

Studies in the Modern Russian Language

GENERAL EDITOR: DENNIS WARD
Professor of Russian, University of Edinburgh

EXTRA VOLUME

A GRAMMAR OF ASPECT
USAGE AND MEANING IN
THE RUSSIAN VERB



A GRAMMAR OF ASPECT

USAGE AND MEANING IN THE RUSSIAN VERB

J. FORSYTH

Senior Lecturer in Russian University of Aberdeen



CAMBRIDGE AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS 1970



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521145008

© Cambridge University Press 1970

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1970 This digitally printed version 2010

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 78-87135

ISBN 978-0-521-07514-5 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-14500-8 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To Mary Forsyth



CONTENTS

	Prefa	ce		page xiii
1	The	Catego	ory of aspect	1
	1.1	_	tional definitions	2
		1.1.1	Functions of the imperfective	3
	1.2	Aspec	t as a privative opposition	6
		1.2.1	Functions of the perfective	8
		1.2.2	Oppositions of meanings	11
		1.2.3	Aspectual synonymity	13
		1.2.4	Semantics of the imperfective	14
	1.3	Aspec	t and lexical meaning	16
2	Asp	ect and	form	17
	2.1	Prefix	cation	18
	2.2	Proce	durals (' Aktionsarten')—prefixal	20
		2.2.1	Inceptives	20
		2.2.2	Absorptives	21
		2.2.3	Attenuatives	21
		2.2.4	Terminatives	22
			Totalising	22
			Resultatives	23
		2.2.7	Durative	24
		2.2.8	Comitatives, intermittent action	24
		2.2.9	Difference in stem	25
	2.3	Suffix	cation	26
		2.3.1	Perfectivising suffix -ну-	26
		2.3.2	Imperfectivising suffixes	27
		2.3.3	Frequentatives	28
		2.3.4	Suffixal imperfectives and the privative	20
		,	opposition	29
	2.4	Aspec	et and procedurals	29
3	Aspectual pairs			32
	3.1	Valid	ity of pairs	34
		3.1.1	Criteria	35
			[vii]	



viii]		CON	FENTS
		3.1.2	The case against prefixal pairs	page 36
		3.1.3	Defence of prefixal pairs	38
		3.1.4	Multiple relationships, trios etc.	43
	3.2	Aspec	ctual-semantic groups of pairs	46
		3.2.1	Group 1—unpaired perfectives	47
		3.2.2	Group 2	47
		3.2.3	Group 3	49
		3.2.4	Group 4	51
		3.2.5	Group 5—unpaired imperfectives	54
	3.3	Aspec	t and forms of быть	56
4	Past	tense		59
	4.1	Proce	ss and state—imperfective	60
		4.1.1		62
		4.1.2	Sequence and concurrence of actions	64
		4.1.3	Subordinate clauses of time	66
		4.1.4	Reported speech	69
	4.2	Conat	ion—imperfective	71
	4.3	Result	tant state continuing—perfective	74
		4.3.1	Contrast with imperfective	76
	4.4	'Two-	way' action—imperfective	78
	4.5		e denotation—imperfective	82
		4.5.1	Imperfective as unstressed copula	84
		4.5.2	Syntactic-expressional balance of sentence	e 87
			The perfective and transitivity	91
		4.5.4	Specific verbs normally used in the	
			imperfective	92
		4.5.5	Verbs of speech	96
	4.6		ive sentences	102
		4.6.1	Perfective—specific non-performance	103
		4.6.2	1 5	106
		4.6.3	Imperfective—absence of tendency	108
		4.6.4	Imperfective expressing a single specific	
			action	110
			Frequentatives	112
			Use of не стал as auxiliary	114
		4.6.7	General tendencies in negative sentences	116
	4.7	Concli	usion	117



More information

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-14500-8 - A Grammar of Aspect: Usage and Meaning in the Russian Verb J. Forsyth Frontmatter

СО	NTE	NTS	[ix		
5	Pres	page 119			
	5.1	Expression of future actions	121		
	5.2	Imperfective future	122		
		5.2.1 Syntactic-expressional balance of sente	ence 125		
		5.2.2 Specific verbs normally used in the			
		imperfective	130		
	5.3	Perfective future	131		
	5.4	Subordinate clauses of time	132		
		5.4.1 Asyndetic sentences	136		
	5.5	Eccentric uses of past tense forms	138		
	5.6	Negative sentences—perfective future	142		
		5.6.1 Imperfective future	144		
	5.7	Present tense—meanings	147		
		5.7.1 Actual present	147		
		5.7.2 Eccentric use of imperfective and perfect	tive		
		present	149		
	5.8	Present historic narration	150		
		5.8.1 Perfective present with как	151		
6	Mul	Multiple action			
	6.1	Past tense—imperfective	154		
		6.1.1 Conation	159		
	6.2	Past tense—perfective for summarised view			
	6.3	Iterativity expressed in morphology	163		
		6.3.1 Iterative procedurals	167		
		6.3.2 Frequentatives	168		
	6.4	Future tense and other forms of the verb	171		
	6.5	171			
		6.5.1 Perfective present expressing conting	-		
		'singularisation'	173		
		6.5.2 Perfective present expressing potential	<i>ity</i> 174		
		6.5.3 Perfective present expressing sporadic			
		action	176		
		6.5.4 Perfective present with negation	178		
	6.6	Repeated sequences in the present habitual a			
		historic present	179		
		6.6.1 Imperfective future in these modes	183		



x]		CON	TENTS	
	6.7	Subordinate clauses of time and condition—		
		aspectual synonymity	page 183	
		6.7.1 Clauses of concession	187	
		6.7.2 Asyndetic sentences	188	
	6.8	Past perfective in statements of habit or general	'	
		truth	190	
	6.9	Conclusion	193	
7	Mo	dals—I. Imperative	194	
	7.1	Situational factors in positive commands	195	
		7.1.1 Intonation, number, particles	196	
		7.1.2 'Tone' of utterance	198	
	7.2	Aspectual opposition in the imperative	198	
		7.2.1 Perfective imperative	200	
		7.2.2 Perfective present in commands	203	
		7.2.3 Expressional nuances of the perfective	203	
	7.3	Imperfective imperative	204	
		7.3.1 Syntactic-expressional balance of sentence	e 205	
		7.3.2 Simple denotation	206	
		7.3.3 Insistence, urgency etc.	208	
		7.3.4 Persuasion, entreaty etc.	212	
		7.3.5 Conation	213	
		7.3.6 Courteous invitation	214	
	7.4	Opposition of aspects—scheme and flexibility	215	
		7.4.1 'Over-use' of the imperfective	218	
	7.5	Eccentric uses of the imperative	219	
	7.6	Pseudo-imperative constructions—third person	222	
		7.6.1 First person present-future	224	
8	Mod	odals—II. Infinitive and other constructions		
	8.1	General	227	
		8.1.1 'Phasal verbs'—imperfective	229	
	8.2	Volition, attempt etc.—perfective	231	
		8.2.1 Imperfective	234	
		8.2.2 Ability, success	236	
		8.2.3 Permissibility	239	
		8.2.4 Rhetorical question—omчего не?	240	
		8.2.5 Summary	240	



More information

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-14500-8 - A Grammar of Aspect: Usage and Meaning in the Russian Verb J. Forsyth Frontmatter

СО	NTE	[xi		
	8.3	Inability—perfective	page 241	
		8.3.1 Independent infinitive	243	
	8.4	Prohibition, dissuasion—negated imperfective		
		imperative	244	
		8.4.1 не надо	246	
		8.4.2 Other expressions of undesirability and		
		futility	249	
		8.4.3 Negative volition	252	
		8.4.4 Summary	256	
	8.5	Apprehensive warning—negated perfective		
		imperative	257	
		8.5.1 Fear 'lest' the action be performed	258	
		8.5.2 Attempt to avoid performance	261	
	8.6	Necessity and obligation	263	
		8.6.1 Perfective	265	
		8.6.2 Imperfective	267	
		8.6.3 <i>nopa</i>	271	
		8.6.4 Negative sentences—imperfective	272	
	8.7	Other constructions	273	
		8.7.1 Predicators with the perfective	274	
		8.7.2 Predicators with either aspect	276	
		8.7.3 Imperfective infinitive with verbs of mot		
	8.8	Independent infinitive	282	
		8.8.1 As predicate—imperfective	285	
		8.8.2 As predicate—perfective	288	
		8.8.3 Infinitive and subjunctive in commands	291	
	8.9	'Over-use' of the imperfective infinitive of cert		
		verbs	293	
	8.10	3	294	
		8.10.1 Conclusion	298	
9	Gerunds and participles		299	
	9.1	Gerund—perfective	299	
	9.2		302	
	9.3	Passive participles	303	
	9.4	Active participles—imperfective	307	
		9.4.1 Meanings of imperfective participles	310	



Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-14500-8 - A Grammar of Aspect: Usage and Meaning in the Russian Verb J. Forsyth

Frontmatter More information

xii]		CON	NTENTS
	9.5	Gerund—imperfective	page 312
		9.5.1 Multiple action	312
		9.5.2 Negation	315
		9.5.3 Past imperfective gerund	316
	9.6	Conclusion	318
10	Verb	os of motion	319
	10.1	Determinate imperfective	319
	10.2	Indeterminate imperfective	321
		10.2.1 Iterativity	322
	10.3	Sub-aspectual relationship between determinat	e
		and indeterminate verbs	325
	10.4	Perfective of noŭmu type	327
		10.4.1 Procedural perfectives formed from	
		indeterminate verbs	329
	10.5	Modal constructions—link between determinate	te
		and perfective	331
		10.5.1 Imperative—perfective	332
		10.5.2 Imperative—determinate imperfective	333
		10.5.3 Imperative—indeterminate imperfective	ve 336
		10.5.4 Infinitive and subjunctive	337
	10.6	8	339
		10.6.1 Prohibition	342
		10.6.2 Infinitive	344
	10.7	Conclusion	344
11	Conc	clusion	347
	11.1	Aspect as a privative opposition	347
	11.2	Aspectual synonymity	350
	11.3	Subjective nuances	351
	11.4	Aspect and tense	353
	11.5	The nature and syntax of aspect	356
	Bibli	ography	359
	Russian index		
	(a)) Verbs	367
		Adverbs, etc.	381
	Engl	ish index	383



PREFACE

This book is an attempt to kill three birds with one stone, since it aims to present a comprehensive description of the grammar of the Russian verb from the point of view of aspect; to present a large number of examples illustrating aspectual usage (these are taken almost exclusively from the language of the twentieth century, and cover a range from the strictly literary to colloquial speech); and to make a contribution to the theoretical study of aspect as a grammatical category in Russian. It deals only with Russian, making no excursions into the grammar of other Slavonic languages, and its approach is synchronic, with scarcely any reference to the historical development of Russian. Moreover, since aspect is essentially a matter of semantics, relatively little space is devoted to the morphology of the verb. Wherever possible, statements about usage have been supported by statistical evidence provided either by Shteinfel'dt's Russian Word Count or by my own analysis.

Apart from the general lines of approach to aspect as a privative opposition suggested by Professor R. Jakobson, this book does not adhere to any particular school of linguistic theory, but naturally it owes much to the important works on aspect published by such eminent scholars as Professor A. Mazon (starting with his still essential work of 1914), and, more recently, Professor Yu. S. Maslov of Leningrad University and Professor A. V. Isačenko of Prague.

I am grateful to Mr R. W. Hallett, Mr P. Henry, Mr V. E. J. Holttum, Mr J. O. Lewis, Mr D. Macaulay, Dr A. Pennington, Mr C. G. Schwencke, Mr G. R. Trengove and Mr J. M. Weir for their comments and criticisms of the chapters which they read, and to Professor D. Ward for his general encouragement and advice.

My thanks are also due to the University of Aberdeen and the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland for their generous assistance with regard to the cost of publication.

J.F.

November 1969

[xiii]