



faculty of social  
sciences, arts  
and humanities

**SAL 41/2022**

Research Journal  
Studies about Languages

pp. 81-94

ISSN 1648-2824 (print)

ISSN 2029-7203 (online)

DOI 10.5755/j01.sal.1.41.32446

LINGUISTICS / KALBOTYRA

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Received 09/2022

Accepted 10/2022



<http://dx.doi.org/10.5755/j01.sal.1.41.32446>

**HOW TO CITE:** Žarnauskaitė, M. (2022). Verb-based action and process nominalisation patterns in English and Lithuanian EU legal documents. *Studies about Languages / Kalbų studijos*, 41, 81–94. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5755/j01.sal.1.41.32446>

# Verb-based Action and Process Nominalisation Patterns in English and Lithuanian EU Legal Documents

Veiksmą ir procesą žyminčių veiksmažodinių daiktavardžių struktūros  
ES teisiniuose dokumentuose lietuvių ir anglų kalba

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## Abstract

Translators might face difficulties when working on legal texts due to their intricate features, such as nominalisation. The abstract nature of such structures could have a negative effect on text comprehension, as nominalisations are usually harder to process than verbs. In pursuit of making European Union (EU) documents more translator-friendly, the European Commission invites authors to communicate clearly, advising against the use of nominalisations. For this reason, a closer look at the current nominalisation patterns in English and Lithuanian EU legal documents is taken. The aim of the paper is to determine and compare the verb-based action and process nominalisations and their equivalent structures in English and Lithuanian EU legal documents, considering the impact of equivalent choices on the text. The focus is placed on verb-based action and process nominalisations derived by suffixation. Considering English and Lithuanian nominalisations, their equivalent structures are commonly expressed as nominalisations. The expression of nominalisations as nouns, as well as adjective-based nominalisations, is characteristic only to the Lithuanian language. The expression as an adverb, a prepositional structure or a pronoun is characteristic only to the English language. The analysis reveals that the verb-based action and process nominalisations might help follow the flow of information and emphasise key concepts. However, if the morphological properties were changed, repetition could be avoided, the dynamic properties of the text could be strengthened, or comprehension could be facilitated, which is essential for an effective translation process.

**Keywords:** nominalisation patterns, verb-based nominalisation, action and process nominalisation, suffixation, equivalent choice impact, legal documents.

## Introduction

Translations of legal texts have to be accurate and precise; however, it is widely established that translators might face difficulties when working on such texts due to their intricate linguistic features. One of the features over which the legal register receives criticism from plain language activists is the excessive use of nominalisations. Indeed, it has been demonstrated by numerous studies that nominalisation remains among the defining characteristics of the legal register both

in English and Lithuanian (Pečkuvienė, 2005, 2012; Darginavičienė, 2021, Vladarskienė, 2021; Tiersma, 1999; Bhatia, 2013, 1992; Cao, 2007, etc.).

Although the research community has recognised the considerable functional significance of nominalisation in legal documents, it has also expressed reservations in relation to its pervasive use. The function of nominalisation has been analysed in studies by Bhatia (1992, 2013), Tiersma (1999), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), Cao (2007), Valeika (1985), Sušinskienė (2012), and Pečkuvienė (2005, 2012), among others, indicating that nominalisations can serve as linguistic devices used to affect the text's objectivity, formality, all-inclusiveness, cohesion and language economy. However, the abstract nature of nominalisations could have a negative effect on text comprehension, as nominalisations are usually harder to process than verbs. For this reason, as comprehension might be impeded, the translation process could also be complicated.

In pursuit of making European Union (EU) documents more translator-friendly, the European Commission (EC) invites authors to communicate clearly by observing a set of guidelines for EU document drafting. The guidelines proposed underscore the problematic nature of nominalisation use, pointing out that nominalisations found in texts lead to ambiguity and generally advising to convert them into verbs to facilitate comprehension (EC, 2016, p. 8). Consequently, the translation process could become more efficient. In addition, although the legal register is considered to be evolving more slowly compared with other registers, researchers underscore the significance of EU legal documents and their translations on language, for instance, the Lithuanian legal language (Vladarskienė, 2021). This means that EU legal document translations could possibly affect the characteristics of the register across languages.

Therefore, a closer look should be taken to determine the latest trends of nominalisation use in EU legal document drafting. The aim of the paper is to determine and compare the latest verb-based action and process nominalisation patterns and their equivalent structures in English and Lithuanian EU legal documents, considering the impact of equivalent choices on the text. The focus is placed on verb-based action and process nominalisations derived by suffixation. In order to achieve the aim set, the complex nature of nominalisations in English and Lithuanian EU documents is overviewed. Moreover, the common patterns of verb-based action and process nominalisation use in EU legal documents in English and Lithuanian are investigated. The common Lithuanian equivalent structures of English nominalisations (and vice versa) are determined and compared. Finally, the impact of the equivalent structure choice on the text is assessed.

### Verb-based action and process nominalisations in English and Lithuanian

#### Theoretical Background

The phenomenon of nominalisation has attracted avid attention of the research community and has been scrutinised from different points of view. Considering the English language, the phenomenon of nominalisation could be broadly defined as “any process by which either a noun or a syntactic unit functioning as a noun phrase is derived from any other kind of unit” (Matthews, 1997, p. 37). A similar attitude in terms of nominalisation is presented by Quirk et al. (1985) who claim that a nominalisation is a “noun phrase that has a systematic correspondence with a clausal predication which includes a head noun morphologically related to a corresponding verb” (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1288). Therefore, the phenomenon of nominalisation in the broadest sense could be explained as a process of converting certain units into a noun or a noun phrase. Both of these points of view emphasise the change of the functional category occurring due to the process.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) put emphasis on the significance of the phenomenon by arguing that “nominalising is the single most powerful resource for creating grammatical metaphor” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 656). This could be explained by noting that nominalisation metaphorically transforms processes and properties into abstract concepts (expressed as a nominal unit). The researchers indicate that nominalisations could be derived from adjectives and verbs (ibid.), which is in line with the views of Biber et al. (1998) who define the two main categories of nominalisations in English as verb-based nominalisations and adjective-based nominalisations (p. 59).

Considering verb-based nominalisations, they can refer not only to actions, states and processes but also to instruments or agents (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002). In terms of the study, emphasis is laid on action and process nominalisations. It can be stated that verb-based nominalisations referring to actions or processes can be de-

defined as nouns derived from verbs with a general meaning of an action and process (Koptjevskaja-Tamm, 2005). This indicates that they do not refer to the occurrence of events or processes but rather denote a concept or give them a name.

Banks (2003) argues that process nominalisations in English can be produced in certain ways, which fall into the following semantic types: nominalisations that indicate an action or a process and are identical to the verb (e.g., *haul, estimate, change*); nominalisations that indicate an action or a process, but have no underlying verb (e.g., *trend, occasion*); nominalisations that indicate an action or a process and are different morphologically from a verb (e.g., *growth, preference, reading*) (Banks, 2003, p. 129). Considering this paper, only the third category is analysed because nominalisations in that category are verb-based, refer to an action or a process and could be formed by adding a suffix to a verb.

The categorisation of nominalisations by their derivation proposed by Huddleston and Pullum (2002) is commonly followed when discussing the phenomenon. The researchers argue that action and process nominalisations can be derived by suffixation: with suffix *-age* (occurs in a large number of nouns, but is no longer productive); with suffix *-al*; with suffix *-ance, -ence* (can be both verb-based and adjective-based); with suffix *-ation, -ion, -ition, -sion, -tion, -ution*; with suffix *-ing* forming a gerund; with suffix *-ment*; with suffix *-ure* (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002).

In Lithuanian, the phenomenon of nominalisation could be considered to be a process during which verb-based nouns, as well as adjective-based nouns, are derived (Pakerys, n.d). This indicates that nominalisation is understood as a phenomenon having a direct impact on the grammatical properties of the adjectives and verbs involved in the process, expressing them in a form of a noun. Comparing the nominalisation process in English and Lithuanian, Sušinskienė and Vaskelienė (2020) draw some parallels between the two language systems. They propose to consider nominalisation as a “word formation process during which a noun is derived from a verb, adjective or another noun, or even other parts of speech, usually through suffixation and by adding the ending in the Lithuanian language” (Sušinskienė & Vaskelienė, 2020, p. 159).

Focusing on verb-based nominalisations, Pakerys (2006) points out five major semantic categories: *nomina actionis* – nominalisations corresponding to a name of an action or a process (e.g., *kepimas*); *nomina acti, objecti* – nominalisations corresponding to a name of a result or an object (e.g., *kespnyis*); *nomina instrumenti* – nominalisations corresponding to a name of an instrument (e.g., *keptuvė*); *nomina agentis* – nominalisations corresponding to an agent (e.g., *kepėjas*); *nomina loci* – nominalisations corresponding to the name of a place (e.g., *kepykla*) (Pakerys, 2006, p. 121). Notably, the categorisation highlights the semantic differences of verb-based nominalisation types in the Lithuanian language; however, it also indicates one common feature of nominalised verbs. The commonality shared between the semantic categories is that derived nominalised verbs are used to name certain concepts (denoting actions, processes, results, objects, instruments, agents and places).

Researchers agree that suffixes *-imas* and *-ymas* are leading in terms of their derivational productivity considering nouns in the Lithuanian language. For instance, Murmulaitytė (1997) argues that about 38% of all nouns in *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas (Dictionary of the Modern Lithuanian Language)* are derived by attaching suffixes *-imas* and *-ymas* (Murmulaitytė 1997, p. 126). These suffixes are also the most commonly utilised when producing verb-based nominalisations referring to actions and processes (Pakerys, 2006, p. 148). Pečkuvienė (2005) elaborates that verb-based nouns with suffixes *-imas/-ymas* refer to abstract concepts (actions, states) (Pečkuvienė, 2005, p. 141–142). It could be inferred that, considering their capacity to generate nouns, suffixes *-imas* and *-ymas* are far ahead of other suffixes. By the same token, they are particularly common when deriving abstract verb-based nouns, denoting the concepts of actions and states.

### Complex nature of nominalisations in legal texts

The legal language tends to be formal and impersonal, possessing the features of considerable complexity and length (Cao, 2007, p. 21). The register is considered to be changing quite slow compared with other registers; however, Vladarskienė (2021) emphasises the significance of EU legal documents and their translations, arguing that their effect on lexical changes in the Lithuanian legal discourse is evident (Vladarskienė, 2021, p. 12). This indicates that EU legal document translations could possibly affect the characteristics of the register as its features are influenced by contacts with other languages.

Nominalisations are considered to be a common feature of both English and Lithuanian legal discourse. Bhatia (2013) argues English legal texts are “notoriously rich” in nominalisations, which can serve as a linguistic device that makes it possible to reconcile precision and all-inclusiveness in legal writing (Bhatia, 2013, p. 274). Tiersma (1999) points out that nominalisations in legal writing are used to obscure the performer of an action so that provisions could be applied as broadly as possible (Tiersma, 1999, p. 77). Removing the actor of an action (an agent) allows to obtain a more abstract structure. Therefore, being a prominent feature of the register, nominalisation can become a device for achieving a higher level of objectivity and formality and be useful in the process of document drafting. At the same time, verb-based nominalisations are more abstract and ambiguous conceptually than verbs, which could impede the comprehension process.

Pečkuvienė (2005) underscores that verb-based nominalisations with abstract meaning, derived by suffixation with *-imas/-ymas*, are indeed common in the Lithuanian legal discourse; however, she warns that in certain cases their use clashes with the usual patterns of the Lithuanian language (Pečkuvienė, 2005, p. 145). However, Darginavičienė (2021) argues that English texts regularly employ nominals, and Lithuanian texts tend to utilise verbal phrases (Darginavičienė, 2021, p. 197). This allows presuming that nominalisation could be more prevalent in English than in Lithuanian.

As legal documents should strive to be coherent and cohesive, nominalisation might enrich the cohesion of a legal document. Valeika (1985) distinguishes nominalisation as a type of lexicogrammatical cohesive devices (Valeika, 1985, p. 73–102). Sušinskienė (2012) agrees that nominalisations might be considered lexicogrammatical cohesion devices leading to higher complexity but at the same time contributing to language economy (Sušinskienė, 2012, p. 134). To illustrate how nominalisation contributes to language economy, it could be said that “the legislative draftsman uses nominalisation [...] to refer to the same concept or idea repeatedly and, as in academic and scientific discourse, this promotes coherence and saves the writer from repeating lengthy descriptions” (Bhatia, 1992, p. 227).

However, the EC (2016) invites authors to avoid overusing verb-based nominalisations due to their abstract nature, underscoring that the use of verbs instead of nominalised structures when drafting EU documents could increase document clarity (EC, 2016, p. 8). Indeed, it is argued that verb-based nominalisations reduce comprehension as they are usually more difficult to process than verbs (Tiersma, 1999, p. 206). In this way, the process of translation could become impeded due to a lack of clarity, resulting in misinterpretations (EC, 2016, p. 9). Recognising the significance nominalisations have, Pečkuvienė (2012) agrees with the notion claiming that verb-based nouns should be used sparingly, as other verbal forms that are more common in the Lithuanian language are available (Pečkuvienė, 2012, p. 122).

Nominalisations in English and Lithuanian legal texts can play a variety of roles. They can serve as linguistic devices used to affect the text’s objectivity, formality, all-inclusiveness, cohesion and language economy. However, the abstract nature of such structures could have a negative effect on text comprehension, as nominalisations are usually harder to process than verbs. For this reason, as comprehension might be impeded, the translation process could also be complicated.

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## Methods

In order to determine and compare the latest verb-based action and process nominalisation patterns and their equivalent structures in English and Lithuanian EU legal documents, considering the impact of equivalent choices on the text, 100 documents (50 English documents and 50 Lithuanian documents) were selected on the EUR-lex<sup>1</sup> database.

As documents in the EUR-lex database cover various areas, the differentiation between the text types was considered when compiling the sample. The documents, from which the nominalisations were selected, corresponded to the following types of EU institutional documents: regulations (documents that become immediately enforceable as law in all member states simultaneously); directives (documents which require member states

<sup>1</sup> EUR-lex is an online database, providing access to EU legal documents in all the EU’s official languages. The database is updated daily. Access online: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/>

to achieve a particular result without dictating the means of achieving that result); EU court cases (EU case-law is made up of judgments from the EU's Court of Justice, which interpret EU legislation); COM documents (communications, proposals and other acts adopted in the framework of a legislative procedure); SWD documents (internal documents, prepared by the Commission's Secretariat-General).

1,000 sentences were picked out at random (500 sentences in English and 500 sentences in Lithuanian) from the sample of 100 documents. The body of sentences was analysed, and verb-based action and process nominalisations derived by suffixation were picked out and categorised. Considering the scope of the paper, English nominalisations with suffixes *-al*, *-ment*, *-ure*, *-th*, *-ion*, *-ance/ence*, *-ing* and Lithuanian nominalisations with suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas*, *-umas* were analysed. In total, 1,552 nominalisations were found (1,033 nominalisations in English and 519 nominalisations in Lithuanian).

The quantitative descriptive analysis method was used to determine the common patterns of verb-based action and process nominalisations derived by suffixation use in EU legal texts in English and Lithuanian and the common Lithuanian equivalent structures of English verb-based action and process nominalisations derived by suffixation and vice versa. The quantitative descriptive analysis method is an approach that can be considered a type of evaluation which consists of counting occurrences per category and describing these categories in a quantitative manner (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 57–61). Having picked out all the relevant nominalisations and determined their equivalent structures in English/Lithuanian, categories emerged, allowing descriptive comparison of the peculiarities of the languages.

The qualitative content analysis method was used to compare English and Lithuanian patterns of verb-based action and process nominalisations derived by suffixation use and their common equivalent structures in EU legal texts. The content analysis method is a research technique for making inferences from texts to the contexts of their use, providing new insights, increasing the understanding of particular phenomena (Krippendorf, 2004). Having determined the patterns of equivalent choices, their impact on the characteristics of the text was analysed.

Notably, the documents in the sample were provided in the database without stating the original drafting language; therefore, it is not clear which language is the source language and which is the target language. Nevertheless, an assumption could be made that the texts were translated from English to Lithuanian. Although the documents are equivalent in their meaning, translation equivalents cannot be determined. Consequently, this paper deals with equivalent structures that could be considered possible translation choices.

## Results and Discussion

### English and Lithuanian nominalisations and their equivalent structures in EU legal documents

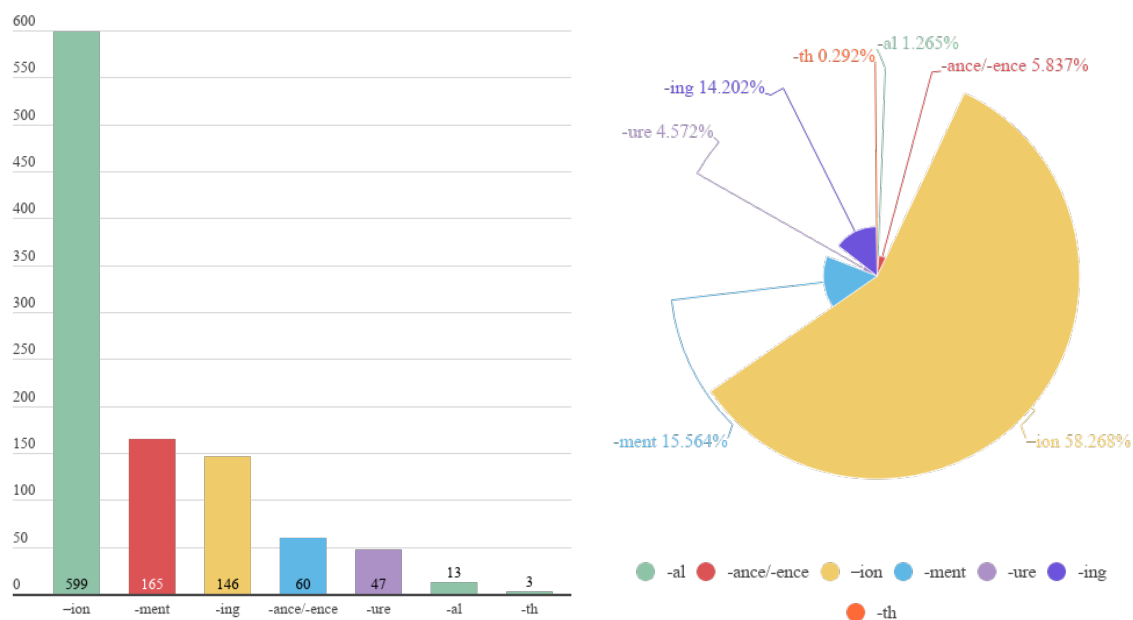
The analysis of English verb-based nominalisations with the suffixes *-al*, *-ance/ence*, *-ion*, *-ment*, *-ure*, and *-th* shows that the most frequent suffix of verb-based nominalisations was *-ion* and its allomorphs (*-ation*, *-ition*, *-sion*, *-tion*, *-ution*). Fig. 1 shows that there were 1,033 occurrences of English nominalisations with the suffixes *-al*, *-ance/ence*, *-ion*, *-ment*, *-ure*, *-ing*, and *-th* in the particular sample.

The most frequent suffix was *-ion* and its allomorphs represented by 599 occurrences (58.27% of the nominalisations observed). The data shows that the second most productive suffix was *-ment* (165 occurrences or 15.56%). The suffix *-ing* (146 occurrences or 14.20%) was almost as productive as the suffix *-ment*. The suffixes *-ance/ence* (60 occurrences or 5.84%) and *-ure* (47 occurrences or 4.57%) occupy quite equivalent shares of the sample.

It may be presumed that the significance of the suffix *-ion* is determined by its variety of allomorphs. For example, some nominalisations carry the allomorph *-ation* (e.g., *classification*, *improvisation*, *variation*), some of them are formed by *-ition* (e.g., *definition*, *composition*, *imposition*), others have the allomorph *-sion* (e.g., *discussion*, *impression*, *omission*), and some nominalisations are composed of the allomorph *-ution* (e.g., *resolution*).

Table 1 shows that English nominalisations with the suffixes *-ion*, *-al*, *-ance/ence*, *-ment*, *-ure*, *-ing* and *-th* in the sample could be rendered into a Lithuanian equivalent in as many as eleven different choices: by a nominalisation with suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas* or *-umas*; by a verb; by an adjective; by an adverb; by a preposition; by a pronoun;

by omission or paraphrase; by a participial structure; by a verb-based nominalisation denoting a name of a result or an object (*nomina acti, objecti*), i.e., nominalisation is maintained, but its semantic type is changed; by other nominalisations with suffixes other than suffix *-imas*, *-ymas* or *-umas*; and by other direct not nominalised equivalent structures.



**Fig. 1** Frequency and distribution of English nominalisations with suffixes *-al*, *-ancel-ence*, *-ion*, *-ment*, *-ure*, *-ing* and *-th*

**Table 1** Lithuanian equivalent structures of English nominalisations with suffixes *-al*, *-ancel-ence*, *-ion*, *-ment*, *-ure*, *-ing* and *-th*

Equivalent structure	Frequency
Nominalisations with suffixes <i>-imas</i> , <i>-ymas</i> , <i>-umas</i>	446
Nominalisations with suffixes other than <i>-imas</i> , <i>-ymas</i> , <i>-umas</i>	279
Other direct equivalents	97
Participle	84
Infinitive	75
Omission	18
Nomina acti, objecti	11
Adjective	7
Adverb	6
Preposition	6
Pronoun	4

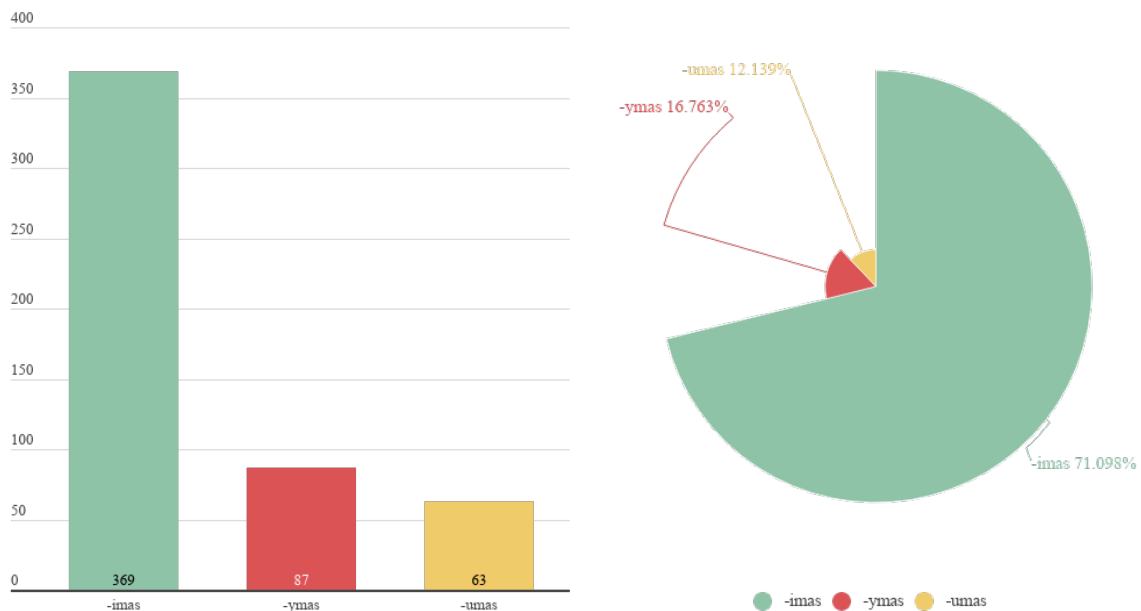
The most frequent equivalent choices were Lithuanian nominalisations with the suffix *-imas*, *-ymas*, *-umas*. Among 1,033 cases, there are 446 cases of the Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations with the suffix *-imas*, *-ymas* or *-umas*. For example, the equivalent for word *procurement* is *pirkimai*, the equivalent of *functioning* is *veikimas*. Since the equivalents with the suffix *-imas*, *-ymas* or *-umas* are so plenty, it may be presumed that such structures of equivalents are prevailing in the Lithuanian legal language.

Other nominalisations (without suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas* or *-umas*) equivalents were less frequent (279 occurrences). Some examples can be given: *functioning* is converted to *veikla*, *assistance* is converted to *pagalba*, *discrimination* is converted to *diskriminacija*, etc. However, this type of nominalisation is natural in the Lithuanian language. Obviously, this category was not analysed in a greater detail because of the scope of this paper.

Finding other direct equivalents of the verb-based action and process nominalisations was also frequent (97 occurrences), e.g., *legislation* = *teisės aktai*. Participial structures (84 occurrences) were more or less of the same frequency as the infinitive structures (75 occurrences) of the verb-based action and process nominalisations, e.g., *reduction* = *mažinant*, *implementation* = *įgyvendinamas*, *intention* = *ketinanti*, etc. The change of the nominalisation occurs less frequently (11 occurrences), e.g., *measure* = *priemonės*. Omission is found as well (18 occurrences).

The least popular ways of converting English nominalisations into Lithuanian were by adjectives, e.g., *requirements* = *konstrukcinių*, *proceedings* = *prejudiciniai*, etc. (7 occurrences); by prepositions, e.g., *accordance* = *pagal* (6 occurrences); by adverbs, e.g., *conjunction* = *kartu* (6 occurrences); by pronouns, e.g., *expiring* = *kuria* (4 occurrences).

The analysis of Lithuanian nominalisations with the suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas*, and *-umas* shows that the most frequent suffix of verb-based nominalisations was *-imas*. Fig. 2 shows that there were 519 occurrences of Lithuanian nominalisations with the suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas*, *-umas*. There were 369 (71.1% of the sample) occurrences of the suffix *-imas*. This fact proves that the productivity of the suffix *-imas* has not changed over time, and it still remains the prevalent suffix in the Lithuanian language.



**Fig. 2** Frequency and distribution of Lithuanian nominalisations with suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas*, and *-umas*

Fig. 2 shows that Lithuanian nominalisations with suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas* and *-umas* might be converted into English equivalent a number of different choices: by a verb-based nominalisation with the suffixes *-al*, *-ance/-ence*, *-ion*, *-ment*, *-ure*, *-ing* and *-th*; by an infinitive; by an adjective; by omission; by a participial structure; by a noun; other verb-based nominalisations with a zero suffix; by an adjective-based nominalisation.

The most frequent equivalents were English verb-based action and process nominalisations with the suffix *-al*, *-ance/-ence*, *-ion*, *-ment*, *-ure*, *-ing* and *-th*. Among 519 cases, there were 446 cases of the English nominalisations with the suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas* or *-umas*. For example, the equivalent for word *perdavimas* is *transmission*, the equivalent of *taikymas* was *application*. Since the equivalents with the suffix *-al*, *-ance/-ence*, *-ion*, *-ment*, *-ure*, *-ing* and *-th* are so plenty, it as well may be presumed that such structures of equivalents are prevailing in legal language.

**Table 2** English equivalent structures of Lithuanian Nominalisations with Suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas*, and *-umas*

Equivalent structure	Frequency
Nominalisation with suffixes <i>-al</i> , <i>-ance/-ence</i> , <i>-ion</i> , <i>-ment</i> , <i>-ure</i> , <i>-ing</i> and <i>-th</i>	446
Other verb-based nominalisation with zero suffix	16
Adjective	12
Noun	12
Omission	11
Adjective-based nominalisation	11
Infinitive	8
Participle	3

Other verb-based nominalisations without suffixes *-al*, *-ance/-ence*, *-ion*, *-ment*, *-ure*, *-ing* and *-th* equivalents were a lot less frequent. They occurred only 16 times, but this also cannot be considered as a significant number in a sample of such an amount. Moreover, to change the nominalisation type to an adjective-based nominalisation was as well not that frequent and rarely occurs (11 occurrences), e.g., *įvykdymas* = *feasibility*. Participial structures (3 occurrences) were the least popular, e.g., *paskelbimas* = *designating*. Moreover, infinitive structures (8 occurrences) of the verb-based action and process nominalisations, e.g., *apibūdinimas* = *to describe*, was not a common way of equivalence. Omission was used rarely (11 occurrences).

It is quite evident from Tables 1 and 2 that the most common way to convert verb-based action and process nominalisations is by using nominalisations. In English, it is common to choose equivalent nominalisations with other suffixes than *-imas*, *-ymas*, *-umas*, which are more natural in the Lithuanian language. Infinitive structures are much more popular when finding equivalents for English nominalisations than for Lithuanian ones. The general frequency of choosing omission as a way of finding an equivalent is low. There are some tendencies which are characteristic to English or to Lithuanian. For example, the usage of simple nouns or adjective-based nominalisations is a way of finding an equivalent which is common only in English equivalents of Lithuanian nominalisations. The change into an adverb, a preposition or a pronoun is characteristic only to Lithuanian equivalents of English nominalisations.

#### Impact of nominalisation equivalent choices in English and Lithuanian EU documents

Considering the impact of Lithuanian equivalents of English verb-based action and process nominalisations, the suffix *-ment* was analysed. The analysis of verb-based action and process nominalisations showed that a great number of Lithuanian equivalents were represented by nominalisations with suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas* or *-umas*.



Less frequent equivalents of verb-based action and process nominalisations were expressed by the choice of other direct equivalents, participial structures, infinitives, etc. Although the use of nominalisations is sometimes argued against, it could be pointed out that in some particular cases their use is inevitable. Consider examples 1(a) and 1(b):

- 1(a) *Since they discourage economic operators from undertaking cross-border procurement activities, the divergent legal and technical requirements concerning electronic invoices constitute market access barriers in cross-border public procurement, and obstacles to trade.*
- 1(b) *Kadangi skirtingi teisiniai ir techniniai reikalavimai elektroninėms sąskaitoms faktūroms at-graso ekonominės veiklos vykdytojus nuo dalyvavimo tarpvalstybinėje viešųjų pirkimų veik-loje, jie tampa kliūtimi patekti į tarpvalstybinių viešųjų pirkimų rinką ir kliūtimi prekybai.*

In example 1(a), there are three English verb-based action and process nominalisations with the same suffix *-ment*: *procurement* (twice) and *requirements*. Example 1(b) presents Lithuanian equivalents represented by three verb-based action and process nominalisations with the suffixes *-imas* (*pirkimas*, *reikalavimas*). The same number of the English and Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations indicates that there is no attempt to reduce the number of nominalisations in this document. In this way, obviously, comprehension and the translation process might be encumbered by a highly nominal style of a sentence. Another example can be given which corresponds to the same issue of a lack of attempt to reduce the number of nominalisations. Consider examples 2(a) and 2(b):

- 2(a) *Although the Kingdom of Spain puts forward various arguments <...> it is clear from the writ-ten statements given in response to the questions put by the Court and the details given at the hearing that the Kingdom of Spain accepts that, although all those arguments are admissible and well founded, <...> in order to comply with the judgment in *Commission v Spain* <...>*
- 2(b) *Nors Ispanijos Karalystė pateikia įvairių argumentavimų <...> iš rašytinių pareiškimų, pateiktų atsakant į Teisingumo Teismo pateiktus klausimus, ir paaiškinimų, pateiktų per teismo posėdį, matyti, kad Ispanijos Karalystė pripažino, jog net preziumuojant, kad visi šie argumentavimai yra priimtini ir pagrįsti, <...> vykdant Sprendimą Komisija / Ispanija <...>*

The same number of verb-based action and process nominalisations implies that the nominalisations remain as a feature of the legal texts in both English and Lithuanian. In addition to this, in examples 2(a) and 2(b), the verb-based action and process nominalisation *argument* and its equivalent *argumentavimų* influence the cohe-sion of the document. However, a strange form of the word *argumentavimai* poses a question if this particular equivalent could be changed into a more natural Lithuanian word without the nominal suffix *-imas*, for example, *argumentai*. Consequently, in this case, the exact same Lithuanian structure of an English verb-based action and process nominalisation may impact the style dynamics of the document in a negative manner.

Other examples present verb-based action and process nominalisation as a means for putting emphasis on the theme. In examples (3a) and (3b), the English verb-based nominal *infringement* and its Lithuanian equivalent įsipareigojimų nevykdymas are displayed:

- 3(a) *Since the FEU Treaty abolished the reasoned opinion stage in infringement proceedings <...>, the reference date for assessing whether there has been an infringement <...>*
- 3(b) *Kadangi ESV sutartimi panaikintas procedūros pagrįstos nuomonės dėl įsipareigojimų neįvykdymo <...>, data, kuria reikia remtis vertinant įsipareigojimų neįvykdymą <...>*

In examples 3(a) and 3(b), the emphasis on the theme is expressed through verb-based action and process nominalisations. In English, there are 2 instances of verb-based action and process nominalisation *infringement* as well as in the Lithuanian language (įsipareigojimų nevykdymas). Example 3(b) involves a heavy amount of infor-mation about financial responsibility. Verb-based action and process nominalisations help follow the information and lay the emphasis on the key concept. In addition to this, in examples 3(a) and 3(b), verb-based action and process nominalisation *infringement* and its equivalent įsipareigojimų nevykdymas influence the cohesion of the document and serve as a language economy device.

Some examples also show that verb-based action and process nominalisations are used for cohesion of the legal text. Consider the examples below:

- 4(a) *It protects them against discrimination on grounds of nationality as regards access to employment, conditions of employment and work, in particular with regard to remuneration, dismissal, and tax and social advantages, by ensuring their equal treatment, under national law, practice and collective agreements, in comparison to nationals of that Member State.*
- 4(b) *Pagal šį principą darbuotojai apsaugomi nuo diskriminavimo dėl pilietybės, susijusio su galimybe įsidarbinti, įdarbinimo ir darbo sąlygomis, ypač darbo užmokesčiu, atleidimu iš darbo, taip pat mokesčių ir socialinėmis lengvatomis, užtikrinant vienodą požiūrį į juos pagal nacionalinę teisę, praktiką ir kolektyvinius susitarimus, palyginti su tos valstybės narės piliečiais.*

In the case of specific cohesion 4(b), the underlying proposition *įsidarbinti* is followed by the receptive proposition, expressed by the nominalisation *įdarbinimas*. In the English language 4(a), the verb-based action and process nominalisation *employment* is used throughout the chunk of the text. In the Lithuanian language, the equivalents of *employment* include both the infinitive structure *įsidarbinti* and verb-based nominal unit *įdarbinimas*. The underlying proposition expressed by the infinitive *įsidarbinti* makes the text more dynamic. Some examples indicate that the equivalents of verb-based action and process nominalisations change their morphological properties in order to avoid repetition and to increase the dynamic properties of the text.

The morphological properties of nominalisations can be changed in order to avoid repetition of verb-based action and process nominalisations. In some cases, the synonymous equivalents of verb-based action and process nominalisations are used in order not to repeat the same nominal unit. Example 5(b) presents the equivalents *steigimas* and *įsteigimas* of the verb-based nominal unit *establishment* (example 5(a)):

- 5(a) *The overall objective of an establishment of such a network aims at strengthening the smaller. The analysis covers operational and financial aspects of such establishment.*
- 5(b) *Bendras tokio tinklo steigimo tikslas – sustiprinti mažesnes KRA ir taip pagerinti jų augimo sąlygas, kad jos taptų konkurencingesnėmis rinkos dalyvėmis. Analizuojami tokio įsteigimo operaciniai ir finansiniai aspektai.*

Examples 5(a) and 5(b) show that the verb-based nominal *establishment* is converted as the verb-based action and process nominalisation *įsteigimas*. This process is achieved by prefixation. In this case, the English variant of the sentence poses more generalised and abstract ideas, whereas in Lithuanian the prefix *į-* specifies the concepts and eases the comprehension of the sentence. It might be maintained that the change of morphological properties of a verb-based action and process nominalisation can ease the comprehension of a sentence leading to a smoother translation process.

In most of the examples, the Lithuanian equivalents of English verb-based action and process nominalisations are expressed by verb-based action and process nominalisations with the suffixes *-imas* or *-ymas*, but sometimes their structures are changed when expressing them in the Lithuanian language, e.g.,

- 6(a) *In the past decade, the United States has seen a very rapid development of unconventional sources of gas and oil. Shale gas appears to be the unconventional hydrocarbon with the greatest potential for development in Europe, with exploration activities already underway in some Member States*
- 6(b) *Per pastarąjį dešimtmetį Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose labai sparčiai plétoti netradiciniai dujų ir naftos šaltiniai. Panašu, kad skalūnų dujos yra perspektyviausias netradicinis angliavandenilis Europoje, o jų žvalgybos veikla jau vykdoma kai kuriose valstybėse narėse.*

In examples 6(a) and 6(b), the equivalent choices are not the Lithuanian verb-based nominalisations with the suffix *-imas*, *-ymas*. For instance, in example 6(b), *plétoti* is rendered as *development*. The second instance of a word *development* is omitted. In this way, the omission of a verb-based action and process nominalisation can be considered as a language economy device.

Consequently, it can be said that there are various equivalent choices of English nominalisations in legal language. A different equivalent choice has a different impact on the text. The abundance of English and Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations indicates that there is no attempt to reduce the number of nominalisations in this document and implies that the nominalisations remain as a feature of the legal texts in both English and Lithuanian. In this way, obviously, the translation process could be encumbered by a highly nominal style of a sentence.

Verb-based action and process nominalisations might help follow the flow of information and lay the emphasis on the key concept. Some examples indicate that the ways of rendering verb-based action and process nominalisations change their morphological properties in order to avoid repetition and to increase the dynamic properties of the text. Furthermore, the change of morphological properties of a verb-based action and process nominalisation can ease the comprehension of a sentence. In this way, the omission of a verb-based action and process nominalisation can be considered as a language economy device. However, if nominalisations are cut out, the text becomes more dynamic and reader-friendly.

Considering the impact of English equivalent choices of Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations with suffixes *-imas*, *-ymas* and *-umas*, the analysis reveals that a great number of Lithuanian equivalents are represented by English verb-based action and process nominalisations. Consider examples 7(a) and 7(b):

- 7(a) *Elektroninių sąskaitų faktūrų nauda dar labiau didinama, kai sąskaitos faktūros sukūrimas, siuntimas, perdavimas, gavimas ir apdorojimas gali būti visiškai automatizuotas.*
- 7(b) *The benefits of electronic invoicing are maximised when the generation, sending, transmission, reception and processing of an invoice can be fully automated.*

In example 7(a), there are five Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations with the same suffix *-imas*: *sukūrimas*, *siuntimas*, *perdavimas*, *gavimas* and *apdorojimas*. Example 7(b) presents the English equivalents represented as five verb-based action and process nominalisation with the suffixes: *-ion* (*generation*, *transmission* and *reception*) and *-ing* (*sending* and *processing*). The same number of the Lithuanian and English verb-based action and process nominalisations indicates, again, that there is no attempt to reduce the number of nominalisations in this document. This allows presuming that nominalisations are not actively transformed into more dynamic elements. In this particular instance, a higher level of formality and all-inclusiveness is preferred.

A different number of nominalisations means that sometimes the authors of legal documents try to change the style a little bit and make it more dynamic. In examples 8(a) and 8(b), it is visible that different languages may maintain a somewhat different style of legal document drafting:

- 8(a) *<...> laisvą judėjimą griežtai užtikrindama ES taisyklių, be kita ko, susijusių su nediskriminavimu, įgyvendinimą, taip pat skatindama gerą praktiką ir geresnę ES taisyklių išmanymą vietoje, taip pat didindama informacijos sklaidos ES piliečiams apie jų teises į laisvą judėjimą mastą“ <...>*
- 8(b) *<...> free movement of EU citizens and their third-country national family members when enforcing EU rules strictly, including on non-discrimination when promoting good practices and increased knowledge <...>*

For example, some of the nominalisations are retained (e.g., *judėjimas* = *movement*, *nediskriminavimas* = *non-discrimination*), but some of them have changed their morphological properties. Morphological properties can be changed in order to avoid repetition of verb-based action and process nominalisations. This is a good example of moderation while using the nominalisations. In addition, the morphological properties can be changed to improve the style. In some cases, the nominal units are changed to other grammatical categories in order to make the text more dynamic and stylistically diverse. For example, in example 8(a) and 8(b), the grammatical properties change. The word *įgyvendinimas* is changed to *enforcing*, which means that the noun is changed to a verb. By this means, the nominal unit is changed into verbal, and the text is made more dynamic and active. It can be said that, in some cases, the semantically synonymous equivalents of verb-based action and process nominalisations are used in order not to repeat the same nominal unit.

In most examples, English equivalents of Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations are expressed as verb-based action and process nominalisations, but sometimes their structures are changed when rendering them in the other language. The examples below illustrate the equivalent choices of the Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations. For example, consider the examples 9(a) and 9(b):

- 9(a) *Šia direktyva siekiama skatinti darbuotojų judėjimą sumažinant kliūtis tam judėjimui, kurios susidaro dėl tam tikrų su darbo santykiais susietų papildomų pensijų sistemų taisyklių;*
- 9(b) *This Directive aims to promote worker mobility by reducing the obstacles to that mobility created by certain rules concerning supplementary pension schemes linked to an employment relationship.*

Examples 9(a) and 9(b) show that the verb-based nominal *judėjimas* is expressed as an adjective-based action and process nominalisation *mobility*. This particular way of expressing the equivalent occurred only in the Lithuanian sample.

However, it seems that the most frequent way to convert Lithuanian action and process nominalisations to English ones is by using an action and process nominalisation. The draftsmen and translators pay more attention to the communication of the content. The stylistics of documents is perceived as of a lower importance. Consider the examples below:

- 10(a) *Reglamente (EEB) Nr. 2658/87 nustatytos bendrosios Kombinuotosios nomenklatūros aiškinimo taisyklės, <...> priemonių taikymo poreikis.*
- 10(b) *Nomenclature (EEC) No 2658/87 has laid down the general rules for the interpretation of the Combined Nomenclature, <...> with a view to the application of measures.*

In examples 10(a) and 10(b), the equivalent choices of the Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations are the English verb-based nominal units. For instance, in example 10(a), *aiškinimas* is expressed as a word *interpretation*. This choice affects the dynamics of the legal text. Although, sometimes, verb-based action and process nominalisations might help follow the flow of information and lay the emphasis on the key concept, if they are not cut out where possible, the style of the texts could deteriorate. In this case, the all-inclusive nature of the structure is retained in both languages, leading to an increased level of conceptual ambiguity, which could impede comprehension.

## Conclusions

The analysis of the English and Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations derived by suffixation showed clear patterns of their distribution. The English sample was more nominal than the Lithuanian one. The most productive suffix forming verb-based action and process nominalisations in the English language was *-ion*. This might be determined by a great variety of the allomorphs of the suffix *-ion*. Considering the Lithuanian language, the most prevalent suffix in the Lithuanian language was *-imas*. The results of this study indicate that the productivity of this particular suffix has retained its levels over time.

Considering the equivalents of English and Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations derived by suffixation, it could be argued that the most apparent equivalent structures were commonly expressed as nominalisations. When English and Lithuanian languages were compared (i.e., the characteristic tendencies), some tendencies only characteristic to English or to Lithuanian are observed. The expression of verb-based action and process nominalisations as nouns as well as adjective-based nominalisations is common only in the Lithuanian language. Rendering nominalisations as an adverb, a preposition or a pronoun is characteristic only to the English language.

Different equivalent choices have a different impact on the text. The same number of the English and Lithuanian verb-based action and process nominalisations indicates that there was no attempt to reduce the number of nominalisations in the documents and implies that the excessive use of nominalisations remains a characteristic

feature of the legal texts in both English and Lithuanian. The analysis reveals that the verb-based action and process nominalisations might help navigate ideas presented by reintroducing the key concept; nevertheless, if the morphological properties were changed, repetition could be avoided, the dynamic properties of the text could be strengthened, or comprehension could be facilitated, which is essential for an effective translation process.

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## Santrauka

### Milda Žarnauskaitė. Veiksmą ir procesą žyminčių veiksmažodinių daiktavardžių struktūros ES teisiniuose dokumentuose lietuvių ir anglų kalba

Vertėjai gali susidurti su sunkumais versdami teisinius tekstus dėl jų kompleksinių ypatybių. Veiksmažodinių daiktavardžių abstraktumas gali turėti neigiamos įtakos teksto supratimui, nes veiksmažodinius daiktavardžius paprastai sunkiau suvokti nei veiksmažodžius. Siekdama, kad ES dokumentai būtų lengviau įveikiami vertėjams, EK kviečia autorius rašyti aiškiai ir pataria vengti veiksmažodinių daiktavardžių vartojimo. Dėl šios priežasties reikia atidžiau pažvelgti į dabartines veiksmažodinių daiktavardžių struktūras anglų ir lietuvių kalbų ES teisiniuose dokumentuose. Straipsnyje gilinamasi į dabartines veiksmą ir procesą žyminčių veiksmažodinių daiktavardžių struktūras ir jų atitikmenis ES teisiniuose dokumentuose anglų ir lietuvių kalba bei lyginamos jų ekvivalenčios struktūros, atsižvelgiant į atitikmenų pasirinkimo poveikį tekstui. Dažniausiai veiksmą ar procesą žymintys veiksmažodiniai daiktavardžiai kitoje kalboje buvo išreiškiami išlaikant tokią pačią struktūrą. Palyginus lietuvių ir anglų kalbas, nustatyta, kad tik lietuvių kalboje angliški veiksmažodiniai daiktavardžiai gali būti išreikšti būdvardiniu daiktavardžiu ar daiktavardžiu, taip pat nustatyta, jog tik anglų kalbai yra būdinga lietuviškus veiksmažodinius daiktavardžius išreikšti prielinksnine konstrukcija, įvardžiu ar prieveiksniu. Atlikus tyrimą paaiškėjo, kad veiksmažodiniai daiktavardžiai gali padėti nepasiklysti informacijos sraute, pabrėžti pagrindines idėjas. Jei veiksmažodiniai daiktavardžiai kitoje kalboje išreiškiami dinamiškesnėmis struktūromis, išvengiama pasikartojimų, lengviau suvokti tekstą ir jį versti.

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