

# Master's Thesis

Martin Podolak

## Russian Verbal Prefixes

The Case of *hodit'* in Parallel Corpora

Supervisor: Sandra Lucas

Submitted: March 2016

**MA Thesis**

**University of Copenhagen**

**Department of Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies (Russian Studies)**

Title: **Russian Verbal Prefixes**

Subtitle: **The Case of *hodit'* in Parallel Corpora**

Name: **Martin Podolak**

Supervisor: **Sandra Lucas**

Submitted: **March 2016**

## Resumé

I undersøgelsen fremstilles præfigerede afledninger af det russiske bevægelsesverbum *ходить*, for at illustrere deres oversættelse til tysk vha. parallelkorpora.

Formerne afledes på forskellige mekanismer, som afspejles i deres semantik. Disse mekanismer danner grundlag til en lang række af homonymer blandt de præfigerede bevægelsesverber, som har samme form, men som delvist hører til forskellige grammatiske kategorier og adskiller sig i betydningen. På grundlag af Isačenko's teori om russisk grammatisk aspekt og leksikal aktionsart gør jeg rede for, hvordan præfigering har indflydelse for formernes betydning, hvordan kategorierne strider mod hinanden ved orddannelsen, og hvilke problemer der opstår ved at afgøre deres betydning samt ved deres oversættelse.

I analysedelen fremstilles, på grundlag af den teoretiske redegørelse, problemer og mønstre i formernes oversættelse. Der opdages tilfælde, hvor præfikser oversættes i betydelig omfang vha. specifikke adverbiale bestemmelser, som peger på ækvivalens mellem det pårørende russiske morfem og den tyske ordforbindelse. Yderligere påvises, at der er to forskellige russiske aktionsartsformer, som oversættes ens til tysk, hvorfor tysk tilsyneladende ikke skelner morfologisk mellem disse. I forlængelse af undersøgelsen opstilles anbefalinger, hvordan betydningerne af homonymer bestemmes. Derudover påvises, at kvalitet og kvantitet af parallelkorpuserne ikke er tilstrækkeligt til at påvise flere regelmæssigheder i oversættelse af præfikser og især af deres homonymi.

Der konstateres, at teorien af Isačenko i mange tilfælde ikke svarer til kravene af korpuslingvistikken, fordi en betydelig del af de undersøgte ordformers betydninger ikke kunne defineres formalt ud fra deres præfiks dvs. deres morfologiske egenskaber, men udelukkende leksikalt på grundlag af formerne i deres helhed. Til fremtidige undersøgelser foretrækkes en teori, der anerkender præfiksernes selvstændige betydning.

## Table of Contents

Danish Abstract.....	1
Abbreviations.....	4
1. Introduction.....	5
2. Literature.....	6
2.1 Primary Literature.....	6
2.1.1 Corpora.....	6
2.1.2 Dictionaries.....	8
2.2 Secondary Literature.....	8
PART I – Theoretical Background.....	8
3. Translation.....	8
4. Aspect.....	10
4.1 Research on Verbal Aspect – Overview.....	10
4.2 Semantics.....	11
4.2.1 Perfective.....	12
4.2.2 Imperfective.....	12
4.3 Morphology.....	12
5. Verbal Affixation.....	13
5.1 Qualifying and Modifying Prefixation.....	13
5.2 Suffixation.....	14
6. Verbs of Motion.....	14
6.1 Semantics.....	14
6.2 Morphology.....	16
6.2.1 Aspectual Pairs.....	16
6.3 Aspect and Tense.....	17
7. Aktionsart.....	18
7.1 Semantics.....	18
7.2 Morphology.....	19
7.2.1 Temporal.....	20
7.2.2 Quantitative.....	21
7.2.3 Distributive.....	21
7.2.4 Iterative.....	21
7.3 Homonymy.....	22
7.4 Suffixation of VoM.....	23
7.5 Actionality.....	26

PART II – Analysis.....	27
8. Methods.....	27
8.1 Choosing Subcorpora.....	27
8.2 Disambiguated Corpora.....	27
8.3 Data Retrieval.....	28
8.4 Own Database.....	29
8.5 Occurrences.....	30
9. Analysis.....	32
Forms by Prefix Present in ParaSol.....	33
9.1 ВЫ-.....	33
9.2 ОТ-.....	34
9.3 рас-.....	35
9.4 по-.....	36
9.5 с-.....	38
9.6 у-.....	40
10. Summary.....	42
10.1 Forms.....	42
10.2 Translation.....	44
10.3 Corpora.....	45
11. Evaluation.....	45
11.1 Forms and Translation.....	45
11.2 Suggestions for Distinguishing Homonyms.....	46
11.2.1 Determining the Aspect.....	46
11.2.1.1 Tense.....	46
11.2.1.2 Transitivity.....	46
11.2.1.3 Valency and Distribution.....	47
11.2.2 Determining the Meaning.....	47
11.3 Corpora.....	47
11.4 Theory.....	47
12. Discussion.....	48
12.1 Forms and translation.....	48
12.2 Corpora.....	49
12.3 Theory.....	50
13. Conclusion.....	50
Citation Index.....	51

## Tables

I: Derivation of Aspectual Pairs.....	13
II: Aspect and Verbal Character of VoM.....	16
III: Derivation of Aspectual Pairs from VoM.....	17
IV: Finite Tense and Aspect Forms of идти/ходить and the Aspectual Pair уйти/уходить.	18
V: Morphology of Aktionsart in VoM.....	19
VI: Comparison of Prefixation from VoM in Aspect and Aktionsart.....	22
VII: Suffixation Mechanism A.....	23
VIII: Suffixation Mechanisms B and C.....	23
IX: Verified Forms with -хаживать-stem.....	24
X: Input-Output Paradigm for ходить.....	25
XI: Verified Perfectives with ходить-stem.....	31
XII: Lexical and Grammatical Features of prefix+ходить.....	44
XIII: Translations of рассказивать and похаживать to German.....	45

## Abbreviations

AG	Academy Grammar
ambig.	ambiguate
det.	determinate (verbal character)
disamb.	disambiguated
fut.	future (tense)
indet.	indeterminate (verbal character)
inf.	infinitive
impf.	imperfective (aspect)
ParaSol	A Parallel Corpus of Slavic and Other Older Languages
pf.	perfective (aspect)
RNC	Russian National Corpus (НКР, Национальный корпус русского языка)
SL	source language
ST	source text
TL	target language
TT	target text
VoM	verb of motion

## 1. Introduction

This study will examine the prefixed derivatives from the verb of motion (VoM) *ходить* and analyse their translations to German by focusing on the problem of determining the correct meaning of individual forms and possible irregularities in the translation.

Prefixed forms of *ходить* are the pivotal point of this work, as derivation of imperfective VoM leads to prefixation in most cases. The manner in which these forms are embedded into the paradigmatic processes of the grammatical category of aspect and the lexical category of aktionsart will be identified and described. This includes analysis of the forms which are the derivative basis of the prefixed form. In the theoretical part of this work, the different morphological and lexicosemantic factors which have a role in producing the prefixed form of *ходить* will be analysed. In other words, the lexical and grammatical categories and the morphological material which can be regarded as the “input” for the processes that lead to the derivation of these forms will be examined.

In addition, the morphological and lexical processes that permit the prefixed form of *ходить* to appear as the basis for other derivations will be considered. In this context, the ‘output’ of processes which ‘lead away’ from the forms that are under consideration will be the focus. In this context, it is also very important to the meaning of a form to determine whether this derivation happens only on the basis of aspectual change or if aktionsart also is involved. The use of aktionsart cannot be regarded apart from aspect, since application of aktionsart to a given word in many cases, if not most, also involves change of aspect. As the lexical category of aktionsart has an effect on aspect, an examination of aktionsart cannot be made without taking into account the binary category of aspect.

The study shows that words that are otherwise identical can be homonyms with meanings that are independent from each other. This is because of the different grammatical and lexical processes that have accordingly led to an ambiguous form. Many homonyms of prefixed verbs of motion (VoM) exist in Russian. Sharing the same form, they are different in aspect and in meaning, however.

Many people are not aware of the reason for this discrepancy and this difference is also treated quite differently among lexicographers and linguists.

In this thesis, research is limited to translation of homonymous prefixed verbs that are derived from the simplex verb *ходить* for several reasons. This verb, with its denotation “to go”, imparts the meaning of simple action. As the analysis involves rather complex grammatical and lexical mechanisms, it was useful to narrow down the semantics of the research object. Meanwhile, *ходить* is the verb with the highest morphological openness to a corresponding inventory of Russian prefixes (*‘Verbindungsoffenheit’*, Isačenko 1962, 357). For instance, “*над-*” is the only prefix that resists combination with *ходить* (*ibid*). In addition, this verb, together with its derivations, has the highest frequency among verbs in the corpus (*ibid*).

The question of whether prefixation or suffixation occurs for grammatical (aspect) or lexical (aktionsart) reasons is highly relevant to semantics. The meaning of a given form can differ to a high degree, depending on the process that has led to the corresponding form. To determine the meaning of the form, it is crucial to understand the basis from which it has derived. Therefore, a major interest lies in how the forms express the meaning of actionality, i.e. in which ways they denote motion with the help of verbal character, being aspect and aktionsart.

This thesis consists of two parts. The first part illustrates the interrelation between the verbal categories of grammatical aspect and lexical aktionsart, demonstrating that both categories make use of the same morphological material (affixes), although with distinct motivation and on the basis of different processes. The use of a similar set of affixes in the morphology of either aspect or aktionsart is the reason for situations where both categories produce identical word forms which differ significantly in their lexical and grammatical semantics. Hence, the different motivation for derivation of these forms creates homonyms in many situations, i.e. words that have the same form

but meanings that are independent from each other.

In the second part, actual language material will be explored in the light of the theoretical foundation made. Analysing individual word forms gives rise to the question to what extent the phenomenon of homonymy is relevant to the correct understanding of a text and to what extent it is important to be aware of homonymy caused by aspect and aktionsart in translation from Russian to another language. This question will be explored by consulting dictionaries and by analysing lexis and morphology of occurrences of the verbal forms in actual texts from Russian monolingual and Russian-German parallel corpora.

The following questions arise: To what extent and in what manner can a reader or translator of a Russian text deduce the actual meaning from the form? Are there potentially any problems that could arise for a correct comprehension, and beyond that, a faithful translation? Could the form also have been translated with the meaning of a homonym? Did the translator explicitly reproduce all meanings of the according form in the TT? Are there any indications that the meaning of aktionsart or aspect, or both, had an influence on the translation? How does the problem of homonymy manifest itself in the TT? Is it possible to identify patterns of translation?

The analysis will also investigate how effectively the theoretical background of Isačenko's theory on aspect and aktionsart can be applied to corpus linguistics. This analysis will illustrate shortcomings and advantages of the theory by reviewing the corpora in particular and corpus linguistics in general.

To summarise, the goal of this thesis is to begin by illustrating the problem of homonymy of forms caused by aspect and aktionsart. After having done so, the issue will be considered in light of the problems that can arise in the comprehension and translation of homonymous forms by analysing actual text material from Russian text corpora. I will endeavour to locate regularities in their translation and thereby examine the demands on theory and corpora.

## **2. Literature**

Although English-language literature either use the British BGN/PCGN standard or the transliteration style of the Library of Congress, Russian script in this thesis is transliterated with the ISO R9 standard (International Organization for Standardization 1968), as it is the accepted tradition in Nordic, and most continental, universities and scientific libraries.

### **2.1 Primary Literature**

#### **2.1.1 Corpora**

This thesis will make use of both monolingual and translation (or rather, parallel) corpora as a source for empirical evidence. Even though there also exist comparable multilingual corpora, this thesis relies on parallel corpora because its objective is to focus on real-life translations, not on general comparisons of languages in similar, but not yet translated, text collections which are represented by comparable corpora. Even though translation memories (TM) and online services that build on similar techniques may be called "parallel texts", it is still difficult to categorise them as corpora because they lack of grammatical annotation.

Parallel corpora, as understood in this thesis, are searchable and grammatical annotated text collections in electronic form in a specific language, which are aligned with their translations in one or more languages. The smallest alignment unity is the sentence, as word-by-word alignment is not possible due to the different linguistic natures of any language in comparison.

- (1) Пускай себе ходят, до них обывателю нет дела.
- (1') Mögen die umherlaufen, den Spießbürger geht das nichts an.



Clearly, the numbers of words differ between these sentences. In Russian, the meaning of the action is indicated with the verb alone, whereas the German further expresses this meaning with an adverbial. Furthermore, not all meanings of the ST have been reproduced in the TT.

Although language corpora are quickly growing in size and availability, especially for the prevalent languages such as English, German or Russian, parallel corpora are still relatively rare and far smaller than their monolingual precursors. The tokens also tend to be annotated with fewer properties, and the parallel corpora are prone to other shortcomings in practicalities like query interfaces, which are in many cases less sophisticated and more challenging to operate.

The following sections contain a short introduction to parallel corpora with Russian and German, which are available on the internet. First, the systems used as a basis for the present work will be specified, and thereafter other corpus systems that have parallel Russian-German texts will be reviewed with an explanation as to why they have not been used in this thesis.

Currently, four corpus systems are available on the internet, which provide searchable and annotated data for the language pair German-Russian. The corpus system that is the basis of the linguistic observations made in this thesis is reviewed first. **ParaSol**, of the universities of Regensburg and Bern (von Waldenfels and Meyer 2006-), comes with the most basic user interface. Interestingly, it was found to be the most useful data source for the demands of this thesis. Even though the word form query and its options have to be coded with CQP, it provides annotated results of considerable size. ParaSol permits the user to fully download the query results as XML data dumps. This allows the user to not only query the corpus, but also to reprocess the data for one's own purposes. By doing so, a specialised database was created for this thesis as described below in the chapter on the research method.

Although this corpus system was used as the basis of this study, there are still several shortcomings in terms of quality of the annotation which had significant influence on the work. As illustrated later in the chapter on the database, it was not possible to use the data supplied by ParaSol "as is" without post-processing.

The most well-known system is the parallel component of the **Russian National Corpus** (RNC, Institut russkogo jazyka im. V. V. Vinogradova RAN 2003-2016) which is also the only one that is completely free to access. The corpus provides fiction of both Russian and German origin, and also contains parallel text of German non-fiction in Russian translation. The search capabilities are user-friendly. It is possible to define additional search properties to the search term from a list. With its size of 68,894,009 running words, the NKR is the most extensive German and Russian text collection available. Still, this system has two essential shortcomings as related to the work of this thesis: Firstly, it is not possible to download complete query data sets. For this thesis it is necessary, though, to download corpus data for with additional, manual annotation in order to analyse statistics with one's own computational tools. Secondly, homonymy has not been removed from the annotation. For example, a verbal form appears as *походить*, which may either be of secondary imperfective or perfective aspect and thereby have different meaning, but is annotated with both aspects, regardless of its actual aspectual character (see chapter 8.2).

However, it is this difference in meaning which this work will examine, and it is essential that the data background reflects these kinds of differences. As opposed to RNC's parallel corpus, homonymy has been removed from the monolingual corpus, which was helpful to test the quality of ParaSol. Therefore, the data of RNC was used only to a minor degree for examination of such homonymous forms as *походить<sub>pf</sub>* and *походить<sub>impf</sub>*. However, it was utilised for retrieval of the unambiguous forms such as *похаживать*. At several times it was used as a consultation source, especially for checking the Russian annotation in ParaSol.

The final two corpus systems with Russian and German parallel texts for review are the Czech National Corpus and InterCorp which, like ParaSol, communicate with CQP query language to obtain query results. The **Czech National Corpus** provides, with its parallel text system, the

interface ConText, which enables the user to make queries without knowledge of any highly formalised query languages. It is not possible, though, to download any data, and the parallel texts are mostly Czech originals or translations. Except for one Russian original, it is only possible to compare Russian and German *translations*. Comparing two translations may be of interest in translation studies, but two translations do not have a direct relation to each other, as a translation has to its original.

Another interesting project is the **RuN Corpus** of the University of Oslo. It provides two Russian fiction texts that are aligned to the German translation. Unfortunately, this corpus system was undergoing maintenance while this paper was being developed.

### 2.1.2 Dictionaries

Grammatical information provided by lexicographic works, especially on aspect and aspectual relations to other verbs, are of fundamental importance to an examination of aspect and aktionsart.

Lexical information for this thesis is primarily based on Russian monolingual dictionaries which indicate aspect and the aspectual relation to other verbal forms. Those are the “*Small Academic Dictionary of the Russian Language* (Evgen'eva 1985), Ušakov (1935), Ožegov and Švedova (1999), Efremova (2006), and Kuznecov (2008). More specialised sources include the dictionaries on Russian homonyms by Kolesnikov (1978) and Achmanova (1986) and on the Russian verbs (Daum & Schenk 1992) and verbal aspect (Mende 2011).

As reference dictionaries, both bilingual Russian-English and Russian-German dictionaries were useful. Of the electronic dictionaries that are available on the market for both English and German to and from Russian, the preferred software was *Multitran* (Pominov 1988-2016), and the dictionary collection *Lingvo* (ABBYY 1989-2016).

For German, *Langenscheidts Standard-Wörterbuch Russisch* (Walewski and Wedel, n.d.) was used, among others. Unlike any of the above-mentioned electronic dictionary systems, all these dictionaries consequently indicate information on aspectual pairs.

Among the English-Russian dictionaries in use are Apresjan (1993) and Smirnckij & Achmanova (2001). These also provide information on aspectual relations.

## 2.2 Secondary Literature

This thesis relies, in large part, on German secondary literature. By doing so, the author hopes to bring the German linguists' viewpoint on aspect research closer to an English-speaking audience. Generally, journal articles and monographs of primarily German, Russian and English language have been used in the fields of ‘aspectology’ (‘аспектология’, German: ‘Aspektologie’), translation studies and corpus linguistics. Furthermore, the two last Academy Grammars of the Russian Academy of Science have been consulted.

As discussed in chapter 4, the theoretical basis for discussing prefixed verbs is the theory of aspect and aktionsart. In addition, the discussion of aktionsart will, in many cases, refer to Maslov, Bondarko, Avilova, Zaliznjak and Šmelev, who are all regarded as influential researchers of the Russian verb.

## PART I – Theoretical Background

### 3. Translation

Comparative language studies focuses on the level of *langue*, i.e. the morphological, syntactic etc., potentialities of language as systems in comparison to other languages. By contrast, the interest of translation theory lies merely on the level of *parole*, which emphasises the importance of actual

utterances and their translations in their particular contexts. This thesis will focus the coherence between the given verb form in the Russian source text (ST) and its corresponding translation in the German target text (TT). In considering language material, one must be aware of the fact that the quality of translation and the freedom in translation as an art might produce a more or less accurate conversion of the true meaning to the TT. It is not the primary objective of this work, though, to analyse the quality of translations. Real-life translations and their quantitative analysis are of interest, in order to form an impression of frequencies of translation patterns or to determine to what extent actual translations contradict or confirm linguists' previous findings.

Modern technologies in linguistics play a role in this analysis. Since computational techniques are increasingly used as methods of linguistic analysis, it is possible to check the *langue*-based findings from diachronic and comparative linguistics against 'real-world' language in translation corpora that rather is part of *parole*.

According to Catford, translation is the "replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)" (Catford 1965, 20).

The TT does not depend on the language material of the ST, but rather on its meaning. A key concept in translation studies is that of *equivalence*, which could be regarded as 'interlingual synonymy', where synonymy is a 'subcategory of equivalence' (Apresjan 1974). Full equivalence appears in cases where the lingual sign (e.g. a word) of one language can be reproduced with a sign of another language without a change in meaning. As Jakobson states, full equivalence of a SL unit with a TL unit is usually not achieved. His hypothesis is that potentially all meanings of a ST can be reproduced in a TT (Jakobson 1959), not necessarily word-by-word, but on the level of the text as a whole. In practice, equivalence can only be achieved to a certain degree, depending on the approach, as equivalence may be regarded in two ways. By *formal* equivalence, the translator "is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language" (Nida 1964, 159), whereas *dynamic*, or *functional* equivalence seeks to create the same effect on the new audience in the TL (*ibid.*). One of the many factors in translation is, for instance, whether the TT retained its cultural background by 'foreignisation', as for instance the 'literal' translation of idioms, or the text had been adapted by 'domestication' to fit to the cultural specifics of the target audience, by changing or replacing idioms which do exist in the TL (Venuti 1995, 19). How important these factors are can be illustrated by following example:

(2) - А ПОТОМ СУТКИ ОТХОДИТЬ БУДЕШЬ.

(2') "Und hinterher zieht's dich runter, und zwar so heftig, daß du denkst, na, hat's das überhaupt gebracht..."

My English translation of the ST would be 'and afterwards you'll need 24 hours to recover', while I would translate the TT as 'and afterwards it will turn you down that heavily, that you'd think whether there was any reason in it'.

According to this, we should regard translation not merely as a process of transcoding lingual elements from one language to the other.

Translation verstehen wir nicht als die bloß sprachliche Transkodierung der Elemente eines Ausgangstexts in (möglichst strukturähnliche) Elemente eines Zieltexts! Translation geht also weder von Textteilen (z.B. Wörtern oder Sätzen) noch von situationsfreien Texten aus. Die primäre Translationseinheit ist viel mehr ein Text-in-Situation, den es in der Zielkultur und deren Sprache funktionsgerecht zu erstellen gilt. (Vermeer 1989, 171)

The basis of translation is not merely individual words, sentences or texts, free of context. Rather, according to Vermeer, we have to regard the 'text in its situation' as the basic translation unit.

Because of the many approaches and possible strategies of translation, one must consider the text in its entirety. Being aware of this, it must be reduced to the level of individual sentences due to

practical reasons, as parallel corpora are aligned sentence to sentence.

I will examine the translation of the lemma *ХОДИТЬ*<sub>impf</sub>, which is specified as the research object, and doing so, it is demonstrated that it will be translated not only by means of a single word but in most cases as phrase or even as a sentence.

#### 4. Aspect

This thesis will make use of the term ‘aspect’ in its narrow sense, by referring exclusively to the grammaticalised binary category which exists in Russian and the other Slavic languages that are accounted for in this chapter.

With only three tenses – past, present and future – the Russian language possesses a limited morphological inventory to express action in relation to time, as compared with other languages such as Germanic, Romance or other Slavic languages. The existence of the grammatical category of aspect, which is lacking in the grammar of other non-Slavic languages such as English and German, compensates for this obstacle to translation of meaning from Russian to German in most cases. Apart from the lexical capabilities of the languages, Russian expresses meaning using a combination of tense and aspect. In German, similar to English, this meaning is rendered with the use of tenses, e.g., tense forms as ‘war gegangen’ (‘have gone’), ‘bin gegangen’ (‘am gone’), ‘ging’ (‘went’), ‘gehe’ (‘go’), ‘werde gehen’ (‘will go’), ‘werde gegangen sein’ (‘will have been gone’) etc. (Forsyth 1970, 1).

Even though the category of aspect (most often referred to as ‘aktionsart’ by German scholars) does exist in German insofar as it is possible to locate aspectual features in semantics, it is only the category of tense that is expressed morphologically (Andersson 1972, 3). In other words, contrary to Russian, the category of aspect is not grammaticalised in German.

#### 4.1 Research on Verbal Aspect – Overview

In the field of research on aspect, there is no consensus on fundamental questions concerning the approach to aspect as a grammatical category. According to Avilova (1975), the most controversial points in the discussion on the character of aspect are as follows: firstly, the notion of aspectual pairs; secondly, the question of how far aspect belongs to morphology as opposed to lexis; and finally, the definition of aspect as a grammatical category.

Works on grammar, and of aspect in particular, usually treat the phenomenon of aktionsart together with aspect. However, since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they generally leave no doubt as to the fact that aktionsart must be treated as a different, although closely related, independent category of Russian grammar.

There are two general tendencies in Russian aspectology on how to treat the grammatical category of aspect. The ‘Moscow school’, although not denying its representation by formal means, tends to consider aspect primarily as a lexical category, where the members of aspectual pairs appear to be two different verbs of opposing aspect.

The concept followed by the supporters of the ‘St. Petersburg school’, rather, would tend to describe one member in an aspectual pair as derived from the verbal form of the other member. Petersburg scholars generally attach more significance to the *morphological* processes involved in aspect. Of course, this account is a generalisation, as the geographic naming of the theories is not a definitive characteristic of a scholar's affiliation.

Most scholars present recognise aspectual pairs as derived via both prefixes and suffixes (Vinogradov 1938, Šachmatov 1941, Švedova et al. 1980, Bondarko 1983, Čertkova 1996, Anna Zaliznjak and Šmelev 2000). However, a minority of scholars (Isačenko 1962, Andrej Zaliznjak 1980, Timberlake 2004) recognise as aspectual partners only verbs that have been derived by suffixation (Janda and Ljashevskaya 2011, 201).

Because the problem of translation will be approached from a formal perspective by examining a specific morphological feature to be translated, it will be helpful as a theoretical starting point to take an approach which regards aspect as a morphological, i.e. formal, category.

Parallel corpora provide information of morphological rather than semantic or lexical features of language, so it is more likely that a theory that regards the categories involved as being grammatical, instead of lexical, would best suit the needs of this work.

One could rightly argue that it is not possible to simply exclude semantics from a discussion on verbal prefixes as, *per definitionem*, every language sign does have a meaning. This is even more accurate when considering the fact that a translation is always a formal reflection of the *meaning* of a ST and not of its form. To make a note on this point, it is crucial to keep in mind that grammatical functions, in our case verbal prefixation, always serve the semantic needs of a language.

In contemporary linguistics there is generally no doubt that there are two kinds of functions involved in Russian verbal prefixation: aspect and aktionsart. But as previously indicated there is much discussion on how to define these functions, how to differentiate between them, and whether aktionsart is a feature within aspect or whether it constitutes a category on its own. This thesis is not intended to be discussion of this problem. Rather it must be decided which of the theories is most useful for this undertaking, i.e. to examine a corpus of translations. It is important to make clear annotations of single tokens on the basis of a uniform theoretical approach, in order to be able to identify patterns assumed in the translation process.

Isačenko's (1960) approach to verbal prefixation was found to be most useful, as he completely detaches the category of aktionsart from that of aspect. Arguing according to the formula 'aspect is grammatical, aktionsart is lexical' (Lehmann 1999, 20), he assigns prefixation unambiguously either to aktionsart, serving primarily a lexical function, or to aspect, fulfilling a primarily grammatical function.

In his theory, the two members of aspectual pairs are always lexical equals and differ only with respect to grammar. This also means that one form cannot have multiple aspectual partners. This permits a discussion of *lexical* differences between two given forms referring to the category of aktionsart, while differences in grammar may be unequivocally regarded as aspectual characteristics. In this way, it is straightforward to work with the language material provided from the corpus by addressing the lexical and morphological features on the basis of aktionsart and aspect, respectively.

Particularly in newer research on aktionsart, scholars have increasingly expressed doubt as to the legitimacy of aktionsart as an independent category for several reasons.

Firstly, they argue that the field of transition between lexical and grammatical may be operationalised in both directions. Secondly, referring to actionality, they state that the semantics of aspectual and general *lexical* functions are identical. Thirdly, the synchronic motivation of aspect is still lexical (Lehmann 1999, 21). Despite these doubts, it is not the task of this paper to discuss whether aktionsart is a category or not. This theory will be applied because it suits the demand for notions which are clearly differentiated from each other. This is necessary in order to retrieve clear results from a corpus.

## 4.2 Semantics

Every Russian verb belongs to either the perfect or the imperfect aspect. Russian aspect is a binomial, or binary, grammatical category that adds a certain general meaning to every verb form (Isačenko 1962, 349). Often, two verbs that share the same lexical meaning constitute an aspectual pair, where the only difference lies in the fact that one of the partners is *marked* as perfective, while the other partner is lacking this feature.

*Paradigmatic markedness* stands for a relation between two members of a grammatical category, where one member is marked with a specific meaning, but otherwise no semantic difference exists. The non-marked member is usually less specific, which is why it also usually has a broader semantic extension than the marked counterpart (Nørgård-Sørensen, Heltoft, and Schøsler 2011). Being marked as a perfective verb adds additional meaning about an action having taken place, whereas any other meaning is represented with the use of the imperfective partner. It is enough to define the semantics of the marked, i.e. perfective, member of an aspectual correlation, in order to identify the imperfective by the fact that it is not marked (Isačenko 1962, 347).

#### 4.2.1 Perfective Aspect

On a general level, the perfective aspect expresses an action in its indivisible entirety. The speaker chooses this aspect when he may survey the process as a whole within its boundaries, as if he stood *outside* of the portrayed action. This implies that the action can be regarded as taking place only once, or that the action has already finished.

#### 4.2.2 Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect is not marked with the meaning of completeness that is represented by perfective aspect. Since it generally expresses any other meaning, it could also be called a ‘non-perfective’ aspect (Isačenko 1962, 350). It may describe actions whose boundaries are not relevant to the speaker, or outside his or her range of knowledge. Rather, the attention of the speaker lies *within* an ongoing action (as opposed to being *outside* of it) so that from his or her point of view, its boundaries are hidden or irrelevant.

This aspect denotes action which takes place frequently, action in its course as it develops, general facts, etc.

### 4.3 Morphology

Most simplex verbs, such as *ходить*<sub>impf</sub>, which is the subject of the current research, and other ones like *писать*<sub>impf</sub> (‘to write’) or *варить*<sub>impf</sub> (‘to cook’), belong to the imperfect aspect. There are also a significant number of perfective simplex verbs from which it is possible to derive an imperfective aspectual partner.

This process, though, is of no relevance to this thesis, because my examination is of *ходить*, a simplex verb that is imperfective. After having discussed more generally the phenomenon of aspect by illustrating aspectual derivation from these ‘typical’ imperfectives, I will account for the special situation of VoM, which is a restricted grammatical class to which both *идти* and *ходить* belong.

Imperfective simplex verbs may be transferred to perfective aspect by adding a prefix (*читать*<sub>impf</sub> ‘to read’ → *прочитать*<sub>pf</sub> ‘to read over’). The formal process is called *prefixation*, while the term *perfectivisation* refers to the process of change in aspect. This process implies a lexical change, i.e. the prefixed verb carries a new meaning and is to be regarded as semantically independent from the simplex. Although both verbs belong to opposite aspect they do not constitute an aspectual pair, as shown below.

From this new perfective lexical unit, Russian language enables the derivation of a new imperfective form by *suffixation* (*прочитать*<sub>pf</sub> → *прочит-ыв-ать*<sub>impf</sub> ‘to recite’). This process is called *secondary imperfectivisation*.

The relation between prefixed perfectives and their secondary imperfectives is what Isačenko regards as *aspectual pairs* because they do not differ lexically but merely grammatically. The only difference between them lies in the opposition of the perfective and imperfective aspects. Two members of an aspectual pair express the same lexical meaning and differ from each other only in

terms of their grammatical affiliation to opposite aspects. This is not the case in the relation between a simplex verb and its prefixed perfective derivation, as the prefix adds new meaning and lexically forms a new verb. There exist a number of prefixes that each has their individual semantics. This is why a simplex cannot be the imperfective partner to any prefixed derivations, as they all bear different meaning, and consequently are not lexically synonymous.

**Table I: Derivation of Aspectual Pairs**

<b>читать</b>	⇒	<b>про-читать</b>	⇒	<b>прочит-ыв-ать</b>
simplex	<i>prefixation</i>	new verb	<i>suffixation</i>	new verbal partner
imperfective	<i>perfectivisation</i>	perfective	<i>imperfectivisation</i>	secondary imperfective
‘to read’		‘to read over’		‘to recite’

Although there are several means of establishing aspectual pairs, the most frequent way of creating them, and the only one relevant for VoM, is the process of secondary imperfectivisation. This example illustrates the processes involved in aspect with regular verbs in Russian. As the following chapter demonstrates, secondary imperfectivisation morphologically follows partly different rules among the verbs of motions (VoM).

## 5. Verbal Affixation

### 5.1 Qualifying and Modifying Prefixation

As established in the preceding chapter on aspect, the Russian language has the capability to derive new words from simplex verbs using prefixation, as do German and other Indo-European languages. The generally accepted opinion is that in Russian, the function of a prefix is to change a simplex, most often of imperfective aspect, into a verb of perfective aspect. According to Isačenko, this process involves the meanings of prefix and (imperfective) simplex merging into a perfective verb with dedicated new semantics which is capable of creating a full-scale verbal paradigm that constitutes an *aspectual pair*. In the following chapter, *qualifying* prefixes refer to prefixes forming a verb that is lexically independent from the simplex verb (Isačenko 1962, 358–359).

In other cases, the influence of prefixation on the meaning of verbs is not so drastic. That is, a prefix modifies the meaning only slightly, preserving the original meaning of the simplex verb. In this case, the prefixed form of the verb is still of perfective aspect, thus is a perfective *tantum*, lacking an aspectual partner and the possibility of secondary imperfectivisation. The new prefixed form is an *aktionsart* of the simplex verb (Isačenko 1962, 359). *Modifying* prefixes refer to prefixes creating verbal forms that retain their semantic relation to the simplex verb.

The difference between qualifying and modifying prefixes is semantic in nature. It is important, though, to emphasise that in Russian, prefixation is the standard process of verbal perfectivisation. Still, prefixed verbs are always of perfective aspect, no matter whether the initial verb is perfective or imperfective. Hence, perfective verbs that already possess a prefix will stay perfective even when another prefix is added to it (Isačenko 1962, 356).

The qualifying function of a prefix is to ‘express spatial or other more abstract relationships and modify the original meaning of the verb accordingly, to produce a *lexical derivative*, i.e. what is in effect a “new” verb denoting a type of action different from that denoted by the original verb’ (Forsyth 1970, 18). Prefixation occurs in this case in order to form the perfective aspect of an imperfective verb. This function is highly grammaticalised, which is why English literature sometimes refers to it as ‘grammatical’ aspect. The term ‘grammatical aspect’ is misleading, as prefixation may also form a new verb with new *lexical* meaning. Genuine grammatical change

occurs only in secondary prefixation. In this thesis, the notion of aspect is understood in its narrow meaning, i.e. *aspect* is referred to exclusively in the sense of ‘grammatical’ aspect.

The modifying function of a prefix is not to fundamentally change the lexical meaning of the simplex verb, but to attach additional information on how the specific action that is denoted by the verb, ‘develops or proceeds in particular circumstances’ (Forsyth 1970, 19). This function is referred to in German as ‘*Aktionsarten*’, and in Russian as ‘*способы действия*’. Both terms translate to English as literally ‘manners of action’. Isačenko refers to the phenomenon with the term ‘*способ совершаемости*’ (1960). In English, no consensus has yet been found among linguists on what notion to assign to this phenomenon. Forsyth refers to it as *procedurals* (Forsyth 1970, 19), while other linguists use the notions *manner* (or *kind*) *of action*, while still others use the term *lexical aspect*, in order to emphasise the close semantic and morphological relation to the phenomenon of aspect. In this work, the German term ‘aktionsart’ will be used, as this thesis deals with German language. Furthermore, use of this term may avoid possible misunderstandings related to other connotations the various terms may have in English linguistic discourse, and because many English-speaking linguists also use this Germanism. In German literature on Russian language, the term ‘aktionsart’ is unambiguously related to what Russian linguists refer to as ‘способ действие’.

Under specific circumstances, discussed below, aktionsart also changes the aspect of a simplex verb. It is important to mention that contrary to traditional Russian grammar and most Russian textbooks, qualifying prefixation of a simplex verb never leads to creation of an aspectual pair, but rather creates a new verb which is why qualifying prefixation happens to be a phenomenon belonging exclusively to lexis. Creation of *aspectual pairs* by means of morphology, though, is a grammatical process which takes place exclusively in secondary imperfectivisation (Isačenko 1962, 358–364).

## 5.2 Suffixation

One specific mechanism of suffixation, which can be motivated in different ways, is examined in this thesis. The suffix -ива- is appended to the verbal root either in the case of imperfectivisation in the process of the derivation of aspectual pairs, or in order to create an imperfective aktionsart. The corresponding aktionsart will be indicated in an previously prefixed perfective verb only with this suffix, while aktionsart of an imperfective simplex will also occur in combination with prefixation. So generally, suffixation by -ива- can be motivated by three factors: (1) Secondary imperfectivisation, when a perfective form of (*prefix+ходить*)<sub>pf</sub> derives a partner of imperfective aspect by suffixation; (2) suffixation indicates a specific aktionsart of an already imperfective form, in this case (*prefix+ходить*)<sub>impf</sub>; or (3) indication of a specific aktionsart by imperfectivisation. These phenomena will be discussed below in the chapters on aktionsart and imperfectivisation.

## 6. Verbs of Motion

Verbal aspect in Russian is further complicated by the special situation of the restricted class of verbs of motion. All Russian verbs belong to either the perfective or imperfective aspect and in many cases form a dichotomous aspectual partnership. In addition, all VoM form a dichotomy of determinative and indeterminate verbs, both of which belong to the imperfective aspect. In the following chapter, I will only account for the verbal pair of motion идти/ходить<sub>impf</sub> (‘to go’), that exists among at least 12 other pairs of VoM.

### 6.1 Semantics

In scientific literature, there is generally a consensus on the nature of verbs of motion. VoM are a morphological and semantic distinct class or group of verbs that are “a special case of aspectual usage” which describe actions with “couples of imperfective verbs [...], present[ing] two alternative



views of this activity” (Forsyth 1970, 319). This class consists of imperfective (tantum) verbs that, in pairs, form an opposition on a functional-semantic level (Mulisch 1993, 84; Isačenko 1962, 423ff; impf. tantum: see Schlegel 2002, 73).

VoM have the same characteristic features as other verbs (Isačenko 1962, 419), even though not all Russian verbs that denote ‘change of location under locomotion’ (‘*Ortsveränderung*’: Tischer 1994, 12, 14) are members of this class (Isačenko 1962, 423).

The only difference between the two members of a VoM pair is that one of them is marked as time-limited and unidirectional. In other words, a VoM carries information about whether a motion is taking place in one direction or not. So, the character of the opposite, non-marked VoM is that it may carry any meanings other than ‘unidirectional locomotion’.

Russian grammars usually indicate the difference between pairs of VoM with the notions *однонаправленность* (‘unidirectional’) and *неоднонаправленность* (‘non-unidirectional’, Švedova 1980, 591; or ‘ненаправленность’ - ‘non-directional’: Isačenko 1962). Meanwhile, in the Western tradition, several terms refer to this phenomenon, for example, ‘uni-directional and multi-/poly-directional’ (Mahota 1996; Nielsen 2011). This work will refer to the terms ‘determinate’ and ‘indeterminate’ as introduced by Karcevski (1927, 108ff) and widely accepted by other influential scholars (Foote 1967; Isačenko 1962; Gabka and Mulisch 1975; Durst-Andersen 1997). These notions focus on the markedness alone without attaching any misleading information to the binary opposition and will avoid any confusion in the following account of semantics of the VoM (see also, Foote 1967, 6).

Even though there is little doubt as to the existence of markedness within the class of VoM, there are varying opinions on its semantics, as the different notions may indicate. For instance, some scholars state that determinate VoM also possess the meaning of ‘locomotion towards a goal’ (‘zielgerichtet’: Růžička 1974).

The difference between determinate and indeterminate verbs lies exclusively in their lexical meaning (Isačenko 1962, 419; Forsyth 1970, 325; Hoepelman 1981, 87). Both relate to the same reality that, in German, would be denoted with a single verb. They share the same meaning, apart from one distinction: the determinate partner is additionally marked with the feature of ‘determinateness’, while the indeterminate partner is lacking this feature. I refer to the presence or absence of determinateness in VoM as its *verbal character* (‘Verbalcharakter’, Isačenko pp.). Still, the members in a pair of VoM present an action, each in their own way (Isačenko 1962, 419).

For Isačenko (1975, 398), the verbal character (характер глагольного действия) denotes a feature of verbs separate from aspect and aktionsart. It refers to the cases when a verb bears a specific meaning of actionality which is not expressed as morphological. Both aktionsart and verbal character are both means of aspectuality (Gulawska 2000, 20).

The opposition between determinate and indeterminate becomes *grammatically* relevant when it comes to aspectual perfectivisation and formation of aktionsart (Isačenko 1962, 441). The categories of aspect and aktionsart are not definitive in order that a simplex verb be categorised as determinate or indeterminate, but they become relevant to translation of VoM from German to Russian.

**Table II: Aspect and Verbal Character of VoM**

aspect	aspectual pair		
	imperfective		perfective
verbal character	indeterminate [no indication on direction]	determinate [in one direction]	∅
simplex form	<b>ХОДИТЬ</b> [tantum]	<b>ИДТИ</b> [tantum]	∅
English German	'to go' 'gehen'		

It is of great importance to emphasise that both members of a verbal pair in VoM belong to imperfective aspect, and that a VoM pair must be clearly differentiated from aspectual pairs.

The fact that *идти/ходить*<sub>impf</sub> belong to the class of VoM makes it easier to focus on prefixes in the discussion of aspectual derivation. As shown in the following sections, secondary imperfectivisation unambiguously occurs in VoM with the use of the stem of the verb of opposite verbal character. So, instead of using suffix morphemes, a perfective form such as *пойти* derives an imperfective by using the verbal stem of the indeterminate *ходить*, as seen in the table below.

## 6.2 Morphology

VoM lose the feature of determinate-indeterminate in the process of aspectual perfectivisation, (Isačenko 1962, 419, 437) while they retain this feature in the course of formation of aktionsart. The fact that use of qualifying prefixes cancels the presence of verbal character in the newly derived verb further indicates that the new perfective is actually a new lexical unit with independent semantics (see below on qualifying prefixes in aktionsart). First, the morphology will be illustrated with qualifying prefixes which are relevant in the creation of aspectual pairs. Then, derivation with modifying prefixes will be discussed below in the chapter on aktionsart.

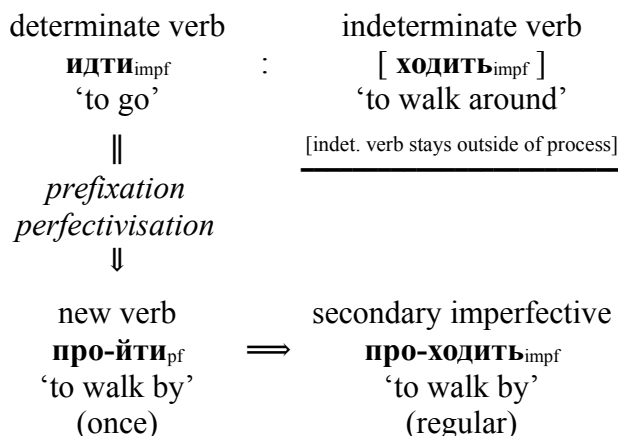
### 6.2.1 Aspectual Pairs

Perfectivisation by prefixation is possible with each member of the VoM pair *идти/ходить*<sub>impf</sub>.

As shown above, new verbs derive from *qualifying* prefixes. In the case of VoM, qualifying prefixation generally happens exclusively to one of the members of a pair of VoM, and in the case of *идти/ходить*<sub>impf</sub> always from the determinate (*идти*<sub>impf</sub> 'to go' → *про-йти*<sub>pf</sub> 'to walk by').

Analogous to any other verbs, the aspectual partner to the new verb derives by secondary imperfectivisation. Contrary to imperfectivisation of other verbs, which are derived by suffixation, VoM change their verbal stem to that of the simplex opposite in verbal character (*у-йти*<sub>pf</sub> → *у-ходить*<sub>impf</sub>). In this case it is only the form of the simplex being used, not its verbal character. The new verb and its secondary imperfective now form an aspectual pair.

**Table III: Derivation of Aspectual Pairs from VoM**



(Isačenko 1962, 431)

It should be emphasised that the verbal form *проходить<sub>impf</sub>* is not derived directly from the indeterminate simplex VoM, rather it merely uses its form. It is the imperfectivised verbal form of the verb *пройти<sub>pf</sub>* that has been derived from the determinate simplex VoM *идти<sub>impf</sub>*, as a secondary imperfective cannot derive from another imperfective verb. This mechanism potentially applies to *идти/ходить<sub>impf</sub>* with all possible prefixes.

A newly prefixed verb no longer belongs to the class of VoM; it loses its verbal character. That is, it cannot be classified as determinate or indeterminate.

<i>aspect</i>	imperfective	imperfective	perfective	imperfective
<i>verbal character</i>	determinate	indeterminate	∅	∅
<i>form</i>	<b>идти</b>	:	<b>ходить</b> ≠	<b>пройти</b> :
				<b>проходить</b>

(Isačenko 1962, 437)

### 6.3 Aspect and Tense

The aspect of verbal forms is of great importance to the expression of temporal semantics. Compared with Germanic languages, Russian has a limited inventory of tense forms but it compensates for this by interconnecting tense with the potentialities of aspect. Russian expresses temporal relations in combination with aspect.

It is important to mention that only verbs of imperfect aspect are able to denote action that is taking place in the present (e.g. *хожу<sub>impf</sub>* ‘I am walking’). It is in the nature of the present tense that an action can only be regarded as it proceeds. Because it is not possible to consider an action taking place in the present in its indivisible entirety, the *present forms* of perfective verbs always indicate future tense (*уйду<sub>pf</sub>* ‘I will go away’). It is also possible to express an action in future tense with imperfective aspectual meaning analytically, by using the construct *быть<sub>impf.inf</sub>* (‘to be’) in combination with the infinitive, e.g. *буду<sub>impf.fut</sub> ходить<sub>inf</sub>* (‘I will be walking’), or *буду<sub>impf.fut</sub> идти<sub>inf</sub>* (‘I will go’).

**Table IV: Finite Tense and Aspect Forms of идти/ходить and the Aspectual Pair уйти/уходить**

Aspect	imperfective		perfective	(secondary) imperfective
Tense	indeterminate VoM	determinate VoM	Aspectual pair	
Future	<b>буду ходить</b> 'I will be walking'	<b>буду идти</b> 'I will go'	<b>уйду</b> 'I will go away'	<b>буду уходить</b> 'I will be going away'
Present	<b>хожу</b> 'I walk'	<b>иду</b> 'I go'	<b>Ø</b> [no form]	<b>ухожу</b> 'I am going away'
Past	<b>ходил</b> 'I was walking'	<b>шёл</b> 'I went'	<b>ушёл</b> 'I went away'	<b>уходил</b> 'I was going away'
Infinitive	<b>ходить</b> 'to walk'	<b>Идти</b> 'to go'	<b>уйти</b> 'to go away'	<b>уходить</b> 'to be going away'

The translations given in this table are not necessarily congruent with all forms in all contexts of a Russian original. Rather, an attempt is made to give the reader an approximate lexical equivalent and a subjective idea on the semantic distance between the denotations of the forms.

## 7. Aktionsart

'Aktionsart' is the term for any kind of actionality and was used in Indo-European studies of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as what today is called 'aspect'. In Slavic studies, aktionsart has been considered as a complement to aspectual pairs (e.g. Bondarko and Bulanin 1967) and later, under the influence of structuralism, as a formally marked morphological complementary to the inflectional forms of aspectual pairs (Lehmann 1999; ref. Maslov 1984). Isačenko (1975) goes so far as to define aktionsart as an independent lexical category as opposed to the grammatical category of aspect (Lehmann 1999, 20), a definition that is adopted in this thesis. 'Non-verbs' which have the function of expressing actionality as adverbs do (e.g. часто 'often', вдруг 'suddenly') by definition do not belong to this category in Russian linguistics (Lehmann 1999, 20).

### 7.1 Semantics

German and Russian linguists refer to *lexical* aspect as a different category than aspect, and there is inconsistency in English in naming the linguistic phenomenon of lexical aspect. Therefore, in the following chapter, this category is referred to using the German notion of 'aktionsart', following the precedent of other English publications. The notion in both languages may be translated as 'manner of action,' and even though this term sometimes appears in English linguistic literature, one could argue that 'grammatical' aspect also could be characterised as a 'manner of action'. Confusion is avoided by using the German term.

Whereas every Russian verb must belong to one part of the binary category of aspect, most verbs stand outside the category of aktionsart (Isačenko 1962, 387). In Russian, the independent lexical category of aktionsart of verbs is characterised with one semantic and two formal features (Isačenko 1962).

The first formal characteristic identified is that aktionsart is formed by affixation of the base verb. These forms may be *homonymous*, i.e. formally congruent but semantically different, to that we already know from the category of aspect (see chapter 7.3).

The other characteristic of prefixed simplex verbs expressing aktionsart is that, according to Isačenko, they never produce aspectual pairs. Perfective verbs that were modified with affixes in the meaning of aktionsart remain of the same aspect as their perfective base verb, while imperfective base verbs change in aspect with prefixation. According to Isačenko, a verbal form with modifying

prefix is always perfective *tantum*. That is, it can never be found in conjunction with a semantically equal verb of opposite aspect (1975, 382).

Aktionsart is, unlike aspect, an optional feature of Russian verbs. It indicates a slight modification of the lexical meaning, without essentially changing its semantics. The ‘base verb’ (*Ausgangsverb*, Isačenko 1962, 386) which in our case is represented in the simplex forms *ХОДИТЬ<sub>impf</sub>* will, in the course of modifying prefixation, retain its verbal character of indeterminateness and remain a VoM. This clearly indicates its difference from qualifying prefixation, whose function is to create verbs with new lexical meaning that are beyond the class of VoM, as indicated above on morphology of aspect.

Aktionsart generally denotes a verb's telicity; it describes the characteristics of a verb, to denote a change in a given situation. A specific condition or process precedes a new condition or process. For example, *ходить* ‘to walk’ is not telic, whereas *заходить<sub>pf</sub>* ‘to start walking’ is telic, as the condition ‘to stand’ precedes the new situation (Egg 1994, 12–13).

Another significant difference between verbal forms of aktionsart and aspectual partners is that verbs of aktionsart never bear any figurative meaning, as they remain VoM and are semantically too close to the literal meaning of the base verb ‘to go’ (Isačenko 1962, 438).

## 7.2 Morphology

As indicated above in the case of *идти/ходить<sub>impf</sub>*, modifying prefixation occurs only with the simplex *ходить<sub>impf</sub>*, whereas prefixation of *идти<sub>impf</sub>* is always of qualifying character.

Like qualifying prefixation, modifying prefixation also changes the imperfective simplex to perfective aspect. Unlike qualifying prefixation, which only applies *идти<sub>impf</sub>*, modifying prefixation applies exclusively to *ходить<sub>impf</sub>*. A perfective from the simplex *ходить<sub>impf</sub>* stays a VoM and is always perfective *tantum*, i.e. it cannot derive a secondary imperfective.

**Table V: Morphology of Aktionsart in VoM**

<b>ХОДИТЬ</b>	⇒	<b>про-ходить</b>
simplex	<i>modifying prefixation</i>	aktionsart
imperfective	<i>perfectivisation</i>	perfective
‘to walk’		‘to walk’ (e.g. all night)

Isačenko classifies the different kinds of aktionsart exclusively in terms of their morphology according to different prefixes, suffixes or change in stress (Isačenko 1962, 387). In this work, perfectivisation of the simplex *ходить* leads to change in stress only in one case (*выходить*). This phenomenon will be discussed in the analysis of the corresponding verb.

In the following section, the prefixes which are relevant to the forms analysed below will be canvassed. Isačenko classifies the different types of perfective aktionsart in four groups: periodic, quantitative, distributive and iterative, where the iterative forms of aktionsart are always of imperfective aspect.

Although this classification of aktionsart may differ among authors, the types of aktionsart themselves follow the traditional typology as proposed by the Academical Grammar (Šmelev and Zaliznjak 2000, 105; see AG: Švedova 1980, paragraphs 1413–1436). Although this thesis uses Isačenko's terms, reference is also made to Šmelev and Zaliznjak (2000, 104), Maslov (1984) and Natalja Sergeevna Avilova (1976), as they generally recognise the same types of aktionsart. Bondarko assumes an additional category of aktionsart with verbs that do not have a morphological

indication, e.g. simplex verbs. As he defines the types of aktionsart which do have morphological indication similarly, his typology of aktionsart will also be taken into consideration (Bondarko and Bulanin 1967). These scholars all agree on the different types of aktionsart, merely categorising them according to different features.

Some of the forms of aktionsart not discussed in the analysis will nevertheless be mentioned in order to clarify the nature of aktionsart.

### 7.2.1 Temporal Aktionsart

The group of the temporal types of aktionsart ('*Phasenbedeutung*', Isačenko 1962, 388) can be characterised by the feature of focussing attention on a specific period of time. The meaning of a verb will be modified with these types of aktionsart in order to specify how the ongoing action, which is denoted with an imperfective simplex, starts, ends or proceeds in time.

The **ingressive** aktionsart focuses attention on the beginning of an action, which is regarded in its entirety (as it is of perfective aspect). The attention is drawn to the beginning point of the action, not the starting period. Generally, this meaning is expressed in Russian verbs by adding the prefixes за-, вз- (вс-, взо-), во3-, по-. In the case of VoM, it is denoted with the prefix за- (заходить, 'to start walking') (Isačenko 1962, 388).

Although focussing on the beginning of an action, the **evolutive** aktionsart denotes not its beginning point, but the period from the beginning. In other words, the information given by this aktionsart is not the fact that an action has started, but the manner in which it started. The start of an action develops; generally, it can be described the way that the intensity of a starting action grows until it reaches its optimum or maximum. This aktionsart is generally formed with the prefix раз- and the postfix -ся which denote reflexivity (Isačenko 1962, 390). In the example, the meaning of *расходиться<sub>pf</sub>* is 'to get used to walking', 'sth. comes to a point of highest intensity' (e.g. rain), or 'something starts to increase'.

The **delimitative** aktionsart focusses on a specific period within an action that is regarded in its entirety. The particular period is not necessarily short; it only indicates that the action is time limited (Isačenko 1962, 391). The analysis of the form below illustrates this assertion. This aktionsart is morphologically marked by the prefix по-. In addition to Isačenko's definition, this aktionsart often also indicates time-limited action with reduced intensity. This meaning may be called 'delimitative-attenuative'.

A special case of periodic aktionsart is **resultative**, as it bears meanings that are close to the meaning of perfective aspect (Isačenko 1962, 394). This aktionsart can be broken down to a number of sub-classes, described below.

The **actual resultative** aktionsart means that an action has been brought to a successful end. Isačenko states that this aktionsart is not assigned to a specific prefix but he gives examples with the prefixes по-, у- and вс- (Isačenko 1962, 394). Later in the analysis, several cases will illustrate this aktionsart.

The **terminative** aktionsart, represented by the prefix *по-*, focusses on the end of an action (Isačenko 1962, 394) without indicating whether the action has been cancelled or successfully brought to an end.

The end of an action that has lasted a specific period of time is represented in the **perdurative** aktionsart. This meaning is represented in perfective verbs with the prefixes *по-*, and *неп-* (Isačenko 1962, 394).

An action that has been finished by cancelling it is classified as being a **finitive** aktionsart. This meaning is represented with the prefix *от-* (Isačenko 1962, 394).

The meaning of **total** aktionsart is to denote that the action has captured, seized or worked off an object or a specific number of objects. According to Isačenko, this aktionsart realises itself only by

forming a perfective verb with the prefix -из (Isačenko 1962, 394). As seen below, this meaning may also be expressed with the prefix вы-.

Verbs with the prefix до- describe the period of an action coming to an end. Isačenko does not regard verbs with this prefix as belonging to aktionsart because of the ability to derive a secondary imperfective from this form (Isačenko 1962, 396). The following analysis will demonstrate that this is also the case with some other perfective verbs of aktionsart.

### 7.2.2 Quantitative Aktionsart

The different types of quantitative aktionsart do not focus the attention on temporal issues, as temporal types of aktionsart do, but on the intensity or frequency of actions. Several kinds of **semelfactive** aktionsart belong to this group, i.e. single actions that are morphologically marked as taking place once (Latin *semel*: ‘once’, *facere*: ‘to do’).

The **attenuative** aktionsart is a quite rare case. It differs from the other types in the way that it applies exclusively to perfective verbs. In general, it can be defined as modifying the action in terms of its intensity. The intensity of the action is reduced or it takes place only gradually.

In the case of verbs with the -ходить-stem, one could describe it as the ‘aktionsart of an aktionsart’. This is because the action which is already described by a prefixed verb (here *сходить*<sub>pf</sub>, ‘to go once’ or *сходить*<sub>impf</sub> ‘to get off sth.’) will be specified by prefixation with по-. This indicates that the action took place gradually, in a slow manner (in this example, *посходить*<sub>pf</sub>, ‘to go once slowly’ or ‘to get off sth. slowly’).

Verbs of imperfective aspect describe actions, among others, as being in process or as a characteristic feature of the subject. The denotations of the action that may be assigned to *ходить* are focussed on either the process ‘to be going’ (‘он ходит’, ‘he is going/walking’) or the characteristics of the subject (‘он уже ходит в школу’, ‘he is already going to school’). The **semelfactive** aktionsart describes an action as taking place once. As the semantics of the indeterminate *ходить* may imply that the action is taking place in both directions, the prefix specifies that the action takes place only once, i.e. once there and back.

### 7.2.3 Distributive Aktionsart

An action can take place as a series of single actions, potentially even at different locations, and still be considered as being one event in its entirety. As the name indicates, the action is distributed among different objects. This aktionsart focusses in the inner structure of the action as a whole.

This aktionsart is perfective and most productive in combining the prefixes *непe-* and *по-* with imperfective simplex verbs. In addition, this aktionsart also applies to prefixed verbs of both aspects. This is the reason why some of the prefixed verbs in the corpus actually have two prefixes.

The distributive aktionsart may be formed from both perfective and imperfective verbs.

The aktionsart is indicated with the prefix *по-*, which can apply to both simplexes and prefixed verbs. This aktionsart can easily be confused with the *attenuative* aktionsart, which only applies to perfectives, however.

### 7.2.4 Iterative Aktionsart

Isačenko defines all iteratives as always being of imperfective aspect.

According to the scholars named above, the ‘**true**’ **iterative** only applies to imperfective verbs. It is derived with the suffix -ива- and denotes the repetition of the action in the meaning ‘to do something from time to time’.

Assuming that this aktionsart applies to verbs that already are assigned by prefixation to a specific perfective aktionsart, one could expect that this aktionsart simply bears the meanings of the

perfective aktionsart with the additional iterative meaning. Scholars usually assign suffixation of prefixed verbs exclusively to secondary imperfectivisation. Iteratives in combination with the prefix and the suffix -ива- are regarded as individual types of aktionsart.

The **deminutive-iterative** aktionsart (превысто-смягчительный), with its pattern по- with the suffix -ива-, has the lexical semantics of ‘to do something a little from time to time’.

Also being deminutive-iterative, the ‘**continuous-protracted**’ (own term, процессно-длительный) aktionsart is derived according to the pattern ‘рас-...-ива-’ and denotes an action which ‘just happens’ without any specific goal or reason (Šmelev and Zaliznjak 2000, 123).

### 7.3 Homonymy

In comparing the forms of verbs in aktionsart and those of secondary imperfectives, one may notice that there are a number of identical forms. When consulting any authoritative monolingual Russian dictionary, such as Ušakov (1935) or Ožegov-Švedova (1999), a verbal form like заходить appears to be listed twice as homonyms of the same form, each with individual semantics. One is annotated as being of perfective aspect with a clear semantic relation to the simplex (‘to start walking’). The other one appears to be of imperfective aspect (‘to come around regularly’), often with figurative meaning (‘to go too far’), whose semantics can clearly be identified as the aspectual partner of пойти (‘to come around once’). At first glance, it may appear inconsistent that one and the same form may have opposite aspects and a significant difference in semantics. The grammatical rule that simplex verbs can only create verbs of perfective aspect by prefixation seems to be unreasonable, just as the same form in some cases is perfective tantum, and in other cases has an aspectual partner of perfective aspect. On closer examination of the mechanisms involved in aspectual derivation of VoM, it becomes clear that the imperfective form is a secondary imperfective, and not a prefixed form of ходить. Isačenko's theory provides a logical and consistent explanation of homonymy among verbs that are derived of VoM, by distinguishing aktionsart from the category of aspect.

**Table VI: Comparison of Prefixation from VoM in Aspect and Aktionsart**

<p>determinate verb [ <b>ИДТИ</b><sub>impf</sub> ] ‘to go’</p> <hr/> <p>[det. verb stays outside of process]</p>	<p>indeterminate verb <b>ХОДИТЬ</b><sub>impf</sub> ‘to walk around’</p> <p>  </p> <p><i>modifying prefixation</i></p> <p>⇓</p> <p>aktionsart <b>про-ходить</b><sub>pf</sub> ‘to walk’ (e.g. all night)</p> <p>tantum</p>	<p>determinate verb <b>ИДТИ</b><sub>impf</sub> ‘to go’</p> <p>  </p> <p><i>qualifying prefixation</i></p> <p>⇓</p> <p>new verb <b>про-йти</b><sub>pf</sub> ‘to walk by’ (once)</p>	<p>indeterminate verb [ <b>ХОДИТЬ</b><sub>impf</sub> ] ‘to walk around’</p> <hr/> <p>[indet. verb stays outside of process]</p> <p>secondary imperfective <b>про-ходить</b><sub>impf</sub> ‘to walk by’ (regularly)</p>
			<p>⇒</p> <p>aspectual partners</p>

(Isačenko 1962, 440)



## 7.4 Suffixation of VoM

As mentioned above, in some cases *prefix*+ходить perfectives (aktionsart) also formally produce secondary imperfectives by suffixation.

**Table VII: Mechanism A**

<b>ХОДИТЬ</b>	⇒	<b>ВЫ-ХОДИТЬ</b>	⇒	<b>ВЫХАЖ-ИВА-ТЬ</b>
simplex imperfective 'to walk around'	<i>prefixation</i> <i>perfectivisation</i>	aktionsart perfective 'to nurse'	<i>suffixation</i> <i>imperfectivisation</i>	new verbal partner secondary imperfective 'to nurse'

Isačenko argues that secondary perfectives of forms of aktionsart are always derived when the prefixed verb has lost its verbal character, i.e. its meaning of locomotion, as is the case in the example provided (Isačenko 1962, 435).

In some cases, the application of iterative aktionsart to the simplex verb could have the same result, if we accepted that, contrary to the convention, this aktionsart also applies to perfective verbs (e.g. ходить+iterative aktionsart → расхаживать). The following analysis will show that forms of aktionsart which have not lost their semantics may also create secondary imperfectives without losing their meaning of aktionsart (Avilova 1976, 263).

In the situation of *prefix*+хаживать the aspectual belonging is clear, as it is always imperfective. The problem here is to determine the meaning, why it is important to determine, whether the form is a secondary imperfective of (*prefix*+ХОДИТЬ)<sub>pf</sub>, or if it is an imperfective aktionsart from either ХОДИТЬ<sub>impf</sub> or (*prefix*+ХОДИТЬ)<sub>impf</sub>.

Forms of *prefix*+хаживать. are potentially homonymous, as there are three different mechanisms, which can derive them. The first is secondary imperfectivisation of a *perfective*, as I have set out above (A). The second is, the application of an imperfective aktionsart to the *base verb*, which occurs in the combination of prefixation and suffixation (B). The third mechanism (C) would be the application of (imperfective) iterative aktionsart to an imperfective.

**Table VIII: Mechanisms B and C**

<b><u>Mechanism B</u></b>			<b><u>Mechanism C</u></b>		
<b>ХОДИТЬ</b>	⇒	<b>рас-хажи-ва-ть</b>	<b>заходить</b>	⇒	<b>захажи-ва-ть</b>
simplex imperfective	<i>affixation</i> <i>prefix+suffix</i>	aktionsart imperfective	imperfective	<i>suffixation</i>	(iterative) aktionsart imperfective

Although all three mechanisms theoretical may apply, to ходить or their prefixed forms, they are not necessarily realised in actual speech. Still it is important for the right understanding of the form, to be aware of which mechanism has applied to a specific form.

As there are still forms which denote motion (*prefix*+хаживать), Isačenko classifies them as parallel forms of the secondary imperfectives of *prefix*+идти. That is, in these cases they are to be regarded as being synonymous with (*prefix*+ХОДИТЬ)<sub>impf</sub> (Isačenko 1962, 434). However, dictionaries indicate something else. In the second part of the thesis, this argument will be examined by analysing examples from the corpora and dictionary entries.

If we follow Isačenko's argument, there appear to be many cases which must be regarded as an exception to the rule that aktionsart of (*prefix+ходить*)<sub>pf</sub> always retains its lexical proximity to the base verb. In the example above, the lexical meaning has diachronically changed in the way that the initial semantics of this form have become blurred. In this case, the form has lost its verbal character of denoting motion. This development in Russian obviously proceeds regularly, as many of these forms already are documented in dictionaries and corpora, as the following table illustrates:

**Table IX: Verified Forms with -хаживать-stem**

	Ušakov (1935)	Ožegova- Švedova (1999)	Efremova (2006)	Kuznecov (2008)	RNC base		RNC speech	Parasol
					disambig	ambig	ambig (disambig)	
вхаживать			pf			3		
выхаживать	pf	pf	pf	pf	7	296	4	
дохаживать		pf	0	0	1	20		
захаживать	impf	impf	impf	impf	15	396	7	
исхаживать	pf		pf	pf		10		
нахаживать	pf		impf	pf		55		
*нахаживаться								
обхаживать	impf	0	0	0	1	204	12	
отхаживать	pf	pf	0	pf		37		
отхаживаться	pf		0			3		
перехаживать	pf		impf	pf	1	10		
похаживать	0	0	0	0	19	576	1	
прохаживать	pf		pf	0		18		
прохаживаться	pf	pf	0	0	28	1396	7	
расхаживать	0	0	0	0	39	1796	10	2
расхаживаться			0	pf		5		
схаживать	impf							
ухаживать	0	0	0	0	105	4955	(2) 259	5

**Remarks:**

pf indicated as to be a secondary imperfective of (*prefix+ходить*)<sub>pf</sub>

impf indicates as to be aktionsart of (*prefix+ходить*)<sub>impf</sub>

0 indicates the existence of an entry without reference to *prefix+ходить*

From the corpora it is apparent that these forms still occur quite infrequently. Still, dictionaries document secondary imperfectives to all forms of (*prefix+ходить*)<sub>pf</sub>. In many cases, the dictionaries also denote these forms as secondary imperfectives (x). Other forms appear without any reference to the perfective form (0), whereas some of the forms are referred to as connected to the perfective (*prefix+идти*)<sub>pf</sub>.

In many cases, the forms refer secondary imperfective to only one specific meaning of (*prefix+ходить*)<sub>pf</sub>, usually to a meaning that has lost its ability to express motion. These forms are in many, or even most cases, marked as being of colloquial, substandard speech or *prostorečie*.

By suffixation, prefixed forms of *-ходить* appear in the form of *prefix+хаживать* for phonological reasons which are not discussed here as these mechanisms are well-documented in grammar textbooks as the newer *Academy Grammars* (e.g. Švedova 1980). Although almost all forms of *prefix+ходить* have an analogous form in *prefix+хаживать*, not all are derived by the same means. Homonymy does not only affect words, but also morphemes, which in this case is the morpheme {-ива-, -ыва-}.

The motivation for the derivation of a verb according to the pattern *prefix+ходить* → *prefix+хаж-ива-ть* can differ fundamentally. They do have in common that forms with this suffix are always of imperfective aspect.

Isačenko does not provide descriptions of a quite a number types for imperfective aktionsart. From this point of view we have three options; we can expect the list different types as incomplete and borrow definitions from other authors; we apply the iterative aktionsart to perfective forms of aktionsart; or admit that these forms are secondary imperfectives of aktionsart. For example, in some cases it remains unclear, whether forms with *-ива-* retain their verbal character in spite of being secondary imperfectives, or because they are of imperfective aktionsart.

According to Avilova (1976, 262), some perfectives of aktionsart usually behave as aspectual pairs. Furthermore, the secondary imperfectivisation of such an aktionsart also retains the aktionsart (1976, 263). This is why Šmelev and Zaliznjak regard some imperfective forms of aktionsart as the combination of prefix and suffix, rather than a combination of two forms of aktionsart (Šmelev and Zaliznjak 2000).

**Table X: Input-Output Paradigm for ходить**

operation		INPUT			OUTPUT		
A	aspectual relation	not pair			pair* or aktionsart		
	lexical relation	aktionsart					
	morphological	process	perfectivisation* prefixation			imperfectivisation* suffixation	
		material	-ходить	[prefix]-		-ива-	
B	form	↑ ХОДИТЬ <sub>impf</sub>			[prefix]+ХОДИТЬ <sub>pf</sub>	(?) ↓ [prefix] +ХАЖИВАТЬ <sub>impf</sub>	
		ИДТИ <sub>impf</sub> ↓	[prefix]+ИТИ <sub>pf</sub>		[prefix]+ХОДИТЬ <sub>impf</sub>	↑ (?)	
	morphological	material	-йти	[prefix]-	-ходить	-ива-	
		process	perfectivisation prefixation		imperfectivisation alternation of stem	no change in aspect suffixation	
lexical relation	new verb not pair		synonymous pair		aktionsart not pair		

\*The process perfectivisation and imperfectivisation applies only in the case of aspectual pairs [prefix]+ХОДИТЬ<sub>pf</sub> ↔ [prefix]+ХАЖИВАТЬ<sub>impf</sub>. In case of aktionsart, prefixation and suffixation apply simultaneously to the base verb.

The following analysis will demonstrate that the combination of prefix and suffix -ива- also applies to verbs which do not exist as perfectives. The question is whether the iterative aktionsart still applies to this verb, or whether it is a different aktionsart which is embodied by other morphological markers.

## 7.5 Actionality

*Aspect* refers to the manner in which an action is presented (Bermel 1994, 9). However, the English term 'aspect' traditionally describes two phenomena which are treated differently in German and Russian studies. Recently, attempts were made to differentiate the two different notions of what English linguistics call 'aspect' using two different expressions. Some linguists distinguish between 'grammatical' and 'lexical' aspect. This paper follows the scientific opinion that narrows down 'aspect' to that which is usually referred to as 'grammatical aspect', and separates 'lexical aspect' into a different category which, in English, is sometimes vaguely called 'manner of action'. This separation of the notion of 'aspect' from that of 'manner' or 'kind of action' (German 'Aktionsart', Russian 'способ действия') is of great importance for the study of Russian grammar, particularly in the discussion of prefixation and suffixation. Moreover, this distinction is also of increasing importance to German studies, partly because of the influence of Slavic studies in comparative linguistics since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Andersson 1972, V). In the following chapter, the notions of grammatical and lexical aspect are subsumed under the generic term of 'actionality' when referring simultaneously to both categories (Andersson 1972, 25).

The notions 'aspect' and 'aktionsart' exist as concepts in both German and Russian studies. However, the terms are used in each language to a different extent and address the domains of linguistics quite differently. In Russian and in German, actionality refers to the semantic features of verbs. The most important difference is that in Russian both categories are, above all, represented *morphologically*, expressed exclusively by affixation, while in German these are exclusively *semantic* features of the action taking place without any *grammaticalised* morphological indication. In other words, whereas in Russian actionality may be located as a lexical *and* morphological feature of a verb, German is lacking grammatical categories for actionality. It merely expresses actionality *implicitly* in the meaning of an utterance within the boundaries of a sentence, involving morphology, syntax, lexis as well as pragmatics.

Aside from the morphological determinable categories aspect and aktionsart, the category of verbal character also has an influence on actionality, as stated above. This category cannot be determined morphologically, as it is only found in the lexical semantics of a particular verb.

In this way, the tradition of German linguistics provides the possibility of analysing actionality on a broader basis. German realises aspect and aktionsart not only through verbs, but also in phrases, sentences, and possibly even without the use of any verbs.

While Russian grammar distinguishes between aspect and aktionsart, this distinction seems to be artificial and theoretical within German linguistics, as there is no formal difference in German between aktionsart and (grammatical) aspect. German linguistics locates the difference between the two notions on the level of lexis, syntax and pragmatics, albeit morphological features do have an influence. This analysis will examine, among other questions, whether the distinction between the two categories within German is of any relevance for translation of actionality from Russian to German.

## PART II – Analysis

### 8. Methods

Only forms that may be found in the given corpus will be taken into account, while other possible pre-fixations that are documented in dictionaries and grammars will be ignored.

#### 8.1 Choosing Subcorpora

From all parallel aligned Russian and German texts in ParaSol, five novels that are available in original Russian and their German translation are considered. These are:

- Николай Островский – Как закалялась сталь. 1936 (92.147 tokens); Nikolaj Ostrovskij – “How the Steel Was Tempered”; *Source information on the German translation missing.*
- Михаил Булгаков – Мастер и Маргарита. 1938 (116.567 tokens); Translation: Michail Bulgakow – Der Meister und Margarita. *Translated by* Thomas Reschke and Gisela Drohla. Luchterland, Darmstadt: 1973.
- Виктор Пелевин – Чапаев и Пустота. Москва: 1996 (57.501 tokens); Viktor Pelewin – Buddhas kleiner Finger. *Translated by* Andreas Tretner. Verlag Volk und Welt GmbH, Berlin: 1999.
- Аркадий и Борис Стругацкие – Гадкие лебеди. 1971 (50.120 tokens); Arkadi und Boris Strugazki – Die häßlichen Schwäne. *Translated by* Hans Földeak. 1982.
- Аркадий и Борис Стругацкие – Пикник на обочине. 1972 (47.093 tokens); Arkadi und Boris Strugazki – Picknick am Wegesrand. *Translated by* Aljonna Möckel. Verlag Das Neue Berlin: 1981.

The information on the number of tokens are obtained with the query

```
CQP > [] cut 1; A=[tag!="SENT" & tag!="," & tag!="-"];
```

*‘Show first occurrence; Count all occurrences except those which are annotated as punctuation’*

i.e. including all tokens except punctuation.

#### 8.2 Disambiguated Corpora

The vast majority of texts provided in the RNC have not been disambiguated. That is, forms were not annotated based on their actual meaning. Rather, they have automatically been annotated to all formally possible grammatical definitions regardless of their context. The example that is given in RNC is the form печь, which when isolated from its context, could be defined as an infinitive verb or a noun, or the form печи, which could be understood as a singular noun of genitive, dative or locative, or even as accusative plural. In non-disambiguated corpora these forms have multiple annotations. In queries, this produces much ‘noise’, as there will be many results that do not actually match the query for a specific category.

For instance, a query on the verbal form *походить*, either for imperfective or perfective aspect, in the non-disambiguated RNC will generate the following:

(3) Родители думали, что я месяц похожу и заброшу.

The grammatical annotation of the according word form is:

V, intr, ipf, indic, act, praes, 1p, sg, disamb

V, intr, pf, indic, act, fut, 1p, sg

*‘Verb, intransitive, imperfective, indicative, active, present, 1<sup>st</sup> person, singular’*

*‘Verb, intransitive, perfective, indicative, active, future, 1<sup>st</sup> person, singular’*

We can see that there are two contradictory annotations. One states that the verb is imperfective (*present*) and the other that it is perfective (*future* – see above on aspect and tense). It is obvious that this cannot be the case. In both cases, the lexical semantics would also be different. In the first case

the meaning would be ‘I will go a little’, while in the second case the meaning would be ‘I do look alike’. There are two homonymous lemmata in the form of *походить* that cannot be distinguished by their form but only by belonging to their respective aspects. Only the context makes it clear that there are two different lemmata which can take shape in the same form. In the given example, we can trace the true categorisation of the given verb grammatically by comparing it with the other verb form *заброшу*, which is syntactically coordinated to *похожу* and therefore definitely of future tense. As syntax shows, the meaning of *похожу* must be in future tense and therefore be an aktionsart of *ходить*. Of course, a reader of this sentence would not have to note these considerations; he or she would intuitively understand its meaning. It is an obstacle for the linguist, though, because it impedes finding results that match the query.

The problem of word forms with the same orthography but differing meaning is of great importance to this work, as the subjects are identical word forms that only differ by belonging to certain categories. Computational linguistics have not yet provided reliable tools for automated disambiguation of annotated text, so presently this still has to be done manually.

Fortunately, this work had been done in parts of the RNC. About 6 million of the total 265 million running words have been disambiguated in the base corpus, and the number in the speech corpus is about 216,000 words of the total 11 million. Nevertheless, research had to be done without the parallel corpus of the RNC because the disambiguation has not been adjusted.

In the case of *prefix+хаживать*, one may refer to non-disambiguated corpora. Apart from the lexical meaning or the derivative motivation of this form, it is always of imperfect aspect and grammatically cannot be homonymous. As there are only a small number of *prefix+хаживать* in the translation corpus, one must rely in most cases on occurrences from the RNC.

In ParaSol, alignment, lemmatisation and annotation had been done automatically (von Waldenfels 2006, 126). Contrary to the RNC, where all possible grammatical features of a verb have been annotated, in ParaSol ambiguous features of specific tokens have often not been annotated at all. Aspect seems to have been reviewed by a human, as all tokens have, without exception, been assigned to one aspect or the other.

Although analysis on translation cannot be made, having regard to the small number of occurrences in ParaSol and the generally good quality of annotation in the RNC, occurrences from the disambiguated monolingual part of the RNC are analysed.

### 8.3 Data Retrieval

Retrieving data from the RNC is quite straightforward. It is done by querying word forms by annotation with the help of the preferences made when creating the sub-corpus and by defining the annotation in a user-friendly interface.

The data retrieval in ParaSol is not as simple, since queries must be made in the CQP language.

In the following chapter, I will present the queries made for each word under analysis and review the problems that arise.

The problem could be revealed by searching for all word forms of a particular lemma by simultaneously making a negative search for the same lemma, i.e. querying word forms that are annotated with an incorrect lemma. A significant number of verbs were lemmatised with an infinitive of opposite aspect. I will illustrate this using the following example:

Usually, the query that has to be done to receive all occurrences of a specific lemma follows, here with the example of *выходить*:

```
CQP > [lemma="выходить"]
        'Get all tokens which are lemmatised as выходить'
```

Already the result page makes it obvious that in all German-Russian subcorpora the lemmatisation is false in many cases. This may be illustrated by querying all occurrences which are

lemmatised not as **выходить** but actually have a infinitive of finitive *form* of **выходить**:

```
CQP > [word="[ВВ]ыхо[дж].+" & lemma!="[ВВ]ыход.+" ]  
"Get all tokens which have a form of выходить but are not lemmatised as выходить"
```

The search results provide a list of a significant number of incorrect lemmatisations. Many forms of **выходить** have been lemmatised as **выхажтвать** or **выйти**. Further investigation of the corpus made it clear that the incorrect lemmatisation occurs only to prefixed forms of **ходить**. As the lemmatisation is obviously not reliable, the forms of object were found by their form. The data for the following analysis of the individual prefixed forms of **ходить** have all been retrieved according to the pattern:

```
CQP > [word="[ВВ]ыхо[дж].+" ]  
"Get all tokens which have a form of выходить"
```

The next issue that arises is the annotation of the occurrences. In order to query all forms of **выходить** of perfective aspect, i.e. all forms which according to Isačenko are aktionsart, the query had to be adjusted by adding a string with information on annotation:

```
CQP > [word="[ВВ]ыхо[дж].+" & tag="V.*e.*"]  
"Get all tokens which have a form of выходить and are tagged as a verb of perfective aspect"
```

The additional string asks the database for all annotations where 'V' and 'e' occur. V stands for verb and e for perfective aspect. The result page identifies a number of occurrences.

As the monolingual RNC also contains one novel that also is part of ParaSol, Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*, it was possible to check the annotations of the Russian text in both corpora against each other. By carrying out a spot check with all prefixed forms with the stem **-ходить**, it was possible to find a matching number of occurrences. In case of homonymy, the number of forms belonging to either one aspect or the other differed significantly. Although the ratio of perfective and imperfective forms is more or less the same in both the monolingual corpus of similar text-type (28.4% pf. in novels and short stories) and the parallel corpus (23.9%), a qualitative check of individual tokens made it clear that in ParaSol, there are a considerable number of incorrect annotations of aspect in prefixed forms of **-ходить**. In the case of *The Master and Margarita*, the annotation of perfective prefixed forms of **ходить** differed completely. A closer look at the occurrences in both corpora made clear that the RNC was annotated correctly, while all annotations in ParaSol were wrong.

Turning back to the occurrences of **выходить** in the other Russian-German sub-corpora of ParaSol, reviewing these made it clear that most occurrences have incorrect annotations as they are actually of imperfective aspect. Although other cases of errors in annotation were occasional and insignificant, there were a significant number of erroneous annotations respecting aspect. Consequently, I had to manually change numerous incorrect annotations. In this situation, the use of my own database has been an advantage, as it provides the ability to adjust these errors manually and still be able to make queries.

## 8.4 Own Database

For the purpose of this thesis the demands on the data are, to some extent, different from the results one may get with queries directly in the corpus system. The annotation had to be corrected manually, and in addition new annotations had to be made searchable and statistically evaluable, which is only possible by building a user-defined database that is open to adjustments.

As a first step, I retrieved all Russian sentences with their German alignment, containing 'ходить' in all derivations, by posting the query

```
CQP > [word=".*хо[жд].*" & tag="V.*"]  
"Get all word forms of ходить that start with minimum 1 character (for prefixes), which may end with a postfix and which are tagged as a verb."
```

The output appears as an XML document, from which all relevant information (ST, TT, match number, annotation etc.) is distilled and converted to SQL format, semi-manually with the aid of RegEx-patterns (Regular Expressions). With the computing interface MySQL, after filling the SQL database with the pre-processed data, there is a basis for additional annotation, advanced statistics and more complex query patterns than possible with the query language CQP of the original corpus system.

For annotation and statistical purposes I created a frontend PHP-interface in order to facilitate editing and viewing which may be accessed publicly on the internet<sup>1</sup>.

## 8.5 Occurrences

The belonging of a specific word form to one or the other aspect does not depend on certain grammatical theories. Any authoritative monolingual Russian dictionary mentions the existence of aspectual homonymy in prefixed forms derived from *ходить*. There is still controversy on the question of how far a given verb is morphologically linked to other verbs, what has been the basis for its form and which other verbs derive from it. The lexical meaning of a verb highly depends on which form is its aspectual partner or if it is tantum.

This examination of homonymy of prefixed verbal forms with the *-ходить* stem is based on those forms that occur in the chosen sub-corpora of ParaSol. The following forms have been found:

входить, выходить, всходить, доходить, заходить, заходиться, исходить, находить, находиться, обходить, обходиться, отходить, переходить, подходить, посходить, походить, приходить, приходиться, происходить, проходить, проходиться, расходиться, снисходить, сходить, сходиться, уходить.

These are not the only possible forms of *ходить* with a prefix. There are several other forms not present in ParaSol that have a different prefix or additional postfix to indicate reflexivity which will not be taken into account in this thesis.

Not all of these forms are homonymous imperfective or perfective. Some of them cannot bear perfective aspect, i.e. they are exclusively an imperfective partner to a perfective with *-идти*-stem and cannot express aktionsart. All of these forms appear as aspectual imperfectives from a perfective of the same lexical meaning.

The following table lists all occurrences from ParaSol, which have been verified as both perfective and imperfective in large, authoritative dictionaries and corpora. All forms can be found as imperfectives. The forms that could not be verified as perfective in any of the sources will not be featured in this study.

---

1 <http://podolak.net/thesis>



**Table XI: Verified Perfectives with ходить-stem**

source lemma	Ušakov (1935)	Ožegov- Švedova (1999)	Efremova (2006)	Kuznecov (2008)	RNC base	RNC speech	ParaSol	ParaSol manually reviewed
входить								
выходить	•	•	•	•	18		9	1
всходить								
доходить		•			2		1	
заходить	•	•	•	•	25	1		
заходиться	•		•	•				
исходить	•	•	•	•	11			
находить	•		•	•			2	
находиться	•	•	•	•	8			
обходить	•	•	•	•	2			
обходиться								
отходить	•	•	•	•			7	2
переходить		•	•	•	6		3	
подходить								
посходить	•	•	•	•	5		2	2
походить	•	•	•	•	64		4	4
приходить								
приходиться								
происходить								
проходить	•	•	•	•	67	4		
проходиться							1	
расходиться	•	•	•	•	6		1	
снисходить								
сходить	•	•	•	•	176	21	5	6
сходиться								
уходить	•	•	•	•	7 (3)	2 (0)		1

The first impression of this comparison is that there is generally congruence among the sources. The differences may result from the fact that dictionaries are naturally limited in size, and an author must make a choice as to how detailed an explanation will be made on the facets of a dictionary entry. Of course, the absence of a specific keyword does not indicate its non-existence. However, missing documentation of a specific aspectual meaning in both large corpora and dictionaries means it is likely that it does not exist in natural speech and that there are reasons which are immanent to the meaning of either prefix or verbal character.

As the cases of aktionsart are rare, it is more likely that a reader of a text or a translator would expect an imperfective form. This explains this paper's focus on the lexical meaning of the perfective forms and the measures for distinguishing their meanings from those of the more widespread, and less colloquial, imperfectives.

## 9. Analysis

The following analysis will examine forms with homonymy of forms of perfective and imperfective aspect which are present in ParaSol. Following a manual review of all possible homonyms in prefixed forms of ходить in ParaSol, the following forms are documented:

ВЫХОДИТЬ, ДОХОДИТЬ, ОТХОДИТЬ, ПОСХОДИТЬ, ПОХОДИТЬ, СХОДИТЬ, УХОДИТЬ

Imperfectivised forms of prefixed perfectives with the pattern *prefix+хаживать* are included. To what extent the according forms have been derived from ходить, (*prefix+ходить*)<sub>pf</sub> or (*prefix+ходить*)<sub>impf</sub> will be discussed, i.e. whether imperfectivisation or aktionsart is involved in their derivation. Referring to the forms identified above, these forms are:

ВЫХАЖИВАТЬ, ДОХАЖИВАТЬ, ОТХАЖИВАТЬ, ПОХАЖИВАТЬ, СХАЖИВАТЬ, УХАЖИВАТЬ

Although these forms are all definitely of imperfective aspect, homonymy is important because their lexical meaning is highly dependent on the homonymous form from which they originate. Not all forms are documented in ParaSol, so the RNC was consulted. In addition, the derivation of *расхаживать* will be discussed, as it is documented in ParaSol, although a verb \**расходить* is not documented.

The forms of *посходить* will be excluded because it is the aktionsart from the already prefixed VoM *сходить*. Because it is always perfective tantum and not homonymous, it is not problematic to determine its meaning and therefore it is irrelevant to this work.

I will review and analyse the forms according to Isačenko's definition of aktionsart, which is set out above. In considering each form, the manner in which the data has been retrieved from ParaSol will be identified, followed by comments on alignment, lemmatisation and annotation in the corpus. The focus will then turn to the perfective forms, commenting the meaning of the occurrences in both ST and TT. The homonymy with imperfective forms will be illustrated using examples, and by including, to some degree, findings from the RNC. In the course of this analysis, Isačenko's theory on aktionsart and aspect will be reviewed within the context of the data found in the corpora and dictionaries.

First, the number of occurrences in the corpus for each form and the quality of the source will be discussed, focussing on the annotation of aspect. Thereafter, the differences between the homonyms will be considered. Whether the meaning of a specific occurrence in the TT is unambiguous, and why this is so, will be examined. If that is not the case, I will argue for the possible meanings of the form. Furthermore, I will discuss, using examples, situations where a form could be understood either way and examine the possible reasons for the translator's choice of one meaning or the other.

Finally, I will discuss how effectively the forms of one or the other aspect are able to form the basis for derivation of aktionsart or aspectual pairs.

In many cases, the meaning of aktionsart is either blurred completely or to a certain degree. To reconstruct the original meaning, one would have to perform diachronic research into account in order to find out how far this form has diverged from its original meaning. Whether or not the according form could have been derived by means other than aktionsart will also be considered. Despite providing some examples, the approach used is synchronic.

## Forms by Prefix Present in ParaSol

### 9.1 ВЫ-

#### ВЫХОДИТЬ

The lexico-semantic denotation of the aspectual pair **выйти<sub>pf</sub>/выходить<sub>impf</sub>** is ‘to go/get out of sth’, which is largely used in figurative and metaphorical speech. This meaning may be illustrated by the following examples.

- (4) Он вышел на Тверской бульвар [...]  
(4') Er ging auf den Twerskoi-Boulevard hinaus.  
(5) А как проведу, сигнал дам, и вы тогда выходите.  
(5') Wenn ich damit fertig bin, geb ich das Signal, und ihr kommt raus.  
(6) Но из камина более никто не вышел.  
(6') [...] aber aus dem Kamin kam niemand mehr.

These examples show the most ‘literal’ meaning of **выходить<sub>impf</sub>** with ‘hinausgehen’, ‘rausgehen’ the spatial meaning of ‘to get out of sth.’ (4) and to ‘come out of sth.’ (5) and (6) is unambiguous whereas the following, ‘aussteigen’ would rather be translated as ‘to get off’ (7) and ‘verlassen’ as ‘to leave’ (8 and 9). In the German translation, the meaning of ‘to get out of sth’ is retained:

- (7) [...] и она обрадовалась, что ей пора выходить.  
(7') [...] und war froh, daß sie aussteigen mußte.  
(8) Они даже не вышли из машины.  
(8') [...] trauten sich nicht einmal, den Wagen zu verlassen.  
(9) Под вечер он выходит и идет на Патриаршие пруды.  
(9') Am Abend verläßt er das Haus und geht zu den Patriarchenteichen.

However, there are other situations which are more idiomatic:

- (10) Теперь подумай, что по понятиям выходит?  
(10') Und jetzt überleg mal, was am Ende bei rauskommt.

Here, German also makes idiomatic use of a verb that originally denotes motion with ‘rauskommen’. So, the actual meaning of **выходить<sub>impf</sub>** is spatial, and the action ‘to go’ is in order to get out of something.

The verb **выходить<sub>impf</sub>** does not appear to be transitive in any of the examples. Furthermore, the dictionaries mark this word form, together with **идти<sub>impf</sub>**, as intransitive without exception. The relevance of this is demonstrated in the following discussion of **выходить<sub>pf</sub>**.

The query for all occurrences of **выходить<sub>pf</sub>** produces 40 hits, although it is clear that the lemmatisation is false. In most cases, the output is actually forms of *prefix+идти*. A query searching for forms instead of lemmata results in nine hits. In reviewing the result, it also turns out that all tokens were falsely annotated as being of perfective aspect.

- (11) Вы его буквально вышли.  
(11') Sie haben ihm das Leben gerettet!

In the current case the verbal form carries the other meaning: ‘to nurse’. The Russian original could be translated as ‘you literally pulled him through’ while my translation of the German sentence to English would be ‘you have saved his life’. However, **выходить<sub>impf</sub>** may have two meanings. The other meaning relates to *total aktionsart* which is still close in relation to the simplex verb **ходить<sub>impf</sub>**, as the meaning is ‘to walk over/round sth.’

The lexical difference between the aspectual pair **выйти/выходить** and the form of *aktionsart* **выходить<sub>pf</sub>** is clear. Whereas **выходить<sub>pf</sub>** denotes *total aktionsart*, how the action proceeds in time,

ВЫХОДИТЬ<sub>impf</sub> denotes the spatial characteristics of the action as ‘getting out of something’.

The dictionaries mark this word form as being synonymous to *исходить*. Even though Isačenko does not assign the prefix *вы-* to any aktionsart (as there is no indication in the AG), this indicates that the meaning is of *total* aktionsart.

An interesting fact makes this homonym different from other *prefix+ходить*. The stress of the secondary imperfective is different (ВЫХОДИТЬ<sub>impf</sub>) to that of the perfective aktionsart (ВЫХОДИТЬ<sub>pf</sub>). Nevertheless, Isačenko considers the perfective and imperfective as being homonymous.

The examples show that, as opposed to the perfective form, ВЫХОДИТЬ<sub>impf</sub> is always intransitive. Accordingly, the difference between aspects shows itself clearly in cases where ВЫХОДИТЬ<sub>pf</sub> is transitive.

### ВЫХАЖИВАТЬ

(12a) Я же медсестра. Тяжелых больных выхаживала.

(12b) Скварыш опять стал выхаживать по квартире, подошёл к тёмному окну в зальчике.

Even though there is no evidence for *выхаживать* in ParaSol, in the RNC both meanings of *ВЫХОДИТЬ<sub>pf</sub>* produce secondary imperfectives. *выхаживать* (12a, ‘to nurse’) has lexically the same meaning as ‘*ВЫХОДИТЬ*’; the same applies in the comparison between (12b) and the meaning of *ВЫХОДИТЬ* ‘to walk over/round sth.’.

The fact that it is possible to derive the secondary imperfective *выхаживать* from the meaning of ‘to nurse’ makes sense, as the meaning does no longer implies motion. Contrary to Isačenko (1962, 439), dictionaries and corpora show that the form *выхаживать* is actually the secondary imperfective of *ВЫХОДИТЬ<sub>pf</sub>*, also in its meaning of aktionsart.

## 9.2 от-

### ОТХОДИТЬ

According to dictionaries, the lexical meaning of *ОТХОДИТЬ<sub>impf</sub>* is ‘to leave’, or with other connotations, ‘to step back’, ‘to resign’ or ‘to draw back’:

(13) [...] завтра же утром отходить [...]

(13') Morgen früh ziehen wir los [...]

(14) Каждый день в четырнадцать тридцать от городской площади будут отходить три больших автобуса.

(14') Täglich werden vom Stadtplatz drei große Autobusse abgehen.

(15) Чтобы отходить перед немцами без драки?

(15') Um vor den Deutschen kampfflos zurückzuweichen?

In all these situations the German translation makes use of prefixes: ‘*abgehen*’ (14'), ‘*losziehen*’ (13') and ‘*zurückweichen*’ (15').

The prefix *-от* indicates in perfectives the *finitive* aktionsart. Because queries on lemmas in ParaSol always lead to results with incorrect lemmatisation, this lemma was queried by its form, which produced twenty hits. Upon review, only two of the seven forms which are annotated as being of perfective aspect are actually aktionsart.

*ОТХОДИТЬ<sub>pf</sub>* does have a whole string of differing meanings. Meanings that have retained their semantic relation to *ходить* are ‘to walk until the end’ (proper *finitive* aktionsart) or ‘to spend some time by walking’ (*delimitative* aktionsart, although not indicated by Isačenko). Other, more figurative meanings are ‘to walk until it hurts’ or, in slang, even to ‘to beat up sb’. All of these meanings belong to colloquial speech. In example (2), the relation to the base verb is completely blurred, as it bears the meaning ‘to recover from sth’. This translation of the Russian makes it clear

how far ST and TT can diverge from one another and how broad the freedom of translators is. The meaning of the translation has been changed by the translator to such an extent that an analysis of the translation of aktionsart or aspect is obviously not realistic. For an account of the translation of specific forms a translation that is as close as possible to the meaning of the ST would be necessary. In this case, there is no indication in the translation of the actual meaning of the Russian form. The meaning can only be identified from the context in the ST. To a lesser degree, this is also true with the other occurrence of *отходить*<sub>pf</sub>:

(16) Чувствую, отходить начал.

(16') [...] und merkte, wie ich allmählich wieder zu mir fand.

In this case, the meaning of ‘to recover’ has been translated to German, again with an idiomatic expression: the English meaning of ‘wieder zu sich finden’, which literally means ‘to find back to oneself again’. As *отходить* can exist in both transitive and intransitive aspects, and have both figurative and kinetic meaning, it is hard to determine its meaning. In the example (16) one could easily understand the form as being of imperfect aspect, and the meaning could then be one of those mentioned in (13-15). It is clear that there are no formal means to determine the meaning in this case, rather only the context of the text as a whole.

The other, non-figurative meaning of *отходить*<sub>pf</sub> (‘to be tired out by walking’) which would be of *finitive* aktionsart, is not documented in ParaSol and no record is found in the RNC.

#### **отхаживать**

The form *отхаживать* is a secondary imperfectivisation of *отходить*<sub>pf</sub>. As there are no occurrences of this form in ParaSol or in the parallel corpus of the RNC, the following examples have been retrieved exclusively from the monolingual RNC.

(17) Я всё-таки аккуратно отхаживаю свои два часа в день, но чего это мне стоит!

The verb in (17) has the meaning ‘to be walking a certain time’ and thereby it is apparent that this lexical unit is a secondary imperfective of *отходить*<sub>pf</sub>. All other meanings such as ‘to stop walking/going’, or ‘to be tired out from walking’ are also represented in *отходить*<sub>pf</sub>. Because of its lexical semantics, it is clear that this form is not aktionsart of *отходить*<sub>impf</sub>, but rather the aspectual partner. On the other hand, we could consider this form as an ‘aktionsart (iterative) of the aktionsart (finitive)’, or rather as a combination of the two. In the following analysis on *рассхаживать*, though, it is evident that imperfective aktionsart may apply directly on simplexes without being a ‘secondary aktionsart’.

### **9.3 рас-**

#### **рассхаживать**

As the verb *рассхаживать* is tantum, there does not exist an analogous perfective form of this verb. This verb also does not exist without the morpheme *-ива-*, which could be considered as of being the iterative aktionsart of a verb \**расходить*. Interestingly, there is no indication of such a word form either in dictionaries, other trustworthy sources, or in the diachronic corpus of the RNC. Obviously, this form has never existed and we cannot make diachronic developments in the language responsible for an assumed corresponding form that has disappeared. This is an indicator that imperfective aktionsart may directly apply on simplex VoM by adding prefix and suffix simultaneously rather than indirectly by ‘making the detour’ over perfective aktionsart by prefixation. This indicates that imperfective aktionsart can be a combination of prefix and suffix, as much as a perfective aktionsart can be a combination of prefix and postfix (as is the evolutive aktionsart, cf. *Расходиться*). The following examples will illustrate that this is the ‘*continuous-protracted*’ aktionsart.

In ParaSol, two occurrences of *расхаживать* are discovered, whereas the number of hits in the parallel corpus of the RNC is 29.

- (18) Вдоль строя расхаживали какие-то мелкие красные командиры с шашками наголо.  
(18') Vor den Reihen liefen irgendwelche roten Kommandeure niederer Chargen mit blankgezogenen Säbeln auf und ab.

In the German translation, actionality is indicated with 'auf und ab' ('to walk up and down'). This is idiomatic, as these elements cannot be resolved with 'laufen' to prefixed verbs such as \*auflaufen or \*ablaufen. In 20 cases the aktionsart has been translated with this adverbial qualification whereas in two cases the synonymous adverbial 'hin und her' has been used:

- (19) Высокий, худой мужчина бесшумно расхаживал по палате, низко опустив забинтованную голову.  
(19') Ein hochgewachsener, magerer Mensch ging geräuschlos, den verbundenen Kopf tief auf die Brust gesenkt, im Saale hin und her.

In four cases the according German verb of motion has been prefixed by the synonymous 'umher-' (21') resp. 'herum-'(20'):

- (20) Ситников, который расхаживал, бойко посвистывая, вокруг колес своего экипажа [...]  
(20') Als Sitnikoff, der pfeifend um den Wagen herumging [...]  
(21) Он расхаживал по псарне,  
(21') Er schritt im Hundezwinger umher

In two cases, a preposition has been used, i.e. 'durch' ('walked through the rooms') as in (22'). In one case (23) paraphrase denoting conditions ('Rundgänge') instead of a process ('расхаживавший').

- (22) [...] и расхаживал по великолепным комнатам [...]  
(22') [...] dann ging er durch die prunkvollen Zimmer [...]  
(23) [...] каждый раз, как входил в переднюю расхаживавший по комнатам Коля [...]  
(23') [...] jedesmal, wenn Kolja bei seinen Rundgängen ins Vorzimmer kam [...]  
(24) Расхаживая по улицам [...]  
(24') Wenn er durch die Straßen ging [...]

## 9.4 по-

### походить

This case seems to be an exception to the rule. While *пойти<sub>pf</sub>* and *походить<sub>impf</sub>* would be regarded formally as an aspectual pair, each member of this pair has completely different lexical semantics and they are not marked as being aspectual pairs in dictionaries. *походить<sub>impf</sub>* and *походить<sub>pf</sub>* both have a lexical relation to *ходить*. While one expresses *ingressive* aktionsart, the other, although not belonging to it morphologically, expresses the *delimitative* aktionsart. This fact is contrary to Isačenko's theory, as aktionsart *per definitionem* is expressed with a perfective derived from *ходить*, whereas the secondary imperfective of *пойти<sub>pf</sub>* should only differ from its perfective in aspect.

The meaning of *походить<sub>impf</sub>* is 'to be like' or 'to look like':

- (25) Принарядившийся Азazelло уже не походил на того разбойника [...]  
(25') So herausgeputzt, hatte er keine Ähnlichkeit mehr mit dem Verbrecher [...]

The meaning here is that someone no longer looks like they did before. Usually, one would expect this to be the secondary imperfective to *пойти<sub>pf</sub>* i.e. without any lexical difference from *походить<sub>impf</sub>*. This is because, following the theory of Isačenko, they should be an aspectual pair. Neither are marked as being aspectual partners in any dictionary. Obviously, this is not without

reason, as this example may illustrate:

(26) И Артур пошел.

(26') Und Arthur ging.

In the foregoing example, the lexical meaning of *пойти<sub>pf</sub>* is completely different from that of *походиться<sub>impf</sub>*. The verb is actually denoting the ingressive aktionsart of 'to go', as someone starts to walk. Dictionaries mark the form *пойти<sub>pf</sub>* as being tantum. This is also the case with *походиться<sub>impf</sub>*, which should be the secondary imperfective, following Isačenko's theory. The reason for this could be that *походиться<sub>impf</sub>* has diachronically developed its own lexical semantics, or has been derived directly from *ходить<sub>impf</sub>*. This would contradict his thesis that prefixation always leads to perfectivisation.

The German translation does not indicate the meaning of aktionsart in this case.

Reviewing the occurrences of *походиться<sub>pf</sub>*, a predictable meaning in aktionsart is seen, when formed with the prefix *по-*. The *delimitative* aktionsart implies that the action is taking place in a specific period of time. In some situations, it also has the connotation of *deminutive* aktionsart, as it can indicate decreased intensity:

(27) [...] походив минуты три по ее двору [...]

(27') [...] und nachdem er dort zwei, drei Minuten über den Hof geschlendert war [...]

The verb *походиться<sub>pf</sub>*, represented here as a gerund, implies that the action took place within a specific period of time with reduced intensity, i.e. someone was walking about slowly. The German translation makes use of the verb *schlendern*, which implies slow walking but does not give any information about the beginning or end of the action.

(28) Походил - походил вокруг дома [...]

(28') Er sei dauernd ums Haus herumgestrichen [...]

The repetition of the verb *походиться<sub>pf</sub>* indicates that the action has taken place multiple times, which is translated to German with the adverb *dauernd* ('constantly'). The verb *streichen* has the connotation that the action took place at slow speed and in no determinate direction. This makes sense, having regard to the fact that *походиться<sub>pf</sub>* belongs to the indeterminate VoM. In this example, the Russian verb expresses a meaning which is translated lexically to German.

(29) Погоди, погоди, он еще на костылях по вашим черепушкам походит [...]

(29') Wart's nur ab, noch auf Krücken wird er über eure Gebeine tanzen [...]

### **похаживать**

Formally, *похаживать* could be regarded as the secondary imperfective from *походиться<sub>pf</sub>*, but there is no such indication in any dictionary. According to Zaliznjak, the *deminutive-iterative* aktionsart ('превысто-смягчительный'), with its pattern *по-* with the suffix *-ива-*, has the lexical semantics of 'to do something a little from time to time'. In the dictionaries, it is translated as 'to pace/stroll' or 'to come/go from time to time', for example.

There are 13 occurrences of this verb in the parallel corpus of the RNC. Most interestingly, the aktionsart of *похаживать* has been translated to German in seven occurrences with 'auf und ab' (e.g. 30'), and in each translation with 'umher-' (31') and 'herum-' (32'). This indicates that German often does not make a difference in translation of Russian '*continuous-protracted*' and *deminutive-iterative* aktionsart, as *рассказывать* has been consistently translated to German in most cases.

(30) Антон Пафнутыч похаживал по комнате [...]

(30') Anton Pafnutitsch ging dabei im Zimmer auf und ab [...]

(31) [...] и помешанный старикашка похаживал один по комнатам [...]

(31') [...] und der verdrehte alte Mann wanderte allein in den Zimmern umher [...]

(32) [...] он похаживал вокруг стола [...]

(32') [...] er wanderte um den Tisch herum [...]

- (33) [...] торопливо похаживал в своих мягких сапогах из столовой в гостиную,  
 (33') [...] eilte geschäftig in seinen weichen Stiefeln aus dem Speisesaal in den Salon und wieder zurück [...]

With 'und wieder zurück' ('and back again') the translation explicitly indicates that the motion took place in both directions. This is usually expressed in Russian with the imperfective aspect or by *semelfactive* aktionsart. Here the translation suggests that *похаживать* is a secondary imperfective of *походить*<sub>pf</sub> or its *semelfactive* aktionsart. The meaning of 'going there and back' in (33') could also be expressed by the perfective of the form *сходить*.

The objective is not to analyse whether German has the capability of expressing a specific meaning correctly, rather to examine how the meanings of aktionsart and aspect are expressed in the texts.

## 9.5 с-

### сходить

*сходить*<sub>impf</sub> has spatial meaning. Generally, it denotes that somebody or something 'gets down/off sth.':

- (34) Павел, сходя по ступенькам в сад [...]  
 (34') Während Pawel die Stufen zum Garten hinunterging [...]

The German translation, using 'hinuntergehen', clearly indicates that Pavel walked down the stairs to the garden.

*сходить*<sub>impf</sub> can also be used figuratively. The following examples are increasingly idiomatic:

- (35) Но, в сущности, разве не именно так божество и сходит на землю?  
 (35') Ist dies nicht im Grunde tatsächlich der Weg, auf dem die Götter zu uns herabsteigen?  
 (36) От чего к чему это твое снисхождение сходит?  
 (36') Deine Herablassung geschieht von wo nach wo?  
 (37) [...] и не сходил уже твердый рубец мозолей от ремня винтовки.  
 (37') [...] und die harten, narbigen Schwielen unter dem Gewehrriemen verschwanden schon nicht mehr.  
 (38) [...] уж не схожу ли я с ума?  
 (38') dachte er. Werde ich schon verrückt?

In (35) the spatial meaning of motion still is still apparent, as a deity is coming down from heaven to earth, as is also indicated with the German 'herabsteigen'. In (36) it is asked where somebody's condescension is 'coming down from'; in (37) somebody's calluses do not 'go away' any more ('verschwinden' - 'to disappear'); and finally in (38), the expression is 'to get crazy' ('verrückt werden').

Clearly, motion is not necessarily implied in the meaning of this verb. In the German translation, a figurative meaning of a verb denoting motion is not necessarily translated with a German 'verb of motion'.

Some of these forms of *сходить*<sub>impf</sub> could actually be interpreted as of being of opposite aspect, which will be canvassed after the discussion of *сходить*<sub>pf</sub>.

Of the 27 occurrences of *сходить*, five were indicated in ParaSol as being perfective, while the actual number is seven. The meaning of *сходить*<sub>pf</sub> also bears motion in a broader sense. Smirnicky gives the translation 'to go and fetch', while the actual meaning always implies that this action only takes place once. A better translation would be 'to go somewhere to do something, and return'. This is a typical case of *semelfactive* aktionsart.

As we can see from the corpora, this aktionsart is used quite often and it is highly productive in



Russian speech. In particular, the RNC indicates a high ratio of perfectives (176 tokens) as compared to imperfectives (168 tokens). It is problematic, especially with *сходить*, to distinguish occurrences by aspect, as both may express motion or idiomatic meanings. In addition, both are intransitive. This means that there are many occurrences which may be interpreted either way, especially when ignoring the context. In many cases, the context of the sentence is not even enough, as we can see in (35) where the meaning could also be ‘to go from heaven to earth and back’. The following section provides more examples of this:

- (39) [...] пусть на станцию сходит к Политовским.  
 (39') [...] dass er zu Politowski auf die Station gehen soll.  
 (40) Артем, сходи к лесничему и расскажи про письмо.  
 (40') Artjom, geh zum Oberförster und erzähl dort von dem Brief.

In these situations, we can see that the translator does not explicitly reproduce all the meaning imparted by the originals. Although I have assigned the verbs in these cases to perfective aspect, the contrary aspect could also be possible. In the case of perfective aspect, the action is understood to be *semelfactive*, with its temporal implications which are described above: ‘go somewhere once, do something and come back’. The German translation does not specify that the action should take place once. Expecting the opposite aspect, the meaning would be ‘go down to the police station / the chief forester’. In either possibility, the translator did not express the full meaning. Of course, this is not necessarily a deficit of the translation. The translation of individual forms depends on the scope of the translation of the text as a whole. If the aim of the translator is to reproduce a dialogue the way it would occur in the German language, it is entirely possible that this information would intentionally not be expressed.

- (41) А вы попробуйте сходите [...]  
 (41') Versuchen Sie doch mal, jemanden zu besuchen!  
 (42) А что , больше нет ? - Можем сходить.  
 (42') “Mehr ist wohl nicht da ?” “Wir könnten noch was holen.”

In this case there is also the theoretical possibility of understanding the form as being of either aspect. It could be of imperfective aspect with the meaning of ‘we can get off/down’. However, the context makes it clear to the reader, and consequently also to the translator, that the meaning here is to ‘go and get sth.’. This explains why this is of *semelfactive aktionsart* and not the secondary imperfective of *сойти*.

- (43) Сходите [...]  
 (43') Gehen Sie!

This is a good example of the importance of context for translation of homonymy. Looking at a sentence in isolation, it is difficult to determine the meaning from its surroundings. The context makes it clear, though, that there is no *semelfactive aktionsart* involved. From the meaning we can easily deduce that this form must be of imperfective aspect, as it is not intended that the speaker intends to ask the addressee to go somewhere and to come back. In addition, the reader will know that typically the polite way of asking people to do something is to use the perfective aspect in imperatives. The addresser wants the addressee ‘to get away’ from the place he is in.

- (44) Словно бы на склад сходили.  
 (44') Als wär's ein Gang zum Lager.

This form is especially problematic for a translator, as both perfective and imperfective can be figurative and they are both intransitive. Only the context makes it possible to understand this form.

## схаживать

Although not documented in the corpora or other dictionaries, Ušakov (1935) names the imperfective form of схаживать as the *iterative* aktionsart of сходить<sub>impf</sub>, which is the repeated motion ‘there and back’.

## 9.6 у-

### уходить

The meaning of this form of imperfective aspect generally is ‘to go away’ or ‘to leave’:

- (45) Виктор уже собрался уходить [...]  
(45') Viktor wollte gerade weggehen [...]  
(46) Я их не ожидала, Павлуша, но ты не должен уходить.  
(46') Aber du sollst deshalb nicht weggehen, Pawluscha.  
(47) Ей никуда не хотелось уходить [...]  
(47') Sie hatte keine Lust wegzugehen [...]

These examples show an analogy between Russian and German. In both languages, the action ‘to go’ (German: ‘gehen’; Russian: ‘ходить’) is specified with a prefix which denotes that the action is taking place ‘away from somewhere’. Although obviously a case of morphological aktionsart in German, according to Isačenko's theory, the verb уходить<sub>impf</sub> is not indicating aktionsart. It is merely the *verbal character* of the verb which denotes the meaning of ‘getting away’. The meanings of the prefix у- and the stem -ходить cannot be regarded independently, as they have merged together into a verb with a new meaning. Accordingly, this occurrence should rather be considered a coincidence. This can be clarified by analysing other translations:

- (48) Я ухожу.  
(48') Ich gehe.  
(49) приходят и уходят [...]  
(49') Sie kommen und gehen.  
(50) Поезд уходит в восемь вечера.  
(50') Der Zug geht um acht.  
(51) Однако пора было уходить.  
(51') Es war Zeit zu gehen.

Here the German translations do not explicitly mark the motion ‘away’ with any prefix, rather it is understood from the context. This is a clear illustration of the fact that aspectual meaning, which must be expressed in Russian, is either of no relevance in German, or an optional feature, as seen in the examples (45'-47').

Another translator will not necessarily translate the action as related to motion into a direction:

- (52) Афраний уже уходил в сад [...]  
(52') Afranius verschwand im Garten [...]

Where Afranius in Russian ‘goes away to the garden’, he ‘vanishes’ in the German translation. This example demonstrates the flexibility in the field of translation.

The following is a common example of translation from Russian to German, and vice-versa.

- (53) В один из морозных январских дней дорабатывал Павка свою смену и собирался уходить домой [...]  
(53') An einem frostigen Januartag hatte Pawel seine Schicht beendet und machte sich zum Heimgehen fertig [...]

In general, German is more inclined to express conditions rather than processes, or in this case to circumscribe actions with nouns, whereas verbs are preferred in Russian.

There is one form of perfective aspect documented in ParaSol. Lexically dictionaries do not denote *уходить*<sub>pf</sub> with any meaning related to motion. Generally the meanings are (a) ‘to wear out’, ‘tire out’; (b) ‘to take care of sb.’; (c) ‘to lose sth.’; and (d) ‘to kill sb.’. The final two meanings are marked as of being colloquial substandard or *prostorečie*.

In the RNC, four of the seven occurrences were incorrectly annotated. In the following section, the forms that are actually of perfective aspect will be discussed:

- (54) Ведь я тогда римского едва насмерть с Геллой не уходил!  
(54') Damals hab' ich mit Gella zusammen den Rimski fast zu Tode geängstigt.  
(55) Уходить из жизни надо так [...]  
(55') [...] so muß man aus dem Leben gehen.

The first person narrator is telling that he, together with Gella, was scaring a certain Rimski almost to death. Here, *уходить*<sub>pf</sub> is transitive, which makes it possible to formally distinguish the form from *уходить*<sub>impf</sub>, which, according to the dictionaries, is always intransitive.

- (56) Анна Фёдоровна только замечала, что быстрые дела делаются всё медленнее, но зато и на сон стало уходить меньше времени.

This perfective form means ‘to lose (time)’. This is clear because the perfective is transitive, contrary to the imperfective form.

- (57) Ах, уходит он его!

Here the meaning is that somebody is taking care of someone else. Again, the formal indication on the form is the transitivity of the verb.

Apart from metaphoric or idiomatic use, *уходить*<sub>impf</sub> generally denotes ‘to leave’ or ‘to go away’, i.e. it denotes motion in a spatial meaning.

Both homonyms can unambiguously be distinguished by means of transitivity. Isačenko's theory though, is of no further assistance to the comprehension of this form, because the perfective, which according to his theory should be of aktionsart and therefore semantically imply motion, is lexically no longer connected to any meanings of ‘to go’. It is rather the imperfective form, where the meaning could be located as motion in many cases. Still, one can formally assign the forms to one or the other aspect, but this does not assist the translator to deduce the meaning of the action with the aid of morphology.

### **ухаживать**

In the case of *ухаживать*, there are 59 occurrences in the RNC and four in ParaSol. There are 2 occurrences which have been translated to mean ‘to nurse’ or ‘to take care of’, which clearly is the secondary imperfective of *уходить*<sub>pf</sub>.

- (58) [...] и толстая женщина, утром ухаживавшая за Иваном, благоговейно поглядела на профессора [...]  
(58') [...] die dicke Frau, die Iwan am Morgen versorgt hatte, blickte den Professor andächtig an.  
(59) А я то за тобой ухаживала [...]  
(59') Und ich habe mich um dich gekümmert [...]

The question remains whether the other meanings also apply to this example. The dictionaries indicate *уходить* and *ухаживать* as aspectual pairs only in the meaning of ‘to nurse’.

The dictionaries do not list all meanings of *уходить*<sub>pf</sub> under the entry of *ухаживать*. Contrary to this, individual meanings of *ухаживать* are not present in *уходить*<sub>pf</sub>.

- (60) Ради Бога, не начинайте опять за мной ухаживать.  
(60') Versuchen Sie um Gottes willen nicht schon wieder, mir den Hof zu machen.  
(61) Ухаживает за Диной.  
(61') Er bemüht sich um Dinah [...]

These cases have the lexical meaning of ‘to court sb’. We still can expect it to be derived from *уходить*<sub>pf</sub> in its second meaning, as the meaning to court (in this case, a woman) implies that the action is taking place imperfectively, i.e. not once but over a period of time. In some sense, it could be understood as ‘to take continuously care of sb.’ which has the connotation of ‘to court sb.’.

The figurative meanings have in our cases been translated to German with ‘versorgen’ and ‘kümmern’ (‘to nurse’); with the phrase ‘zu Tode ängstigen’ (‘to scare to death’); ‘den Hof machen’ (‘to court’) and ‘sich um jmd. bemühen’ (‘to make efforts for sb. favour’).

As *уходить*<sub>pf</sub> does not bear any meaning of motion, it is of no further relevance to discuss how the aktionsart is translated to German. Here, forms of aktionsart in the meaning of motion do not derive from the prefix *у-*.

## 10. Summary

### 10.1 Forms

Generally, all forms of aktionsart indicate *temporal* features of a motion, whereas imperfectives derived from *prefix+идти* tend to express the *spatial* implications of an action, though not in all cases.

The form **выходить** has three general meanings. It may be the secondary imperfective to *выйти* with many cases of figurative and idiomatic use, it can be of *total* aktionsart of the verb *ходить*, or it may have a figurative meaning, where the lexical semantics do not indicate any motion. In the case of total aktionsart, the dictionaries mark the form as being synonymous to *исходить*. Only the perfective form can be transitive. The perfective and the imperfective form are not homonyms in a narrow sense, as they differ in prosody, i.e. they are marked with a different stress.

**выхаживать** is the secondary imperfective form of *выходить*<sub>pf</sub>. This imperfectivisation applies, according to the dictionaries, to both figurative *and* actional meaning. In the corpora, only secondary imperfectives of figurative semantics were found.

The form **отходить** can have, in both aspects, figurative and actional lexical meaning. Whereas *отходить*<sub>imprf</sub> generally indicates spatial features of a motion, *отходить*<sub>pf</sub> either denotes *finitive* aktionsart or a figurative meaning. In case of the perfective, tokens were found with both figurative and actional lexical meaning. Both perfective and imperfective can be transitive and intransitive.

The corpora indicate that the form **отхаживать** must be regarded as a secondary imperfective form of *отходить*<sub>pf</sub> in its figurative and actional meaning. Theoretically, it is also possible to consider this form as the iterative of the finitive aktionsart, but as both *отхаживать* and *отходить* have the same lexical semantics, the two forms must be regarded as aspectual partners.

The form **расхаживать** must be regarded as the imperfective *continuous-protracted* aktionsart, which is directly derived from *ходить* because there does not exist an according perfective form \**расходить*. No documentation for \**расходить* was found, either in the dictionaries, or monolingual, diachronic, or parallel corpora. Being tantum and the aktionsart of *ходить*, the meaning of this form does not depend on a possible homonymy of the base verb. It is necessary to mention this because a comparison of the different translations of this verb to German shows that the different tokens have, in many cases, been translated the same way. Perhaps the narrow meaning of the Russian makes it easier to find similar translations in the TT.

In analysing the form **походить**, it is necessary also to take *пойти* into account. Formally being the secondary imperfective, lexically *походить*<sub>imprf</sub> differs completely from *пойти*, as the latter does not denote motion at all. Dictionaries consequently do not mark the two forms as being aspectual partners. Where *походить*<sub>pf</sub> always denotes motion in the meaning of *delimitative* aktionsart, the homonym *походить*<sub>pf</sub> has lost its actional meaning. Although formally not being an aktionsart, the

form пойти actually could be regarded as *ingressive*. Both homonyms are intransitive.

The perfective form **похаживать** can be regarded as the *iterative* imperfectivisation of what could be called the perfective ‘*delimitative-deminutive*’ aktionsart of походить<sub>pf</sub>. Isačenko refers to this rather as the imperfective aktionsart *deminutive-iterative*.

One translation (33) suggests that the meaning of похаживать is of *semelfactive* aktionsart or the secondary perfective of походить<sub>pf</sub>. As there is no indication for this meaning in dictionaries, however, either the meaning has been misinterpreted as a secondary imperfective, or the phenomenon of secondary imperfectivisation allows imperfectivisation for indication of a *semelfactive* motion (‘there and back’) as the need arises. The translation (33’) of похаживать could be interpreted in this case as synonymous with сходить<sub>pf</sub>.

Lexically, both perfectives and imperfectives with the form of **сходить** can have figurative and actional semantics. These are difficult to distinguish from each other as they both are exclusively intransitive. Compared to other homonyms with a -ходить-stem, the ratio of perfective and imperfectives of this form is the highest, as forms of aktionsart are seen even more frequently than secondary imperfectives. Also, the number of different meanings, whether they are idiomatic or they denote motion, is highly diverse, which makes it difficult for a translator to find a matching equivalent. Many occurrences could actually have been interpreted in the TT as being of opposite aspect. сходить<sub>pf</sub> is of *semelfactive* aktionsart.

The form **схаживать** is documented only in Ušakov's dictionary (1935) as being the *iterative* aktionsart of the imperfective ходить<sub>impf</sub>. No other dictionary mentions this form, nor is this form to be found in corpora.

Homonyms of the form of **уходить** are easy to distinguish by their aspect because in this situation, perfectives are always transitive, and imperfectives intransitive. Interestingly, the perfective form only denotes figurative and idiomatic lexical meaning, whereas the imperfective has not lost the ability to express motion. Accordingly, although a formal approach would suggest that it would express aktionsart, it cannot be regarded as such.

As we can see in the translations of ухаживать, this form can in some contexts be regarded as the secondary perfective to уходить<sub>pf</sub>. Other meanings remain tantum.

The following table gives an overview over some of the above-noted features of *prefix+ходить*, including some that have not been considered in this work.

**Table XII: Lexical and Grammatical Features of prefix+ходитьь**

form	- motion (+figurative)		+ motion		+ transitive		+ intransitive		+ impf: secondary or aktionsart		+ spatial		+ aktionsart (temporal etc.)	
	pf	impf	pf	impf	pf	impf	pf	impf	pf	impf	pf	impf	pf	impf
<b>ВЫХОДИТЬ</b>	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•			•	•	
<b>ДОХОДИТЬ</b>	•	•		•			•	•	•			•		
<b>ЗАХОДИТЬ</b>		•	•	•			•	•		•		•	•	
<b>ИСХОДИТЬ</b>		•	•	•	•		•	•	•			•	•	
<b>НАХОДИТЬ</b>		•	•			•	•	•	•				•	
<b>НАХОДИТЬСЯ</b>		•	•				•	•					•	
<b>ОБХОДИТЬ</b>		•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•		•	•	
<b>ОТХОДИТЬ</b>	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•			•	•	
<b>ПЕРЕХОДИТЬ</b>	•	•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•		•	•	
<b>ПОСХОДИТЬ</b>	•		•				•						•	
<b>ПОХОДИТЬ</b>		•	•				•	•	•				•	
<b>ПРОХОДИТЬ</b>		•	•	•		•	•	•	•	•		•	•	
<b>*РАСХОДИТЬ</b>									?	?				
<b>РАСХОДИТЬСЯ</b>	•	•	•	•			•	•	•			•	•	
<b>СХОДИТЬ</b>	•	•	•	•			•	•		•		•	•	
<b>УХОДИТЬ</b>	•	•		•	•			•	•			•		

## 10.2 Translation

In the German translation, telicity from both perfectives and imperfectives has not been translated in many cases. This is particularly obvious in translations of *сходить*<sub>pf</sub> (examples 39', 40') and *уходить*<sub>impf</sub> (examples 48'-51'). In both situations, the semantics include the meaning 'to start going', i.e. they have the connotation of an *ingressive* action. Telic meanings of verbs are often not translated.

Another finding is that the imperfective forms of aktionsart *рассхаживать* and *похаживать* were translated to German in most of the cases with the adverbials 'hin und her' resp. 'auf und ab':

**Table XIII: Translations of рассказивать and похаживать to German**

	prefix translated as						Base verb translated as				
	total	auf...ab	hin...her	durch	herum	umher	gehen	spazieren	laufen	schreiten	wandern
рассказивать	29	16	2	3	3	1	19	3	1	3	
похаживать	13	7				1	5		2		1

In example (33'), похаживать appears to be of *semelfactive* aktionsart, as the translation explicitly names the action as taking place 'there and back'. This would meet the definition of a semelfactive aktionsart, although the form of похаживать would allow us only to expect, according to the prefix and the suffix, the *deminutive-iterative* in this case, it could be interpreted as synonymous with *сходить*<sub>pf</sub>. As there is no indication of this meaning in dictionaries, one may conclude either that the meaning has been misinterpreted as a secondary imperfective, or the characteristics of secondary imperfectivisation allows imperfectivisation to indicate a semelfactive motion ('there and back'), as the need arises.

### 10.3 Corpora

Many occurrences have not been annotated completely, obviously due to reasons such as ambiguity of the according sign. However, this does not pose a problem for this work as the focus lies on aspect and aktionsart. The category of aspect, though, has in all occurrences definitely been annotated to either one aspect or the other, a circumstance caused you to work with this corpus. By subsequently checking the meanings manually, it became obvious that ParaSol was annotated incorrectly in many cases. Consequently all 739 tokens of *prefix+ходить* had to be verified manually with respect to their aspectual belonging. Table XI shows that the number of original annotations and the number of those that were corrected differ significantly. Furthermore, in the manually disambiguated portion of the RNC, a number of incorrect annotations were discovered, especially as related to the forms of *уходить*.

Unlike the sparse number of tokens of (*prefix+ходить*)<sub>pf</sub>, which had to be retrieved from smaller disambiguated corpora, the forms of *prefix+хаживать* could also be retrieved from ambiguous corpora, in particular from the parallel corpus of the RNC. This made the pool of different tokens of *prefix+хаживать* larger and unequal. In the case of *+хаживать*, the number of tokens allowed us to make more conclusive statements on the translation of a specific form. Typical patterns of translation of the given form could be extracted.

## 11. Evaluation

### 11.1 Forms and Translation

The fact that aktionsart is indicated not only by the verb but with an adverbial to the synonymous German verbs 'laufen', 'gehen' and 'schreiten' indicates that aktionsart in German is not necessarily a morphological feature as it is in Russian, but is also expressed on a lexical and syntactical level. The translation of actionality to German may happen on a lexical (42'), morphological (10'), syntactical (18') or pragmatic (2') level or it may be simply omitted, as seen above in the case of telicity. The meaning can even be distributed over several levels and units (54'). Sometimes it is not clear whether it was the prefixed form in the ST that motivated the use of a specific unit in the TT (54').

The fact that the two different types of aktionsart in *расхаживать* and *похаживать* were frequently translated with ‘hin und her’ or ‘auf und ab’ could indicate that German does not discriminate lexically between these two meanings of aktionsart. In addition, this indicates a high

degree of equivalence between the deminutive-iterative and continuous-protracted aktionsart on the one hand, and the adverbials ‘hin und her’ resp. ‘auf und ab’ on the other.

## 11.2 Suggestions for Distinguishing Homonyms

There are two major problems in the correct comprehension, and consequently the accurate translation, of verbal forms which have aspectual homonyms: firstly, to determine the correct aspectual belonging of a form, and secondly, to determine the meaning according to the aspect.

A translator who is aware of the various forms of aktionsart cannot completely rely on Isačenko’s theory because some *forms* of aktionsart have lost their semantics as aktionsart and do not imply motion any more. Nor is the fact that a specific meaning of a given form is figurative, whether it denotes motion or not, a reliable indicator for the aspectual belonging of the form. As the above-noted example shows, verbs that are formally an aktionsart of the base verb (*ходить*) may denote an action that does not involve motion. On the other hand, there are prefixed forms of imperfective aspect which, could more likely be regarded as being of aktionsart than the homonymous counterpart with opposite aspect.

### 11.2.1 Determining the Aspect

The meaning of a homonym cannot be determined directly from its form; it is necessary to determine its aspect first. A translator has to be aware of the fact that it is not always possible to deduce the aspect of a prefixed form of *ходить* from its grammatical surroundings or from its meaning, and further, that the meaning of a given form may not be concluded from the prefix and the aspectual belonging of the verb. However, there are a number of factors that could help to determine the aspect of a homonymous verb (see table XII).

#### 11.2.1.1 Tense

The behaviour of finite verbal forms in present and future tense may also indicate their aspectual belonging. When it is syntactically clear that a synthetic form is of future tense, then it is obligatory to consider it as being of perfective aspect. An analytical future form of the pattern *буду + prefixed form* clearly indicates that the form is of imperfective aspect. According to the illustration in chapter 6.3, a synthetic form of present tense must be of imperfective aspect. This procedure may help when the verbal form is either of present or future tense. In the case of past tense, differences between verbal homonyms cannot be determined because both forms behave similarly.

#### 11.2.1.2 Transitivity

Transitivity can, in some cases, be a good indicator of the true belonging of a form to a specific aspect. But as shown in table XII, there are no patterns according to which the homonymous forms are assigned to either transitive or intransitive. Obviously, the syntactical feature of transitivity is completely indifferent to the issue of whether a specific form has been derived with a qualifying or a modifying prefix. Transitivity is a verbal feature which is not connected to morphology, but rather to lexis and syntax. Both appear to depend on the individual lexical meaning of the verbs. Transitivity or non-transitivity of a prefixed form of VoM may be of assistance when referring to dictionaries, in order to distinguish one homonymous meaning from another.



### 11.2.1.3 Valency and Distribution

Depending on their verbal character, lexical semantics, and their different argument structure and distribution, homonyms often make use of different prepositions according to their syntactical surroundings. This difference applies not only to the difference between homonyms, but also to the difference between the denotations and connotations an individual homonym has adopted. These syntactical factors may assist in determining the right aspect of a word form, and consequently its meaning, when referring to dictionaries.

### 11.2.2 Determining the Meaning

According to Isačenko's theory, once the aspect has been determined as being imperfective, the translator generally cannot deduce the meaning from the prefix because the qualifying prefix has merged with the stem into a new and independent meaning. Here the translator can only rely on the context and dictionaries. The situation is easier when the aspect can be determined as being of perfective aspect. Being aware of aktionsart and thereby the meaning of the prefixes which lexically specify the motion, one can determine the actual meaning by the modifying prefix in many cases. Still, most forms of aktionsart (table XII) can be used in other meanings which have lost their verbal character as VoM, which is why referring to the context and consulting dictionaries is sometimes unavoidable.

## 11.3 Corpora

The problem with all disambiguated corpora, including RNC, is that they are too limited in size. The number of correctly annotated tokens is far too small to permit general statements on their occurrence, or even to establish a typology of their translation.

A major obstacle for this work got clear in the course of closer examination of the corpora used. Regardless to whatever theory to follow in verbal aspect and aktionsart, there are strong indications that ParaSol suffers poor quality in alignment, lemmatisation and annotation.

In some of the texts also the ST-TT sentence alignment is wrong, many sentences are shifted to each other in the range of one or two sentences. Furthermore, the German-Russian parallel texts are often lemmatised with incorrect infinitives. Forms of *prefix+идти* were lemmatised in 322 of 1146 cases as *prefix+ ходить* and forms of *prefix+ходить* in 13 cases of 837 as *prefix+хаживать*. Furthermore, the German-Russian parallel texts are often lemmatised with wrong infinitives. Forms of *prefix+идти* were lemmatised in 322 of 1146 cases as *prefix+ходить* and forms of *prefix+ходить* in 13 cases of 837 as *prefix+хаживать*.

Also in the disambiguated monolingual RNC, there were several errors in the annotation, as seen in the verbal form *выходить*, above. One can only speculate as to the reasons for these erroneous annotations in the monolingual RNC. One possibility is that the person responsible for the annotation was not aware of the existence of homonymy. Following the rule 'prefixation always leads to aspectual perfectivisation', one could simply expect that all prefixed forms with a *ходить*-stem to be of perfective aspect. Expecting that *prefix+ходить* would always be the secondary imperfective of *prefix+идти*, the annotation would consequently ignore situations of aktionsart. In this example, it becomes obvious how important it is to be aware that the  $(prefix+ходить)_{\text{imprf}}$  is the secondary imperfective, in contrast to  $(prefix+ходить)_{\text{pf}}$  as aktionsart. Nevertheless, classifying particular forms to a specific aspect also involves the assignment of specific meanings which can differ significantly, as is documented in lexicographic sources.

## 11.4 Theory

In the examples given of different homonyms *prefix+ходить* in this analysis, it is apparent that perfectives do not always retain their close relation to the meaning of the base verb *ходить*. As seen

above, all analysed forms with the exception of *походить* may also express meanings which are figurative or even idiomatic, without denoting motion. In these cases, the semantics of the form has lost its verbal character as VoM, as may be the case, for example, with the perfective form of *выходить*<sub>pf</sub>, which does not denote motion at all. In this example, it has adopted the meaning of ‘to nurse’, which lexically does not have any relation to the meaning of ‘to go’. The other meaning of *выходить*<sub>pf</sub>, ‘to walk about’, still possesses such a lexical relation and its verbal character as VoM. Isačenko explains this with reference to the diachronic development of these perfectives. Initially these had the meaning of aktionsart, but historically have changed their semantics in such a way that they have lost their verbal character or the meaning as locomotion (Isačenko 1962, 435). Therefore, one cannot expect a prefixed perfective of *ходить* to be a VoM and thereby denote motion.

Analysing the meaning and consequently the translation of prefixes, one should bear in mind that based on Isačenko's theory, this is generally only possible with modifying prefixes. According to Isačenko, it is not possible to deduce the lexical meaning of verbs which have been derived by qualifying prefixation from the semantics of the prefix. Qualifying prefixes motivate the derivation of a verb that is lexically new, which is why the meaning of the prefix does not represent itself anymore, as seen above. Only modifying prefixes may keep their individual meaning, regardless of the verb to which they are applied. So in this case, one could analyse actionality of motion only using verbs with modifying prefixes.

The fact that the lexical meanings of *отходить*<sub>pf</sub> and *отхаживать* are equal and only the grammatical meaning differs in aspect contradicts Isačenko's theory that forms of aktionsart are always tantum as long as they retain their verbal character as VoM. Although the forms *выхаживать*, *отхаживать* and *похаживать* are secondary imperfectives with a lexical meaning of non-motion, they can also retain the meaning of a VoM, as acknowledged by Avilova (1976, 312) and Zaliznjak & Šmelev (2000). Therefore, contrary to Isačenko's argument, modifying prefixes are also able to trigger the development of aspectual pairs of VoM.

On the contrary, one could argue that the form *выходить*<sub>impf</sub> (‘to go out’) also expresses aktionsart, as there is a close lexical relation to the base verb. This is also the case with the imperfective form of *походить*, which formally, but not lexically, should be regarded as the secondary imperfective of *пойти*. While *походить*<sub>pf</sub> is of *delimitative* aktionsart, *походить*<sub>pf</sub> does not denote motion, whereas *пойти* has the semantics, although not the form, of the *ingressive* aktionsart. Hence, the semantics of aktionsart also could be applied to imperfectives of *prefix+ходить*. Generally one can conclude that forms of *(prefix+ходить)*<sub>pf</sub> do not necessarily always imply aktionsart, insofar as the semantics of aktionsart is not limited to perfectives. Rather, one could state that perfective and imperfective prefixed forms of *ходить* are potentially able to express both aktionsart (as they do express motion) and other, non-actional meanings.

In addition, the example of *рассхаживать* shows that imperfective aktionsart may also apply in combination with prefixes and suffixes directly to simplex VoM, because there is no *раз*-prefixed perfective aktionsart from which *рассхаживать* could have derived an iterative aktionsart or an aspectual pair with the suffix *-ива*-.

## 12. Discussion

### 12.1 Forms and translation

In the case of *рассхаживать* and *похаживать*, the two different types of aktionsart do not necessarily have to be different in German as well. The reason why a specific linguistic feature is left out of a translation does not necessarily have to do with the systemic nature of the SL. A translator does not have to translate all grammatical and lexical meanings in a given text. It is

difficult to formulate a fitting taxonomy for translation patterns, since a translator also has pragmatic issues, e.g. considerations of style and the register of the text as a whole.

The case of missing translation of telicity could only be discovered with sufficient occurrences of the respective word forms in the corpus. With corpora of a larger size, this assumption could be confirmed and one would expect other, similar findings of translation patterns. This could be interesting for contrastive linguistics but also for lexicography, as equivalents could be found not only on the basis of individual words, but also on a morphological level.

## 12.2 Corpora

In this work, there are two major problems in using parallel corpora. The first problem is the quality of the data provided. Alignment, lemmatisation and annotation were incorrect to such an extent that it was difficult to rely on the data without intensive manual post-processing, particularly in ParaSol. Although it was possible to find workarounds for incorrect alignment and lemmatisation, the high number of erroneous annotations, in particular, was a problem for this work. In the course of reviewing the aspectual annotation, it also appeared that the other grammatical categories were incorrect in many cases, or not annotated at all. Furthermore, as noted above, the RNC is not completely free from incorrect annotation of aspect either. This indicates that query results from corpora must still be reviewed for homonymy before using them as data for linguistic analysis.

The second problem in this work was the size of the parallel corpora. After completing this study, it appears that the dictionaries name more individual lexical denotations and connotations of the forms under examination than there are occurrences in the corpora. In order to comprehensively check the actual use of forms which are named in dictionaries, this should be the opposite; every possible meaning should be documented multiple times in the corpora.

The findings of this thesis show the directions in which parallel corpora have to be improved. These include the quality in alignment, lemmatisation, and annotation in ParaSol, and, to a minor degree, annotation in the RNC, although it still produces far more reliable results than ParaSol. In addition, the parallel corpora are often too small in quantity to make more general statements e.g. respecting patterns of translation.

In the case of the RNC, a desirable feature would be that the parallel corpus be disambiguated from homonymy. A new function for data-retrieval from the query results for post-processing, as is possible in ParaSol, would also be useful (see chapter 2.1.1).

It is the 'nature' of corpora that they always reflect the form of language, not its meaning. Of course, it is possible to assign a number of lexico-semantic features to specific word forms. However, to do so in depth for existing monolingual corpora would not only be too labour-intensive, but also scarcely manageable, as such a semantic annotation would have to rely on a uniform theory of semantics. As stated above, the meaning of a text is more than the sum of its parts. This is why a complete semantic annotation of individual word forms, even if it could be attained, or perhaps syntactical patterns or idioms, could not, in the end, reflect their full contextual meaning.

In the case of parallel corpora, this situation is even more complicated. Translation is not simply the transfer of words from SL to TL. Rather, it is the transfer of the *meaning* of the ST. So the TT would have to be semantically annotated according to the same standard as the ST.

The problem is that corpora can only be searched by formal features, whereas the theoretical background on aspect and aktionsart usually arises from prototypical situations, in which semantics play an essential role.

### 12.3 Theory

The theory of Isačenko, in many cases, does not suit the purpose of a work dedicated to the quantitative corpus analysis of translated texts. His theory suggests that generally all perfective prefixed forms of *-ходить* are of aktionsart. If this were so, a corresponding query to a corpus should return forms with according lexical semantics. Of course, this is not the case, as these forms have often adopted meanings of ‘non-motion’.

In order to compare the actionality of homonyms which are derived from VoM, a theoretical approach that also takes the actional meaning of *qualifying* prefixes into account would be necessary. As Isačenko states that their semantics have been completely merged with the stem into a new lexical meaning, we do not have a theoretical basis to analyse these prefixes as the indicator of actionality, but must always consider the full form. A preferable theory would hold that qualifying prefixes are also determined by their individual meaning as denoting the ‘manner of action’. All analysed forms with qualifying prefixes *except* *походить<sub>impf</sub>* could, aside from other figurative connotations, be regarded as an expression of the spatial features of a specific motion. For a corpus-based analysis, an approach which defines qualifying prefixes as independent in their semantics from the stem would have been more useful for this work, as the meaning of any prefix could, in combination with aspect, be better compared with their according translations.

In order to draw a sharp line between aktionsart and aspect, which Isačenko finds to be frequently confused in academic research, he avoids in-depth discussion of ambiguous cases in morphology which could contradict his theory of the difference between qualifying and modifying prefixes or his statement that aktionsart does not create aspectual pairs. For him, the ambiguous cases with *prefix+хаживать* are either just parallel forms to *prefix+идти* or they are secondary imperfectives of lexicalised meanings which have lost their verbal character of being VoM. In his list of homonyms among prefixed VoM, he only names the meanings of the individual forms, which fit into his differentiation between aktionsart and secondary imperfectives (Isačenko 1962, 438–439).

Yet the case of secondary imperfectives from verbs of aktionsart shows us the close interrelation between aktionsart and aspect. Isačenko's efforts to separate the notions aktionsart from aspect as it had been proposed by Agrell (1908, 78) has essentially contributed to general acknowledgement of aktionsart as an independent lexical category (Schwall 1991, 17–19).

### 13. Conclusion

In this thesis, the translation of prefixed forms of *ходить* on the basis of parallel corpora has been examined. In order to do so, I set out the different morphological mechanisms which are involved in the derivation of the according forms. This was necessary in order to understand their meaning, as several forms exist, which are homonymous because they are derived differently. Of interest was the extent and manner that these forms denote motion and how motion and actionality have been translated, also with respect to forms that have lost their meaning of motion.

The chosen approach to the morphological mechanism involved was Isačenko's theory on aspect and aktionsart. Several examples were provided which contradict Isačenko's theory that forms of aktionsart are always tantum. These forms are able to create an aspectual pair by secondary imperfectivisation, without losing their verbal character as verbs of motion.

The analysis of homonymy and actionality suffered from a lack of quality, especially in ParaSol, as it was not possible to rely on lemmatisation and annotation of the source text. The annotation of aspect, which is central to the examination of the phenomena, was found to be incorrect to such an extent that all relevant forms had to be manually reviewed. Also, the disambiguated part of the monolingual RNC was found to have a significant number of erroneous annotations. In general, it is not possible to rely on these corpora as regards their annotation of aspect.

Aside from their quality, the quantity of the parallel corpora used was also, in many cases, too small to draw general conclusions on patterns of translation. Only in cases where non-homonymous forms were analysed were there sometimes enough tokens found in order to make assertions on translation patterns, systemic differences between the two languages or possible equivalents. Generally, the size of disambiguated parallel corpora has to be significantly increased in order to examine patterns in translation.

In spite of these limitations in quality and quantity of the corpora, some patterns in the translation of individual forms were identified. In a number of examples, telicity was indicated in the Russian text but was not translated to German. This seems to be the case where the aktionsart or the verbal character in Russian implies, among other features, the action of being ingressive. Not denoting this meaning formally could be a systemic characteristic of German.

In one case, two forms of aktionsart with different prefixes and distinct meaning in Russian were considered. These were found to have been translated to German, in a significant number of occurrences, with the same or synonymous adverbials. On the one hand, this indicates that German does not discriminate between the meanings of these types of Russian aktionsart, and on the other hand that the prefixes, which indicate aktionsart, have a common equivalent meaning in Russian.

As was to be expected, it is irrelevant for the TT whether a unit in the ST possesses a homonymous form, but it is important for the translator to identify which one of the homonyms has been used in order to translate its meaning correctly. No rules could be established for the correct comprehension of prefixed forms of *ходить* as syntactically, they all behave differently. That being said, a catalogue of factors could be developed which could help to determine the correct meaning of a potential homonym.

Generally, Isačenko's approach proved to be sometimes unsuitable for the analysis of material from corpora. This is because he regards *prefix+ходить*, the secondary imperfectives of *prefix+идти*, as new lexical units whose meaning cannot be deduced from the individual meanings of the prefix and the stem. Thus, it was not possible to analyse the individual meanings of the prefixes and their translation, as has been done with aspectual perfective homonyms of aktionsart. It would be desirable to apply a theory which allows the analysis of the semantics of all verbal prefixes apart from the stem simultaneously, regardless how they have been derived.

I have chosen Isačenko's theory because of his clear differentiation between aspect and aktionsart which form the background of homonymy among prefixed verbs that are derived from VoM.

Computer linguistics needs input of clear standards, or else it will produce too much 'noise', i.e. irrelevant or incorrect output. Unfortunately, the combination of 'too clear' standards in terms of theory, and data of poor quality and small quantity, made it impossible to make general statements on patterns in translation of homonymous verbs which denote motion.

However, the analysis of translations made it possible to summarise essential factors for the correct comprehension, and consequently an equivalent translation, of prefixed forms of *ходить*. In chapter 11.2, recommendations are made on how to distinguish homonyms from each other and to determine an accurate meaning.

## Citation Index

ABBY. (1989-2016). Lingvo-Online. Retrieved February 3, 2016, from <<http://www.lingvo-online.ru>>

Achmanova, O. S. (1986). *Slovar' omonimov russkogo jazyka*, 3-e stereotip. izd. Moskva: Russkij jazyk.

Agrell, S. (1908). *Aspektänderung und Aktionsartbildung beim polnischen Zeitworte: ein Beitrag zum Studium der indogermanischen Präverbia und ihrer Bedeutungsfunktionen*. Lunds

- Universitets årsskrift / Lunds Universitet. Lund: Ohlsson.
- Aleksieva, T. (2007). *PONS Kompaktwörterbuch Russisch*. Stuttgart: PONS.
- Andersson, S.-G. (1972). *Aktionalität im Deutschen, eine Untersuchung unter Vergleich mit dem russischen Aspektsystem*. In: *Die Kategorien Aspekt und Aktionsart im Russischen und Deutschen*. Studia Germanistica Upsaliensia. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.
- Apresjan, J. D. (1974). *Leksičeskaja semantika: sinonimičeskie sredstva jazyka*. Moskva: Nauka.
- . (1993). *Novyj bol'šoj anglo-russkij slovar': [v trech tomach; okolo 250 000 slov]*. Moskva: Russkij Jazyk.
- Avilova, N. S. (1975). Spornye voprosy teorii vida glagola v sovetskom jazykoznanii. *Russkij jazyk za rubžom*, 4: 55–60.
- . (1976). *Vid glagola i semantika glagol'nogo slova*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Bermel, N. (1994). *Context and the lexicon in the development of Russian aspect*. University of California publications in linguistics / University of California Berkeley. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
- Bondarko, A. V., & Bulanin, L. L. (1967). *Russkij glagol: posobie dlja studentov i učitelej*. (J. S. Maslov, Ed.). Leningrad: Izdat. Prosveščenie.
- Bourke, M. K. (1980). *A semantic Re-examination of aspect and manner of action in Russian*. Ann Arbor: Xerox Univ. Microfilms.
- Catford, J. C. (1965). *A Linguistic Theory of Translation: An Essay in Applied Linguistics*. Language and language learning. - London, 1964-. London: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Durst-Andersen, P. (1997). De russiske bevægelsesverbs leksikalske og grammatiske struktur. *Svantevit*, XIX/1: 25–48.
- Efremova, T. F. (2006). *Sovremennyj tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka: v trech tomach; okolo 160000 slov*. Moskva: Astrel'.
- Egg, M. (1994). *Aktionsart und Kompositionalität, Zur kompositionellen Ableitung der Aktionsart komplexer Kategorien*. Studia Grammatica. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Evgen'eva, A. P. (1985). *Slovar' russkogo jazyka: v četyrěch tomach*. Moskva: Russ. jazyk.
- Foote, I. P. (1967). *Verbs of Motion*. Studies in the Modern Russian Language. Cambridge: Univ. Press.
- Forsyth, J. (1970). *A Grammar of Aspect*. Cambridge: Univ. Press.
- Gabka, K., & Mulisch, H. (Eds). (1975). *Die russische Sprache der Gegenwart, Bd. 2: Morphologie*. Leipzig: Enzyklopädie.
- Guławska, M. (2000). *Aspektualität im Polnischen und Deutschen, eine praktische Untersuchung am Beispiel der Übersetzungen beider Richtungen*. Slavistische Beiträge. München: Otto Sagner.
- Hoepelman, J. (1981). *Verb Classification and the Russian Verbal Aspect: a Formal Analysis*. Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik. Tübingen: Narr.
- Institut russkogo jazyka im. V. V. Vinogradova RAN. (2003). Nacional'nyj korpus russkogo jazyka. Korpus, . Retrieved April 8, 2012, from <<http://ruscorpora.ru/search-para-de.html>>
- International Organization for Standardization. (1968). Recommendation R 9: International System for the Transliteration of Slavic Cyrillic Characters, 2nd ed., pp. 189–195. ISO: Genève.
- Isačenko, A. V. (1960). *Grammatičeskij stroj russkogo jazyka v sopostavlenii s slovackim*. Bratislava: Izdatel'stvo Slovackej akademii nauk.
- . (1962). *Die russische Sprache der Gegenwart. Formenlehre*. Halle (Saale): Niemeyer.
- Jakobson, R. (1959). On Linguistic Aspects of Translation. Fang A. & Brower R. A. (eds) *On Translation*. Cambridge.
- Janda, L. A., & Lyashevskaya, O. (2011). Aspectual Pairs in the Russian National Corpus. *Scando-Slavica*, 57/2.
- Karcevski, S. (1927). *Système du verbe russe, essai de linguistique synchronique*. Prague.
- Kolesnikov, N. P. (1978). *Slovar' omonimov russkogo jazyka*, 2. ispr. izd. Tbilisi: Izdat. Tbilisskogo

Univ.

- Kuznecov, S. A. (2008). *Bol'shoj tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka*. Sankt-Peterburg: Norint.
- Lehmann, V. (1999). Der Aspekt. Jachnow, Helmut & Dönninghaus, Sabine (eds) *Handbuch der sprachwissenschaftlichen Russistik und ihrer Grenzdisziplinen*, Slavistische Studienbücher. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.
- Lötzsch, R., & Bielfeldt, H. H. (1997). *Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch Deutsch-Russisch*. Langenscheidts Grosswörterbücher. Berlin [u.a.]: Langenscheidt.
- Mahota, W. J. (1996). *Russian Motion Verbs for Intermediate Students*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Maslov, J. S. (1984). *Očerki po aspektologii*. Leningrad: Izdat. Leningrad. Univ.
- Mende, J. (2011). *Vid i akcional'nost' russkogo glagola: opyt slovarja*. München: Sagner.
- Mulisch, H. (1993). *Handbuch der russischen Gegenwartssprache*. Leipzig: Enzyklopädie.
- Nida, E. A. (1964). *Toward a Science of Translating, with Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating*. Leiden.
- Nielsen, J. N. (2011). *Russisk grammatik*. København: Københavns Universitet, Institut for Tværkulturelle og Regionale studier, Østeuropæisk Afdeling.
- Nørgård-Sørensen, J., Heltoft, L., & Schøsler, L. (2011). *Connecting grammaticalisation*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins PubCo.
- Ožegov, S. I., & Švedova, N. J. (1999). *Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka: 80 000 slov i frazeologičeskich vyraženij*, 4. izd., dop. Moskva: Azbukovnik.
- Pominov, A. (1988-2016). *Slovar' Multitran*. Retrieved February 3, 2016, from <<http://www.multitran.ru/>>
- Růžicka, R. (1974). Einführung in die Flexion und Aspektbildung des russischen Verbs. Daum E. & Schenk W. (eds) *Die russischen Verben, Grundformen, Aspekte, Rektion, Betonung, deutsche Bedeutung*, 9th ed. Leipzig.
- Schlegel, H. (2002). *Bildung, Bedeutung und Gebrauch des russischen Verbalaspekts*. München: Sagner.
- Schwall, U. (1991). *Aspektualität: eine semantisch-funktionelle Kategorie*. Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik. Tübingen: Narr.
- Šmelev, A. D., & Zaliznjak, A. A. (2000). *Vvedenie v russkiju aspektologiju*. Moskva: Jazyki russkoj kul'tury.
- Smirnickij, A. I., & Achmanova, O. S. (2001). *Bol'shoj russko-anglijskij slovar': 160 000 slov i slovosočetanij*, 24., izd., stereotip. Moskva: Izdat. Russkij Jazyk.
- Švedova, N. J. (1980). *Russkaja grammatika*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Tischer, V. (1994). *Russische Verben zur Kennzeichnung von Bewegungen und ihr Gebrauch in medizinischen und gesellschaftlichen Texten*. Hamburg: Kovač.
- Ušakov, D. N., & Volin, B. M. (1935). *Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka*. Moskva: Gosudarstvennyj Inst. Sovetskaja Ėnciklopedija.
- Venuti, L. (1995). *The Translator's Invisibility, a History of Translation*. London: New York.
- Waldenfels, R. von. (2006). Compiling a Parallel Corpus of Slavic Languages. Text Strategies, Tools and the Question of Lemmatization in Alignment. (Brehmer, Zdanova, & Zimny, Eds) *Beiträge der Europäischen Slavistischen Linguistik (POLYSLAV)*, 9: 123–38.
- Waldenfels, R. von, & Meyer, R. (2006). ParaSol - A Parallel Corpus of Slavic and Other Older Languages. Retrieved April 8, 2012, from <<http://www.parasolcorpus.org/>>
- Walewski, S., & Wedel, E. (n.d.). *Langenscheidts Standard-Wörterbuch Russisch*, Vol. 2011.