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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE TEMPORAL ADVERBIAL AND ASPECT IN RUSSIAN

by



NANCY BOONE VERMETTE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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ABSTRACT

There exist in Russian certain co-occurrence restrictions between the category of adverb and aspect. It is found that some temporal adverbials (TA's) occur with the imperfective aspect while others require the perfective. These restrictions seem to imply some interaction on the part of the two categories - some common factor of temporality or aspectuality which they share. This thesis attempts to explain this interaction by firstly examining and organizing data on the various types of TA and their aspectual restrictions taken from Vsevolodova (1975). Secondly, a generative description of TA's from Kučera (1976) is presented and it is found that the classification of TA's in this material allows further predictions to be made concerning TA-aspect co-occurrence restrictions. From this it is concluded that so-called DURATION and FREQUENCY adverbials can be classified as generally occurring with only the imperfective in positive sentences, perfective exceptions being change of state verbs with a 'perfect' nuance, and morphological perfectives formed from prefixing with po-, pro-, and ot-, which exhibit a sort of hybrid imperfective character. The description of a third major class of TA's taken from Kučera and Trnka, those labelled TIME, proves to be inadequate for the emergence of any aspect-adverbial generalizations. Because of this, an alternative time specification (Smith 1978) is introduced, citing a threefold time distinction taken from Reichenbach (1947) involving Speech Time, Reference Time, and Event Time. It is found that within this scheme certain prepositions in TIME

adverbials focus upon the end point of the Event Time and we adopt the notation of an arrow and the word BOUNDED to describe such instances. Such BOUNDED TIME TA's occur with the perfective aspect, exceptions being imperfectives which have the nuance of repeated, completed actions.

In examining these co-occurrence restrictions we find that there is often no simple black or white aspectival meaning for a given sentence and that aspectival meaning does not reside entirely within the verb. TA's also have an aspectival nature in that they say something about how an action proceeded as well as when (i.e., terms like DURATION, FREQUENCY, and BOUNDEDNESS are describing nuances of aspect in the TA). Within in the TA the preposition, number, delimiters and even some adjectives may all play a role in refining the aspectival reading of a sentence. It is also concluded that the TA is not alone in this refining activity - other factors contribute as well to the final reading. The discourse context "anchors" some TA's (i.e. provides a specific Reference Time) and can thereby change the aspectival meaning of a sentence. This notion of "anchoring", first introduced by Smith (1978) for the temporal specification of sentences, is important in aspectology for it implies that sentence grammar alone is not sufficient for a completely unambiguous aspectival reading of a sentence. Verbal semantics, too, have an effect upon the reading. Some roots and some prefixed and suffixed stems may be incompatible with certain aspects and/or TA's, and may contribute to different nuances of aspectival meaning.

In general the following scheme is proposed as necessary for the total aspectival reading of a sentence:

ASPECT + VERBAL SEMANTICS + TA + (CONTEXT) = ASPECTIVAL READING

It is only when one looks at the interaction of all these factors that some of the anomalies of Russian aspectival usage can be better understood.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to elucidate certain co-occurrence restrictions existing between temporal adverbials (henceforth TA's) and the aspect of the verb in a simple sentence. For example, it is found that certain TA's occur only with the imperfective aspect:

Эту крепость строили 20 лет;
Я занимался до рассвета;
Каждый день он приходит.

Others require the perfective aspect:

К 3 часам решил 5 задач;
Прочитал книгу за 2 часа.

By analysis of two sets of data on TA's in Russian, I should like to systematize and discuss such co-occurrence restrictions and the exceptions that are found in both sets of data.

The question of the existence of such co-occurrence restrictions between the category of adverb and aspect is an interesting one. There would seem to be some interaction between the TA and the aspect of a verb - some common factor of temporality or aspectuality which both categories share. This thesis cannot hope to fully explain such interaction, but perhaps its analysis may lay the groundwork for further study and comment.

The examination of such a relationship does seem worthwhile for its attempt to clarify the theoretical picture of just what the category of aspect might be, how one arrives at an aspectival reading of a sentence,

and it should help to systematize to some degree the restrictions and usage of TA's with respect to the aspect of the verb. As such, it may prove useful as a teaching guide for a most vexing subject to the student of Russian.

Temporal adverbials are traditionally assumed to function as the "means of indication of temporal localization, temporal limitation and frequency of occurrence of the narrated event" (Kučera 1975: 1). They answer the questions "When?", "How long?", and "How often?". "[They] are represented in the surface structure of the sentence by prepositional or nominal constructions or by adverbs" (Kučera 1975: 1). Some examples would be:

Он <u>часто</u> ходил к нам.	(Adverb)
Он читал <u>два часа</u> .	(Noun Phrase)
Он придёт <u>в три часа</u> .	(Prepositional Phrase)

Of these three types of TA, there are certain ones with which I shall not concern myself for the purposes of this thesis. Adverbs will not be of immediate concern, since neither of my sources takes them into consideration to any extent. Certain nominal expressions and prepositional phrases shall not be accounted for as well. For example, sentences like:

Он проработал год;
Мы отработали год;

can be described as sentences with time objects and are therefore not true TA's. Evidence for this comes from the fact that they may be passivized, e.g.,

Год был проработан им;
Год был отработан нами;

indicating a true object NP, rather than a TA as in:

Он работал год;
*Год былработан им.

The use of the 'historic present', 'future past', and 'future present' has been pointed out to be a stylistic and therefore subjective use of aspect. They involve instances when normal temporal and aspectual conditions are deliberately neutralized in order to achieve some stylistic coloration. As such they shall not be taken up in my discussion. Comparative time adverbials such as ran'se, pozže, shall not be included in this analysis. Time expressions involving time between two points shall also not be included. This would be expressions of time such as ot 10 do 12 časov dnja, or meždu 1299 i 1313 godami.

Finally, our examples and discussion will center around present and past tense forms of the verb with the exclusion of the future. This has been done specifically to eliminate the influence of any modal readings which are thought to come from this so-called tense.

The thesis is organized in the following manner: 1) the data from M.V. Vsevolodova is first presented, then organized for the purposes of my discussion; 2) a generative description of TA's by H. Kučera and K. Trnka is presented and applied to the data base; 3) to aid my discussion of time and aspect, a scheme for temporal specification of sentences by C. Smith is introduced for its notational value; and 4) certain conclusions are drawn regarding the implications of TA-aspect co-occurrence restrictions and the overall aspectual reading of a sentence.

II. THE DATA BASE

The study by M.V. Vsevolodova (1975) examines the functioning of the noun phrase, with and without prepositions, in adverbial temporal expressions, noting the influence of stylistic, semantic, lexical and grammatical factors on the final semantic reading. It is based upon data from an earlier study done with G.B. Potopova (1973) and provides an extremely detailed picture of usage and expression of Russian TA's in the literary, journalistic and contemporary spoken language. The book attempts to: 1) designate and describe all means of expression of time relations with the help of noun groups; 2) note the rules of functioning of the temporal noun group as a type of government; and 3) trace the details of syntactical synonymy in this material, characteristic of the given type of government.

Since it is one of the few studies which also notes the restrictions on aspectual usage in Russian in conjunction with time expressions, it will provide a large portion of the data to be analyzed in this thesis. It will be seen, however, that Vsevolodova's scheme for describing the formal relationship between aspect, tense and TA's leaves something to be desired and that it must be supplanted by a clearer system if the underlying generalizations are to emerge.

For the purpose of classifying temporal expressions in Russian, the author sets up the following overall scheme for time:

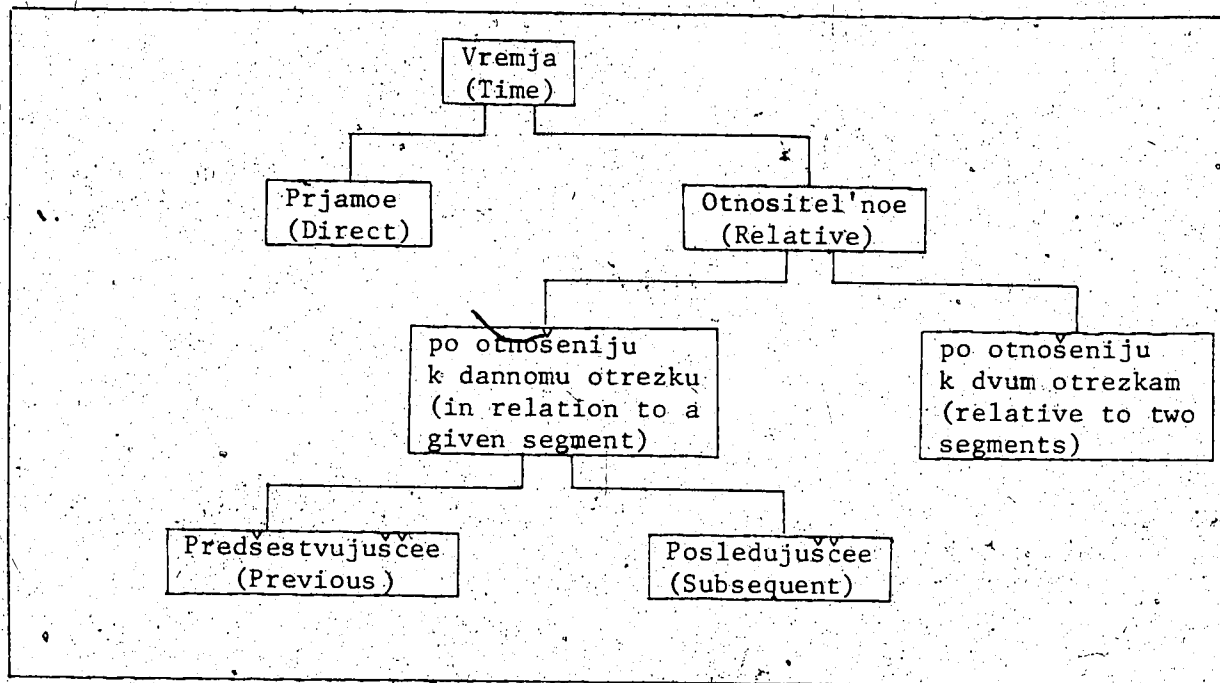


Figure 1. General time scheme (Vsevolodova, 1975) ¹

She then, on the basis of a system of binary oppositions, presents a detailed scheme of semantic interpretation which relates the action of the verb to the TA. Her basic differentiating features are:

- 1) odnovernennost' (simultaneity) vs. raznovernennost' (non-simultaneity);
- 2) zapolnennost' (entirely occupied) vs. nezapolnennost' (not entirely occupied);
- 3) zaveršennost' (completion) vs. nezaveršennost' (non-completion);

¹ 'Prjamoe-otnositel'noe': this division refers to the coincidence or non-coincidence of the action with the TA. 'K dvum otrezkam': refers to the action occurring between two time segments and shall not be considered in this thesis. 'Predšestvujuščee', 'posledujuščee': these divisions refer to the time line relationship of the action with the TA.

- 4) ediničnost' (singularity) vs. povtorjaemost' (repetition), or razdelitel'nost' (disjunctiveness).

Within the adverbial, the following morphological and syntactic influences on the noun phrase are recognized as affecting which of the above interpretations is realized: position in the sentence; noun class; number in the noun; presence or absence of attributives; type of attributive. In addition, she notes the constraints on aspectual usage and certain lexical classes of verbs, particularly when the noun phrase is in preverbal position.

More specifically, Vsevolodova establishes the following classes of nouns:

- NI Time units and their parts, e.g., секунда, час, неделя, месяц, декада, год, век
- NII Definite segments of time, e.g.,
 - a) трёхлетие, столетие
 - b) Definite segments of time by various calendars:
 - 1) Agricultural, e.g., сенокос, жатва
 - 2) Academic, e.g., четверть, семестр
 - 3) Church, e.g., пост, пасха
- NIII Non-definite segments of time, e.g., миг, момент, эра, время, период
- NIV Parts of a 24-hour day, e.g.,
 - a) утро, день, вечер, ночь
 - b) рассвет, заря, полдень

- NV Times of the year, e.g., весна, лето
- NVI Months, e.g., январь, и т.д.
- NVII Days of the week, e.g., понедельник, и т.д.
- NVIII Large time periods, e.g., древность, старина, будущее
- NIX Words, designating growth periods or educational periods,
e.g.,
- a) детство, юность
 - b) ребёнок, мальчик
 - c) возраст, этап
- NX Words, not having a lexical time meaning (ten subclasses ranging from words like начало to коммунизм).

The classes of attributives involved with temporal noun phrases and prepositional phrases are distinguished as those which specify:

- AI Entire grasp of the time segment by an action, e.g.,
весь, целый
- AII Length of the time segment, e.g.,
- a) долгий, какой-то
 - b) трёхлетний
- AIII Succession of time segments, e.g.,
- a) прошлый, следующий
 - b) первый, второй

- IV Order in time, e.g., давний, поздний
- AV Correlation with time segment of another order (six subclasses ranging from words like вечерний to рабочий).
- AVI Correlation with weather, e.g., холодный, жаркий
- AVII Correlation with age, e.g., детский, старческий
- AVIII Colour characteristics, e.g., белый, тёмный
- AIX Individual characteristics, e.g., трудный, счастливый
- AX Pronouns:
 - a) Indicatives, e.g., тот, этот
 - b) ~~Attributives~~, e.g., самый, такой
 - c) Possessives, e.g., мой, твой
- AXI Indicators of division, e.g., каждый, любой, круглый

Taking her basic time divisions as given in Figure 1, Vsevolodova then shows how within each division the above noun and attribute classes combine with other morphological factors to contribute to the binary semantic interpretation outlined earlier. Of critical interest to us here are her observations on aspectual usage within each class and the types of exceptions permitted. The following is a detailed description of the scheme set up in the book with all examples extracted from the same source.

Direct Time (Prjamoe vremja)

A. Time is entirely filled by the action of the verb, with no indication of completion given.

EXAMPLES: Учился пять лет.
Семь страниц я переводил два часа.

MODE OF EXPRESSION: This type of TA is usually expressed by the accusative case without preposition. Other modes include v tečenie + Gen. and na + Acc.

ASPECT: Aspect is generally IMPERFECTIVE.

EXCEPTIONS:

- 1) po- and pro- verbs: e.g., Одну минуту по-времените, я хочу проверить.
- 2) ot- verbs: e.g., лето отработает; 6 лет отслужил
- 3) short time spans: e.g.,
на мгновение увидел; на минуту ощутил
- 4) a) negative, future actions: e.g., Он обиделся, и не придёт теперь неделю.
b) negative, short actions in the future or
past: e.g., не присела весь день;
Всю ночь, глаз не сомкну.
- 5) past, passive participles: e.g., Уже второй месяц нарушено обычное перемещение...
- 6) 'perfect' type verbs: e.g., удержать, выдержать, отдохнуть, остаться
and others with the infix -pu-

Direct Time (Prjamoe vremja)

B. Time is entirely filled by the action of the verb, with an indication of the completion given.

EXAMPLES: За два часа прочитал книгу.
Он решил пять задач в течение 2 часов.

MODE OF EXPRESSION: This type of TA is usually expressed by za + Acc. or v tečenie + Gen.

ASPECT: Aspect is generally PERFECTIVE.

EXCEPTIONS: 1) Imperfective resultative verbs:

a) generalized fact meaning: e.g., В 1932 мы за весь год выпускали 3 электровоза.

b) repetitive action inside the time segment: e.g.,
Ведь на территории древней Ассирии за этот период возникали и погибали многочисленные империи и царства.

2) In presence of an indicator of shortness of

action, either aspect may be used: e.g.,

На протяжении XIII и XIV веков система видоизменялась несколько раз.

3) A quantitative indicator of action allows the

use of non-resultative imperfective: e.g.,

За три года она много странствовала.

Direct Time (Prjamoe vremja)

C. *Time is not entirely filled by the action of the verb. There is no indication of completion given and no relation to the future.*

EXAMPLES: Приехал в марте.
В прошлом году приезжал два раза.

MODE OF EXPRESSION: This type of TA is usually expressed by a number of modes, such as v+ Acc., na+ Acc., v+ Loc., na+ Loc., and s+ Gen.

ASPECT: Aspect in this division is not specific. If there is a relation to the future, one-act evolving type PERFECTIVES are used, e.g., Эти женщины овдовели с войны.

Direct Time (Prjamoje vremja)

D. *Disjunctive time expressions.* Vsevolodova has many sub-divisions here. One example is given from each of her sub-divisions. The headings are translations of Vsevolodova's various sub-divisions.

EXAMPLES: Intensively disjunctive: с каждым днём увеличивается

Properly disjunctive: сидела часами

Cyclically disjunctive: летают день и ночь

Concretely distributive: Каждый из нас работал по 8 часов.

Generalizingly distributive: Собака живёт до 10-12 лет.

Dotted time: просиживает часами

Averaging time: выпускает 120 машин в месяц

Regularly disjunctive: каждый день приходит

Non-Regularly disjunctive: в иные дни приходит

MODE OF EXPRESSION: This type of TA is expressed by a wide range of noun phrases and prepositional phrases as evidenced by the examples above.

ASPECT: Aspect is generally IMPERFECTIVE.

EXCEPTIONS: 1) Modally disjunctive expressions normally use the PERFECTIVE, e.g., Позвонит в любой день.

- 2) po-, pro-, ot- type perfectives in concretely distributive expressions, e.g.,

Каждый отработает на стройке по 10 часов.

- 3) improperly disjunctive expressions after verbs

like moć, pozvoliat' and davat' vozmožnost', e.g.,

12 раз в секунду могут смениться все данные на панели табло.

Relative Time - Previous (Otnositel'noe vremja-predšestvujuščee)

A. Time is entirely filled by the action of the verb, with no indication of completion and not relating to the future.

EXAMPLES: Мы работали до позднего вечера.
ждать до вечера

MODE OF EXPRESSION: This type of TA is usually expressed by do+ Gen. or po+ Acc.

ASPECT: Aspect is generally IMPERFECTIVE.

- EXCEPTIONS:
- 1) po- and pro- verbs: e.g.,
просидели до солнца; пусть до суда
побудет дома
 - 2) correlative prefix do- verbs: e.g.,
дожить до такой одинокой старости
 - 3) 'perfect' type verbs: e.g., сохранить
выдержать
 - 4) negative perfectives: e.g.,
до сих пор не утратила...
 - 5) past passive participles: e.g.,
до сих пор не исследованы...

Relative Time - Previous (Otnositel'noe vremja predšestvujuščee)

B. Time is entirely filled by the action of the verb, with no indication of completion and relative to the future.

EXAMPLES: Он уехал на два года.
Он улетел на целый день.

MODE OF EXPRESSION: This type of TA is usually expressed by

na + Acc.

ASPECT:

Aspect is PERFECTIVE, changing, resulting state verbs.

EXCEPTIONS:

1) expression of repetition: e.g.,

Левитан уходил на неделю, на две из дому.

2) when action itself occupies the time

segment: e.g.,

Снег лежал теперь на всю зиму.

3) negations: e.g.,

Сержант Кумбс...ни на миг не снимал рук, с висящего на шее пулемёта.

4) 'present historical': e.g.,

Снова на какой-то миг он попадает в проигрышное положение.

Relative Time - Previous (Otnositel'noe vremja-predšestvujuščee)

C. Time indicates the completion of the action.

EXAMPLES: К утру сделал.
К 3 часам дня решил 5 задач.
К воскресенью сделаешь?

MODE OF EXPRESSION: This type of TA is usually expressed by the use of k+ Dat, na+ Acc. or do+ Gen.

ASPECT: Aspect is generally PERFECTIVE.

EXCEPTIONS: 1) action, as a result of a former process:

e.g.,

ходячие пародии...уже к середине XIX века...воспринимались как подлинные отрывки из Тредиаковского;

2) repetition, habit: e.g.,

Только к 30 мы находим свой стиль, свой образ.

Relative Time - Previous (Otnositel'noe vremja-predšestvujuščee)

D. *Time is not entirely filled by the action of the verb.*

EXAMPLES: Я знал его ещё до Москвы.
Начало назначено на полдень.
Пришёл за час до урока.
Зайду перед лекцией.
До вечера было ещё далеко.
Птицы перед теплом садятся на
верхушках деревьев.
Я купил ей пуховой платок ко
дню рождения.

MODE OF EXPRESSION: This type of TA is not specific in its mode of expression. Several groups are used including na+ Acc., k+ Dat., do+ Gen., and pered+ Inst.

ASPECT: Aspect in this division is not specific.

Relative Time - Subsequent (Otnositel'noe vremja-posledujuščee)

A. Time is entirely filled by the action of the verb, with no indication as to completion.

EXAMPLES: Я тебя жду с часу ночи.
Ничего не ела с обеда.
С тех пор не видел...

MODE OF EXPRESSION: This type of TA is usually expressed by s+ Gen.

ASPECT: Aspect is generally IMPERFECTIVE.

EXCEPTIONS: 1) 'perfect' type verbs: e.g.,

Неведомо с каких давних времён
сохранился в устье Волги лотос;

2) with a quantitative indicator of action: e.g.,

С тех пор хирурги сделали ему восемь
операций....

3) past, passive participles: e.g.,

открыт с 1912 г.

4) beginning of action: e.g.,

Со времён Грозного царя стали
селиться на....

Relative Time - Subsequent (Otnositel'noe vremja-posledujuščee)

B. *Time is not entirely filled by the action of the verb.*

EXAMPLES: Через час после урока уехал.
 Придёт после лекции.
 С последним лучом Солнца наступает
 темнота.
 С дороги умылся.

MODE OF EXPRESSION: This type of TA is expressed by a variety of groups including čerez+ Acc., posle+ Gen., s+ Gen. and spustja+ Acc.

ASPECT: Aspect in this division is not specific.

Summary and Discussion of Aspect Restrictions

It will have been noted that Vsevolodova makes several astute observations concerning the use of the Russian perfective or imperfective aspects within the semantic framework presented. Yet it is unclear from her scheme whether the given classification is simply one of sentence types, or whether there are some predictable co-occurrence restrictions between, for example, aspect and TA's within given classes which might consistently lead to the same readings. The use of aspect will be summarized below with a tentative analysis of the exceptions and their relation to the TA.

PERFECTIVE

The usage of the perfective aspect is basic to the following situations: the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion is marked, e.g., Он прочитал эту книгу за два часа; time preceding the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion is marked, e.g., Он это сделал в утру; time preceding the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb, completion is not marked and there is a relation to the future, e.g.,

Он уехал на два года.

Let us examine each of these cases in more detail along with their exceptions.

1. *TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion is marked.*

An indication of completion being a marked feature of this situation implies usage of the perfective aspect. However, the completion is signaled not just by the aspect but often by some quantifier in the direct object to indicate a finished result or an occupying of the entire time of the adverbial with the verb action:

Он решил 5 задач в течение 2 часов.

Imperfective exceptions are usually resultative imperfectives signifying: a) generalized fact meaning, e.g.,

В 1932 мы за весь этот год выпускали 3 электровоза,

or b) a repetitive action within the given time segment, e.g.,

Ведь на территории древней Ассирии за этот период возникали и погибали многочисленные империи и царства.

In expressions of relative shortness of action, imperfectives may also be used, e.g., На протяжении XIII и XIV веков система видоизменялась несколько раз.

Imperfective non-resultatives are used with some quantification of the action, e.g., За три года она много странствовала.

The imperfective is then used mainly for repetitive actions within the segment or for stress of the progression of a series of events, that is, with quantified actions.

In terms of the adverbial all sentences of this time segment seem to focus on the coincidence of the end or completion of the action of

the verb with the 'right' boundary of the TA.

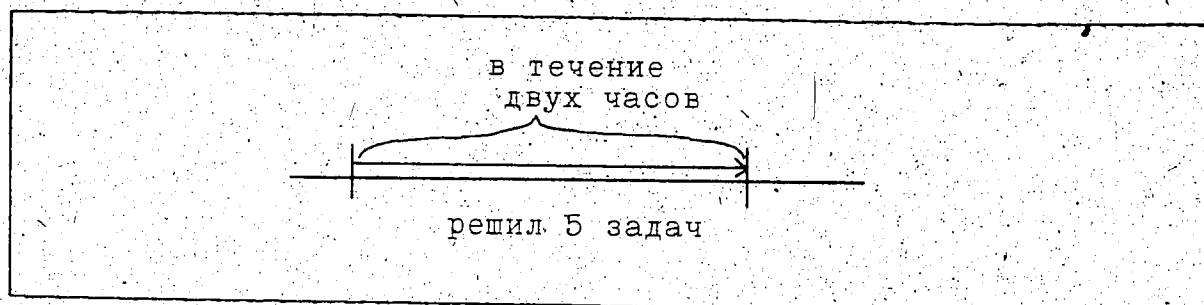


Figure 2. Coincidence of verb completion with the right boundary of TA.

2. *Time preceding the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion is marked.*

In expressions of relative time, preceding that of the TA, where the interval is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion is a marked feature, once again, the use of the perfective aspect is noted. Here the completion of the action of the verb coincides with the 'left' boundary of the TA, e.g., К воскресенью сделаешь?

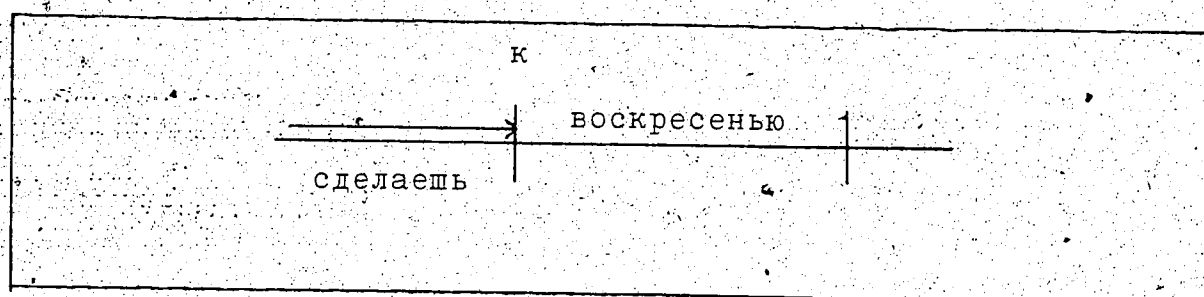


Figure 3. Coincidence of verb completion with left boundary of TA.

Imperfectives are used in a) expressions of action as a result of a former process, e.g.,

ходячие пародии...уже к середине XIX века...
воспринимались как подлинные отрывки из
Тредиаковского;

and b) in expressions of repetitiveness or habit, e.g.,

Только к 30 мы находим свой стиль, свой образ.

3. *Time preceding the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb, completion is not marked and there is a relation to the future.*

In expressions of time preceding the TA, entirely filled by the action of the verb, the use of the perfective is outlined, e.g.,

Он уехал на два года.

Imperfective exceptions are a) repetition, e.g.,

Левитан уходил на неделю, на две из дому;

- b) in rare instances when the action is in the time segment entirely, e.g.,

Снег лежал теперь на всю зиму;

- c) negations, e.g., Сержант Кумбс... ни на миг не снимал рук с висящего на шее пулемёта.

If we analyse all of the above examples we see that what is common to them is that the action of the verb is completed and its result extends into the time of the adverbial: Пришёл на 2 часа.

Usually then, a perfective, resulting state verb is used and what is occupying the time of the adverbial is actually an understood imperfective action or state of some sort, e.g., Приехал на два года 'he has arrived (and will be staying) for two years'. The imperfective aspect is chosen only to indicate a repetition of perfective-type actions:

Прибегал на 5 минут, or the negation of a perfect state.

IMPERFECTIVE

According to the data presented in Vsevolodova the following situations employ the imperfective aspect: the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion is not marked, e.g., Учился

пять лет; time, preceding the moment of the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb, completion is not marked and there is no relation to the future, e.g., Ждали его до вечера; disjunctive time expressions, e.g., летают день и ночь, каждый день приходит; and time, subsequent to the moment of the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion need not be marked, e.g.,

Ничего не ела с обеда.

1. TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion is not marked.

In the first case the important feature seems to be the correspondence of the length or progress of the verb with the time span mentioned. Sometimes completion may be understood, but it is not marked:

Семь страниц я переводил два часа.

Usually the action ceases, but may or may not be completed:

Быков поколебался секунду, сделал несколько шагов вперёд и представился.

The action may not cease, but carries on to the moment of speech, the

important feature being the time span named by the TA is entirely occupied by the action of the verb used:

Миллиарды лет Солнце питает биосферу живительной энергией....

Usage of the perfective in this situation is restricted to the following exceptions: a) po- pro- and ot- type perfectives, e.g.,

Он говорил (на) пять минут,
Мы прождали его полчаса и ушли,
Она отслужила десять лет.

b) extremely short time spans, e.g.,

на мгновение увидел...

c) negative future, e.g.,

Он обиделся и не придёт теперь
неделю.

d) short instantaneous action in the future

or past, e.g.,

не прицела весь день

e) past passive participles, e.g.,

уже второй месяц нарушено
обычное...

and f) 'perfect' type perfectives, e.g.,

выдержать, отдохнуть

Looking at the above exceptions can perhaps help to understand better the nature of the TA - aspect situation. The po-, pro- type

perfectives are firstly a subjective or relative choice on the part of

the speaker. The po- types are also not true 'perfectives' in that they have no paired imperfective identical in meaning. They denote a subjective delimitation of the time. They say something about the shortness of the time relative to something else, but are semantically akin to imperfectives in that they still are concerned with the 'filling up' of a time span: cf.,

Neutral Он говорил пять минут.

Relative Shortness Он поговорил (на) пять минут.

Neutral Прибор работал час.

Relative Shortness Прибор поработал час (и сломался).

The pro- and ot- type perfectives are unusual perfectives as well. Morphologically perfective because they have imperfective mates, at the same time they are semantically similar to imperfectives because they focus on internal time progression: cf.,

Neutral Мы ждали его полчаса и ушли.

Relative Shortness Мы подождали его полчаса и ушли.

Protraction Мы прождали его полчаса и ушли.

Often pro- and ot- types are used in sentences with a time expression that is not truly a TA, but actually the object of the verb: cf.,

Она отработала 8 часов.

Мы проработали год.

These may be shown to be true object NP's by their ability to be passivized:

8 часов было отработано ей.
Год был проработан нами.

For extremely short time spans, perfectives may be used. As the time span of the TA gets shorter and shorter, perfective verbs are allowed:

на мгновение увидел,
на минуту ощутил.

The time span is still 'filled' by the action and the sense of delimitation is acute.

The use of perfective forms in the 'negative future' expresses a state or result that continues on during the time span of the TA, similar to the idea of the 'perfect' verb as in exception f):

Он обиделся и не придёт теперь неделю.
Вода не нагреется теперь целый час.

Short, instantaneous action in the future and past rendered by the perfective verb also focuses on the result or failure to achieve the result of the action named during the TA:

не присела весь день,
Всю ночь не сомкну глаз.

The past passive participles are derived from perfective verbs.

They have a 'perfect' sense to them, that is, the time is 'filled up' with the result or consequence of the action named:

уже второй месяц нарушено обычное....

'Perfect' type perfective verbs, like negatives and past passive participles mentioned above, concentrate on the 'filling up' of the time span of the TA with the result or consequence of this action. This

includes verbs like uderžat', vyderžat', otdoxnut', the -nu- type verbs, and ostat'sja as well. The 'perfect' is a continuing in the present of the relevance of a past situation, i.e., completion is not the important idea.

In summary, the first two perfective exceptions to the normal use of the imperfective aspect with these TA's are exceptional for their imperfective character which focuses upon progression or the relative shortness of a progression. The last four cases are all examples of perfectives that focus on continuance of some state or result into the time of the TA with completion not a marked feature. That is, they all convey a 'perfect' meaning.

2. *Time, preceding the moment of the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb, completion is not marked and there is no relation to the future.*

Here, the action proceeds to the first border of the TA or even enters into it: Я занимался вчера до рассвета. Ждал до вечера. The important feature once again is the protraction or length of the action up until the time named. Exceptional instances where the perfective may be used are similar to those stated in 1): a) po- pro- type perfectives; b) correlative prefixed do- perfectives; c) 'perfect' type perfectives; d) negative perfectives; and e) negative passive participles.

The po- and pro- type perfectives focus on the delimitation or progression of the action right up to the first boundary of the TA;

Он пролежал с открытыми глазами до рассвета.

Мы посидели здесь до обеда.

Do- type perfectives normally occur with the do preposition in this situation and function similarly to the perfectives mentioned above:

дожить до такой одинокой старости...

'Perfect' type perfectives like soxranit' and vyderžat' denote the continuance of some result or state up to the moment of the TA:

Сохранился до нашего времени.

Остаться до конца собрания...

Negative perfectives and negative passive participles are used here for the same reasons as mentioned in 1), namely their 'perfect' sense:

до сих пор не утратила своего значения,
до сих пор фактически не исследованы..

Just as in the previous class where the imperfective verbs were the norm, we find the same kinds of irregular perfectives (those with a kind of imperfective meaning), and 'perfect'-type verbs or constructions supplying the perfective exceptions to this class of sentences.

3. *Disjunctive time expressions.*

As a rule, such expressions concern the repetitions of some actions in time, which has (have) been broken up into segments. Imperfective aspect is the usual choice for these expressions, exceptions being:

a) po- and pro- and ot- perfectives in constructions defined by

Vsevolodova to be 'concretely distributive', e.g.,

Каждый отработает на стройке по 10 часов.

b) in constructions defined by Vsevolodova to be 'properly disjunctive', the perfective is used after verbs like moč', pozvoljat', and davat' vozmožnost' when a sense of completion is marked, e.g.,

12 раз в секунду могут смениться все данные на панели табло;

c) in 'modally disjunctive' constructions, as defined by Vsevolodova, where the perfective is the norm in the simple future or when used after words like gotov, dolžen and možno:

Каждую минуту можно было наскочить на засаду;

Со дня на день в горах тает снег.

Again we see the so-called perfective verbs in po-, pro- and ot- acting like imperfectives. The second and third exceptions involve complex verb phrases with modal verbs or adjectives accompanying the perfective infinitives. The modals are themselves imperfectives and, if we assume that the adverbials are associated with that portion of the sentence containing the modal, then the exceptional behavior of the perfective verb (complement) is eliminated.

4. Time, subsequent to the moment of the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion need not be marked.

TA's of this category usually require the imperfective aspect, the time extending from within or from the second boundary of the TA onward.

Perfective aspect use is limited to: a) verbs meaning beginning of an action, e.g., Со времён Грозного царя стали селиться на...;

b) verbs meaning the result of qualitative or quantitative change, e.g., с тех пор хирурги сделали ему восемь... операций;

c) 'perfect' type perfectives, e.g.,

Неведомо с каких давних времён сохранился в устье
Волги дотос;

and d) past passive participles, e.g.,

...открыт с 1912 г.

All of the above types of exceptions have been discussed earlier.

Each involves the semantic connotation of the 'perfect', i.e., the ongoing effect of a completed action. It is this ongoing effect which leads to the overlap in use between perfective and imperfective verbs with TA's specifying the interval subsequent to some reference point in time.

Comments

While exhaustive in its detail and examples given, Vsevolodova's analysis obviously fails to clarify or systematize Russian TA's. She notes various potential influences upon the TA within the context of the sentences: noun class, type of attributive, number in the noun, aspect in some cases, etc. The excessive number of noun classes (ten) and attributives (eleven), however, would seemingly make it difficult to ever predict successfully their usage and restrictions for a given TA. The general time scheme is reasonable but the binary semantic interpretations confuse temporal relations. The basic differentiating features used by Vsevolodova have to do with various facets of the difference between imperfective and perfective: simultaneity vs. non-simultaneity, entirely occupied vs. not entirely occupied, completion vs. non-completion, and singularity vs. repetition. Instead of defining the

time reference of the TA, she is defining the aspect/time of the sentence as a whole. At no point does she satisfactorily handle the habitual and frequency adverbials. They just do not fit into the feature system established for the other types of TA. The analysis is useful in recognizing the influences of syntactic units other than the TA upon the temporal interpretation of a sentence, but this information is never employed in any fruitful way. Instead, the burden of time interpretation rests upon the TA and one ends up with myriad categories of adverbials with many exceptions that do little to clarify the situation.

The obtuseness of the time scheme also disallows any useful predictions between TA and verbal aspect. There is no attempt to understand the exceptions to the aspect generalizations. Just how the TA combines with the verb to give a semantic meaning of the sentence is also not clarified.

Our review of Vsevolodova's scheme in terms of aspectival usage with various TA's did reveal a number of possible generalizations which might have been pursued but which were not even noted by the author. In situations where the perfective aspect was normally used, many of the TA's had some indication of emphasis on the end point of the event time interval. The imperfective exceptions to this situation were always imperfectives of repeated completed actions, but were never imperfectives of continuous single actions. That is, this one meaning of the imperfective overlaps in part with the notion of completion inherent in the perfective and thus the same type of adverbial can be used with

both aspects in this special case. Similarly it was found that the imperfective was most frequently found with TA's without strict focus on the end point of the interval. Exceptional perfectives in such cases could be divided into two basic classes: 1) 'perfect' type perfectives, i.e., those completed (usually resultative or negative) actions which bring about a state of affairs which can then occupy Vsevolodova's TA in exactly the same way as imperfective verbs; 2) specially prefixed perfectives in po-, etc., whose meaning and defective morphology leads one to suspect that they might better be classified as imperfective rather than perfective verbs. These are but a few of the many generalizations on the co-occurrence restrictions between TA's and aspect which could be extracted from Vsevolodova's data were her classification of the units involved more precise.

In the next chapter I shall look at a generative scheme for temporal specification of English, Russian and Czech. It has a simplified and more workable scheme. The aspectival co-occurrence constraints cited corroborate Vsevolodova's findings. Although there is no attempt made to clarify or explain the aspectival/TA relationship, the classification of the TA's is much superior to that just reviewed in Vsevolodova and allows further predictions to be made concerning some of these restrictions.

III. A GENERATIVE SCHEME FOR TEMPORAL ADVERBIALS AND ASPECT

The following material is based upon a Ph.D. dissertation by Karla Trnka, A Generative Description of Temporal Adverbial Constructions in Contemporary Russian and Czech (1973), and a subsequent book written in collaboration with H. Kučera entitled Time in Language (1975). Both deal generatively with the same sorts of TA's as Vsevolodova, although not with such an exhaustive set of data as the latter.

Kučera and Trnka have divided TA's into three fundamental categories based on the questions "When?", "How long?", and "How often?". They are:

- a) TIME Adverbials (When?)
- b) DURATION Adverbials. (How long?)
- c) FREQUENCY Adverbials (How often?)

Temporal nouns are divided into two sets: L and M. L is a set comprised of such nouns as utro, večer, ponedel'nik, vtornik, janvar', fevral'.... Each noun contrasts with other nouns from the same set as a comparable subdivision of some longer time division. Set M consists of nouns like minuta, god, mesjac, čas.... This set M cannot be partitioned into antonymy subsets as in L. Temporal nouns are then assigned either the feature [+L] or [+M] which indicates their membership in one set or the other.

The term specifier is used for any further restrictive modification of a TA. These are divided into the following subclasses: a) delimiters-deictic specifiers such as etot, tot, and nondeictic specifiers such as sledujuščij, ordinals like tretij and cardinals or nouns in attributive position, e.g., god 1945, mesjac maj, etc.; b) quantifiers - expressions

like ves', celyj, neskol'ko, polovina, dva, and kazdyj; and c) adjectives - descriptives like krasivyj, usually not relevant for determining status of TA's.

Derivational Subclasses.

The three major classes of TA's are subdivided according to their derivational structures. Listed below are these subdivisions with examples. Semantically, there are further subclassifications by several criteria according to how they localize a time event. These shall be given further on as I take up the generative description of each of the three major divisions: TIME, DURATION, and FREQUENCY.

TIME Adverbials

There are three subclasses of TIME Adverbials:

T1 - derived from nouns marked [+L] without the addition of any specifier, e.g., noč'ju, po večeram;

T2 - derived from nouns marked [+L] by the addition of a delimiter, e.g., v ètot pondel'nik, v pervuju noč', prošloj vesnoj;

T3 - derived from nouns marked [+M] by the addition of a delimiter, e.g., v pervyj mesjac, v prošlom godu, v pjat' časov, v 1965-om godu.

DURATION Adverbials

There are five subclasses of DURATION Adverbials:

D1 - derived from nouns marked [+M] without the addition of any

specifier, e.g., god, čas;

D2 - derived from nouns marked [+M] by the addition of a

quantifier, e.g., dva časa, celymi časami; or by the

addition of two quantifiers, e.g., celye dva goda;

D3 - derived from nouns marked [+L] by the addition of a

quantifier, e.g., ves' večer, celymi večerami;

D4 - derived from nouns marked [+L] by the simultaneous addition

of a quantifier and a delimiter, e.g., ves' sledujuščij

večer, vse èto utro;

D5 - derived from nouns marked [+M] by the simultaneous addition

of a quantifier and a delimiter, e.g., ves' buduščij god,

vsju prošlujū nedelju.

FREQUENCY Adverbials

There are two subclasses of FREQUENCY Adverbials:

F1 - derived from nouns marked [+M] by the addition of the

quantifier každyj, e.g., každyj god, každyj den';

F2 - derived from nouns marked [+L] by the addition of the

quantifier každyj, e.g., každyj večer, každoe utro.

The Generative Description and its Limitations

Modifications of Chomsky's Generative Rules

Before proceeding on to the semantic classification and generation of the three major categories, I should like to present Trnka's

modification of Chomsky's rules in order to encompass the generation of Russian TA's.

Chomsky (1965: 101, 102) considers TIME Adverbials to be VP complements, external to the Verb Phrase. DURATION and FREQUENCY Adverbials are given the status of V complements, internal to the Verb Phrase. He introduces TA's by the rules (102):

$$S \rightarrow \text{NPPredicate-Phrase}$$

$$\text{Predicate-Phrase} \rightarrow \text{AuxVP (Place)(Time)}$$

$$\text{VP} \rightarrow \text{V(NP) (Prep-Phrase) (Prep-Phrase)(Manner)}$$

$$\text{Prep-Phrase} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Direction} \\ \text{Duration} \\ \text{Place} \\ \text{Frequency} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$$

Trnka, basing herself on Fillmore¹ (1969:362) and the fact that nominal expressions and adverbs can also function in Russian as DURATION and FREQUENCY Adverbials, modifies this scheme. She tentatively formulates the generation of TA's in Russian (and Czech) in the following way:

$$S \rightarrow \text{NP Predicate-Phrase}$$

$$\text{Predicate-Phrase} \rightarrow \text{AuxVP (Time)}$$

$$\text{VP} \rightarrow \text{V (Duration)(Frequency)(Manner)}$$

$$\text{Time} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adverb} \\ \text{PrepPhrase} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{Duration} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adverb} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{Frequency} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adverb} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

¹Fillmore points out that Chomsky's grammar does not give the information that an expression like on the next day is both a PrepPhrase and a TIME Adverbial.

The generative statements that we shall discuss below for TIME, DURATION and FREQUENCY Adverbials are then based upon this modification of Chomsky's statement.

TIME Adverbials

These are classified according to how they denote the time localization of the event. They are further divided as follows:

- A1 "Actualized" - designating the time period of the event with reference to the time period of the speech event, e.g., včera, v prošlom godu;
- A2 "Anaphoric" - designating the time period of the event with reference to the time period of another event, non-identical with the speech event, e.g., na sledujušči den, v tot večer;
- A3 "Nonrelational" - designating the time period of the event without any indication of a reference to the time period of another event, e.g., v sredu, večerami, utrom;
- B1 "Singularized" - designating an individual time period, e.g., odnaždy, etoj nočju, včera;
- B2 "Pluralized" - designating an open class of specific time periods, e.g., letnimi večerami, nočami;
- B3 "Unspecified" - do not distinguish between individual vs. non-individual, e.g., nočju, v aprele;

- C1 - designating a certain definite temporal extension of the time period, e.g., segodnja, v pjat' časov;
- C2 - designating the time period of the event without indicating any definite extension of it, e.g., togda, v to vrema, odnazdy.

The following statements are true:

Any TIME Adverbials belonging to A1 or A2 belongs to B1.

Any TIME Adverbials belonging to A3 belongs to B2 or B3.

Trnka proposes a set of rules and a sample lexicon for generating her various classes of TIME Adverbials:

$$\text{TIME} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adverb} \\ \text{PrepPhrase} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{TIME} \\ [\text{Adverb}] \rightarrow [+Adv. +Time]$$

$$\text{TIME} \\ [\text{PP}] \rightarrow \text{Prep}(\text{Del})\text{Noun}$$

$$\text{TIME} \\ [\text{NP}] \rightarrow (\text{Del})\text{Noun}$$

$$\text{TIME} \\ [\text{Noun}] \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+N+L] \\ [+N+M]/\text{Del.} __ \end{array} \right\}$$

(Del = Delimiter)

The portion of the rules generating TIME adverbs has been deleted as I am not going to concern myself with adverbs in my discussion. The following rules specifically generate "Actualized" TIME Adverbials:

TIME
[PP] → PrepDelNoun

TIME
[NP] → DelNoun

TIME
[Del] → $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+Del+Time+Cur.Rel.^2] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Tense} \\ -[Present] - \\ -[Future] - \\ -[Past] - \end{array} \right\} \\ [+Del+Time+Future] / -[Future] - \\ [+Del+Time+Past] / -[Past] - \end{array} \right\}$

TIME
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} PP \\ Noun \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+N+L+Acc.+Sg.] \\ [+N+M+Loc.+Sg.] \end{array} \right\}$

TIME
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} NP \\ Noun \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+N+L+Instr.+Sg.]$

This portion of the rules generates "Anaphoric" TIME Adverbials:

TIME
[Del] → [+Del+Time+Anaphoric] / $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Tense} \\ -[Past] - \\ -[Future] - \end{array} \right\}$

TIME
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} PP \\ Noun \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+N+L+Acc.+Sg.] \\ [+N+M+Acc.+Sg.] \\ [+N+M+Loc.+Sg.] \end{array} \right\}$

TIME
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} NP \\ Noun \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+N+L+Instr.+Sg.]$

This portion of the rules generates "Pluralized" TIME Adverbials:

TIME
 $\left[\begin{array}{l} PP \\ Noun \end{array} \right] \rightarrow [+N+L+Dat.Pl.]/x \quad x \neq \text{Del.}$

The feature "Current Relevance" is used to generate those TIME Adverbials in which the speech event is understood to be included within the time period designated by the TA.

TIME

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \\ \text{[Noun]} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \text{[+N+L+Instr.+Pl.]/y} \quad y \neq \text{Del.}$$

Lexicon

segodnja [+Adverb,+Time,+Current Relevance]

zavtra [+Adverb,+Time,+Future]

včera [+Adverb,+Time,+Past]

ètot [+Delimiter,+Time,+Current Relevance]

buduščij [+Delimiter,+Time,+Future]

prošlyj [+Delimiter,+Time,+Past]

zima [+N+L]

mesjac [+N+M]

v [+Preposition+___ [+N+M+Locative]]

v [+Preposition+___ [+N+L+Accusative]]

tot [+Delimiter,+Time,+Anaphoric,+Deictic]

ètot [+Delimiter,+Time,+Anaphoric,+Deictic]

sledujščij [+Delimiter,+Time,+Anaphoric, -Deictic] 'next'

sledujščij [+Delimiter,+Time,+Anaphoric, -Deictic] 'following'

vesna [+N+L]

nedelja [+N+M]

na [+Preposition,+___ [+N+L+Accusative] or [+N+M+Accusative]]

po [+Preposition,+___ [+N+L+Dative+Plural]]

This generative statement provides for a limited set of sentences, but could be expanded without too much difficulty to include more of the

data provided by Vsevolodova. The following, however, are not provided for and cause some problems for Trnka and Kučera's rules:

- 1) Time interval type adverbials such as dva mesjaca tomu nazad and čerez dva mesjaca do not fit into their time localization definition and contradict the statement that [+M] nouns must have an obligatory delimiter. The authors point out, however, that these do use a quantifier.
- 2) Manner duration adverbials such as za nedelju and čerez nedelju are pointed out as being neither TIME nor DURATION Adverbials, but rather 'manner-duration' adverbials, requiring a verb with internal time duration. They are not accounted for in either the TIME or the DURATION generative statements.
- 3) Plural anaphoric adverbials such as v te gody and v sledujuščie dni are not accounted for. It is pointed out that these are not common adverbials.
- 4) Adverbials such as pjat' let spustja and čerez neskol'ko dnei are similar to those mentioned in 1) above and are not generated by the given rules.
- 5) Unspecified adverbials (those adverbials classified as B3) are not accounted for, e.g., nočju, v aprele. They comprise a relatively large group of frequently used adverbials.
- 6) Comparative adverbials such as ranše and pozže are not accounted for because of the complex problem they present in their semantic interpretation. I shall not concern myself with them here.

DURATION Adverbials

These are divided into the following subclasses:

E1 "Actualized" - designating a time limitation of the narrated event with respect to the time of the speech event, e.g., ves' buduščij mesjac, ves' prošlyj god;

E2 "Anaphoric" - designating a time limitation of the narrated event with reference to the time period of another event, e.g., ves' tot god, vse èto utro;

E3 "Nonrelational" - designating a time limitation of the narrated event without reference to the time period of another event, e.g., celymi mesjacami, celymi večerami;

G1 "Pluralized" - containing temporal nouns in the plural form and therefore designating the durational limitation as consisting of an open series of time periods, e.g., celymi mesjacami(celye mesjacy), celymi večerami(celye večera);

G2 "Non-pluralized" - containing the singular form of temporal nouns or the plural form of nouns combining with cardinal or indefinite numerals. These designate the durational limitation as

consisting of a single time period or of a closed series of time periods, e.g.,

ves' večer, dva goda;

K1 - indicating a specific extension of the time limitation of the narrated event, e.g., čas, celyj večer;

K2 - indicating only a relative temporal extension of the time limitation of the narrated event, e.g.,

dolgo, nedolgo, nekotoree vremja.

The following statement is true for the above:

$$(E1 \cup E2 \cup E3) = (G1 \cup G2) = (K1 \cup K2).$$

The next set of proposed rules and lexicon generate DURATION

Adverbials:

DURATION $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adverb} \\ \text{NP} \end{array} \right\}$

DURATION
[Adverb] \rightarrow [+Adverb+Duration]

DURATION
[NP] \rightarrow (Quantifier) Noun

DURATION
[Noun] $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+N+M+Acc.+Sg.] \\ [+N+M+Acc.+Pl.] \\ [+N+M+Instr.+Pl.] \\ [+N+L+Acc.+Sg.] \\ [+N+L+Acc.+Pl.] \\ [+N+L+Instr.+Pl.] \end{array} \right\} / \text{Quantifier}$

DURATION
[Quantifier] $\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{celyj} \\ \text{cardinal or indef. \#} \\ \text{ves' / } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+N+M+Acc.+Sg.] \\ [+N+L+Acc.+Sg.] \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$

Lexicon

dolgo [+Adverb+Duration]

celyj [+Quantifier+Duration]

ves' [+Quantifier+Duration]

tri [+Quantifier+Duration+Numeral]

god [+N+M]

večer [+N+L]

These rules for DURATION Adverbials do not account for the following types:

- 1) adverbials such as na god which have also been discussed previously (cf. p. 23). Trnka and Kučera make similar observations to show that they are not true DURATION Adverbials (i.e., they contain an implied underlying sentence with which the adverbial is associated).
- 2) adverbials containing Quantifier+Noun such as pjat' nedel', četyre mesjaca. They are considered too complex for inclusion in their study.
- 3) adverbials such as celye tri goda, for similar reasons.
- 4) E1 and E2 type relational adverbials which are derived from sentences containing TIME Adverbials of the same types by a transformation.

FREQUENCY Adverbials

These are further divided into the following subclasses:

- P1 - designating regular occurrence of the event in relation to a specific time period, e.g., každyj večer, každyj god;
- P2 - designating the frequency of occurrence of the event in relation to a variable time period, e.g., vsegda, inogda;
- P3 - designating the frequency of occurrence of the narrated event which is related neither to a specific nor to a variable time period, e.g., dva raza, často.

Within the P3 types there is an additional subdivision:

- P3a "Quantified" - designating a definite or indefinite number of repetitions of the event, e.g., tri raza, mnogo raz;

P3b "Non-quantified" - designating simply a relative qualification of the frequency of occurrence, e.g., často, redko.

The following rules and lexicon generate the FREQUENCY Adverbials:

$$\text{FREQUENCY} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{Adverb} \\ \text{NP} \end{cases}$$

$$\text{FREQUENCY} \begin{cases} [\text{Adverb}] \end{cases} \rightarrow [+ \text{Adverb} + \text{Frequency}]$$

$$\text{FREQUENCY} \begin{cases} [\text{NP}] \end{cases} \rightarrow \text{QuantifierNoun}$$

$$\text{FREQUENCY} \begin{cases} [\text{Noun}] \end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} [+ \text{N} + \text{M} + \text{Acc.} + \text{Sg.}] \\ [+ \text{N} + \text{L} + \text{Acc.} + \text{Sg.}] \end{cases}$$

$$\text{FREQUENCY} \begin{cases} [\text{Quantifier}] \end{cases} \rightarrow [+ \text{Quantifier} + \text{Frequency}]$$

Lexicon

vsegda [+Adverb+Frequency]

často [+Adverb+Frequency]

každyj [+Quantifier+Frequency]

nedelja [+N+M]

zima [+N+L]

These rules do not account for the following:

- 1) "quantified" FREQUENCY Adverbials such as tri raza, quite a large number of commonly used adverbials.
- 2) adverbials of the type eženedel'no.

In addition to these three major categories of TA, the authors point out that there are a number of TA's capable of functioning in more than one of these classes. These TA's are referred to as 'polyfunctional', e.g., ona tixó sidit celymi večerami rjadom s babuškoj.... This adverbial is classified by the authors as D3 but can be considered to be simultaneously a TIME, DURATION and FREQUENCY Adverbial because it designates the time localization, limitation and non-single occurrence of the event.

Summary and Discussion of Aspect Restrictions

In terms of FREQUENCY, DURATION and TIME Adverbials, Trnka and Kučera note a number of restrictions on aspect occurrence.

1. FREQUENCY Adverbials cannot be used with determinate verbs. Exception to this claim is taken by Forsyth who cites examples of determinates used to designate a repeated action: Každyj večer on šel k puxovym (Forsyth 1970:323). Otherwise they also claim that:

"The restrictions on the occurrence of Russian perfective verbs and F-adverbials are not very clear and are difficult to formulate precisely. It appears that perfective verbs in Russian are restricted to the possibility of co-occurrence with F-adverbials, especially in the past tense." (Kučera 1975:70)

Once again, Forsyth (and Isačenko) take exception to this, stating that repeated present action can be expressed with perfective verbs. He claims that such sentences have "the nuance of a kind of potential mood" and their function is the expression of a singularization of a multiple action or a sporadic action, e.g., On inogda

ulybnetsja, on redko pravdu skazet. In the past tense Forsyth points out the usage of perfective verbs with FREQUENCY Adverbials which express a specific number of repetitions: On neskol'ko raz povernulsja. This exception is interesting for it shows that perfective verbs combine in the past tense only with FREQUENCY Adverbials of the class P3a as defined by Trnka and Kučera.

2. DURATION Adverbials cannot combine with perfective verbs in positive sentences. Exception is made for perdurative (pro-ot-type) and attenuative (po-types) perfectives. The authors point out, however, that this situation is very complex and would require semantic study of the properties of verbal aspect beyond the scope of their study. In addition they claim that their theory makes a strong argument for considering DURATION Adverbials occurring with perdurative verbs as actual object NP's as suggested earlier in my discussion of Vsevolodova's material (cf. p.26). They find that temporal nouns of the set L can occur with perduratives with a specifier: Ponedel'nik on prosidel doma. Usually, nouns marked [+L] require a specifier when they function as DURATION Adverbials with non-perdurative verbs.

3. "Pluralized" TIME Adverbials cannot occur with perfective verbs. This is the only actual statement made concerning restrictions within this class. The authors point out the similarity of "Pluralized" TIME Adverbials to FREQUENCY Adverbials in making this statement. In view of the fact that many TA's turn out to be polyfunctional, there would be some overlap of restrictions on a TIME Adverbial which may also be considered a

FREQUENCY Adverbial, etc.

Comments

Trnka and Kučera essentially uphold any statements made by Vsevolodova concerning co-occurrence restrictions of aspect with TA's. If one examines Vsevolodova's various categories of TA's they may be characterized as either TIME, DURATION or FREQUENCY. In general, however, the problem of polyfunctionality soon becomes apparent, for one finds examples of both TIME and DURATION, for example, occurring within the same category. Considering the frequency with which such polyfunctionality is met, one would think that a reworking of the time definitions might be in order.

The scheme proposed by Trnka and Kučera offers a clearer look at TA's, despite some problems with time definition within their subclassifications. DURATION and FREQUENCY Adverbials may be classified now as generally occurring only with the imperfective aspect in positive sentences. These two categories would encompass Vsevolodova's divisions where she cited imperfective as the norm: 1) TA filled by the action of the verb; 2) time, preceding the moment of the TA filled by the action of the verb; 3) disjunctive time expressions; and 4) time, subsequent to the moment of the TA filled by the action of the verb. Although the tie-in between aspect and TA is clearly shown in Trnka and Kučera, they fail to consider the TA in its sentential context except for the problems they encounter with tense. The example adverbials are taken totally out of context, i.e., I think they make a mistake in trying to define the TA

independent of its sentence.

The category of TIME Adverbial is a confusing one. The time localization definitions used are difficult to understand ("Anaphoric", "Actualized", and "Nonrelational", "Pluralized", and "Unspecified", etc.) and one finds that a large group, "Unspecified", cannot be generated with the rules presented. There is no statement made concerning aspect co-occurrence constraints for this diversified grouping. Again, the problem seems to lie in the attempt to define the TA totally out of its sentential context.

With this criticism in mind I should like to turn to an article by Carlota Smith, "The Syntax and Interpretation of Temporal Expressions in English" (1978) for a different proposal of time specification for the entire sentence which may better explain the TA, particularly the category referred to as TIME.

IV. AN ALTERNATIVE TIME SPECIFICATION

"The Syntax and Interpretation of Temporal Expressions in English" (1978) by Carlota S. Smith offers a system for further clarification of TA's especially with regard to their relationship to grammatical categories such as tense and aspect. Her scheme for temporal specification in English applies equally well to Russian. The basis of the analysis relies upon a time scheme that distinguishes three separate times, and she emphasizes the fact that semantic and syntactic structures are quite different in the area of time specification.

Smith uses Reichenbach's (1947) time distinctions: Speech Time, Reference Time, and Event Time.

"Speech Time (ST) is the time at which a given sentence is uttered, that is, the moment of utterance. Reference Time (RT) is the time indicated by a sentence, which need not be the same as ST. Event Time (ET) refers to the moment at which the relevant event or state occurs, which need not be the same as RT". (Smith 1978:44).

point in time and are classified by Smith as "unanchored": on Tuesday, for example, would be "unanchored". Temporal values in addition to being specified by adverbials, can also be expressed by tense, prepositions and, in English, the auxiliary 'have', all of which have relational values as well.

The establishment of RT is most important to Smith's discussion. She shows that it is a combination of tense and adverbial that establishes RT and that some combinations establish an RT and others do not. That is, those places where the tense and adverbial have compatible relational values establish an RT, and combinations such as 'past tense plus a future adverbial' do not. These incompatible combinations of tense and adverbial are shown to be context sensitive situations, i.e., sentences where time specification cannot be fully established out of context:

Ross was leaving in three days (past tense + future adverbial). The preposition of the TA establishes the relation between the ET and RT. Thus the preposition and the TA noun may form a unit, syntactically speaking, but they perform different functions semantically - the former gives the relation between ET and RT, the latter supplies information to establish the RT in connection with tense, e.g., Phyllis decorated the cake before midday. (RT is Past; and ET precedes RT).

The establishment of ET is more complicated. When ET ≠ RT it is found by Smith that:

"sentences specify ET only when RT is already specified, and that this situation occurs only under particular circumstances. The reason for this is syntactic: English sentences are limited to containing one time adverbial, although the adverbial may be complex

and distributed in surface structure. Therefore RT can be specified when a sentence shares RT with another sentence, or when RT is implied in Present sentences with auxiliary have" (55).

These situations 'free' the adverbial to then specify the event time, and such sentences then can no longer be interpreted out of context for they require another sentence to specify their RT: They would have left on Tuesday.

Summary and Discussion of Aspect Restrictions

Let us now look at the situations established earlier by Vsevolodova where aspect-TA co-occurrence restrictions exist and try to apply Smith's notions of time reference to this data. Indeed, Smith's method of looking at the entire sentence in context (discourse) for temporal specification seems to have natural implications for tying together the aspectival and temporal features of a sentence. In some instances Trnka's classifications of TA's as TIME, DURATION, and FREQUENCY will be used to specify the exact type of TA that is found in the examples since we have found this to be a better system of TA identification than Vsevolodova's. However, in order to account for this new aspectival data, both Trnka's and Smith's contributions to TA specification must be supplemented by additional features arising from a semantic analysis of Russian prepositions.

Smith uses arrows and equal signs to indicate the three possible relations mentioned earlier: anteriority \leftarrow ; simultaneity $=$ and posteriority \rightarrow .

I shall introduce a small vertical arrow \downarrow to her notation in order to indicate the notion of boundary that some Russian prepositions give to the interpretation of a sentence. The necessity for such an addition

will become clear in the following examples.

PERFECTIVE

- 1) *TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion is marked, e.g., Он прочитал книгу за два часа.*

The combination of Past Tense and "unanchored" adverbial, (a TIME Adverbial in Trnka's terms) gives RT+ST. The preposition za lexically gives an 'in' meaning and somehow a fixed boundary notion, e.g., ET+RT. The za focuses on the final boundary of the reference TA and, because of this delimitation of the time interval, one gets the interpretation of a single or fixed number of completions in the given period. Consequently, a unitary perfective verb or the type of imperfective verbs witnessed in the exceptions cited (cf. p. 21) i.e., repetitive resultative type verbs, is predicted.

- 2) *Time preceding the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion is marked, e.g., Он всё сделал к утру.*

Past Tense plus an "unanchored" adverbial (also a TIME Adverbial in Trnka's terms) gives RT+ST. The preposition k lexically gives a 'before' meaning and also a fixed notion of the boundary. The k focuses on the point immediately preceding the first boundary of the reference TA, (ET+RT), and this marking is again compatible only with perfective unitary verbs or repeated action type imperfective exceptions similar to those discussed in 1) above.

- 3) Time preceding the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb, completion is not marked, and there is a relation to the future, e.g.,

Он уехал на два года.

Here we are dealing with the seemingly anomalous situation of a DURATION Adverbial (in Trnka's terms) found with perfective instead of imperfective verbs. The perfective verbs used in this type of sentence are change of state verbs with the continuation of the change instituted by the verb taking place for the duration expressed. This type of sentence cannot stand alone semantically. I would suggest that it contains an understood sentence such as, *чтобы отсутствовать два часа*, which has an imperfective verb and a DURATION Adverbial (cf. the following section). By reanalysing the sentence, including the adverbial, in this way the anomaly disappears since imperfectives are quite normally found with DURATION Adverbials.

The exceptions to perfective plus на TA's were imperfectives of repetitive action: *Он всегда уходит на неделю*. The imperfective only serves to indicate a frequent action, which in each individual instance is nonetheless always completed before the duration stated. It can therefore be analysed in exactly the same way as above, with an understood underlying imperfective verb and DURATION Adverbial.

IMPERFECTIVE

- 1) TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion is not marked, e.g., *Учился пять лет*.

Past Tense and an "unanchored" adverbial establish RT+ST. There is no preposition and ET=RT. This is an example of Trnka's DURATION Adverbial and Smith's theory does not add anything (nor does it need to) to further explain why the imperfective is normal here. The exceptions cited (cf. p. 25) are usually perfectives which create a state and the result of the action overlaps the DURATION Adverbial. Again, such exceptions could easily be explained away by postulating the existence of an understood stative (imperfective) verb expressing the continuation of the state, and assuming that it is this verb which is associated with the DURATION Adverbial, and not the superficial perfective verb.

2) *Time preceding the moment of the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb, completion is not marked and there is no relation to the future, e.g., Занимался до рассвета.*

Past Tense and an "unanchored" adverbial give RT+ST. The preposition do lexically gives an 'until' or 'before' meaning and ET+RT. This preposition does not seem to focus on a fixed point of contact between ET and RT as do the prepositions k and za, and I would claim that it is exactly this lack of 'boundedness' which predicts the use of the imperfective aspect. The exceptions include the same types as witnessed above in 1), i.e., perfectives which create states or those which focus on the progression of the action up to the moment named, and the same explanation of their behavior can be invoked.

- 3) *Disjunctive time expressions, e.g.,* выпускает 120 машин в месяц, сидела часами, приходит каждый день.

Such time expressions come under Trnka's classification of FREQUENCY

Adverbials and as such the majority utilize the imperfective aspect.

Smith's analysis discusses 'habituals': sentences that do not refer to a particular event or state. The adverbials of these sentences indicate the recurrence of an event or state, thus performing a different function from their counterparts in a non-habitual sentence.

"Habituals specify RT, the interval during which the recurring event or state appears. Habituals do not have a particular ET: rather than specifying one or several events, they indicate recurrence" (Smith 1978:71).

The FREQUENCY Adverbial is analysed as RT, indicating recurrence:

Приходит каждый день.

RT: Present, every day ET=RT. Again, Trnka's classification of the adverbial as FREQUENCY is sufficient to predict the use of the imperfective verb, and need not be supplemented by any of the time relationships invoked by Smith.

- 4) *Time subsequent to the moment of the TA is entirely filled by the action of the verb and completion need not be marked, e.g.,*

Ничего не ела с обеда.

Past Tense and an "unanchored" adverbial gives RT+ST. The preposition s lexically gives a meaning of 'since' and ET+RT, without fixing the right boundary in any way. As before, such a marking on the preposition is normally associated with the imperfective aspect. Perfective exceptions involve

only the 'perfect' notion associated with change of state verbs which was discussed earlier.

Comments

It was found in Chapter 3 that Trnka was able to account for certain co-occurrence restrictions between TA's and aspect through a subclassification in terms of DURATION, FREQUENCY and TIME adverbials. The first two of these subcategories were associated with the imperfective aspect, while the last could be found with either perfective or imperfective verbs. Smith's notions of temporal specification in terms of ST, RT and ET have helped to clarify some of the obtuseness of Vsevolodova's and Trnka's time schemes, especially in the category of TIME Adverbial. In addition the three-way time localization proposed by Smith seems to provide a much more satisfying account for temporal specification than Trnka's categories of "Anaphoric" and "Actualized". More importantly, however, we find that with the addition of a feature of BOUNDEDNESS to the prepositions found in certain TIME Adverbials, we can now account for further aspectual/TA restrictions which were obscured by Trnka's scheme. Prepositions which are bounded at the end of the ET period are automatically found with perfective verbs, or with repeated, completed imperfectives.

Another very important contribution to our study of these co-occurrence restrictions comes from Smith's observations concerning "unanchored" adverbials. These correspond roughly speaking to Trnka's class of "Nonrelationals" and encompass a large number of adverbials.

for which she was unable to create generative rules. When we examine how aspect functions with such adverbials, a curious generality emerges. If the TA is truly "unanchored" in context, then the reading of the aspect is imperfective habitual, e.g.,

Он работал в понедельник.

+IMP. +hab. +dur.	"unanchored" →	HABITUAL IMPERFECTIVE
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On the other hand, if context "anchors" the TA, then the reading becomes imperfective durational or progressive, e.g.,

Я спросил Машу, что Иван делал на прошлой неделе. Она ответила, что... он работал в понедельник.

+IMP. +hab. +dur.	"anchored" →	DURATIONAL IMPERFECTIVE
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These are exactly the kind of difficult situations encountered by Trnka and Kučera and hidden under their term of 'polyfunctionality'. We now find that the important cue missed by them was the impact of context in disambiguating such adverbials and, as a consequence, the aspectual reading of the sentence.

In summary, Smith's study indicates that the temporal specification of a given sentence is dependent upon several factors (TA's, tense, prepositions) and indeed transcends in some cases the sentence itself.

If we supplement her analysis of prepositions we find that in Russian this applies to the aspectual reading of a sentence as well. Temporality and aspectuality are tied together and often require a context beyond the sentence boundary to give an unambiguous reading.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The category of aspect is a difficult concept for beginning students of Russian to grasp. We English speakers in particular, may be accustomed to many tenses, but the notion of perfective-imperfective causes all sorts of problems because it involves a totally different set of distinctions than that with which we might be familiar. Perhaps this problem is even further complicated by the way in which Russian aspect is introduced in most grammars. For example, a widely used book, *Introductory Russian Grammar* (Stilman et al., 1972), defines imperfective aspect as:

"1) actions in progress over a period of time without any reference to completion or termination (He was, or is, writing letters); (2) actions performed repeatedly (He writes, or wrote, home every week-often); and (3) actions spoken of in general terms, without reference to an actual performance at any particular time (My father spoke five languages; she buys her hats in Paris)" (210).

Perfective aspect is defined thus:

"Perfective verbs are used to describe actions that have been or will be brought to completion or termination (She bought a hat; I will write you tomorrow)" (210).

These types of definitions give the student a very simplistic and highly incomplete idea of just what aspect is. They wrongly leave the student with the impression that the difference between perfective and imperfective is one of simply completion or noncompletion. The first aspectual pairs presented to the student are usually nonresult type verbs which confuse him when he attempts to make an aspect choice based on the above definitions. Just why the imperfective is required in sentences like

Kto včera govoril na sobranii? or Včera moj muž igral ves' večer v karty

remains a mystery to most. To them the event is completed - why not the perfective?

Elsewhere, the modern aspectologist, O. Swan (1977), asserts the need for viewing Russian aspect in terms of the notion "resultative".

"It would seem that the English speaker's difficulty with Russian aspect stems from the fact that the perfective expresses not so much completive aspectuality as the procedural nuance "resultative". Whenever there is a simple result, effect, outcome, or accomplishment to the completive event and, especially, when logical stress falls on the direct object, the perfective is used. When there is no result, or when there is a shift of emphasis away from the result or the direct object, the imperfective is used, even though the event is completive. English speakers, while familiar through their own language with completive aspectuality, are unfamiliar with processing sentences according to a result-nonresult dichotomy, hence their difficulty with Russian aspect especially in the completive, nonresultative situation" (518).

Swan feels that the teaching of aspect would be improved by the use of result verbs to introduce the subject, by the subsequent introduction of nonresult verbs and other more difficult "descriptive and ad hoc meanings and by teaching them for what they are - idiomatic expressions" (523).

Most writers on the subject of aspect will agree that in fact Russian aspect cannot be easily defined in terms of a single semantic opposition but that it rather has a multi-faceted nature. However, agreement ends there. Numerous attempts to exactly define and to describe the different nuances of perfective-imperfective verb pairs exist.

M. K. Launer, for example, in an article entitled "Can Aspect be taught?" (1977 a and b) uses a widely accepted definition from J. Forsyth (1970:8): "...a perfective verb expresses the action as a total event summed up with reference to a single specific juncture", but finds it not completely adequate and adds the words: "...a perfective verb expresses THE SPEAKER'S PERCEPTION OF an action as a total event..." (1977a: 24). His problem then is to adequately explain terms like "juncture" and "total event" to a student's comprehension and satisfaction. He takes "total event" to mean not just completion as it is usually construed, but rather the speaker's point of view involving the 'totality' of an event. "Totality amounts to an exclusion from the realm of perfectivity of any action viewed as an unfolding process" (24). For "juncture" Launer adopts Forsyth's idea of "change of state" but points out that "juncture" has many forms, "but the unifying factor is the perception of a real change in contextual circumstances due to performance of the action named" (26). Launer finds that even this definition leaves too much unanswered and goes on to define perfectivity as a concurrence of two features: "juncture" and "inference". By the latter term he refers to the implicational value of perfective verbs:

"...the use of the perfective (or, conversely, the failure to choose the perfective) has definite social ramifications based on the linguistic nature of the aspectual opposition as understood by native speakers of Russian. Accordingly, we must further modify our pragmatic definition of aspect in a way that will impress this upon the student's mind: a perfective verb expresses the speaker's perception of an action as a total event summed up with reference to a single specific juncture; further, it allows the listener to draw reasonable inferences from what is said" (1977b: 9).

Launer recognizes the problems inherent in teaching aspect and that there is more to the perfective than 'completing' an action. He is concerned mostly with teaching the student how to produce an aspectually correct sentence and illustrates perfectivity as a marked (+inference, +juncture) portion of imperfectivity. Knowing when to choose this marked form is important but oversimplifies the problem of aspect, by failing to account for the contribution of other parts of the sentence to the kinds of "inference" drawn.

An alternative general definition of aspect is given by B. Comrie (1976). It says that: "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (3). Like Launer, he points out that the difference between perfectivity and imperfectivity is not necessarily an objective one, rather, it is the subjective view of the speaker who wishes to convey to his listener either a sense of the situation as a whole (perfective) or to attend to the internal structure of that situation (imperfective). Within the opposition of perfective-imperfective exist many semantic distinctions further complicating the choice a speaker must make.

The subjectiveness of aspect has also been discussed in an article by E.V. Petruxina (1977) in which she talks about the "transposition" of morphological forms in certain contexts, most interestingly the aspectival forms. She calls these contexts instances of a "neutralization" of aspectival juxtaposition. In such neutralized situations, a transposition of the aspectival form is possible contrasting the aspectival meaning of

the transposed form. This underlines the stylistic or expressive coloration of the whole utterance, e.g., 'the present historical':
On ottalkivaet svoj obed, miska padaet i razbivaetsja na dva kuska,
 (expected forms: ottolknul, upala, razbilas'). Certainly the subjectiveness of aspect choice in certain situations must be recognized, but at the same time, in order to even speak of 'neutralizations' in given instances is to imply that there is a norm, an objective aspect choice, to made as well.

A Soviet aspectologist, T.I. Dešerieva, (1976a) has attempted to define the category of aspect in terms of logical statements involving 'characters of action' realized in concrete verbal lexemes by means of numerous 'manners of action'. A character of action includes in its domain various manners of action and it is allowable that these manners of action intersect. There is a maximum choice in a language of seven characters of action:

- 1) non-interrupted, not complicated with many facets or potentially internal breaking up;
- 2) many-faceted or potentially inner breaking up of action;
- 3) interrupted action, conditioned by outer factors;
- 4) definite direction of action;
- 5) absence of definite direction of action;
- 6) delimitation of action in time;
- 7) nondelimitation of action in time.

One or more of these characters of action may be found in a verb lexeme. There are twenty-four manners of action ranging from 'ingressive', 'delimiting', 'momentary', fourteen types of 'resultative' with various nuances such as finiteness and exhaustiveness, and seven types of progressive with nuances such as evolutiveness and inchoativeness. The perfective is defined in terms of characters of action 1 through 6 and the first seventeen manners of action. The imperfective is defined in terms of characters of action 1 through 5 and 7 and the last seven manners of action. This manner of definition certainly attends to the numerous nuances within the perfective-imperfective opposition but again does not elucidate the factors contributing to these nuances.

The problems inherent in all of these approaches to aspect can be subsumed under one or both of two types of deficiency: either they are overly simplistic in not recognizing all of the various nuances and overlapping in the two Russian aspects; or, they recognize the above complexities but make no attempt to describe or explain how they arise.

In examining the co-occurrence restrictions between aspectival forms and the TA in Russian we are impressed by the fact that there is no simple black and white aspectival meaning for a given form for a simple sentence and that aspectival meaning does not reside entirely within the verb. Three major chapters of this thesis were devoted to elucidating exactly the types of TA or contexts in which such co-occurrences were predictable. Yet the kinds of subcategories of the TA which served as a basis for our predictions, i.e. DURATION, FREQUENCY, BOUNDED TIME, etc., are normally considered to be aspectival, not temporal adverbial features. It seems that the only reasonable way to reconcile this paradox is by recognizing that,

first of all, TA's are not purely 'temporal' in nature (answering the questions 'When? etc.') but also aspectival (answering the question 'How?'). Secondly, any simple sentence without a TA and out of context is multiply ambiguous in that it permits all of the various nuances of the particular aspect. E.G., on rabotal can mean 'progressive', 'general', 'frequent', 'habitual', or any other possible type of imperfective action. One major function of the TA then is to focus on one of the specific readings of the given aspect. But it has been seen that the TA is not alone in this capacity. The aspectival reading of a sentence is made up of a combination of factors: Verbal aspect, verbal semantics, TA, and in some cases sentence context combine to give the total aspectival reading. The verbal aspect alone only gives a general outline of possible readings for the sentence. The remaining factors 'hone' down the general to more specific nuances. Schematically:

ASPECT + VERBAL SEMANTICS + TA + (CONTEXT) = ASPECTIVAL READING

Let us look at some of these factors individually, with particular attention being paid to the contributions of the TA, the major thrust of this thesis. Any of the general definitions of ASPECT can be taken as a common 'base' meaning which is then clarified by the readings derived from the other components of the above formula.

VERBAL SEMANTICS

Verbal semantics are important in the total aspectival meaning of a sentence for three reasons: certain verbal roots are found to be

incompatible with certain aspects; certain verbal stems are found to be incompatible with certain aspects and TA's; and certain verbal roots contribute to different nuances of aspectival meaning.

Some verbal roots by their semantic make-up are incompatible with aspect. For example, stative verbs such as dumat', znat', ljubit', verit', etc., do have imperfective forms but no 'pure' perfectives. Any perfective forms from these roots come from prefixation and these prefixes add semantic meanings to the root. An analysis by C.E. Townsend (1975) finds that the assumed pairedness of Russian verbs is more complex than most students are led to believe, and that perfectivization as a result of prefixation gives quite often not a true aspectival pair, for the prefix adds some semantic nuance to the root that was not there before. He talks about lexical and sublexical prefixes in addition to those which simply change the aspect. For example:

<u>ASPECTUAL</u>	<u>SUBLEXICAL</u>	<u>LEXICAL</u>
napisat'	popisat'	zapisat'
sdelat'	prodelat'	poddelat'

Those prefixes which change the aspect only are few in number and therefore, although there may exist many prefixed perfectives of a simple verb, the unadorned root itself may be said to be incompatible with perfectiveness, e.g., kurit' → pokurit', zakurit', prokurit', vykurit', zakurit'sja.

Not only are verbal roots found to be incompatible with certain aspects, but, prefixed and suffixed stems may be incompatible with

certain aspects and certain TA's as well. For example, za +Acc. needs a verb with some sort of internal duration, e.g., Za dva časa pročitao knigu. *On vernetsja za nedelju. Na+Acc. cannot have a verb where the time duration is too specific, e.g., *On tam posidel na dva časa. Po-type perfectives have been shown in this thesis to run counter to other perfectives. These perfectives, due to the addition of po-, now have a nuance of attenuativeness, a feature which makes it an unusual perfective, for it speaks of the nature of the time duration, something more natural for an imperfective. -Nu- suffixed stems would be further examples, adding either a 'semifactive' (one-time) or 'inchoative' (beginning of an action) nuance, e.g., mignut', soxmut'. In all cases the prefixes are adding a nuance of adverbial meaning to the verb root which is restricting its compatibility with TA's and consequently the kind of aspectual reading permitted by the sentence.

In the same way, some simple verbal roots contribute to different nuances of aspectual meaning. Swan (1977a) classifies verbs as 'result', 'nonresult' and 'telic'. 'Nonresult' type verbs include activity verbs like pisat', igrat', habituais like žit', rabotat', and statives such as xotet' and ljubit'. 'Telic' verbs are half-way in between the 'result' and 'nonresult' categories, e.g., stroit', zvonit' (strongly telic), čitat' and delat' (weakly telic). His 'result' verbs, e.g., kupit', dat', vzjat', etc., are those in which the perfective is "the more natural and expected form in completive aspectuality (i.e. where the aspects compete)" (519). With 'nonresult' and 'telic' verbs the imperfective is the natural form, the perfective form of these verbs

altering the meaning in some way.

TEMPORAL ADVERBIALS

These adverbials have been shown to specify not only the temporal reading of the sentence but contribute as well to the aspectival reading. An important role is played by the preposition, number, delimiters and even adjectives in some cases. The preposition specifies the delimitation of a time point or interval, e.g., čerez - 'after', do - 'until', s - 'since'. Certain prepositions focus upon the final boundary of event time, (k, za), this acute sense of BOUNDEDNESS normally occurring with the perfective and imperfectives of a repeated, completed type and with quantified actions, e.g.,

Он прочитал книгу за 2 часа; Ведь на территории древней Ассирии за этот период возникали и погибали многочисленные империи и царства.

The grammatical category of a number plays a role as well. Plural, for example, marks adverbials of FREQUENCY and is associated with the imperfective, e.g., По целым вечерам она писала письма в город. The choice of certain delimiters such as celyj and adjectives like každyj or ljuboj create adverbials of DURATION and FREQUENCY e.g.,

Он читал целый вечер; Каждый день приходит; приглашаю в любое воскресенье. When these particular types of adverbials are used in a sentence, the aspectival reading becomes one of imperfective with nuances of 'habitual' or 'durational'.

There are some instances where a TA seems to be in direct conflict

with the basic aspectival reading of the verb.. In two specific instances, this conflict can be resolved by postulating an underlying verb, whose aspect is in agreement with the TA (c.f. p. 56). For example there is the instance where a DURATION Adverbial seems to require the perfective:

Уехал на два года, (чтобы отсутствовать два года).

And conversely, there is the instance of perfective exceptions to the use of imperfective with a DURATION Adverbial:

Он выдержал два часа, (он овладел собой и был в этом состоянии два часа).

These postulated underlying sentences are reminiscent of the following situations where the TA requires contextual help in order to arrive at a completely unambiguous aspectival reading.

CONTEXT

The context "anchors" some of the TA's and can change the aspectival meaning of the sentence. This is important for it shows that the simple sentence is not always sufficient to give a full aspectival reading of the sentence. A sentence containing a so-called "unanchored" adverbial (or "Nonrelational"), for example, has an aspectival reading of habitual:

он работал в понедельник

[+IMP] "unanchored" → habitual

The same sentence, occurring within a discourse may have its "unanchored" adverbial become "anchored" and the aspectival reading changes to one of

durational:

Ja sprosíl Mašu čto Ivan delal na prošloj nedele. Ona otvetila čto...on
rabotal v pondel'nik

[+IMP] "anchored" → durational

In Smith's terms, the phrase receives its RT from its context, the TA is "anchored" and now specifies the ET.

Summary

The semantics of Russian verbal aspect include a broad range of possible meanings which must be disambiguated in any particular linguistic situation. To quote but a few of the possibilities let us look at some of those included in the semantic field of aspect by the Soviet linguistic Deširieva (1976a):

- 1) non-interrupted, not complicated with many facets
 or potentially internal breaking up, e.g., videt',
slyšat';
- 2) many-faceted or potentially inner breaking up of
 action, e.g., zevat', prygat';
- 3) interrupted action, conditioned by outer factors,
 e.g., nataskivat', podkarmlivat';
- 4) definite direction of action, e.g., letet',
stremit'sja;
- 5) absence of definite direction of action, e.g.,
letat', razbrasyvat'sja;

- 6) delimitation of action in time, e.g., zagruštit',
otmučit'sja, prospat';
- 7) non-delimitation of action in time, e.g., žit',
stroit'.

If the morphological markers of perfective or imperfective were the only factors contributing to the aspectual meaning of the sentence, it would be impossible to predict which of these meanings would be appropriate in any particular context. This follows from the observation that only the most general, 'common-denominator' meaning can be extracted from all those situations where only the perfective, or only the imperfective aspects are possible. The fuller aspectual meaning of a sentence comes from the specifics of the morphemes in the verb stem, the context of the whole sentence (including implied or deleted portions), and the particulars of the TA.

This thesis has focused most intensively on the contribution of the TA in disambiguating or delimiting which of the above types of readings or those presented by Vsevolodova in Chapter 2 might be an appropriate one for a given sentence. It was found necessary to invoke the notion of BOUNDEDNESS in the preposition of the TA. When this was done, readings of "delimitation of action in time" were derived from 'bounded' prepositional phrase adverbials. Number was also important in the TA, since plural adverbials normally implied frequentative (not progressive or durational) imperfectives. FREQUENCY and DURATION are signalled by various delimiters and adjectives in the TA. Sometimes the TA in conjunction with other markers in the sentence is still not

sufficient to derive an unambiguous semantic aspectival interpretation of the sentence. In such cases it was found that context plays a crucial role in "anchoring" the TA, which, in turn, allows us to attach the appropriate aspectival reading to the sentence.

Finally, it is only when the aspectival interpretation of a sentence is viewed as the product or convergence of a number of contributing factors that many of the anomalies of Russian aspectival usage can be understood. We saw, for example, that certain so-called perfectives in po- etc., were found with essentially 'imperfective' TA's. The semantic interpretation of such sentences is a combination of the general 'delimited' meaning of the perfective, plus the durational quality of the TA. Similarly the 'bounded', generally perfective TA's, when associated with morphologically imperfective verbs, contributed to another hybrid aspectival interpretation, namely one of repeated, completed actions. It is hoped that the tentative description of the interaction of such factors attempted in this thesis will contribute to a better theoretical understanding of Russian aspect and will assist instructors of Russian in their pedagogical presentation of this very complex facet of Russian grammar.

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