Мальчик рисует **довольно хорошо**. (Dagurov, 1994: 59)
 boy draws rather well
 ‘The boy draws rather well.’

He also remarks that in modern Russian, *достаточно* is sometimes incorrectly used as a moderator:

- (44) Судебный процесс шел **достаточно медленно**. (Dagurov, 1994: 59;
 judged incorrect by him)
 judicial process went rather slowly
 ‘The judicial proceedings proceeded rather slowly.’

The data at my disposal however, show that in modern Russian (both in newspapers and literature), both forms allow for both readings.³ Despite the remarks by Dagurov (1994), there are no clear signs of a semantic division of labor between these degree words in modern Russian. See further below, for further discussion of use of *достаточно* as a moderator.

Note that in the existing analyses for English (e.g. Meier 2003) the meaning of *enough* is defined in terms of a value greater than or equal to the minimum of all values such that some action can be realized. Such an analysis is, however, not in accordance with all the Russian data. In Russian, *достаточно* can also be used in sentences where a higher degree is in fact undesirable with respect to Y. In the latter case, one can speak of an interpretation of *non-occurrence*, because one can infer that because of the degree, the situation in the subordinate clause can or will not be realized. The following example is provided by the Russian Grammar (= Švedova 1980). According to the Russian Grammar, it can be interpreted in two ways:

³ The data from the NKRJa show that in the nineteenth century, *довольно* was the standard form in both meanings. In the twentieth century, *достаточно* is the most frequently used form. To give an indication, in the NKRJa there are 177 instances of *достаточно* from the end of the eighteenth century till 1850 against about 2000 instances of *довольно*. In the second half of the twentieth century, sentences with *достаточно* are more frequent than sentences with *довольно* (8000 instances of *довольно* against 15000 with *достаточно*).

- (45) Он **достаточно** талантлив, чтобы решать такие задачи. (Russian Grammar (Švedova 1980: 601); repeated example (4))
 1. ‘He is talented enough to be able to solve such problems.’
 2. ‘He is talented enough not to have to solve such problems, i.e. it makes no sense to engage in the action’.

There are also sentences where the interpretation of non-occurrence is the only likely interpretation:

- (46) У здешней полиции, правда, **достаточно своих проблем**, чтобы волноваться еще из-за каких-то убийств в Мексике. (Д. Моррелл, *Чужое лицо*)⁴
 at local police, really, enough own problems, that-IRR worry-INF still because.of some murders in Mexico
 ‘The local police really have too many problems of their own, to have to worry about some murders in Mexico.’

Although such sentences constitute the minority of sentences with *достаточно/довольно*, they are accepted by many speakers of Russian, and can be found in different genres, ranging from spoken language to newspapers, and novels. This also explains why they are mentioned in the Russian Grammar (Švedova 1980). Note, however, that some speakers reject this use of *достаточно* or *довольно*. This point of view is expressed in the following fragment from a radio program on language (*Радиопередача «Грамотей». Выпуск 9*), where the point of view of a Russian linguist/mathematician (V.A. Uspenskij) regarding sentences like (46) is discussed:

“В.А. Успенский отмечает также близкую ошибку – пропуск отрицания там, где оно нужно. Эта ошибка, как пишет Успенский, и мы с ним совершенно согласны, приобретает характер эпидемического заболевания. Имеются в виду обороты типа Он достаточно умен, чтобы делать подобные ошибки вместо правильного Он достаточно умен, чтобы не делать подобных ошибок или же Он достаточно глуп, чтобы делать подобные ошибки. Добавим, что в этом случае причина языковой ошибки, видимо, также и в смешении слов достаточно и слишком. Мы говорим Он СЛИШКОМ умен, чтобы делать ошибки, но Он ДОСТАТОЧНО умен, чтобы НЕ делать ошибок. Люди, небрежно относящиеся к языку, путают эти две конструкции. Что ж, остается только призвать их быть внимательнее.”⁵

⁴ www.aldebaran.ru/tri/morrel/morrel6/?11

⁵ rus.1september.ru/articlef.php?ID=200304705.

‘V. A Uspenskij also remarks a similar mistake, namely the omitting of the negation where it is necessary. That mistake, as Uspenskij writes, and we totally agree with him, is getting the character of a contagious disease. We mean sentences like [lit. He is smart enough, to make such mistakes], in stead of the correct [lit. He is smart enough, not to make such mistakes] or [lit. He is stupid enough, to make such mistakes]. We want to add that in this case, it is obvious that the reason for these grammatical mistakes also has to do with the mixing up of the words [lit. enough], and [lit. too]. We say [lit. He is TOO smart, to make such mistakes], but [lit. He is smart ENOUGH, NOT to make such mistakes]. People, who do not have a careful attitude towards language, mix up these two constructions. The only thing left to do is to appeal to them to be more careful.’

According to these authors, sentences like (45) or (46) are incorrect, and the result of sloppy use of language, which has become a trend in recent years. The authors also provide an explanation for these ‘mistakes’, namely the mixing up of *слишком* with *достаточно*, or the omission of negation in the subordinate clause when *достаточно* is used. At first hand, there is something to be said for arguing that the omitting of the negation is a mistake, because it enhances the potential ambiguity in the linguistic system. The idea underlying this point of view is probably that the meaning of *слишком* itself contains a negation, whereas *достаточно* does not, hence the need to express a negation with *достаточно* if the infinitive situation does not occur. However, if we look closer at the use of *достаточно* and an inference of non-occurrence, we can perceive an interpretational logic which is not random, but governed by general principles of interpretation.

Two types of uses can be distinguished. Firstly, the inference of non-occurrence can occur in sentences with indications like *еще* (‘still’) or *все время* (‘all the time’) in the subordinate clause:

- (47) Например, **произведений** в виде комментариев к некоему тексту (...) уже накопилось **довольно много**, чтобы могла **еще** идти речь об уникальности и необычности (...). (*Новый Мир*, 2000, №2)
for.example, works-GEN in form commentaries-GEN to some text (...) already accumulated enough much, that-IRR could still go-INF talk on uniqueness and uncommonness
‘For example, works in the form of commentaries to some text are copied in such a big amount, that they cannot be considered unique or uncommon.’
- (48) Напрасно вы все сводите на евреев. У нас **достаточно своих проблем**, чтобы **все время** думать: ‘евреи..евреи..’.
(www.kp.ru/daily/forum/article/5382/)

in.vain you everything blame on Jews. at us enough own-GEN problems-GEN, that-IRR all time think-INF: "Jews. Jews.."

'You are wrong to blame the Jews for everything. We have too many problems of our own, to think all the time: 'the Jews, the Jews.'

In all these examples the situation in the main clause is characterized as something where 'adding up' properties would be evaluated negatively because the degree is close to a point which would or already has exceeded the maximum. Because of this, realizing an extra situation ('in addition to what is already realized'), or realizing another situation in a big quantity ('all the time'), would increase the degree of the situation expressed in the main clause to such an extent that it would be evaluated negatively.

Secondly, in some contexts, the interpretation of non-occurrence also occurs without the above-mentioned indications:

- (49) Посадка – **достаточно** важный процесс, чтобы доверить его одному человеку. (В. Васильев, Ufo: *Враг Неизвестен*)⁶

landing – enough important process, that-IRR entrust-INF him one-DAT person-DAT

'The landing is too important, to entrust it to one person.'

- (50) Монти сильный, умный и **достаточно** опасный боксер, чтобы относиться к нему легкомысленно.

(www.klitschko.com/news/archive.php3?scmon=200007&read=200007/16&part=ru)

Monty strong, wise and enough dangerous boxer, that-IRR act-INF towards him lightly

'Monty is a strong and wise boxer, and too dangerous to be lightly regarded.'

In these sentences it is expressed that the degree is rather high such that it is not a good idea to engage in the realization of the action expressed by the subordinate clause. The reason why this interpretation occurs is pragmatic. A possible clue for this interpretation is that the situation expressed by the subordinate clause itself is seen as something negative, or as something that could easily lead to negative consequences. There may, however, also be formal factors associated with this type of use, such as intonation.⁷

⁶ books.rusf.ru/add-on/xussr_av/vasilvo4/vasilvo4.34.html

⁷ According to the Russian Grammar (= Švedova 1980) the aspect of the verb also plays an important role in distinguishing the interpretation of non-occurrence from the interpretation of occurrence, because the interpretation of non-occurrence is correlated with an imperfective aspect. In all the examples I have attested, the infinitive does indeed occur in the imperfective

It is possible that the possibility of the inference of occurrence is connected to the fact that *достаточно* (*довольно*) can also be used as a moderator, often to indicate that the degree is higher than could be expected (cf. English *quite*):

*достаточно*₂ X: 'Not a low degree of X' (cf. English 'rather', 'reasonably', 'quite', 'fairly')⁸

This meaning is exemplified by the following sentences:

- (51) Хочу сказать **достаточно очевидную** вещь. (*Известия*, 2002.12.19)
want-1SG-PRES say-INF rather obvious thing
'I would like to say something rather obvious.'
- (52) Эти два типа рака встречаются **достаточно часто**. (*Известия*, 2002.02.12)
these two types cancer-GEN occur quite frequently
'These two types of cancer occur quite frequently.'

According to Vasil'ev (2001), there is a trend in modern Russian to use *достаточно* especially with phenomena or objects that are evaluated negatively, for example *достаточно грустный* ('sad'), *беден* ('poor'), *неприятно* ('unpleasant'), etc.⁹ Although this meaning must be listed separately, it can be linked to the basic meaning of *достаточно*, because the meaning of *достаточно*₁ presupposes that a higher degree of X is not necessary, for example because *it is already rather/quite high*.¹⁰ A similar use can be found in other

aspect. This seems to be related to the meaning of the construction that expresses that the degree of X is such, that it does not make sense to engage in the realization of the infinitive situation. The focus on engaging in a situation, rather than on the possible completion is typical for the imperfective aspect, rather than the perfective aspect. Note, however, that the imperfective aspect is also typical of sentences with the inference of occurrence, which means that aspect cannot be a decisive factor. Furthermore, in sentences like (49) the use of the perfective is not precluded.

⁸ Although this meaning of *достаточно* sometimes seems close to an intensifier, the occurrence of sentences like the following (in this case a review of the control panel of the remote control on zoom.cnews.ru) shows that it is closer to that of a moderator: (...) *кнопок немного, расстояние между ними достаточно внушительное (иногда даже очень)...*; '...there are few buttons, and the distance between them is quite large (sometimes even very)...

⁹ This also seems to play a role with moderators in other languages. Compare for example Dutch *nogal* ('rather', 'quite'), which seems to be used more easily with forms that express negative phenomena.

¹⁰ Note that like English *rather*, this use does not occur with negation (put differently, one cannot negate the moderately high degree). If the speaker wants to express that the degree is lower than expected, or lower than the average, forms like *не настолько/не так* ('not that') or *не очень/не слишком* ('not very') are used.

languages such as French, where the degree word *assez* ('enough'), can also be used as a moderator. Note that because of the close relation between these two meanings, it is often difficult to tell them apart. This probably also explains the occurrence of sentences with an interpretation of non-occurrence like (48), (49) and (50).

It should be noted, however, that when used to indicate a minimum, *достаточно* does not necessarily express a high degree, but only a high degree with respect to some (implicitly) given standard. It is therefore possible to say, that something is small from a general perspective (small for a particular class of objects, or small from a general perspective), but big enough with regard to some contextually given standard:

- (53) **Маленький дворец** сияет своими 7,600 кристаллами и **достаточно велик**, чтобы разместить там (...) собачку, типа чихуа-хуа или терьерчика. (www.infodog.ru/index.php?go=News&in=view&id=2715)
small palace shines own-INSTR 7,600 crystals-INSTR and *enough huge*, that-IRR accommodate-INF there (...) dog-ACC, type-GEN Chihuahua, or Yorkshire.Terrier
 'The small palace shines with its 7,600 crystals and is large enough to accommodate a small dog, like the Chihuahua, or the Yorkshire Terrier.'
- (54) Серый, блестящий и **совсем маленький**. Однако **достаточно большой**, чтобы убить. (www.lib.ru/NATUR/HERRIOT/sozdaniya.txt)
grey, shining and really small. however, enough big that-IRR kill-INF
 'Grey, shining and really small. However, big enough to kill.'

As such, *достаточно* differs from the degree word *настолько* as in (18) and (19), which functions as an intensifier in most contexts, with the exception of sentences where the exact degree of something is given, usually when the degree is situated in-between two points of a scale:

- (55) Секрет стрижки заключается в том, что трава должна быть **настолько высока**, чтобы корни получали достаточное количество питательных веществ, и **настолько коротка**, чтобы газон выглядел красиво. (И. Зброшко, *От пустыря до прекрасного сада // Homes & Gardens*, 2002)
 'The secret of mowing is that the grass should be long enough [lit. so long], for the roots to receive enough nutritive materials, and short enough [lit. so short], for the lawn to look nice.'
- (56) Затем – надавливаем **настолько** сильно, чтобы продавить грудину на несколько сантиметров. (*Хулиган*, 2004)
 'After that, we push hard enough [lit. so hard], that the chest is pushed downwards a few centimeters.'

According to Bierwisch (1989: 97) *enough*, or its German counterpart *genug*, behaves differently from *too* (German *zu*) with respect to the relativity of the degree. He argues that in the case of the positive pole of a set of antonyms (+Pol) such as *tall*, the degree is measured relative to the subordinate clause, whereas a combination of *enough* and the negative pole of a set of antonyms (-Pol) (*short enough*), [*enough* + adjective] has a norm related value (with respect to the norm or dimension indicated by the noun). It may indeed be true, that the use of *достаточно*, both with negative and polar adjectives, easily leads to an interpretation where the degree is evaluated as high from a general (norm related) perspective. This inference can, however, be overruled by the context, as in the following sentence, where something is considered quite big from a general perspective, but small enough with respect to the situation in the subordinate clause:

- (57) Город **достаточно большой**, но **достаточно маленький**, чтобы завтра все узнали новость'.
(www.executive.ru/discussions/forum_20756/msg_194866_1414743/)
'The city is rather/quite big, but small enough for everyone to know about the news tomorrow.'

Nevertheless, in some contexts it is difficult to overrule the inference that the degree indicated by *достаточно* is high. In Russian, this inference is probably strengthened by the fact that *достаточно* can also indicate a (rather/quite) high degree. The close relation between the relative use (where *достаточно* does not necessarily express a (rather) high degree) and the moderator use (where it does) probably also accounts for the observation that at least for some native speakers of Russian (59), where the degree word has the form of short adjective, sounds better than (58), where we find the degree word in its normal form:¹¹

- (58) Хотя я низкого роста, я **достаточно высокий**, чтобы меня приняли.
although I short-GEN height-GEN, I enough high, that-IRR me accepted
'Although I am small, I am tall enough to get the job.'
- (59) Хотя я низкого роста, **мой рост достаточно** для того, чтобы меня приняли.
although I short-GEN height-GEN, my height-MASC-NOM enough-ADJECTIVE-SHORT-MASC for that, that-IRR me accepted
'Although I am small, my height is sufficient for me to get the job.'

¹¹ Thanks to Elena Tribušinina for this example, and this specific linguistic judgement.

Put differently, the difference in acceptability seems to be related to the fact that [достаточно + Adj], but not the short form *достаточен*, can be used as a moderator, which is sometimes close in meaning to an intensifier.

Besides the forms *достаточно* and *довольно*, it is possible to find instances of the quantifier *много* (*mnogo* ‘much’) without *достаточно*. In the case of the instances I found, the quantifier functioned as the object of the verb. Two examples are given below:

- (60) Я знаю **много** чтобы как-то выжить и слишком много чтобы просто жить. (www.karendjangirov.com/belaya.html)
 I know much that-IRR somehow survive-INF and too much that-IRR just live-INF
 ‘I know enough to somehow survive, and too much to just live.’
- (61) Если ты пытаешься меня изменить/Я видела **много**, чтобы все прекратить. (forum.fanzona.tv/archive/index.php/t-37.html)¹²
 if you try me change/I saw much, that-IRR all stop-INF
 ‘If you are trying to change me/I have seen enough, to stop everything.’

In these sentences, *много* indicates that the degree is evaluated as much, even too much (that is, there is a negative evaluation of the degree). At the same time this degree does not lead to the non-realization of the situation given in the subordinate clause, and as such its meaning is close to ‘enough’. Consultation with native speakers of Russian indicated that sentences like (60) and (61) are considered acceptable but stylistically marked. Note that there are also sentences where *много* is interpreted as ‘too much’:

- (62) [В]споминая о лагерной пайке, на которой они сидели по десять и более лет, "сибиряки" говорят: ‘Мало, чтобы жить, **много**, чтобы умереть...’ (www.memorial.krsk.ru/public/00/20010223.htm)
 remembering about camp ration, on which they sat for ten and more years, ‘Siberians’ say: ‘little, that-IRR live-INF, much, that-IRR die-INF...
 ‘Remembering the ration of food that they were put on in the camp for ten years or more, the ‘Siberians’ say: ‘Too little to live, too much to die.’

The degree word *достаточно* also shows similarities to the degree word *предостаточно* (‘more than enough’), which consists of the prefix *пре-*, indicating a high degree, and *достаточно*. This word occurs with nouns (in the

¹² Russian translation of a pop song. The original text: *If you’re trying to turn me into something else/I’ve seen enough and I’m over that.* (Avril Lavigne, *Nobody’s Fool*)

genitive case) and is used to express that the quantity exceeds the minimum degree of appropriateness to a large extent:¹³

- (63) Времени было предостаточно, чтобы отметить командировочные удостоверения и посетить огромный отлично сервированный буфет с очень приличным кофе и бутербродами. (*Восточно-Сибирская правда* (Иркутск), 2003.06.25)
 ‘There was more than enough time, to meet the authorities and visit the large, full range buffet with excellent service and very good coffee and sandwiches.’

In many cases it is used as a marker of a high degree without explicit relative function:

- (64) Неожиданностей было предостаточно. (*Уральский автомобиль*, 2004.01.13)
 ‘There were more than enough unexpected things.’

Besides these degree words, the main clause may also contain a verb that has the meaning of ‘enough’ as part of its lexical meaning, for example *хватить* (*хватит*) (‘be enough’, ‘suffice’) (see Kor-Chahine (forthc.) for an analysis):

- (65) Собранных средств **хватило**, чтобы порадовать сладостями свыше 500 ребятишек. (*Марийская правда*, 2003.06.01)
 collected-GEN-PL means-GEN-PL sufficed-3SG-NEUT, that-IRR
 make.happy-INF sweets-INSTR more 500 boys
 ‘The collected means sufficed to make more than 500 boys happy with sweets.’

The adverbs *слишком* and *достаточно* can occur with different parts of speech, such as adjectives, adverbs, verbs and nouns. In section 3, I will discuss the semantics of these syntactic combinations in more detail.

3 Syntax and semantics of *слишком* (‘too’) and *достаточно* (‘enough’)

3.1 Adjectives and adverbs

In the following sentences *слишком* modifies an adjective. The adjective can occur with a noun [*слишком* Adj N] as in (66), or without noun [*слишком* Adj] as in (67):

¹³ Note that this degree word does not occur with adjectives or verbs: **предостаточно красивый* (more.than.enough beautiful); **Я предостаточно спал* (I more.than.enough slept).

- (66) Война **слишком серьезное дело**, чтобы доверять ее генералам.
(*Российская газета*, 2003.07.07)
war too serious-ADJ-NEUT-SG-NOM matter-N-NEUT-SG-NOM, that-IRR entrust-INF her generals-DAT
'War is too serious a matter to entrust to generals.'
- (67) Мораль **слишком подвижна**, чтобы задавать эти границы.
(*Известия*, 2001.09.04)
morality-N-FEM-SG-NOM too flexible-ADJ-SHORT-FEM, that-IRR draw-INF these lines
'Morality is too flexible to draw such lines.'

In these sentences the degree of the property expressed by the adjective is presented as too high. In sentences where the adjective does not modify a noun, the adjective usually occurs in the short form.

A similar use occurs with adverbs which express a property of a situation expressed by a verb:

- (68) Приехал во Львов **слишком поздно**, чтобы в тот же день отправиться в Москву. (*Звезда*, № 5, 2002)
arrived in L'vov too late-ADV, that-IRR in that PRT day leave-INF for Moscow
'I arrived in L'vov too late to leave for Moscow the same day.'

The adverb *достаточно* behaves in the same way. When it is applied to an adjective (as in (69) or (70)) or adverb (as in (1)), it indicates that the degree of the property expressed by the adjective or adverb is sufficient:

- (69) Он **достаточно грешен**, чтобы стать пастором, и **достаточно свят**, чтобы быть исповедником. (*Театральная жизнь*, 2004.06.28)
he enough sinful-ADJ-SHORT-MASC, that-IRR become pastor, and enough holy-ADJ-SHORT-MASC, that-IRR be-INF confessor
'He is sinful enough to become a pastor, and holy enough to be a confessor.'
- (70) Я не **достаточно хороший режиссер**, чтобы ставить плохие пьесы.
(*Известия*, 2002.01.14)
I not enough good-ADJ-MASC-SG-NOM director-N-MASC-SG-NOM
that-IRR stage-INF bad plays
'I am not a good enough director to stage bad plays.'

In comparison to the other parts of speech there are few restrictions on the class of adjectives or adverbs that can occur with *слишком* or *достаточно*. Note, however, that some adjectives, for example *мертвый* ('dead') are usually not

viewed as gradable, because of their lexical semantics. In other cases, for example *деревянный* ('wooden'), the property is not associated with a particular degree or intensity, and other conceptualizations are used (for example *слишком много дерева* ('too much wood'), *совсем деревянный* ('completely wooden')). See Bolinger 1972, for a discussion about English adjectives and degree words.¹⁴

Sentences with an adjective or adverb differ from uses with verbs or nouns, because the quantifier *много* ('much') is not used:

- (71) *слишком много кричал*
too much shouted-V
'shouted to much'
- (72) *слишком много денег*
too much money-N-GEN
'too much money'
- (73) **слишком/достаточно много серьезная*
too/enough much serious-ADJ
- (74) **слишком/достаточно много поздно*
too /enough much late-ADV

In Russian, the use of *много* ('much') is typical of countable entities, or other entities that are associated with a particular quantity such as mass nouns or nouns expressing more abstract phenomena like *сила* ('strength'), *внимание* ('attention'), etc. These are prototypically things expressed by nouns, or, in some cases, situations expressed by verbs (see 3.2.3). The restriction on *много* with degree words runs parallel to the restriction in sentences without degree word:

- (75) **много серьезная/поздно*
much serious-ADJ/late-ADV

In modern Russian, the adverb *много* cannot be used to express that the intensity of the property expressed by the adjective or adverb is high (but see 3.2.3 for observations about the situation in old Russian). Instead, the most neutral way

¹⁴ Note that many prepositional phrases behave like adjectives in this respect, for example *ехать слишком на север* (lit. 'drive too much to the north'). In contrast to languages like Dutch or English, in Russian the use of a quantifier is not possible here (**слишком много на север*). This means that these PP's are conceptualized as expressing gradable phenomena rather than quantifiable phenomena. In this specific case, there is also a corresponding adjective, which has a slightly different meaning, namely *северный* (lit. 'northern'), as in *город слишком северный* (lit. 'the city is too northern').

to express an intensifying meaning with an adjective is by using *очень* (*očen'*; 'very')¹⁵:

- (76) *очень серьезная/поздно*
very serious-ADJ/late-ADV

Note, however, that the quantifier *намного* (*namnogo* 'much too much', 'much to a large extent') or *много* can be used in the case of comparatives:

- (77) *намного/много серьезнее/позднее*
much/much serious-COMP/late-COMP

In such sentences, the quantifier does not indicate that the degree of the quality expressed by the comparative is high, but the (big) extent to which the degree differs from some other contextually given degree.

The degree word *слишком* can be combined with the adverb *мало* ('few'; 'little') to indicate that the degree is too low. Such cases are very rare. The only two examples I have attested in the NKRJa are from the 19th century. An example is given below:

- (78) *Вообще же он был **слишком мало серьезен**[.]* (Н.А. Добролюбов, *Забитые люди* (1861))
in.general PRT he was too little-ADV serious-ADJ
'In general, he was not serious enough.'

This indicates that in the case of *слишком* and *достаточно* the idea of a high degree (or quantity) is the unmarked dimension. This can be compared to the use of contrary antonyms in English like *big-small*, *old-young*, etc., where the adjective that refers to the upper part of the scale can be used in *how*-questions like *How old are you?* The concept of a low degree (or small quantity) therefore has to be expressed additionally in sentences like (78). However, in many of such contexts the adverb *достаточно* plus negation is preferred (*не достаточно*, or as one word *недостаточно*, with the meaning 'not really enough'). This shows that these expressions are not synonymous.

Although [*слишком* + Adj] expresses that the degree of the quality expressed by the adjective is too high, it is not used with the intensifier *очень* (*očen'* 'very'), which indicates that the degree of the quality expressed by the adjective or adverb is very high:

- (79) *очень большой*
very big-ADJ

¹⁵ See Kennedy and McNally 2005 for the difference between *much*+ADJ, *well*+ADJ and *very*+ADJ in English.

- (80) ?слишком очень большой
too very big-ADJ

The explanation is that ‘x is too y’ does not imply that ‘x is very y’, because the high degree of y is only contextually determined (a high degree with respect to Z). There are, however, exceptions, where we find the combination [*слишком очень* ADJ]:

- (81) Потому что у меня были инглиши. Очень любезные. Немножко даже **слишком очень любезные**. (Ю. Герман, *Дорогой мой человек*)
because at me were Englishmen. very nice-ADJ-PL-NOM. little even too very nice-ADJ PL-NOM
‘Because there were Englishmen. Very nice people. Even a little bit too nice.’

In such sentences, the degree word is applied to an explicitly or implicitly given idea of ‘very X’. Such a reference may, however, also be absent, especially in the spoken language or written language with colloquial features:

- (82) Но реально, 18 руб. за литр 95 - это круто, мы же не в Евросоюзе! Видимо, **слишком очень большая цепочка** (как объяснял мне один авторитетный человек) на этом кормится! (Forum)
(www.ttw.ru/index.php?name=PNphpBB2&file=viewtopic&p=58348)
‘But really, 18 rubles for 95 litres of petrol, that is madness, after all, we do not live in the European Union! Clearly, it really is far too big a chain of people [lit. too very big a chain] (as an authority on this matter explained to me) that make their living on that.’

3.2 Verbs

3.2.1 Verb classes

If *слишком* or *достаточно* are applied directly to a verb, they indicate that the degree to which the situation expressed by the verb is performed, is too high or sufficient. An example was already given with *слишком* in (5), and in (83) an example is given with *достаточно*:

- (83) И вот я уже **достаточно постарел**, чтобы полюбить жизнь. (Э. Радзинский, *Продолжение Дон Жуана*)
and PRT I already enough aged, that-IRR love-INF life
‘And I already grew sufficiently old to start loving life.’

Different classes of verbs can occur in the construction of degree. A search in the corpus (NKRJa) for constructions with *слишком* in the main clause, and a subordinate clause (*чтобы*) resulted in the following verb classes:

- (i) verbs that indicate mental activities, for example *понимать* ('understand'), *знать* ('know'), *помнить* ('remember'), that one can do fully or partly or with different levels of quality [degree of quality/completeness of the action]
- (ii) verbs that express a positive or negative attitude towards someone/something such as *любить* ('love'), *уважать*, *дорожить*, *ценить* ('honor', etc.); *баловать* ('spoil'), *нравиться* ('like'), *верить* ('believe'), *презирать* ('despise'), *ненавидеть* ('hate'), etc. [degree of intensity; level of positiveness or negativeness of feeling]
- (iii) verbs that express a negative experience of a subject such as *страдать*, *измотаться*, *заботиться* ('suffer') [degree of intensity; level of severeness of negative experience]
- (iv) verbs that express physical sensations, for example *взволновать* ('be excited'), *устать* ('get tired') [degree of fulfilment or intensity of process]
- (v) verbs that express (physical) incremental changes, for example *окаменеть* ('turn into stone') [degree of fulfilment or intensity of process].

The same search with *достаточно* resulted in more or less the same verb classes:

- (i) verbs that express activities related to knowing something or someone: *понимать* ('understand'), *знать* ('know'), *помнить* ('remember'), *изучить* ('study'), *разбираться* ('investigate') [degree of quality or completeness of the action]
- (ii) verbs that indicate a positive attitude towards a person or thing: *любить* ('love'), *уважать* ('honor') [degree of intensity; level of positiveness of feeling]
- (iii) verbs that indicate changes in age: *постареть(ся)* ('getting older'), *прожить* ('live'), *вырасти* ('grow'), *созреть* ('mature') [degree of fulfilment of process]
- (iv) verbs that indicate dynamic physical processes in a person, or states resulting from such processes, e.g. *успокоиться* ('be/become calm') [degree of fulfilment of process].

This is not an exhaustive list of verbs that can occur with the degree words in the construction of degree, especially because sentences without subordinate clause are not taken into account. In sentences without subordinate clause and *слишком* the list of verbs is much bigger, and also includes verbs like *кричать* ('cry'), *пахнуть* ('smell of/like'), *хотеть/желать* ('want/desire'), *повезти* (*повезло*) ('be lucky'), *размножаться* ('multiply'), *надоест* ('bore'), *высмеи-*

вать ('make fun of'), *раскрывать* ('uncover'), *наградить* ('reward'), *обеспечивать* ('guarantee'), *торопиться*, *поспешить* ('hurry up'), *смотреть на* ('pay attention to'), *ждать* ('wait'), *зачастить* ('visit often'), and many more. In general one can say that verbs that can occur with the intensifier *очень* ('very') outside the construction of degree, or with forms such as *совсем* ('completely') can also be combined with *слишком*. Note that the class of verbs that can occur with *достаточно* is even bigger, because it also includes verbs that are not typically seen as gradable, but which can be associated with a particular quantity. To give an example, in the sentence *Я достаточно гулял по Москве, чтобы все это заметить* ('I walked around in Moscow enough, to notice all that'), *достаточно* is combined with the non-gradable verb *гулять* ('walk'), and indicates that enough time has been spent on walking. A similar case can be found below:

- (84) Кузьмич устроил разнос начальнику участка, молодой затюканной женщине, которая **достаточно проработала** на производстве, чтобы уяснить простую истину (...).
 Kuz'mič excoriated boss-DAT department-GEN, young-DAT timid-DAT woman, who enough worked in firm, that-IRR understand-INF simple truth
 'Kuz'mič excoriated the head of the department, a young timid woman, who worked long enough in the firm, to understand the simple truth.'

In the case of some gradable verbs, it is possible to use an adverb which expresses the dimension of the degree with respect to the situation expressed by the verb. In such cases it is possible to construct minimal pairs: [degree word + verb] versus [degree word + adverb + verb]. This is possible with verbs that indicate a mental activity related to an object such as *знать* 'know'. These verbs can occur both with and without *хорошо* ('well'). Examples are (6) and (7) given earlier. Another example is the verb *страдать* ('suffer'), which can occur both with and without the quantifier *много* ('much') (see examples in (8) and (9) given earlier). The difference in meaning between such minimal pairs is either absent or very subtle. In the next section, I will give a detailed analysis of these cases.

Besides *хорошо* or *много*, there are also other adverbs which can occur in such minimal pairs, for example *сильно* (*sil'no* 'strong') in phrases like *слишком (сильно) любить* ('love too (strongly)') or *далеко* (*daleko* 'far'), which may, or may not be expressed with verbs such as *оторваться* ('break away from'):

- (85) Мне казалось, что я **достаточно оторвался**, чтобы удержаться впереди[.] (*Формула*, 2001.05.15)
 me-DAT seemed, that I enough broke.away, that-IRR keep-INF ahead

‘I seemed to me, that I broke away sufficiently, to keep ahead.’

- (86) Мне казалось, что я **достаточно далеко оторвался**, чтобы удержать свою позицию[.] (*Автобизнес – Weekly*, 2001.4.5)
 me-DAT seemed, that I enough far broke.away, that-IRR keep-INF my position
 ‘I seemed to me that I broke away far enough to keep my position.’

Although the meaning of the verb *оторваться* implies that *слишком оторваться* means that the degree concerns the distance, it is possible to make this explicit by using the adverb *далеко* (‘far’). Other examples are the verbs *пахнуть* (*рапнит* ‘smell like’), or *потеть* (*potet* ‘sweat’) which can occur both with and without *сильно* (*sil’no* ‘strong’). For example:

- (87) Федоров с трудом шел к виселице, и ему казалось, что именно потому, что **слишком сильно пахнет** липами. (Р. Гуль, *Азеф*)
 Fedorov with difficulty went to gallows, and he-DAT seemed, that exactly because that too strong-ADV smells of.linden.trees
 ‘Fedorov went to the gallows with difficulty, and it seemed to him, that this was because the linden trees smelled too strong.’
- (88) Яблоки и тимьян хороши в помещениях, где курят или там, где **слишком пахнет** едой. (*Домовой*, 2002.12.04)
 apples and thyme good in rooms, where smoke, or there where too s-
mells of.food.’
 ‘You can use apples and thyme for rooms where people smoke, or where it smells too much of food.’

A similar phenomenon occurs in the case of the intensifier *очень* (‘very’). Bitextina (1975: 67) gives pairs like the following: *очень (сильно) кричать* (lit. very (hard) shout); *очень (внимательно) следить за собой* (lit. very (carefully) look after oneself); *очень (крепко) дружить* (lit. very (strongly) be friends with). She argues that sentences without adverb are more typical of the spoken language. Which class of verbs can occur both with and without adverb, and whether there is a slight difference in meaning or style, is a matter that deserves more research. I would like to point out, though, that there are differences between verbs with respect to the use of adverbs that are difficult to predict. Take for example a verb like *лгать* (*lgat* ‘lie’), which can occur without adverb:

- (89) Эти люди **слишком лгут**, чтобы не залгаться[.] (В.П. Мещерский, *Мои воспоминания* (1897))
 these people too lie-V, that-IRR not be.caught.in.a.web.of.lies-INF
 ‘These people lie too much not to be caught in a web of lies.’

With this verb, however, it is much more common to use an adverb, or to convey the meaning of quantity with *много* (*mnogo* ‘much’), or the meaning of frequency with *часто* (*často* ‘often’), even in those cases where the speaker wants to emphasize the intensity of the situation (‘lie in a serious way’).

In the next sections, I will say more about the use of the adverbs *хорошо* and *много* in the construction of degree, and the question whether there are differences in meaning between sentences with, or without these adverbs.

3.2.2 The use of *хорошо* with gradable verbs

In this section, I will discuss the use of gradable verbs that can occur both with and without the adverb *хорошо* (‘good’) if they are combined with *слишком* or *достаточно* (see for example (6) or (7) given earlier).¹⁶ These verbs belong to the class of verbs that express mental activities that are related to an object.

In combinations with *слишком*, the following verbs belonging to this class are attested in the NKRJa: *знать* (‘know’), *понимать* (‘understand’), *помнить* (‘remember’), *видеть* (lit. ‘see’), and *чувствовать* (lit. ‘feel’). The mental activity directed at the object can be seen as gradable, because it can be realized with different levels of quality, and at the same time different levels of intensity. Below, some general descriptions are given with regard to the three most frequent verbs in this class:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| X <i>знать</i> Y (‘know’): | possessing information with regard to Y (e.g. such that one can predict things about Y);
→ the amount and quality of information with regard to Y |
| X <i>понимать</i> Y (‘understand’): | the ability to make sense of something or someone, e.g. such that one can use or interpret it (a language); such that one can provide reasons for it (someone’s behaviour), etc.
→ the extent to which one can make sense of Y |
| X <i>помнить</i> Y (‘remember’): | the ability to have or bring back experiences about Y, which were experienced in the past by X; |

¹⁶ This means that sentences like the following are not considered here: *Он слишком хорошо говорит по-русски* (‘He speaks Russian too well.’) Here, the degree word modifies the adverb *хорошо* (‘well’), and the omission of the adverb would be unacceptable: *?Он слишком говорит по-русски*. It is, however, possible to find instances without adverb on the internet, but in these sentences *не слишком* is similar in meaning to *не очень* (‘not very’): *Он не слишком/не очень говорит по-русски*.

→ the extent to which the information that X has, or brings back about Y, is thought of as being identical to the actual experience of X about Y

Note that the verbs *видеть* ('see') and *чувствовать* ('feel') also belong to this class, when they are used to convey the meaning of 'understanding something':¹⁷

- (90) Я **слишком вижу**, что вы бойкая! (Ф. Достоевский, *Преступление и наказание* (1866))
I too see, that you smart
'I see (understand) too well that you are smart!'
- (91) Я, поверьте, **слишком хорошо знаю**, **слишком чувствую**; это мой долг. (И. Тургенев, *Завтрак у предводителя* (1846))
I, believe-IMP, too good know, too feel-1SG-PRES, that my duty
'I, believe me, know too well, and realize (feel) too well, that is my duty.'

If the verbs *видеть* or *чувствовать* are used in their literal meaning ('see' and 'feel' respectively), for example *Я себя не слишком хорошо чувствую* ('I do not feel too well'), the adverb *хорошо* cannot be omitted.

Note that the use of the adverb *хорошо* with these verbs is not restricted to the construction of degree, but also occurs without degree word, in sentences where it indicates a high degree or quality:

- (92) Я знаю/помню/понимаю **хорошо**.
I know/remember/understand well
'I know/remember/understand well.'

With these verbs, *хорошо* is not the only adverb that is used to indicate a high degree. Other adverbs that may also be used to indicate a high degree include for example boosters (*прекрасно* 'perfectly', *отлично* 'excellent', *великолепно* 'splendidly'), adverbs that denote that the situation is performed with great detail (*четко* 'neatly', *отчетливо* 'distinctly', *ясно* 'clearly', *точно* 'exactly'), adverbs that indicate that the situation is performed with regard to the whole object (*совсем* 'completely', *совершенно* 'totally'). The adverb *хорошо*, however, differs from these adverbs because it indicates the dimension of quality in its most neutral sense, without additional meaning. Note that the use of the adverb

¹⁷ It should be noted that there are probably more verbs that belong to this class, but which are not attested in the NKRJa. An example is the verb *изучать* (*izučat* 'study'), which is attested both with and without *хорошо* on the internet.

хорошо with regard to verbs like ‘know’, ‘remember’, ‘understand’, etc. is not a typical trait of Russian, but occurs in other European languages as well, for example in English (*well*), Dutch (*goed*), and French (*bien*). There are, however, also differences between the function of forms like *хорошо* in these languages. An important difference between Russian and French on the one hand, and Dutch and English on the other is that in Dutch and English, the use of the adverb *goed* (‘well’) is obligatory in contexts with *te* or *too* respectively and verbs like ‘know’, ‘understand’, etc., whereas this is not the case in Russian and French.¹⁸

Table 1 shows the division between [слишком + V] and [слишком хорошо + V] in the NKRJa, both in the 19th and 20th century. Because the number of attested instances is so small, I have given the number of occurrences.¹⁹

Note that in the second part of the nineteenth century, most instances without *хорошо* are attested with just one author, namely Dostoevskij. With all verbs, Dostoevskij is inclined not to use *хорошо*, whereas most of his contemporaries prefer *хорошо*. It may be that with respect to this construction, the speech of Dostoevskij is to some extent idiosyncratic, or part of a trend, confined to a smaller number of people, which started in the second half of the nineteenth century with some writers, and ended somewhere in the first part of the twentieth century. Note, furthermore, that in the nineteenth century, Dostoevskij is also attested most frequently with the construction of degree as such (with and without *хорошо*), whereas the NKRJa also contains many texts by his contemporaries, for example Tolstoj. Table 2 provides insight into the

¹⁸ Another important difference is that in both Russian and French, *хорошо* or *bien* always indicates a high degree, whereas in English or Dutch, the forms *well* or *goed* can indicate the dimension of quality as such, without necessarily expressing a high degree. Because of this, *well* or *goed* is used in questions such as the following in both Dutch and English: *Hoe goed spreek je Russisch?* (lit. ‘How well do you speak Russian?’). In Russian and French, the adverb *хорошо* or *bien* is not used in such contexts: *Как вы говорите по-русски?*; *Comment vous parlez le français?*

¹⁹ Unfortunately, the NKRJa does not indicate the number of words, but only information with respect to the number of documents: 924 before 1849; 719 from 1850 till 1899; 1080 from 1900 till 1949, and 38000 from 1950. The oldest text in the corpus is Д.И. Фонвизин, *Два маркиганта* (1788). Note that there are also texts which start in one period, and end in another. NKRJa classifies such texts according to the starting date. – I have looked for [слишком * хорошо * знать], [знать * слишком * хорошо], [слишком * знать] and [знать * слишком] (* indicates possible words between the forms). This search also includes adverbial participles and participles. I have excluded sentences like the following, where the syntactic structure could not be established: *Он, впрочем, заметил, что Настасья Филипповна слишком хорошо знала и понимала, что значила для него Аглая.* (Ф. Достоевский, *Идиот* (1869)). (lit. too good knew and understood).

percentages for the most frequent verbs of table 1, both with and without Dostoevskij.

If we look only at the second half of the twentieth century, we can conclude that with both *знать* and *помнить*, the use of *хорошо* is much more common than without this adverb. The verb *понимать*, however, occurs relatively frequently without *хорошо*.

What about diachronic trends? The data show that *хорошо* was preferred with *знать* already in the beginning of the nineteenth century. In general, the use of *хорошо* with this verb seems relatively stable if we look at the development in the nineteenth and twentieth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century (with Dostoevskij), and the first half of the twentieth century, there was a slight decrease of *хорошо*, but this trend did not continue. It is difficult to draw any conclusions about the verbs *понимать* and *помнить*, due to the small number of instances. However, the data imply that with both verbs there may have been a small trend in particular parts of the population not to use *хорошо* at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century (with *помнить*), or only at the end of the nineteenth century (with *понимать*).

	1788- 1849	1850-1899	1900- 1949	1950-2007
<i>слишком</i> <i>знать</i>	1	21 (18 from Dostoevskij)	5	4
<i>слишком</i> <i>хорошо</i> <i>знать</i>	17	41 (7 from Dostoevskij)	23	102
<i>слишком</i> <i>понимать</i>	0	23 (23 from Dostoevskij)	2	11
<i>слишком</i> <i>хорошо</i> <i>понимать</i>	2	10 (8 from Dostoevskij)	8	19
<i>слишком</i> <i>помнить</i>	0	5 (5 from Dostoevskij)	2	2
<i>слишком</i> <i>хорошо</i> <i>помнить</i>	0	6 (2 from Dostoevskij)	2	24
<i>слишком</i> <i>чувствовать</i>	2	3 (3 from Dostoevskij)	1	0
<i>слишком</i> <i>хорошо</i> <i>чувствовать</i>	0	2	1	4
<i>слишком</i> <i>видеть</i>	0	6 (5 from Dostoevskij)	0	0
<i>слишком</i> <i>хорошо</i> <i>видеть</i>	0	0	1 (from 1900)	1 (literal 'to see')

Table 1 Number of instances with [*слишком* (+ *хорошо*) + verb]

	1788- 1849	1850-1899 with Dost.	1850-1899 without Dost.	1900- 1949	1950- 2007
<i>знать</i> %хор.	94%	66%	92%	82%	96%
<i>знать</i> total	18	62	37	28	106
<i>понимать</i> %хор.	100%	30%	100%	80%	63%
<i>понимать</i> total	2	33	2	10	30
<i>помнить</i> %хор.	-	55%	100%	50%	92%
<i>помнить</i> total	0	11	4	4	26

Table 2: Percentage of instances with [*слишком* (+ *хорошо*) + verb]

With respect to the data given above, the following questions can be asked:

- (i) Is there a subtle difference in meaning between sentences with and sentences without *хорошо*?
- (ii) How can one account for the fact that in the second half of the century, there is a trend with some writers not to use *хорошо* with *знать*, *понимать* and *помнить*?
- (iii) How can one account for the differences in the use of *хорошо* with respect to different verbs?

Firstly, with regard to the first question: there is no clear indication that there is a difference in meaning between sentences with and sentences without *хорошо*. This means that *хорошо* makes the dimension of quality explicit, which is already part of the meaning (or rather interpretation) of the construction itself. The use or non use of *хорошо* is therefore merely a stylistic phenomenon.

A possible exception has to be made with regard to (pseudo) past passive participles. With these forms the use or non use of *хорошо* may be connected to the question whether the form is primarily associated with verbal semantics or not. This phenomenon does not occur with the verbs *знать*, *помнить* and *чувствовать*, but it does with the verb *видеть* ('see'), when it refers to the literal action of seeing. Consider for example the use of the adjective (pseudo imperfective past participle) *виден*, in (93) without *хорошо*, and in (94) with *хорошо*:

- (93) Если он чувствовал, что **слишком** **виден** со всех сторон, он днем отлеживался, а ночью шел. (А. Фадеев, *Молодая гвардия*)
if he felt, that too visible-ADJ/see-PARTICPLE-PAST-PASSIVE-IMPERF
from all sides, have.a.thorough.rest, and at.night went
'If he felt that he was too visible from every side, he had a good rest during the day, and traveled at night.'

- (94) Он был **слишком хорошо** **виден** на фоне неба (...).
 (www.svoboda.org/programs/ex/2004/ex.012504.asp)
 He was too good visible-ADJ/see-PARTICIPLE-PAST-PASSIVE-IMPERF on background sky-GEN
 ‘He was too visible against the sky.’

Because this form is associated both with verbal and adjectival semantics, and because the adverb *хорошо* is not used with *слишком* in combination with regular adjectives, one may expect some variation between speakers with regard to the use of *хорошо*. The same phenomenon occurs in the case of the past passive participle *воспитан* (*vospitan* ‘educated/raised’, ‘well mannered’):

- (95) Новый Джеймс Бонд не **слишком воспитан** (...).
 (search.vedomosti.ru/newspaper/article.shtml?2006/11/21/116119)
 new James Bond not too well-mannered-ADJ/raise-PARTICIPLE-PAST-PASSIVE-PERF
 ‘The new James Bond is not too/very well mannered.’
- (96) Но Набоков был **слишком хорошо воспитан**, чтобы сравнивать женщину с лошастью.
 (magazines.russ.ru/novyi_mi/1997/4/obz101-p.html)
 but Nabokov was too well raise-PARTICIPLE-PAST-PASSIVE-PERF-SHORT-MASC-SG, that-IRR compare-INF woman with horse
 ‘But Nabokov was too well-bred to compare a woman to a horse’

Secondly, the above mentioned facts suggest that in both centuries, but especially in the nineteenth century, there is some variation within the population with respect to the use of adverbs: some authors always use *хорошо*, whereas others never do. Some authors may prefer *хорошо* only with some verbs. This may for example be an explanation for the use of *хорошо* in (91) by Turgenev: *слишком хорошо знаю, слишком чувствую* (too good know, too feel; ‘know too well, and feel too well’).²⁰ Furthermore, there may be authors that sometimes will, and sometimes will not use *хорошо* with the same verb. Dostoevskij is for example attested with 7 instances of *слишком хорошо знать*, and with 18 instances of *слишком знать*. The data do not suggest that the use of *хорошо* or leaving it out with this author is connected to the different norms that Dostoevskij wants to express. The following sentences are both taken from the same source (his diaries from 1877):

²⁰ Alternatively, one may argue that *хорошо* is not used with *чувствовать* because it is already expressed with *знать* (suggesting an ellipsis).

- (97) ... и Левин **слишком знает**, что он говорит о славянах. (Ф. Достоевский, *Дневник писателя*. 1877. Год II-й (1877))
 ...and Levin too knows, that he talks about Slavs
 '...and Levin knows too well, that he talks about the Slavs.'
- (98) Райя **слишком хорошо знает**, что только этих чувств она и может ожидать теперь от Европы. (Ф. Достоевский, *Дневник писателя*. 1877. Год II-й (1877))
 Raja too well knows, that only these feelings she and can expect now from Europe
 'Raja knows too well, that she may only expect these feelings from Europe right now.'

A possible explanation for the small trend not to use *хорошо* in the second half of the twentieth century could be the influence of French. In French, the construction of degree occurs both without and with *bien* with verbs like *connaître* ('know'), *savoir*, *se souvenir*, and *comprendre*:

- (99) Je te connais trop (bien) pour ça.

French differs from Russian, because with *trop* the use of *bien* is less frequent than cases without adverb. In the corpus Frantext, in the second half of the 19th century, about 40% of the instances with *trop* and *connaître* (72 randomly selected sentences) occurred with *bien*. In the case of the verb *savoir* the percentage of *bien* was even lower. About 90% of the 81 randomly selected instances did not contain *bien*. Note that of these, 90% occurred with negation (*Je ne sais trop*). A writer like Dostoevskij, or other writers in the second half of the nineteenth century, may well have been influenced by French. Evidence for this is the fact that in his work, Dostoevskij actually uses the French construction of degree with *comprendre* without *bien*:

- (100) Enfin, je n'ai pas trop compris. Но я их перехитрил, и какое мне дело до Дмитрия Митрича. (Ф. Достоевский, *Бесы* (1871–1872))
 'Enfin, je n'ai pas trop compris. But I outwitted them, and what do I have to do with Dmitrij Mitrič.'

One should of course be careful here to jump to conclusions, because there are also indications which could be interpreted as counterarguments. An important counterargument is that writers like Tolstoj or Turgenev, who spoke French as well, prefer the use with *хорошо*. Note for example that Turgenev is attested 6 times with *слишком хорошо знать*, and zero times with *слишком знать*.

Thirdly, there is a difference between *знать* on the one hand and *понимать* on the other. It must be noted that the reason why in the second part of the twentieth century a relatively high number of instances of *понимать* occurs

without *хорошо* is correlated with the use of negation. More specifically, the absence of *хорошо* can relatively frequently be found with the expression *не слишком понимать*. In this use, *слишком* behaves like an intensifier, and is semantically similar to *очень* (*не очень понимаю*). Table 3 shows that if we compare sentences with and without *хорошо* with *слишком + понимать* in the twentieth century, there is indeed a negative correlation between the use of negation and the use of *хорошо* (0,41), and consequently a positive correlation between negation and sentences without *хорошо* (-0,41). According to the Chi-square test, this correlation is significant ($\chi^2 = 6,7$; with $df=1$, this result has a 99% reliability). However, because of the small sample size, the Chi-square test is less reliable. The Fisher exact test, which takes the small sample size into account, shows that the correlation is significant indeed (observed value = 4, expected value = 7.43; Fisher exact two-tailed: $p=0.02$, which means that the reliability is 98%).

	negation	no negation	number
Number of cases <i>слишком понимать</i>	7	6	13
Number of cases <i>слишком хорошо понимать</i>	4	23	27
Number	11	29	40
cor cases <i>слишком понимать</i>	0,41		
cor cases <i>слишком хорошо понимать</i>	-0,41		

Table 3: correlation *понимать* and negation (twentieth century)

These data suggest that when *слишком* is used as an intensifier, the use of *хорошо* is less typical. In order to see if there is indeed a relation, let us have a look at the use of *очень*. With this intensifier we find both uses with and without *хорошо*:

- (101) Честно говоря, мы не **очень знаем**, про что конкретно тут говорить.
(*Октябрь*, 2003)
honestly, speaking, we not very know, about what specifically here speak-
INF
'To be honest, we do not know very well about what exactly we have to speak.'
- (102) Ответить на этот вопрос он не мог, потому что еще не **очень хорошо** **знал** ее. (*Труд*, 1989.01.01)

answer-INF that question he not could, because he not.yet not very well
knew her
 'He couldn't answer that question, because he didn't know her very well
 yet.'

Table 4 lists the use of *очень* with or without *хорошо* in the first and second half of the nineteenth and twentieth century for the verbs *знать*, *понимать*, and *помнить*.

	< 1850	1850-1900	1900-1950	≥ 1950
<i>очень знать</i>	29	21	5	2
<i>очень хорошо знать</i>	37 (56%)	190 (90%)	18 (78%)	74 (97%)
<i>очень понимать</i>	16	28 ²¹	19	191
<i>очень хорошо пони- мать</i>	7 (30%)	109 (93%) ²²	32 (60%)	119 (37%)
<i>очень помнить</i>	18	26	6	13
<i>очень хорошо пом- нить</i>	8 (31%)	42 (62%)	18 (75%)	117 (90%)

Table 4: the use of *хорошо* with *очень*

Table 4 shows that in modern Russian (second half of the twentieth century), the use of *хорошо* with *очень* is to a great extent similar to the use with *слишком*. With the verbs *знать* and *помнить* the use of *хорошо* is by far the most frequent, whereas with *понимать* the majority of the uses occur without *хорошо*.²³ This means that there is no general negative correlation between the function of intensifier and the use of *хорошо*. However, like in the case of *слишком*, the use of *хорошо* with *понимать* is influenced by the presence of negation. Table 5 shows that with *понимать*, there is a negative correlation of 0,69 between the presence of negation and the use of *хорошо*. This correlation is significant ($\chi^2 = 176$; whereas with $df=1$, and a reliability of 95%, the χ^2 should be above 3,84).

²¹ 10 are from Dostoevskij.

²² 18 are from Dostoevskij.

²³ With respect to diachronic tendencies, table 4 suggests that there are differences between verbs. Both with *знать* and *помнить* there is an increase in the use of *хорошо*. In the case of *понимать*, however, the use of *хорошо* first increased till the second half of the nineteenth century, and then decreased again. In modern Russian most instances of *понимать* occur without *хорошо*. The trend to not use *хорошо* which occurred with *слишком* at the end of the nineteenth century cannot be established for *очень*. It should be stressed, though, that a statistical analysis is necessary to see whether these trends are statistically significant.

	negation	no negation	number
Number of cases <i>очень</i> <i>понимать</i>	164	46	210
Number of cases <i>очень</i> <i>хорошо понимать</i>	12	139	151
Number	176	193	369
cor cases <i>очень пони-</i> <i>мать</i>	0,69		
cor cases <i>очень хорошо</i> <i>понимать</i>	-0,69		

Table 5: correlation between negation and the use of *хорошо* with *очень* and *понимать*

It is possible that the negative correlation between *не очень/не слишком* X ('not very X') and the use of *хорошо* can be explained in terms of the negative meanings of these expressions. More specifically, they both express that the degree, or rather the quality of X, is rather low. It is possible that the use of the adverb *хорошо* easily triggers an absolute reading, where the quality of X is perceived as high. Whether or not this analysis is correct, is a topic that deserves a separate study.

I will now turn to sentences with *достаточно* (or *довольно*). Like *слишком*, the degree word *достаточно* can occur both with and without *хорошо* with the verbs *знать* ('know'), *понимать* ('understand'), and *помнить* ('remember'). In addition, in the NKRJa minimal pairs are also attested with the verbs *владеть* ('have a command of'), *изучать* ('study'), and *разбираться* ('investigate'):

- (103) Правда, Александр Вольф мог быть моим соотечественником и **достаточно хорошо владеть** английским языком, чтобы не прибегать к помощи переводчика (...). (Г. Газданов, *Призрак Александра Вольфа*).

true, Aleksandr Vol'f could be-INF my compatriot and enough well command-INF English language, that-IRR not run for help interpreter-GEN

'True, Aleksandr Vol'f could be a compatriot of mine and have a sufficient command of English not to run to the interpreter for help.'

- (104) К тому времени я уже **достаточно владел** монгольским языком, чтобы ее понять (Л.Юзефович, *Князь ветра*)
 by that time I already enough commanded Mongolian language, that-IRR her understand
 ‘By then, I had a sufficient command of Mongolian, to understand her.’
- (105) Якушев уже **достаточно хорошо разобрался** в абхазских и грузинских делах, чтобы понять, что затеянное Кондратьевым «возвращение беженцев» означает новую большую войну.
 (forums.ng.ru/archive/part/www.ng.ru,cis,2007-06-29,100_gruzoset/116)
 Jakušev already enough well investigated in Abchaz and Georgian matters, that-IRR understand-INF, that undertaken Kondrat’ev-INSTR “return refugees-GEN” means new big war.
 ‘Jakušev investigated the Abchaz and Georgian situation well enough to understand that the decision taken by Kondrat’ev means the beginning of a new war.’
- (106) Татарский уже **достаточно разобрался** в бизнесе, чтобы понять, что машина нанята часа на два (В. Пелевин, *Generation "П"*).
 Tatarskij already enough investigated in business, that-IRR understand-INF, that car rented hour for two
 ‘Tatarskij already investigated the business enough to understand that the car was rented for two hours.’

It should be noted that *достаточно* (and *довольно*) occurs without subordinate clause as well, and in many cases the degree word is best interpreted as a moderator. Furthermore, the line between the relative and the moderator use of *достаточно* is not always easy to draw. This is the case in the following sentence:

- (107) Я сразу же приступил к работе, а поскольку текст был довольно большой, а времени мало, пригласил на помощь сотрудника Министерства иностранных дел, **достаточно хорошо знавшего английский язык**. (О. Трояновский, *Через годы и расстояния*)
 ..., enough well know-PARTICIPLE-ACTIVE-PAST-IMPERF-SG-GEN English language
 ‘I immediately started my job, but as the text was rather big, and the time limited, I invited an official of the Ministry of foreign affairs, who knew English rather well/well enough.’

Table 6 shows the number of instances with and without *хорошо* with *достаточно* and *довольно* in the 19th and 20th century. Between brackets the number of instances with a subordinate clause with *чтобы* is indicated.

	19 th century	20 th century
достаточно/довольно знать	29 довольно (1 чт.); 9 достаточно (2 чт.)	7 довольно (0 чт.); 37 достаточно (12 чт.)
достаточно/довольно хорошо знать	8 довольно (0 чт.); 0 достаточно	13 довольно (0 чт.); 36 достаточно (4 чт.)
достаточно/довольно понимать	4 довольно (0 чт.); 7 достаточно (0 чт.)	0 довольно; 3 достаточно (0 чт.)
достаточно/довольно хорошо понимать	2 довольно (0 чт.); 0 достаточно	3 довольно (0 чт.); 9 достаточно (1 чт.)
достаточно/довольно помнить	1 довольно (0 чтобы); 0 достаточно	-
достаточно/довольно хорошо помнить	1 достаточно (0 чт.); 0 довольно	4 довольно (0 чт.); 1 достаточно (0 чт.)
достаточно/довольно владеть	1 достаточно (0 чт.); 0 довольно	0 довольно; 4 достаточно (1 чт.)
достаточно/довольно хорошо владеть	-	1 довольно (0 чтобы); 2 достаточно (2 чт.)
достаточно/довольно разбираться	-	0 довольно; 1 достаточно (1 чт.)
достаточно/довольно хорошо разбираться	-	2 довольно (0 чт.); 2 достаточно (0 чт.)
достаточно/довольно изучать	1 довольно (0 чт.); 3 достаточно (0 чт.)	0 довольно; 11 достаточно (2 чт.)
достаточно/довольно хорошо изучать	-	4 довольно; 21 достаточно (0 чт.)

Table 6 Number of instances with [достаточно/довольно (+ хорошо) + verb]

Table 7 lists the percentages from table 6 for the most frequent verbs.

	19 th century	20 th century
<i>знать</i> %хор.	17%	53%
<i>знать</i> total	46	93
<i>понимать</i> %хор.	13%	80%
<i>понимать</i> total	16	15
<i>помнить</i> %хор.	50%	100%
<i>помнить</i> total	2	5
<i>изучать</i> %хор.	0%	70%
<i>изучать</i> total	4	36

Table 7 Percentage of instances with [*слишком* (+ *хорошо*) + verb]

Note that in the twentieth century with *знать* the use of *хорошо* is more typical for *слишком* (see table 2), than for *достаточно*. With respect to the other verbs one should be careful to draw any conclusions, in view of the small numbers. A possible explanation is that the meaning of *достаточно* itself is more easily associated with the idea of an adequate quality than *слишком*, because of which it does not have to be expressed by a separate form.²⁴ Furthermore, another factor may be that *достаточно* has a more independent syntactic status than *слишком*. To give an example, *достаточно* can occur on its own in sentences where it functions as predicate or object, whereas *слишком* always needs another constituent on which it is dependent.

It should be noted, though, that in the twentieth century there are differences between verbs. More specifically, the verbs *помнить* and *понимать* seem to occur more frequently with *хорошо* than *знать*. To give an example, on the basis of the data given in table 6 one can calculate that there is a positive correlation of around 20% between the use of *достаточно/довольно понимать*, and the use of *хорошо* in comparison to sentences with *знать* (observed value of *достаточно/довольно хорошо понимать* = 12, expected value = 8.47; Fisher exact two-tailed $p = 0.05$, which means that the reliability is 95%).

Another relevant, and possibly related factor is the status of the degree word. The data show that if the degree word is used to indicate a relative degree ('enough with respect to') and not as a moderator, the likelihood of *хорошо* decreases. This can be shown with regard to *достаточно знать* and *достаточно хорошо знать* in the twentieth century. There is a negative correlation of around 25% between the use of *хорошо* and the occurrence of a subordinate clause with *чтобы* (observed value of *достаточно хорошо знать* with *чтобы*

²⁴ This explanation would also explain why a search in the corpus Frantext suggests that in French, the use of *bien* is probably more typical of *trop* than of *assez*.

= 4, expected value = 7.89; Fisher exact two-tailed $p = 0.04$, which means that the reliability is 96%). In view of the small number of sentences with *помнить* and *понимать*, it is difficult to determine whether the same correlation also plays a part in the case of these verbs.

It should be noted, though, that consultation of native speakers indicated that even in sentences with a subordinate clause and *хорошо* like (103) or (105), speakers are inclined to interpret *достаточно* as a modifier and the degree in absolute terms. To give an example, sentence (103) expresses that the subject speaks the language quite well, and therefore does not need an interpreter, whereas (104) without *хорошо* only expresses that the degree is sufficient to understand someone.

3.2.3 The use of *много* with *слишком* and gradable verbs

In this section, I will discuss sentences with *слишком* that occur both with and without the quantifier *много* as in (8) and (9) given earlier. Before I propose an explanation of this use of *много*, I will first provide a brief discussion of the meaning and function of *много* with verbs in general.

If used with a verb, and not functioning as the object of the verb, the quantifier *много* indicates the large amount of occurrences of a situation, rather than the intensity of the (realization of the) situation (see also Bitextina 1975 for some observations about this use of *много* in Russian, and Doetjes 2007, for an analysis of similar use of *beaucoup* in French):

- (108) Да, я в детстве **много** сидела на голом цементном полу зимой (...).
(С. Осипов, *Страсти по Фоме. Книга третья. Книга Перемен*)
yes, I in childhood much sat on bare concrete floor in.winter
'Yes, in my childhood I spent a lot of time during the winter on the bare concrete floor.'
- (109) [А]мериканцы *слишком* **много** ездят на машинах и вообще отошли от природы. (Н. Карпова, *Письмо из Америки об американской кухне*)
Americans too much drive in cars and in.general became.detached from nature
'Americans drive too much, and in general have become detached from nature.'

In these sentences, the adverb *много* in combination with a verb presupposes different (individual) events which can be taken together in order to evaluate the totality of events as 'much'. The additional effect of using *слишком* is that the quantity is presented as 'too much' (exceeding the appropriate quantity). Sentences like (109) must be distinguished from sentences without *много*. In the latter case the speaker conceptualizes one (individuated) event as having a too

high degree. Since the verb *ездить* ('drive') as in (109) is not a gradable verb, such a conceptualization is not possible (?слишком *ездить*).

An important feature of the use of *много* in (108) and (109) is that it refers to a collection of situations, which can be seen as similar and therefore be taken together in order to be evaluated as 'much'. Note, however, that with some verbs, one cannot really speak of individuation. Take for example the atelic verb *разговаривать* (*razgovarivat* 'talk'), which has no accusative object valence, but which may be used with an oblique object with the preposition *о* 'about'. If applied to this verb, *много* can express both the long duration of one individual talking situation, and the content of the speaking of this situation, which is evaluated as 'much' ('there was a lot of talking; a lot of things said'):

- (110) Санин **разговаривал много**, по-вчерашнему, но не о России и не о русской жизни.
 Sanin talked much, as.in.the.old.days, but not about Russia and not about Russian life
 Sanin talked a lot, as in the old days, but not about Russia and Russian life.'

As such it differs from the verb *сидеть* (*sidet* 'sit'). The phrase *сидеть много* (sit much) refers to a number of different sit-occurrences, and cannot refer to the large amount of sitting of one individual sitting occurrence. For this, other adverbs have to be used (e.g. *долго*, *dolgo* 'long'). Sentences like (110) show similarity with uses where *много* functions as the object of the verb, and does not modify the situation itself:

- (111) говорить/читать много
 say-INF/read-INF much'say/read much/a lot (that is a lot of contextually given things)'

Note that the interpretation of *много* as an object of the verb is often the most natural interpretation in the case of transitive verbs, especially when the aspect of the verb is perfective (see Bitextina 1975: 67). Take for example the following sentences with *покупать* ('buy') and *видеть* ('see'):

- (112) Я много покупал.
 I much bought
 'I bought a lot (of things).'
- (113) Он много видел и пережил. (*Мурзилка*, №1, 2003)
 he much saw and survived
 'He saw and survived a lot (of things).'

In these sentences, the interpretation of the adverb *много* is that of object of the verb. The interpretation where *много* modifies the situation expressed by the verb ('many buy/see occurrences') is extensionally close to cases where *много* functions as an object, and sometimes cannot even be distinguished from such cases. Nevertheless, the most natural interpretation is that the speaker wants to convey that the number of objects bought or seen is large, rather than that the total amount of realizations of the buy or see situation is 'much' (for example 'I have spent much time in the shop').

There are a few verbs where one can find minimal pairs consisting of uses with and without *много*. On the basis of a search in the NKRJa with the search phrase [*много* + V], table 8 lists the verbs from the verbs classes that occur with *слишком* given earlier which occur as such minimal pairs.

	19 th century		20 th century	
	- <i>много</i>	+ <i>много</i>	- <i>много</i>	+ <i>много</i>
бегать (‘run’)	1	0	0	2
беспокоиться (‘worry’)	1	0	3 (ipf. adv. part.)	1 (1912)
говорить (‘speak’)	1 (past passive partici- ple)	6	0	35
дорожить (‘value’)	1	1	12 (2 from 1900)	0
думать (‘think’)	2	4	3 (1 ipf. adv. part.)	20 (1 ipf. adv. part.)
играть (‘play’)	0	0	2	3
кричать (‘scream’)	0	0	4 (1 present active partici- ple)	1
лгать (‘lie’)	1	0	0	2
любить (‘love’)	39	1	98 (including: 5 present passive participles; 3 present active participles; 1 past active par- ticiples)	0

	19 th century		20 th century	
	- <i>много</i>	+ <i>много</i>	- <i>много</i>	+ <i>много</i>
любоваться (‘admire’)	0	0	1	1 (1912)
мучиться (‘suffer’)	1	1	1 (adv. part.)	0
носиться (‘make a fuss’; ‘be worried’)	1	0	1	1
пить (‘drink’)	0	1	1 (present active participle)	15 ²⁵
привыкать (‘get used’)	8	0	46	1
работать (‘work’)	1	1 (present active participle)	1	5
страдать (‘suffer’)	4	1	8 (1 active present participle)	1
размышлять (‘reflect’)	0	0	1 (present active participle)	1
трудиться (‘work hard’)	0	0	1	1 (1919)
уважать (‘respect’)	12 (1 with passive - <i>ся</i>)	1 (present passive participle)	11 (1 ipf. adv. part.; 1 present passive participle)	0
хлопотать (‘take trouble to’)	2	0	1 (1917-1918)	1
ценить (‘value’)	4	1	9 (3 past passive participle; 1 past present participle)	0

Table 8: Minimal pairs with *много*

The verbs that can occur both with and without *много* denote different classes of situations. The largest class consists of verbs that indicate positive attitudes towards a person (or thing) such as *уважать* (‘respect’), *ценить* (‘value’), *дорожить* (‘value’), *любить* (‘love’), *любоваться* (‘admire’). Other verbs indi-

²⁵ In many of these sentences, the quantifier can also be interpreted as the object of the verb.

cate (i) negative physical or psychological sensations such as *мучиться* ('suffer'), *страдать* ('suffer'), or *беспокоиться* ('worry'); (ii) verbs referring to work (*трудиться* 'work hard', *работать* 'work'); (iii) verbs indicating the act of thinking (*думать* 'think', *размышлять* 'reflect'), and (iv) verbs that are difficult to group together such as *бегать* ('run'), *играть* ('play'), *говорить* ('speak'), *кричать* ('scream'), *лгать* ('lie'), *пить* ('drink'), *привыкать* ('get used'), *носиться* ('make a fuss'; 'be worried'), *хлопотать* ('take trouble to').

How can the difference in use between sentences with and without *много* be accounted for? In explaining the data the following factors need to be taken into account:

- (i) the semantic contribution of *много*;
- (ii) the grammatical status of the verb;
- (iii) the difference between nineteenth and twentieth century Russian.

Firstly, the semantic contribution of *много*. Consider for example the following sentences:

- (114) В театр я не хожу, потому что там **слишком много кричат**. (*Известия*, 2002.02.21)
in theatre not go, because there too much shout-3PL-PRES
'I don't go to the theatre, because there they shout too much.'
- (115) Отойдем-ка. Здесь **слишком кричат**. (Б. Акунин, *Нефритовые четки*)
let's go. here too shout-3PL-PRES
'Let's go. They shout too much here.'

In (114) the speaker does not want to convey that the intensity of the shouting in theatre is high, but that in the theater the number of occurrences of shouting taken together is high (there is too much shouting there). In (115) the speaker expresses that the shouting itself is seen as having a too high degree, more specifically because it is too loud. Alternative adverbs are therefore *громко* ('loudly) or *сильно* ('strong'), which would convey that aspect of the action more explicitly. Note that a similar phenomenon occurs with the intensifier *очень*:

- (116) Дети **очень кричат** по ночам. (Ю. Семенов, *Семнадцать мгновений весны*)
children very cry-3PL-PRES during nights
'Children cry very much during the night.'

- (117) Сейчас **очень много кричат**: "Нет культуры!" (В. Розов, *Удивление перед жизнью*)
 now very much cry-3PL-PRES: 'there.is.no culture!'
 'Now they cry all the time: 'There is no culture!'

Sentence (116) expresses that there is a high degree of crying. Sentence (117) with the quantifier *много* does not say anything about the intensity of the crying, but expresses that there are many cry instances, or that the totality of different cry instances is seen as much. The description given here explains why sentences like *слишком много уважаю* (lit. honour too much) are extremely infrequent, and, as I will explain below, confined to the nineteenth century when *много* had a different function than today. With this verb, the event cannot be individuated and conceptualized as taking place several times. In this respect it differs from *слишком много страдает* (lit. suffer too much). One can imagine a person suffering on different occasions.

Secondly, the difference in meaning discussed here is also related to the specific grammatical category of the predicate. With some verbs, the adverbial participle is more easily interpreted as expressing intensity than a finite verb. Consider for example the following sentences:

- (118) **Не слишком думая**, я оказался стоящим прямо у места сокрытия: просто оно само оказалось на моем пути. (В. Маканин, *Сюр в Пролетарском районе*)
not too think-GER-PRES-IMPERE, I turned.out standing directly at hiding.place: just it self turned.out on my way
 'Without really thinking about it, I found myself standing at the hiding place: it just turned up on my way.'
- (119) Я считаю, что глупо **слишком много думать** о своем здоровье (*Твое здоровье*)
 I consider, that stupid too much think-INF about own health
 'I consider it stupid to think too much about one's health.'

In example (118) with the adverbial participle, the form *много* ('much') is not expressed. Here it is expressed that the intensity of the situation is not high ('think too deep', 'paying attention'), whereas the use of *много* in (119) makes explicit that the amount of time or frequency that the situation is realized is too high ('think too often').

Thirdly, there are differences between the nineteenth and twentieth century. Note, for example that the verbs *любить* ('love'), *уважать* ('respect'), and *ценить* ('value', 'appreciate') were attested with *много* in the nineteenth century, but not in the twentieth century. For example:

- (120) Первою из них была графиня Рыщевакая (...), которая **слишком много любила** заниматься политикой. (Ф. Вигель, *Записки* (1850–1860))
 first-INSTR from them was countess Ryščevskaja (...), who too much loved be.involved.in.politics
 ‘The first one [to come] was countess Ryščevskaja, who too much liked to be involved in politics.’

This is probably connected to the different status of *много* in the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century, *много* could be used as an intensifier with verbs indicating situations associated with positive feelings such as *уважать* (‘respect’), *ценить* (‘value’, ‘appreciate’), *гордиться* (‘be proud of’), *любить* (‘love’), *хвалить* (‘praise’), *кланяться* (‘greet’, ‘bow’); and negative feelings such as *страдать* (‘suffer’), *огорчать*, *печалиться* (‘grieve’), *пособлять*, *хлопотать* (‘trouble’), *оскорблять* (‘insult’). Below two examples are given with verbs that also occur in the construction of degree:

- (121) Я **много люблю и уважаю** его. (И. Лажечников, *Колдун на Сухаревой башне* (1840))
 I much love and honour him
 ‘I love and honour him very much.’
- (122) Прощайте, милостивая государыня, **много ценю**, что меня посетили. (Н. Лесков, *Соборяне* (1872))
 farewell, madam, much appreciate, that me visited
 ‘Farewell, madam, I appreciate it very much that you visited me.’

In modern Russian, a more neutral way would be to use the intensifier *очень*, for example *очень люблю* (lit. very love). The use of *много* as an intensifier can be considered archaic. In modern Russian, the phrase *Я много любил* (lit. I much loved) therefore usually refers to the total amount of love occurrences (‘I was many times in love’), rather than the intensity of the love (‘I loved very intensively’). This use presupposes that there are different (individual) events that occur in different or the same time interval, but which can be taken together in order to evaluate the totality of events as much. It can therefore occur with situations such as *страдать* (‘suffer’), *думать* (‘think’), or *помогать* (‘help’), but not with *уважать*. As such, Russian differs from languages like French or English, where one can use the quantifiers *beaucoup* or *a lot* with verbs like *aimer/to love*.

The use of *много* as an intensifier and its relation to its use with *слишком* and *очень* is a topic that deserves a separate study. There are a great number of details that are unclear, and which need further analysis.

Firstly, the specific boundaries of the different classes of verbs that occur with *много* as an intensifier in the nineteenth century are not fully clear to me. The examples from the nineteenth century seem to be restricted to gradable verbs indicating situations associated with positive and negative feelings and attitudes. It is possible that in the eighteenth century, this class of verbs was larger, because the NKRJa contains examples from the end of the eighteenth century with *осипнуть* ('get hoarse'), and *верить* ('believe in'), which both seem to fall outside of the typical nineteenth century gradable verb classes that occur with *много*.

Secondly, in the nineteenth century, *много* could probably be used both as an intensifier and as a quantifier with some verbs. This is for example the case with *страдать*. As such, the use of *много* in (8) may be interpreted both as an indication of quantity or frequency ('too many suffer instances'), and as an indication of intensity ('suffer deeply'), whereas in modern Russian it can only indicate repetition (Bitextina 1975: 67).

Thirdly, not all gradable verbs that could occur in the nineteenth century with [*много* + V], are also attested with [*слишком много* + V]. Consider for example the verb *гордиться* ('be proud of'), which is attested three times in the nineteenth century with the intensifier *много* ('be very proud of'). However, the only two instances with *слишком* both occur without *много*.

Fourthly, although in the nineteenth century *много* was used as an intensifier with some gradable verbs, the use of the intensifier *очень* was more frequent in the same contexts. This may suggest that this use of *много* was already decreasing, or that the semantics of these two intensifiers was not identical. It is also interesting to notice that the four examples from the end of the eighteenth century that I attested with *много любить* all occur with an intensifier: *столь/весьма/очень много любить* (so/very/very much love). The specific semantic difference and relation between *очень* (or its semantic equivalents) and *много* needs more study.

Finally, it is interesting to notice that *много* is also attested in the medieval birchbark texts from Novgorod (see the site gramoty.ru, October 11, 2007; грамота 31, 283, 302, and 414). In these fragments it is used with phrases that indicate greetings of the type 'bowing deeply for someone', e.g.: *много целом бью* 'much forehead bow-1SG-PRES', 'bow deeply', or with the verb *кланяться* ('bow'). In such phrases the quantifier is (probably) used to indicate that the action is performed to a high degree (gramoty.ru translates it with *низко* 'deeply'). In old Russian, *много* could probably be used more broadly to indicate a high degree of something. Filin (1982), indicates that in the 12-th century *много* could be used as an intensifier with gradable verbs, but also as the first part of an adjective to indicate a high degree with compounds like *многотрудный* (in modern Russian *очень трудный*, 'very difficult'). This suggests that *много* originally functioned both as a quantifier and as an intensifier

(with verbs and probably a specific class of adjectives), but gradually lost its intensifying meaning, first in the adjectival domain, and in a later stage in the verbal domain. In the nineteenth century *много* had retained its function of intensifier with some specific gradable verbs only (indicating positive and negative attitudes and feelings), and in modern Russian this function is lost almost entirely. What remains is the function of quantifier.²⁶

3.3 Nouns

In this section, I will discuss the use of the degree words with nouns. Examples of this use were already given in (10) and (11). In sentences with *слишком* and a noun, the adverb *много* ('much') is obligatorily used, and the noun occurs in the genitive case.²⁷ Such sentences express that the quantity of the things expressed by N is too big. For example *слишком много денег* (too much money-GEN, 'too much money').

If *достаточно* is used with a noun, the noun also has genitive marking ('enough of something'), but *много* is not used in most sentences: *достаточно денег* (enough money-GEN, 'enough money'). Instances where *достаточно* is combined with *много* can, however, be found:

- (123) У прокуратуры **достаточно много веских оснований**, чтобы продолжить эту процедуру.
 (www.polit.ru/archivego.html?day=15&month=09§ion=news&year=2003)
 at public prosecutor enough many serious proof, that-IRR continue-INF that procedure
 'The public prosecutor has enough serious proof to continue that procedure.'

One could argue that in such sentences *достаточно* does not indicate a minimum but functions as a moderator ('rather much', 'quite much'). This is however not in accordance with the use of the subordinate clause with *чтобы*, which provides a standard of comparison ('enough with respect to'). It is possible, however, that this use of *много* is a relatively new phenomenon which is

²⁶ The development of *много* in Russian is possibly part of a more general typological trend that quantifiers evolve into degree expressions and vice versa (see Doetjes (forthc.) for some suggestions). With respect to *много* it should also be kept in mind that the grammatical status of the word itself has changed. In older stages of Russian, *много* could be used as an adjective, where this is not possible in modern Russian (see for example Filin 1982).

²⁷ This includes sentences where the adjective refers to a group or type of entities, for example *слишком много хорошего* (too much good-ADJ-SG-GEN) 'too many good things; *слишком много голубых* (too many blue-ADJ-PL-GEN (=gays); 'too many gays').

influenced by the increase in the use of *достаточно* as a moderator. One might argue that the semantics of sentences like these differs from normal instances of the construction of degree, and conveys something like ‘rather much X such that Y is the case’.

With respect to the use of the quantifier (*много*) Russian is similar to English or Dutch, where *much/many* and Dutch *veel* are not used with *enough* and *genoeg* respectively, for example *too much money*, versus *enough money*. This suggests that because of its meaning, *достаточно* (or its Dutch and English counterparts) is more intrinsically associated with quantity than *слишком* (and its Dutch and English counterparts). One should be careful, however, to see this as a logical consequence of the different meanings of the degree words. Note, for example, that there are also languages where both the form expressing ‘too’ and the form expressing ‘enough’ occur without quantifier. Such is for example the case in French: *assez de livres* (enough of books, ‘enough books’ and *trop de livres* (too of books, ‘too many books’). Whether or not there are languages where only the form expressing ‘enough’ occurs with a quantifier is unfortunately not known to me.

Another usage where *слишком* or *достаточно* occur with a noun is a construction consisting of a subject, copula and a qualitative noun in the nominative case. In such sentences the nouns express notions such as a nationality, or another qualification of people such as ‘child’ or ‘human’. Such uses are quite infrequent, and rather marked for many speakers of Russian:

- (124) Она **достаточно еврейка**, чтобы жить в Израиле, и недостаточно – в Германии! (*Новый Мир*, №1–2, 1999)
 she enough jew-N-F-NOM, that-IRR live in Israel, and not.enough in Germany
 ‘She is Jewish enough to live in Israel, and not enough to live in Germany.’
- (125) Для этого Козак все-таки **слишком чиновник**.
 (www.gazeta.ru/comments/2004/12/17_e_213289.shtml)
 for that Kozak anyway too bureaucrat-N-MASC-NOM
 ‘For that, Kozak is too much a bureaucrat anyway.’

Here, the noun has a similar function as an adjective, and qualifies the subject. The specific use depends on the noun. There may be differences between *слишком* and *достаточно* here. To give an example, with *европеец* and *чиновник* only instances with *слишком* were attested.

Note that in these sentences, *много* is not inserted, and the noun occurs in the nominative case:

- (126) *слишком много европеец

too much European-N

(cf. English: ‘too much of a European’; Dutch: ‘teveel een Europeaan’)

As such, these nouns behave like adjectives. It must be noted that not all qualitative nouns allow for the use of *слишком*. This is the case, for example, with nouns that express qualifications that are semantically (and sometimes morphologically) related to situations, for example:

- (127) *слишком лгун (лжец)/болтун
too liar/talker

Instead, adjectives like *большой* (*bol’soj*; ‘big’) or *настоящий* (*nastojaščij*; ‘real’), *страшный* (*strašnyj*; ‘terrible’), etc. are used:

- (128) слишком большой лгун/лжец/болтун
too big liar/liar/talker
‘too much of a liar’

Although the corresponding verbs allows for the use of the adverb *много*, this is not the case with these nouns:

- (129) лжет много/болтает много
lies much/talks much
‘he lies too much/talks too much’
- (130) *(слишком) много лгуна (лжеца)/болтуна
too much liar/talker

3.4 Non-dependent uses

In this section, I will discuss three uses where the degree word does not depend directly on another constituent.

Firstly, as I indicated earlier, both *слишком* (with the quantifier *много*) and *достаточно* may occur as objects of a transitive verb, for example:

- (131) Мы **слишком много** знаем, чтобы нас продавать за границу. (Е. Гинзбург, *Крутой маршрут*)
we too much know, that-IRR us sell-INF abroad
‘We know too much, for them to sell us to another country.’

- (132) К тому времени Андрей уже **достаточно зарабатывал**, чтобы покупать мне прекрасные букеты цветов. (*Дело* (Самара), 2002.04.11)
 by then, Andrej already enough earned, that-IRR buy-INF me beautiful flowers
 ‘By then, Andrej already earned enough to buy me beautiful flowers.’

In such sentences, the degree words modify contextually given things. Such uses are similar to cases where the degree word occurs with a noun (see 3.3). A similar example, with *достаточно много*, can be found below, where the degree word functions as predicate of the sentence (modifying a situation referred to by *это* (*èto* ‘that’)):

- (133) Это **достаточно много**, чтобы испытать удовлетворение от проделанной работы. (*Новый Мир*, 2002)
 that enough much, that-IRR experience satisfaction from carried.out work
 ‘That is enough, to experience satisfaction from the work that is carried out.’

On the internet, similar cases can be found without *много*.

Secondly, in some sentences, *слишком* may be used metaphorically. This use can be found in sentences like the following:

- (134) Нет, 600 долларов – **это слишком**. (*За рулем*, 2004)
 no, 600 dollar – that too
 ‘No, 600 dollar, that is too much.’
- (135) Двое – **это слишком**. (*Столица*, 1997.09.02)
 two.people that too
 ‘Two (people) – that is too much’.

In these sentences, *слишком* modifies a non expressed idea of quantity, based on the first clause. Note, however, that the idea of quantity may be rather abstract, as is evident from the following sentence:

- (136) Кувейт: женский футбол – **это слишком**’ (*Би-би-си*, 2001.04.09)
 Kuwait: women soccer – that too
 ‘Kuwait: women soccer- ‘that is too much’.

In such sentences, *это слишком* is better analyzed as an idiomatic expression expressing the feeling that a particular event ‘is too much to handle’ or ‘too much of a good thing’.

Finally, the adverb *достаточно* is used in sentences where it occurs in a subject-predicate construction. About something (a thing or action) is said that it

suffices. These sentences have a copular element, but in the present tense the copular element is not expressed in the case of the verb *быть*. Two types can be distinguished, namely sentences with an infinitive and sentences with a noun in the genitive case:

- (137) **Достаточно перевернуть** страницу, чтобы услышать совершенно иной голос. (*Октябрь*, №5, 2002)
enough turn-INF page, that-IRR listen-INF totally other voice
 ‘It’s enough to turn the page, in order to hear an altogether different voice.’
- (138) **Достаточно пассивного созерцания**, чтобы радоваться этим ценностям. (*Вопросы психологии*, №5, 2003)
enough passive-GEN contemplation-GEN, that-IRR enjoy these valuable.things
 ‘Passive contemplation is enough to enjoy these valuable things.’

In the case of the infinitive, a dative noun may be used to express the experiencer of the infinitive predicate:

- (139) **Нам** было достаточно сыграть в свою обычную силу, чтобы победить испанцев. (*Известия*, 2001.09.07)
we-DAT it.was enough play-INF in own normal strength, that-IRR beat-INF Spaniards
 ‘It was sufficient for us to play with our normal strength to be able to beat the Spaniards.’

See Kor-Chahine 2002 for an analysis of this construction.

4. Conclusion and some final remarks

I have given a semantic-syntactic analysis of the construction of degree in Russian. Let me first sum up the main conclusions.

The degree words *слишком* (‘too’) and *достаточно* (‘enough’) both indicate a relative degree. The meaning of *слишком* can be defined in terms of a degree which exceeds the appropriate degree with respect to some standard (and which has negative consequences). Put differently, *слишком* expresses that a lower degree is necessary with respect to some standard. The standard relative to which the degree is measured can be expressed by a subordinate clause introduced by *чтобы* (that-IRR, ‘to’). The meaning of *достаточно* is that the degree is appropriate with respect to some standard, and that a higher degree is not necessary. In some contexts *достаточно* can also express that a higher degree is not desirable with respect to some standard, because it already is high, or even too

high. This use is possibly related to the non-relative use of *достаточно* as an indication of a rather or quite high degree (the so-called moderator use).

In contrast to most treatments of these degree words in the literature, I have argued that it is not necessary to contribute the modality of the construction (more specifically the subordinate clause) to one of the constituents in the construction. The modal character of the construction is an interpretation of the meaning of the construction as a whole (degree word, and the subordinate clause introduced by *чтобы*) and can have a character of possibility or necessity, depending on the context in which it occurs. The most prototypical interpretation, however, is that of possibility (permission).

I have also discussed the syntactic (combinatory) possibilities of *слишком* and *достаточно* in quite some detail. As I showed, both *слишком* and *достаточно* can be combined with adjectives and adverbs in the same way. With respect to other parts of speech, there are, however, differences.

In my analysis I have focused mainly on the combinatory possibilities with verbs. The degree word *слишком* is applied directly to gradable verbs, for example *слишком любить* (‘too love, ‘love too much’). In the case of non-gradable verbs, for example *ехать* (‘drive’), it is necessary to use an adverb to indicate the dimension of the degree (e.g. *слишком долго* (‘long’)/*часто* (‘often’)/*много* (‘much’)/*хорошо* (‘well’) *ехать*). Verbs like *знать* (‘know’) constitute a special class, because they occur both with and without the adverb *хорошо* (‘well’) (*слишком (хорошо) знать*). With respect to this adverb, I have pointed at the difference between the twentieth century and the nineteenth century, and between the different verbs in this class. I have also pointed at other of such ‘minimal pairs’, for example *слишком (сильно) пахнуть/потеть* (too (strongly) smell.like/sweat). Minimal pairs could also be established with and without the quantifier *много*, for example *слишком (много) кричать* (too (much) shout). I have shown that the use of *много* with *слишком* can point at two things. In modern Russian it contributes the meaning of quantity. In the nineteenth century, *много* was also used as an intensifier with gradable verbs like *любить* (‘love’), and made the feature of intensity, inherent to the construction of degree, explicit.

Now let’s turn to the degree word *достаточно*. Like *слишком*, the degree word *достаточно* is applied directly to gradable verbs. However, a similar tendency can be perceived with verbs like *знать*, where the adverb of quality *хорошо* (‘well’) is used to a lesser extent than in the case of *слишком*. The data suggest that a possible factor here is that *достаточно* can also be used as a modifier (‘quite’). Another difference with *слишком* is that if the verb is associated with a particular quantity, this is not additionally expressed by the quantifier *много* (cf. *достаточно ехать* (‘enough drive, ‘drive enough’) versus *слишком много ехать* (‘too much drive, ‘drive too much’)). A similar phenomenon

can be perceived in the case of nouns. Here, *слишком* is not applied directly to the noun, and the quantifier *много* is used. As such its use differs from *достаточно*, which is applied directly to the verb.

The data suggest that *слишком* behaves like a degree modifier comparable to an intensifier such as *очень* ('very'). It can therefore only be applied to forms that have a gradable meaning. *Достаточно*, however, both functions as a degree modifier (when it is applied to gradable adjectives or verbs), and as a quantifier. In the latter case it functions as an indicator of the degree of the quantity expressed by verbs or nouns. The main question which remains is: where does this difference come from? In order to explain this difference, it is interesting to look at *чрезмерно* ('overly'), which shares properties both with *слишком* and *достаточно*.

The data from the NKRJa show that it is most frequently used with adjectives as in (29) given earlier. It may, however, also be used with gradable verbs as in (140). With these verbs the use of the quantifier *много* is not acceptable. In the case of verbs that are usually not seen as gradable such as *ехать* ('drive') or *спать* ('sleep') as in (141), the degree word is not applied directly to the verb. In such sentences *много* can be used to indicate quantity, but the use of other adverbs, for example *часто* ('often') or *долго* ('long') is possible as well, depending on the meaning the speaker wishes to convey:

(140) *чрезмерно радоваться/любить/увлекаться*
 overly enjoy-INF/love-INF/be.carried.away.by-INF
 'overly enjoy/love/be carried away by'

(141) *чрезмерно много/часто/долго ехать/спать*
 overly much/often/long drive-INF
 'drive/sleep too much'

Note, however, that there are also instances where *чрезмерно* is used with verbs that are not typically seen as gradable, but where the degree word is applied directly to the verb. In similar contexts with *слишком*, an adverb would be obligatory with these verbs. This is for example the case with transitive verbs that have objects that can easily be conceptualized as having a particular quantity:

(142) *Только не нужно чрезмерно наливать ему из фляги, а то петъ возьметсЯ.* (Е. Хаецкая, Мракобес/Свора пропащих)
 just not need overly pour-INF him from flask, otherwise sing-INF starts
 'It's just that one shouldn't give him too much to drink [lit. overly pour him from the flask], otherwise he will start to sing.'

(143) *Нельзя и чрезмерно есть и пить.*
 (subscribe.ru/archive/science.health.beauty.aibolit2001/200609/24070508.html)

may.not also overly eat-INF and drink-INF
 ‘One should not overly eat and drink either.’

In the case of sentences like (142) and (143) the degree word does not function as the object of the verb, because the object can be expressed, for example *чрезмерно употреблять алкоголь* (lit. overly use alcohol). Furthermore, data from the internet show that the boundary between gradable and non gradable verbs is not clear-cut. Take for example the verb *потеть* (‘sweat’). In combination with *чрезмерно* this verb occurs without quantifier. It could be argued that this is because with *чрезмерно* this verb itself is associated with a very large quantity of sweat. Evidence for this point of view is that this verb can be used with the intensifier *очень* in combination with the quantifier *много* (*очень много потеть*, lit. ‘to sweat overly much’). However, the same verb is also used with *очень* without quantifier (*очень потеть*, lit. overly sweat).

The difference between *чрезмерно* and *слишком* can also be perceived when it is used with nouns. In such cases it is most common to use *много*:

(144) чувства было чрезмерно много. (Г. Алексеев, Зеленые берега)
 feeling-GEN be-3SG-NEUT-PAST overly much
 ‘there were overly many feelings’

(145) Поэтому для нас невозможно набирать чрезмерно много студентов
 (...).
 (www.spbumag.nw.ru/2006/14/6.shtml)
 therefore for us impossible select-INF overly many students-GEN
 ‘Therefore it is impossible for use to select too many [lit. overly many] students.’

On the internet examples can also be found with nouns in the genitive case without *много*. These are either examples of nouns that express abstract concepts such as *сила* (‘strength’), *внимание* (‘attention’), *время* (‘time’), *обязанность* (‘obligation’), or concrete objects such as *деньги* (‘money’), *вода* (‘water’), or *волос* (‘hair’). Most of these uses are probably considered substandard Russian by the majority of speakers of Russian, but some sentences are acceptable:

(146) Чрезмерно денег не может быть, потому что потребности человека растут быстрее, чем количество денег.
 (www.old.samara.ru/paper/565/5604/98706/)
 overly money-GEN not can be-INF, because needs man-GEN grow faster, than amount money-GEN
 ‘You can never have too much money, because the needs of a man grow faster than the amount of money.’

In this context, *чрезмерно* can be replaced by the quantifier *много* ‘much’ (*много денег не может быть*), or by *слишком много* (*денег не может быть слишком много*). Finally, in the NKRJa examples can also be found where the degree word functions as a predicate, and where it has the form of a short adjective:

- (147) Наверное, влияние Ф. М. Достоевского на Селезнёва было чрезмерно
(Наш современник, 2004)
probably, influence-NEUT-NOM F.M. Dostoevskij-GEN on Seleznev-
GEN was-3SG-NEUT-PAST overly-ADJ-SHORT-NEUT
‘Probably, the influence of F.M. Dostoevskij on Seleznev was huge’.

At this point, it is interesting to turn to Doetjes (forthc.). Doetjes shows that degree words can be classified according to the parts of speech they can be combined with. She lists 7 types: (A) adjectives only; (B) adjectives and gradable verbs; (C) adjectives, gradable verbs, eventive (non gradable) verbs, mass nouns and plural nouns; (D) gradable verbs, eventive verbs, mass nouns, plural nouns; (E) eventive verbs, mass nouns, plural nouns; (F) mass nouns and plural nouns; and (G) plural nouns only. See table 9, which shows how the different degree words that I have discussed in this paper combine with different parts of speech; note that types (A) and (G) were not attested among the degree words studied by me.

adjective/ adverbs	Type B <i>слишком</i> <i>очень</i>		Type C <i>достаточно</i>		mixed type <i>чрезмерно</i>
gradable verbs				Type D <i>много</i> (19th cen- tury; only with a spe- cific class of gradable verbs)	
non- gradable (even- tive) verbs	Type E <i>много</i> (20-th century)				if the verb is associ- ated with quantity, without <i>много</i> (<i>есть</i> , <i>пить</i> , etc.)
nouns		Type F <i>предоста- точно</i>			the use of <i>много</i> obligatory in most contexts

Table 9: Overview of syntactic properties of degree words

In this classification, *слишком* is a type B degree word, and *достаточно* a type C degree word. Note that the behavior of all degree words, except *чрезмерно*, is in accordance with the predication by Doetjes that degree expressions do not cover non-adjacent fields of the continuum from adjective to plural noun. How can the difference between *достаточно* and *слишком* be explained, and why does *чрезмерно* share features with both degree words?

The reason why *достаточно* has a more independent status is possibly that it indicates a conceptually less complex concept than *слишком*. Whereas *достаточно* indicates an appropriate degree or quantity, *слишком* indicates that the degree exceeds the appropriate degree. The degree word *чрезмерно* shares semantic features with both. In contrast to *слишком*, it does not indicate a relative degree, but like *слишком* it expresses that some norm has been exceeded. Another possible relevant factor is whether the degree word can function as an object or predicate. This is not the case for *слишком*, which never occurs on its own, and always modifies another element. In contrast, however, *достаточно* can function as the object of a verb, and as a predicate. The degree word *чрезмерно* seems to take an intermediate position. It can have a function close to that of an object with verbs like *есть* or *пить*, and is also used as a predicate. I think that these syntactic differences are, at least partly, related to the meanings of these forms, and probably also the grammatical status of these forms (both *достаточно* and *чрезмерно* can function as adjectives, and as predicates).

The behavior of *чрезмерно* suggests that the model given by Doetjes is correct, but that a more fine-grained version is necessary. In my view, such a model should not make universal claims about which grammatical categories are gradable or not, and where the boundaries are between such categories. In the end, whether or not a particular category or instance of that category is seen as gradable or not is determined by the question of whether it can be combined with intensifiers. The particular boundaries of concepts like gradable verbs differ, however, from language to language. Furthermore, they may even differ within one language, since different intensifiers may behave differently with respect to particular verbs. This means that one cannot postulate linguistic universals here, but only formulate cross-linguistic statistical tendencies. Further research should therefore focus both on the details of specific languages, and on differences between languages.

Leiden University

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SUMMARY

This article provides a detailed semantic and syntactic analysis of the construction of degree in Russian. This construction consists of the degree words *слишком* ('too') or *достаточно* ('enough'), and a subordinate clause introduced by *чтобы* ('to'). An explanation is given of why the two degree words share particular semantic features such as the association with modality, and why they differ in other respects. The paper also addresses the way in which the degree words are combined with different parts of speech (adjectives, verbs and nouns), and whether such combinations require the use of *хорошо* ('well') or the quantifier *много* ('much'). It is shown that in analyzing such combinations both the synchronic and the diachronic dimension have to be taken into account.