

PERFECTIVE AND IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT IN RUSSIAN AND ITS TRANSLATION INTO DANISH

ABSTRACT

Though the grammatical category of verbal aspect is not a universal one, practically each language is said to have means to mark the difference between a process and an action as conceptual categories. Russian and Danish are completely different languages as far as the means of encoding action and process are concerned. Russian as many other Slavic languages, has a verbal aspect, expressed by grammatical means, such as inflectional affixes, particles. The Danish language does not have it. The aim of this paper is to describe, analyze and compare the means of marking distinction between actions and non-actions in the Russian and Danish languages. The results to be achieved concern primarily possible solutions for the translation of aspectual differences of Russian verbs into Danish.

This investigation seems to be of a particular current interest, because no theoretical works have been dedicated to the cross-linguistic analysis of this kind concerning Russian-Danish. However, translators and interpreters still face the problem of conveying the aspectual difference of Russian verbs in Danish.

Methodologically this paper will be based on well-established theoretical works on aspect, aspectuality and semantics. The following questions will be discussed in the paper: verbal aspect as a grammatical category; the meaning of the perfective and imperfective aspects; semantic questions, such as lexico-semantic classes of verbs in Danish and Russian and their correlation with the Russian verbal aspect; and, of course, solutions for the translation of aspect distinctions from Russian into Danish.

The main hypothesis I am going to test in this paper is the one that Danish tends to use syntactic extension for encoding the difference between an action and process compared to the Russian language, in which this distinction is expressed through the aspect as a grammatical category. By syntactic extension I shall further understand the use of elements that extend the structure of the clause: verbal particles, time and place modifiers, paired verbs, special verbal constructions and analytical tense forms.

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1. Introduction

This paper is dedicated to the Russian perfective and imperfective aspect as a grammatical category and its translation into Danish. This language combination has not been analyzed before for the purpose of discussing this issue in any other works, and this is one of the reasons, why I have chosen this topic for the research. Another reason for that is that Danish and Russian are not typologically similar in terms of verbal grammatical categories.

Though Danish and Russian belong to the same language family they are members of different groups, Germanic and Slavonic respectively. Danish does not have the grammatical category of aspect, while Russian has it, as other Slavonic languages, and Russian verbal aspect is characterized by an elaborated system of inflectional elements for marking aspectual distinctions, while Danish does not have them. Moreover, in general, as the language of analytical type, Danish tends to mark grammatical categories analytically, in other words with special auxiliary words. Russian, on the contrary, as the language of inflectional type, tends to mark any grammatical category within the word itself.

The question arises: Is it possible to transmit the aspectual differences of the Russian verb into Danish? The answer is positive and lies partially in the fact that both Danish and Russian are human languages and that they irrespective of the grammatical systems, *should* and *do* reflect some universal conceptual entities, such as actions and non-actions, and further events and processes.

The goal of this paper is to show how Russian aspectual distinctions can be transmitted into Danish. For the sake of avoiding any ambiguity in understanding the lexical and the grammatical aspect, in *section 2* I shall present different approaches to aspect, give the definition of aspect as a grammatical category, try to explain its grammatical meaning and I shall also discuss the binary opposition of the perfective and imperfective aspects. In *section 3* I shall focus on the correlation between situation types and Russian verbal aspect and make an overview of lexico-semantic classes of verbs in Danish and Russian. I shall mainly focus on Durst-Andersen's approach to lexico-semantic classification of Russian verbs, namely division into states, activities and actions and try to illustrate that verbal aspect as such is reserved for actions verbs only. It should be noted that this section is a necessary part of the paper, since it gives an idea about Danish verbs and their potential for expressing actions and non-actions, and the idea

of perfectiveness and imperfectiveness inherent to Russian verbs. The last section will be dedicated to the use of Danish grammatical resources for marking perfectiveness and imperfectiveness of Russian verbs, in other words in *section 4* I shall propose solutions for the translation of the Russian aspect into Danish.

Theoretically this paper is based on the fundamental research and descriptive works of Slavonic and West-European linguists, such as Comrie (1995), Forsyth (1970), Maslov (1984), Bondarko (1971), Durst-Andersen (1992), Herslund (1996), Smith (1991) and others. From the practical point of view this is an original research, carried out on the basis of three Danish translations of Russian literary works of the 20th century:

1. Belov, V. 1987. *Privychnoye Delo*. - translated by Hansen, J. 1990. *Den Sædvenlige Historie*.
2. Bulgakov, M. 2007. *Master i Margarita* - translated by Harrit, J. 1988. *Mesteren og Margarita*.
3. Pasternak, B. 2007. *Doktor Zhivago* - translated by Malinovski, I. 1958. *Doktor Zhivago*;

as well as on some examples from the *Danish Language Corpora*. The examples from the Russian texts are incorporated in the paper in Cyrillic spelling, though when discussed in the text of the paper, they are transliterated in the Latin alphabet. It should be noted that I shall use the modern rules of Cyrillic-Latin transliteration.¹ The English variant of the examples taken from Bulgakov (2007) will be given from the official English translation of the novel made by Pevear & Volokhonsky (1997); as for the examples from Belov (1987) and Pasternak (2007), I shall give their literal translation.

The main hypothesis I am going to test in this paper is that to express the Russian imperfective/perfective aspect distinctions Danish tends to use different means of syntactic extension. The idea of syntactic extension implies that in comparison to a Danish sentence an original Russian one is more laconic due to the ability of Russian verbs to comprise aspectual distinctions in its internal structure, while a Danish sentence has to use elements that extend the syntactic structure of the clause: time and place modifiers, special verbal constructions, verbal particles, and analytical tense forms in order to express aspectual distinctions of Russian verbs.

¹ For further information about Cyrillic-Latin transliteration see Yermolovich, D.I. 2005. *Proper names: theory and practice of translation*. Moscow: R. Valent.

Moreover, I shall try to illustrate that the narrative or discourse progression can indicate the idea of the perfectiveness or imperfectiveness. The practical significance of this paper is the description of the solutions for the translation of Russian aspectual distinctions into Danish.

2. Verbal aspect as a grammatical category

2.1. Definition and different approaches

In the theory of grammar the term “aspect” is used in connection with situation aspect (in some theories lexical aspect, Aktionsarten or internal event structure), phasic aspect and viewpoint aspect. This paper deals with the aspect as a verbal grammatical category and verbal aspect is strictly distinguished from the lexical aspect (Aktionsarten/situation aspect/types of events).

There are a number of theories of aspect. For example, Smith (1991) makes a distinction between the viewpoint aspect and the situation aspect, but she uses predominantly the terms “viewpoint types” and “situation types”. Smith’s theory of aspect is a “boundedness theory of aspect” (Binnick 2006: 255). The boundedness theory of aspect means that the division into the perfective and imperfective is based on how much of the eventuality each of the two includes. Thus, “the perfective includes the entire eventuality, both initial and final bounds, while the imperfective excludes these and represents the eventuality as its internal portion only” (Binnick 2006: 255).

In this paper I shall proceed from the fact that aspect implies the grammaticalisation of relevant semantic distinctions, and I shall distinguish it from situation aspect which “represents a lexicalization of the distinctions irrespective of how these distinctions are lexicalized” (Comrie 1976: 7).

We can only speak about the aspect as a grammatical category in cases when aspectual meanings have a vivid grammatical nature, they manifest themselves through inflections and aspect markers in verbs. Those aspectual meanings which do not have a vivid grammatical expression, that is to say, according to Maslov (1984: 10), “function as category components of

the lexical meaning of verbs, make a system of aspectual classes and subclasses of the verb lexicon in a particular language”.

The most general definition of verbal aspect is formulated by Holt and accepted by Comrie (1976: 3): “[...] aspects are different types of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” A more or less similar idea was proposed by Russian linguist Peshkovsky (1956: 105), who claimed that “verbal aspect as a grammatical category indicates how an action (phenomenon, event, situation, state, state of affairs etc.) denoted by a verb happens in the sphere of time or is distributed in time”.

Traditionally, the category of verbal aspect is discussed in terms of the opposition of the perfective and imperfective aspects, in other words as a binary opposition. It is true of Russian and other Slavonic languages. However, we shall agree with Maslov (1984: 7), that “one should not interpolate the binary principle to all the aspectual categories of all the languages in the world, as even in one language aspectual oppositions intercross and combine with each other and create complicated systems”.

A similar to some extent idea is put forward by Smith (1991), who says that the aspectual systems of different languages are unique and should be stated separately. She considers aspect as a parameter rather than a grammatical category. As mentioned above, Smith applies the term “viewpoint types” for verbal aspect. Within viewpoint types in addition to the traditionally defined perfective and imperfective (aspects), Smith distinguishes the third type – the neutral viewpoint. This third viewpoint type covers flexible cases which stand somewhere in-between the perfective and imperfective or have features of the both. It should be noted that as far as the Russian language is concerned, I propose not to use the term “neutral aspect”, but rather speak about aspect synonymy.

Some linguistics, such as Dik (1997), for example apply a more general term “aspectuality”. Though he uses this term in a broad sense, he makes distinction between verbal aspect and lexical aspect. Dik calls the latter *types of State of Affairs*. In his Theory of Functional Grammar Dik (1997: 221) divides aspectuality into four subareas:

1. The type of State of Affairs (Aktionsart/”Mode of Action”). The distinction of different types of SoAs is connected with “the internal semantics of the predication” (Dik 1997: 106).

2. Perfectivity vs Imperfectivity.

Perfective: The State of Affairs is presented from an outside point of view. *Imperfective*: The State of Affairs is presented from an inside point of view as being incomplete or in progress.

In Dik's theory the term "aspect" is reserved for the "distinctions which are expressed by grammatical means" (Dik 1997: 106).

3. Phasal aspectuality distinctions. This subarea of aspectuality distinctions includes those distinctions which specify the phase of the development of SoAs and, according to Dik (1997: 221), "these distinctions concern the inner dynamics of SoAs". He points out the following types of phasal aspectuality: Ingressive, Progressive, Continuous and Egressive.

4. Quantificational aspectuality distinctions convey "different forms of quantification over sets of occurrences of SoAs" (Dik 1997: 222). They are Iterative, Habitual, and Frequentative.

5. Perspectival aspectuality distinctions "relate the occurrence of SoAs to an outside temporal reference point" (Dik 1997: 221). The subtypes of this aspectuality are Prospective, Immediate Prospective, Recent Perfect and Perfect.

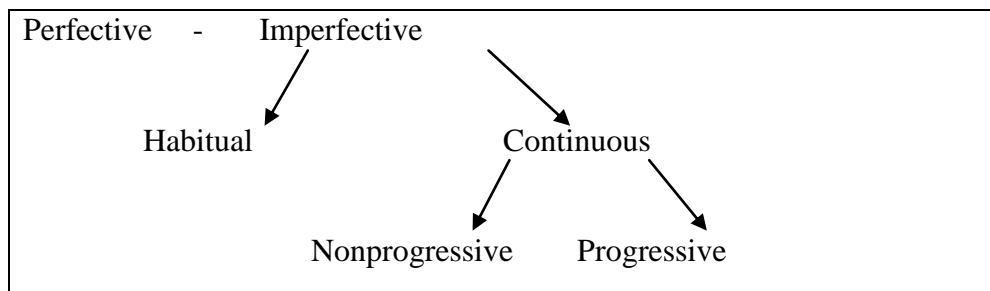
We can summarize that Dik's approach explains the nature of aspectuality in its broad sense from the point of view of the characteristics of States of Affairs, their properties, which are either grammatically marked (as in the case, for example, with the perfective/imperfective aspect in Slavonic languages, or Phasal aspectuality in English, where Progressive is marked) or expressed lexically.

Aspectuality as a general term for aspectual distinctions was also studied by Bondarko (1957), who said that "aspectuality is a sematic and functional category which contains the information about the character of an action and which is reflected by morphological, word formation and lexical means with a participation of some syntactic elements of a sentence" (Bondarko 1957: 50). We can say that her approach is close to Dik's one, however, she separates the role of the syntactic elements of the sentence. This seems especially relevant for this paper, because the main hypothesis I want to check is that in Russian-Danish translation Danish tends to use means of syntactical extension to express the distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspect of Russian verbs.

Comrie (1976) does not distinguish any subareas of aspectuality. He proposes the following classification of aspectual oppositions: see **Table 1**.

The division into Progressive and Nonprogressive aspect is especially relevant for English, as this opposition is grammatically marked, while the opposition perfective-imperfective is not grammaticalized.

Table 1. Comrie’s classification of aspectual oppositions (1976: 25).



We can conclude that the term “aspect” is used in different meanings by different linguists, and depending on the author it may have these or those subareas or types. What is common of all the above mentioned approaches is the distinction of verbal (grammatical) aspect as a grammatical category from lexical aspect (also called “event types”/”Aktionsart”/”situation types”/”Types of State of Affairs”).

This paper deals with the Russian grammatical aspect, that it is why it seems reasonable to draw on the traditional approach to verbal aspect in terms of the binary opposition perfective – imperfective. This division is typical of all the above mentioned approaches. As far as Danish is concerned we shall proceed from the fact that Danish does not have the grammatical category of aspect, but it has other means of conveying the Russian aspectual differences. For example:

(1)

<p><i>Незнакомец немедленно вытащил (pf) из кармана портсигар и предложил его Бездомному.</i> (Bulgakov, 2007)</p>	<p>Den fremmede trak straks et cigaretetui op af lommen og bød Den Hjemløse. (Bulgakov, 1988)</p>
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The unknown man immediately took a cigarette case from his pocket and offered it to Homeless. (Bulgakov, 1997)

Here in (1) the Russian *vytashchil* (pf) (took away) is translated into Danish as *strak op*, where the perfectiveness is expressed by means of the postverbal particle **op**. For further examples and solutions for translation see *section 3*.

2.2. Category meaning of the Russian perfective and imperfective aspects

In this section we shall discuss the category meanings of the perfective and the imperfective aspects. The change of verbal aspect in Russian may recharge a sentence with a different meaning, let us take an example with *podnimatsya* (ipf) (climb) and *podnyatsya* (pf) (to climb to/reach):

- (2)
- a. *Ona podnimalas* (ipf) *na vershinu holma*.
She climbed/was climbing towards the top of the hill.
 - b. *Ona podnyals* (pf) *na vershinu holma*.
She reached top of the hill.

In (2a) we cannot say exactly whether she reached the top of the hill or not, she was just mounting, the very activity in process is important for us, and we view it at such an angle that we can visualize the process of her mounting the hill, but we cannot say what the result was or what the endpoint of this activity was. In (2b) the endpoint is explicitly shown through the aspect, the perfective one, and the information of the first level is that she reached the top of the hill.

Traditionally, the perfective aspect is considered to be the strong member of the opposition. Comrie (1976), for example, proposes that in the Russian language, as well as in other Slavonic languages, the perfective aspect is the grammatically marked member of the opposition. However, he says that there are languages, where the imperfective aspect is a strong

member, and it is marked, as in French, for instance. In this paper I propose to treat the *perfective aspect* as the marked or in other words strong member of the binary opposition.

Different approaches have been used to define the meanings of the Russian perfective and imperfective aspects. Some linguists said that the main difference lies in the duration and non-duration. However, it is not always true. For example, *prostuchat* (pf) (to knock for a certain period of time) implies that the action lasts for some time, even though it is the perfective aspect, or *popit vody* (pf) (to drink some amount of water). The distinction based on this principle of duration/non-duration is rather vague, as some imperfective verbs are just neutral in relation to duration, and imply a repetition or habit, rather than duration: *pochityvat* (ipf) (be used to reading), *obhoditsya* (ipf) (be used to doing without smth), *pokrikivat* (ipf) (be used to shouting at smb).

Another ground for distinction between the meaning of the perfective and imperfective was proposed by Maslov (1984: 15) which is “absence or presence of the indivisibility of an action”.

[...] the category of perfective and imperfective aspect...is the reflection of the speaker’s (or writer’s) objectivity conditioned choice between two views of the action denoted by the verb: it may be presented as an indivisible whole – perfective, or without reference to totality of the action – imperfective. (Maslov 1984: 15)

Yes, we can agree with Maslov on this point. Thus, for example, the perfective *skazat* (pf) (to say) of the imperfective *govorit* (ipf) (to talk) denotes an undivided action, while *govorit* (ipf) (to talk) is neutral as far as the reference to indivisibility is concerned.

Maslov is right in saying that in Russian the perfective verb cannot be used for indicating an action in its processual quality, while the imperfective can: *on lysel* (ipf) *i starel* (ipf) (he grew bolder and older), *ona vse govorila* (ipf) *i govorila* (ipf) (she kept talking).

In defining the perfective and imperfective aspect Forsyth (1970) tends to agree with the idea introduced by Maslov and another Russian linguist Vinogradov. The latter said that “in verbal aspect the action is considered in relation to some internal limit: a perfective verb expresses an internal limit set to the action – either the point of completion or beginning – or may refer to performance within given time” (Vinogradov 1947: 497). Thus, we can supplement

Maslov's idea about the indivisibility or totality of an action expressed by a perfective verb with the idea of an internal limit set to an action denoted by a perfective verb.

Forsyth (1970: 6) proposes to deal with the category of aspect as a *privative category*, that is to say proceed from "defining one member of the opposition positively" (here the perfective aspect), "having its inherent meaning, and the other member of the opposition negatively" as lacking the marked member's inherent property". So by applying Forsyth's approach, we can draw the "privative scheme":

if perfective → indivisibility/totality and internal limit;

if imperfective – no reference to either totality/indivisibility or internal limit.

the perfective (+ totality/indivisibility),

(+ internal limit);

the imperfective (- totality/indivisibility),

(- internal limit).

Thus, we can summarize the above mentioned in the following way: Russian perfective verbs contain an internal limit of the action which can be perceived as an indivisible and total whole, often a complete action, (note, that complete action is not necessarily the one indicating the final point, it may also denote a beginning or an intermediary stage); Russian imperfective verbs do not contain any reference to an internal limit of the action which can be perceived neither as an indivisible nor a complete one.

3. Situation types, lexico-semantic classes of verbs and verbal aspect

As was mentioned above, some linguists use the term "aspect" in the meaning of the lexical aspect (Aktionsart/Type of State of Affairs/situation types). Though this paper deals with the grammatical aspect, I propose that it is important to speak about the correlations or connections which exist between Russian verbal aspect and situation types and which lexico-semantic class of Russian verbs is correlated with verbal aspect.

By lexico-semantic classes of verbs I shall further understand groups of verbs which share a common deep and surface meaning (the surface meaning is linked to a finite-form, while

the deep one is not). Lexico-semantic classes of Russian verbs will be discussed in the frame of Durst-Andersen's theory, namely division into states, activities and actions. These classes should not be mixed up with event types (Aktionsart/SoAs). In his theory Durst-Andersen (1992) passes the latter by, but makes a sort of connection between Aktionsart and lexico-semantic classes of verbs. Despite the fact that his classification covers only all Russian simplex-verbs, it gives a complete idea of which lexico-semantic class correlates with verbal aspect. I shall also discuss Danish verbs in term of the same classification.

As far as situation types are concerned I shall try to illustrate that there are some regularities between the type of situation and verbal aspect, in other words, in what situation types both the perfective and imperfective occur and in which one of them never occurs. I shall present two different classifications and compare them.

3.1. Vendler's and Smith's classifications of situation types

One of the most well-established classifications of event types is the one made by Vendler (1967). He divides event types into states, activities, accomplishments and achievements. Here below I shall give some examples of Russian verbs for each of the types.

1. States are static and do not have an endpoint: *hotet* (ipf), *preklonyatsya* (ipf), *lyubit* (ipf), *znat* (ipf) (to want, admire, love, know).
2. Activities are dynamic and do not have an endpoint: *prygat*(ipf), *begat*(ipf), *letat* (ipf), *metat*(ipf), *vodit* (ipf), *nosit*(ipf) (to jump, jog, fly, throw, drive, bear).
3. Accomplishments are incremental or gradual and have an endpoint: *prostoyat* (pf), *napisat* (pf), *otobedat* (pf), *pogovorit* (pf) (to stand for a while, write, be through with lunch, to have a talk).
4. Achievements have an endpoint and occur instantaneously: *otkusit* (pf), *ostanovit*(pf), (to take a bite, stop).

To some extent similar classification has been proposed by Smith (1997), she adds the fifth class and calls it "semelfactives", and instead of states distinguishes statives. I have tried to present the correlation between the situation types and aspect in terms of Smith's classification, as based on Smith's general description of situation types (Smith 1997: 243-250). See **Table 2**.

Table 2. Smith's classification of situation types.

<u>situation type</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>Russian example (ipf)</u>	<u>Translation</u>	<u>Russian example (pf)</u>	<u>Translation</u>
activities	durative, atelic events	<i>Devochka igrala v kukly.</i>	The girl played with dolls.	(prefixed (+/-)) <i>On prozhdal poezda dva chasa.</i>	He had been waiting for the train for two hours.
accomplishments	durative, telic events	-	-	<i>Direktor podpisal dogovor.</i>	The director signed an agreement.
semelfactives	instantaneous, single state events, no change of state	-	-	<i>Malchik topnul nogoj.</i>	The boy stamped his foot.

achievements ²	instantaneous, dynamic, change of state	(not for all verbs, only with those, indicating preliminary stages) <i>Pes umiral, kogda ya vernulsya.</i>	The dog was dying when I returned.	<i>Begun dostig otmetki 5 km.</i>	The runner reached the sign 5 km.
statives	property, relation, position, emotion, existence	<i>Blizhajshy magazin nahoditsya za uglom.</i>	The nearest store is round the corner.	-	-

If we compare the two classifications we can say that Smith's one is more complete. We can assume that it can be explained by the fact that Vendler based his classification primarily on the English language and though we can fit some Russian examples in his classification we have do that at a stretch, because very often the border between an accomplishment and an achievement is too vague in the semantics of Russian verb. This drawback is practically eliminated in Smith's classification due to the class of semelfactives, which contain an instantaneous meaning as well as achievements in Vendler's classification, but do not imply a change of state, just a single event.

² Smith (1997: 247) refers to Forsyth (1970: 49), who argued that achievements may be both in the perfective and imperfective and some verbs form pairs in Russian where the perfective indicates a successful completion of an action, while the imperfective can express conation – an attempt to perform an action which the corresponding perfective verb denote. *Ugovarivat* (ipf) (try to persuade), *ugovorit* (pf) (persuade). Or, two different words may correspond in translation: *lechit* (ipf) (treat), *vylechit* (pf) (cure, heal).

Another strong point of Smith's classification is that it gives an idea of the correlation which exists between the situation type and verbal aspect, while Vendler deals only with the lexical aspect (event types). Thus, according to Smith, imperfective verbs never occur in semelfactives and accomplishments. As for statives, in some cases they may acquire an interpretation of a *habitual* stative, as in (3).

(3)

<p><i>Vse, kazalos by, pechalno, a on pridet</i> (pf), <i>vklyuchit</i> (pf), <i>muzyku, nachtnet</i> (pf) <i>pet, i nastroenie tut zhe podnimaetsya</i> (ipf).</p>	<p>Everything seems to be sad, but he would come, turn on music and start singing, and one gets immediately in high spirits.</p>
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So, we may conclude that both of the above presented classifications deserve attention, but Smith's one is more complete. However, though Smith distinguishes the cases when the perfective or imperfective aspect is not used, she does not explain explicitly enough why it is so. She draws on some pragmatic grounds only, but pragmatic grounds cannot always be a solid explanation, and in most cases the distinction between aspect forms and their usage in these or those situations is deeply semantic. For Russian speakers it is obvious, when and what aspect to use, as aspectual distinctions are natural for them and they verbalize these distinctions in the discourse automatically without making any correlations with the situation type; whereas foreign speakers may fail to distinguish the case and need a more or less vivid correlation between the situation type and the aspect. It is hard to argue, that Smith's classification contains any mistakes, but it is primarily a descriptive approach, not an explanatory one.

That is why I propose to supplement the classifications of situation types with an overview of Durst-Andersen's theory of lexico-semantic classes of Russian verbs. Since this paper is dedicated to the language combination Russian-Danish, Durst-Andersen's approach will be discussed in relation to both of the languages. Another ground for that is that Durst-Andersen has proposed the same types of lexico-semantic classes both for Russian and Danish.

3.2. Lexico-semantic classes of verbs: Russian and Danish state, activity and action verbs

Durst-Andersen's theory of lexico-semantic verb classes is based on the fact that verbs are to some extent similar to common nouns, which form an *image* and an *idea* of an object. He argues that lexical verbs also create an image and an idea. However, the difference lies, according to Durst-Andersen (1992: 52), in the fact that "an image of a common noun prototypically consists solely of a figure and its idea of a description of the figure, while the image of the verb is always made up of a figure-ground relationship and the idea of the verb is always made up of the description of this relationship". Durst-Andersen proposes to use the notion *ground-situation* for the image frame of the verb and *ground-preposition* for the ideational frame of the verb. He later suggests (1992: 52) "that the deep semantics of verb establish correspondences between ground-propositions and ground-situations". By deep semantics of verbs Durst-Andersen understands the meaning which is inherent to the verb irrespective of whether this verb is in a finite or a non-finite form. "The surface semantics of verbs which is linked to finite forms establishes the correspondence between situations and propositions" (Durst-Andersen 1992: 52). It is obvious that the deep semantics of verbs will be always the irrespective of surface semantics.

Durst-Andersen argues that there is prototypically a one-to-one relationship between verb and class-membership in Russian. Durst-Andersen divides all Russian simplex-verbs *into states, activities and actions*. It should be noted that he by-passes procedural verbs in his classification and takes only simplex-verbs, which have neither prefixes nor aspect-deriving suffixes (-aj-/ivaj). As far as procedurals (Aktionsart) are concerned, Durst-Andersen applies this term in connection with imperfective and perfective tantum verbs. Procedurals, from his point of view, are derived from state and activity simplex-verbs. As far as verbal aspect is concerned, it is reserved for action verbs, which form aspectual pairs, whereas state and activities do only "produce" procedurals. This approach is relevant for Russian, but would never work, for example, for the English language, because in English it is not possible to classify verbs as pure lexemes. So Durst-Andersen's classification can not be regarded as a classification of event types, it is a classification of simplex-verbs of which one has a direct mapping on verbal aspect in Russian.

As for Danish, the same classification is applied by him, but the properties of state, activity and actions verbs in Danish and Russian are a bit different. The main feature of Danish

verbs is that their reference to a particular verb class is ambiguous. If we take Russian verb lexemes, they totally fit into this or that class, but Danish verbs may change their semantic class depending on the structure of the clause. This may be explained by the fact that Russian aspect is inherent to Russian verbs, and it definitely influences their semantic properties, while semantic features of Danish verbs are determined by their syntactic surroundings. Now I shall pass over to the classification itself.

3.2.1. States

Human mental propositions are closely connected with the pictures of the reality which humans perceive and process. The structure of mental propositions is a reflection of the structure of any picture of the reality. These pictures have a foreground (what is important and focal) and a background (all the rest things of minor importance a define moment of time). Pictures can be, according to Durst-Andersen (1992: 53), either *stable or instable*. They correspond to states and activities, where activities are instable pictures on a stable ground, but not a series of stable pictures, as one may think. Durst-Andersen defines states in the following way (1992: 55): “all verbs that create a simultaneously stable ground-situation and a ground-proposition are states”. In other words, both the image which the verb forms and the verb’s ideational or conceptual component are stable at the same time. What is important is that in the case of states both the ground-situation and the ground-proposition of the verb are based on the state description.

Durst-Andersen further divides states into different *classifiers*, as based on different state relations: *location, possession, experience, and qualification*. This class includes simplex-verbs which belong only to the imperfective aspect. These verbs by means of prefixation, suffixation or suppletive forms “can create perfective verbs with a new lexical meaning, or may also change morphological structure remaining imperfective verbs with a different meaning”. (Lund 2003: 69).

Table 3. States.

Russian state verbs (ipf)	Type of state- relations	Danish	English translation
<i>sidet, lezhat, stoyat</i>	location	sidde, ligger, stå	sit, lie, stand
<i>vladet, imet</i>	possession	eje, have	possess, have
<i>chuvstvovat, videt,</i>	experience	føle, se	feel, see
<i>bolet, pomnit, boyatsya</i>	qualification	være syg, huske, være bange	be sick, remember, be afraid

As for the Danish language, states have the same deep semantic properties as Russian states, but if Russian states are characterized by imperfectiveness, and they can be easily distinguished, Danish states are characterized by some syntactic features. Herslund and Durst-Andersen (1996) claim, that the semantics of Danish verbs is interrelated with their transitivity and intransitivity. It is usually a direct object which gives a state reading to the verb. For example:

(4) a. *Peter så et træ ude på gaden.*

Peter saw nothing.

b. *Peter så på sit ur.*

Peter looked/was looking at his watch.

In both cases we deal with the verb *se*, but in (4b) it has a prepositional object, while in (4a) the object is direct. In (4a) *se* is a state verb where both the ground-proposition and ground-situation are stable. In (4b) *se* changes its meaning to an activity verb due to the prepositional object, because with the indirect object it creates simultaneously an instable ground-situation and a ground-proposition. In other words, in (4a) Peter is in the state of seeing a tree and this picture is stable in relation to the idea of seeing something. In (4b) Peter produced an activity, the picture of which is instable in relation to the idea of having a look at something.

The corresponding Russian sentences for (4a) are:

1. *Na ulitse Peter **uvidel** derevo* (pf). (Peter **saw** a tree in the street.)

2. *Na ulitse Peter videl* (ipf) *derevo*. (Peter **has seen** a tree in the street.)

Both variants occur rather frequently in Russian, but they require different contexts. The first one (with the perfective verb) is usually used in a past-tense narration, as a declaration of the fact. The second one (with the imperfective verb) is used in a narration which has an immediate relation to present. That is why in the second sentence the corresponding English verb is in the Present Perfect.

The corresponding Russian sentences for (4b) are:

1. *Peter smotrel* (ipf) *na svoi chasy*. (Peter **was looking** at his watch).

2. *Peter posmotrel* (pf) *na svoi chasy*. (Peter **looked** at his watch).

The variant with the imperfective verb is less frequently used and it requires a situation when Peter was, for example, sitting and looking at his watch for some period of time, while the second one occurs in a larger number of contexts.

Thus, we can see that Danish state verbs remain neutral to aspect and can only acquire a different reading, from state to activity, for example, depending on the immediate syntactic surroundings. Russian state simplex-verbs always correlate with the imperfective aspect and they remain state verbs irrespective of the type of their syntactic surroundings.

3.2.2. *Activities*

Durst-Andersen (1992: 57) argues, that "all verbs that simultaneously create an instable ground-situation and a ground-proposition enter into the model of activities". In other words, in activities both the image which the verb forms and the verb's ideational or conceptual component are instable at the same time. This class of simplex-verbs includes verbs which belong only to the imperfective aspect.

Durst-Andersen (1992) further divides them into different *classifiers*, as based on different activity relations: *location, possession, experience, and qualification*. These verbs by means of prefixation, suffixation or suppletive forms "can create perfective verbs with a new lexical meaning or may change the morphological structure remaining imperfective verbs with a different lexical meaning" (Lund 2003: 69).

It should be noted that states and activities are connected at a propositional level. It is natural for humans to visualize an activity against a particular background, and this background, according to Durst-Andersen (1992), is a state, thus, an activity verb implies at least one state-description.

Table 4. Activities.

Russian activity verbs (ipf)	Type of activity- relations	Danish	English translation
<i>begat, kachatsya</i>	location	løbe, gyng	run, swing
<i>koordinirovat, rukovodit</i>	possession	koordinere, lede	coordinate, manage
<i>nyhat, tarashitsya, slushat</i>	experience	sniffe, kigge, lytte	sniff, stare (watch), listen
<i>svetitsya, bolet</i>	qualification	lyse, gøre ondt	shine, hurt

As for Danish verbs some of them are not purely state or activity lexemes. As was mentioned above, activity verbs can be usually distinguished from state verbs by the presence of prepositional complements. This is typical both of transitive (6) and intransitive (7) verbs.

- (6) *De studerende søgte efter informationen på nettet.*
The students searched for the information in the web.
- (7) *Hendes onkel arbejder på et nyt projekt.*
Her uncle works on a new project.

Russian linguists tend to distinguish two types of verbs among those which in Durst-Andersen's classification belong to activity verbs. They are verbs, referring to a situation consisting of identical acts: *prygat* (ipf), *stupat* (ipf), (jump, step) and verbs referring to a situation consisting of non-identical acts: *begat* (ipf) (to run). Both are imperfective verbs, but what is particular about them is that verbs referring to identical acts can form the perfective with the suffix *-nu-*: *prygnut*, *stupnut* (jump once, step once), while those referring to non-identical

acts do not form the perfective form with *-nu-*. It is important to note that the verbs with *-nu-* should not be treated as activity verbs, they belong to action verbs. Now let us see how these perfective verbs derived from imperfective activity verbs can be translated into Danish.

(8)

<p><i>Маргарита прыгнула</i> (pf) <i>с обрыва вниз и быстро спустилась к воде.</i> <i>Вода манила ее после воздушной гонки.</i> <i>Отбросив от себя щетку,</i> <i>она разбежалась и прыгнула</i> (pf) <i>в воду вниз головой.</i> (Bulgakov, 2007)</p>	<p>Margarita fløj hurtigt ud over skræntet og ned til vandet, som fristede hende efter den lange luftrejse. Hun smed kosten fra sig og sprang på hovedet i vandet. (Bulgakov, 1988)</p>
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Margarita leaped off the cliff and quickly descended to the water. The water enticed her after her airy race. Casting the broom aside, she ran and threw herself head first into the water. (Bulgakov, 1997)

In (8) the past of the verb *flyve* with the postverbal particles *ud* and *ned* in the first case covers the meaning of the Russian *прыгнула* (pf, past, 3sing, female³) *и быстро спустилась* (pf, past, 3sing, female) (leaped off and quickly descended). While in the second case *прыгнула* (leaped) (pf, past, 3sing, female) is translated as *sprang*. We can assume that in the translation of such Russian verbs with *-nu-* referring to identical acts depends on the surroundings of the verb and not just on its morphological structure and perfectiveness. What is important here is that the translator visualized the movement and conveyed it in Danish with the most appropriate verb for the “mode of action” and supplemented it with the corresponding verbal particle. Moreover Danish language allows omitting the verb of movement in cases like the second one, because

³ In Russian the finite verb conjugates in gender only in the past singular form.

sometimes the meanings of postverbal particles can exhaustively express the direction without the main verb.

3.2.3. Actions

The group of action verbs includes simplex-verbs belonging to the perfective aspect. These simplex-verbs by means of derivational morphology form imperfective verbs, or have suppletive pairs. It is important to note that whereas states and activities in Russian may be used to form both perfective and imperfective verbs, simplex action verbs may be only applied as a basis for imperfective verbs.

According to Durst-Andersen (1992: 60), “action verbs name simultaneously a situation involving an activity and another situation involving a state”, thus an action verb is a combination of an activity and a state. Moreover, action verbs create at the same time two ground-situations (a stable and instable), and two ground-prepositions (one based on activity and another on a state description). As well as states and activities, actions have their classifiers, which express state+activity-relations.

Table 5. Actions.

Russian action verbs (ipf)	Type of activity+state- relations	Danish	English translation
<i>sest, pobezhat</i>	location	sidde sig, løbe til	sit down, run to
<i>dat, vrychit, vzyat</i>	possession	give, overrække, tage	give, hand, take
<i>pokazat, raskryt</i>	experience	vise, afdække	show, reveal
<i>izbit, otshlepat</i>	qualification	slå, spank	beat, spank

While Russian action verbs can be easily distinguished from activity verbs Danish action verbs can not be *always definitely* distinguished from activity verbs, separately as lexemes. It is

not the lexeme itself, but the verb phrase, that points to an activity or an action. Sometimes, it is the alterations of auxiliary verbs **have/være**, which show the distinction. (Pedersen 2000: 93).

- (9) a. *Jesper **har** cyklet i flere timer.*
 Jesper have been riding a bike for several hours.
- b. *Jesper **er** cyklet på arbejde.*
 Jesper has ridden a bike to work.

In (9a) the reading is an activity, while in (9b) it is an action. The distinction is signaled by the auxiliaries “**have/være**”. Sometimes the preposition in the time adverb can be a hint for distinguishing activity verbs from action verbs, as in (10).

- (10) a. *Kandidaten samlede underskrifterne på en dag.*
 The candidate gathered signatures in one day.
- b. *Kandidaten samlede underskrifterne i en uge.*
 The candidate has been gathering signatures for one week.

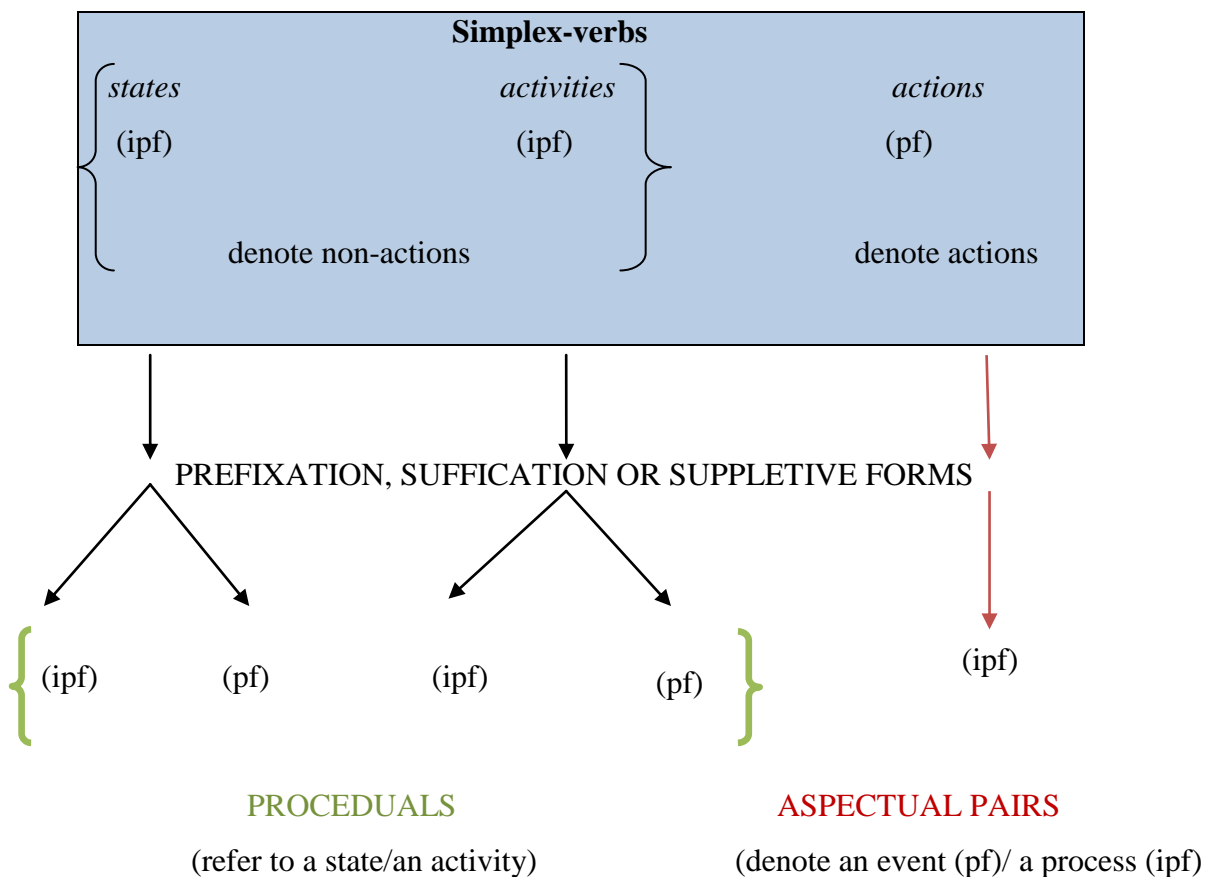
In (10a) we have an example of an action verb with a time modifier, containing the preposition **på**, while for activity verbs the preposition **i** would be most frequently used (10b).

It is important to note that, according to Durst-Andersen (1992:59), “only action verbs in Russian form aspectual pairs” as such:

(11)	Russian (pf)	Russian (ipf)	English
	<i>sest</i>	<i>saditsya</i>	sit down
	<i>spustitsya</i>	<i>spuskatsya</i>	descend
	<i>izbit</i>	<i>izbivat</i>	beat
	<i>vrychit</i>	<i>vrychat</i>	hand
	<i>pokazat</i>	<i>pokazyvat</i>	show
	<i>vzyat</i>	<i>brat</i> (suppletive)	take

Durst-Andersen further proposes the division into action and non-action verbs. The latter cover states and activities. He puts forward an idea that if we consider actions and non-actions as situations, we shall see that “action verbs do not manifest themselves as actions, but either as an event or a process” (Durst-Andersen 1992: 60). States and activities express either only a state or an activity and a state. Activities leave instable pictures and states leave stable pictures. We may assume then that events in Russian would correspond to the action verbs, while processes to the imperfective aspectual pair of the corresponding perfective action verb. As far as proceduals are concerned, as was mentioned above, they are derived from states and activity verbs. The whole Durst-Andersen’s idea can be summarized in the following table:

Table 6. Lexico-semantic classes of simplex-verbs, Aktionsart verbs (proceduals), aspectual pairs. Durst-Andersen’s (1992) theory.



In the table below the blue field covers simplex-verbs of which states and activities form perfective and imperfective procedural verbs (enclosed in green brackets) which refer to a state or an activity respectively. Thus, perfective or imperfective procedurals, according to Durst-Andersen (1992: 65), “are restricted to non-action verbs, i.e. state and activity verbs”. Action verbs are used for creating imperfective verbs only (red arrows in the scheme), and these new imperfective verbs refer to the same action as the perfective one, but denote it as a process, while the perfective one denotes it as an event.

In this section I tried to present a connection between situation types and verbal aspect in Russian and can conclude that this connection can be explicitly drawn from Smith’s classification and not from Vendler’s one, because Vendler did not take Russian as an example for his theory, and it would be wrong to make any assumptions about the correlation between verbal and lexical aspect, when Vendler considered lexical aspect separately. Within Smith’s classification the correlation is the following: imperfective verbs never occur in semelfactives and accomplishments, and perfective verbs never occur in states.

We can also conclude that Smith, Vendler and Durst-Andersen deal with different issues: Smith and Vendler discuss lexical aspect and analyze verbs from the point of their semantic properties in an utterance. Their theory of situation types cannot explain the nature of verbal aspect, because its nature lies, in fact, not in usage (in an utterance), but in the deep semantics of verbs; whereas Durst-Andersen deals with verbs as lexemes and this makes his classification of lexico-semantic classes of verbs more capable of explaining that verbal aspect in Russian comes from deep semantic properties of verbs and is inherent to action verbs only. Now I shall present possible solutions for translation of Russian verbal aspect into Danish.

4. Solutions for translation from Russian into Danish

This section is dedicated to the description of some solutions for the translation of Russian perfective and imperfective verbs into Danish. I shall proceed from the fact that Danish does not have verbal aspect, but has other means to express the meanings similar to those for which either the perfective or imperfective is responsible for in Russian.

It is obvious that Russian as an inflectional language has a wider range of linguistic tools to mark grammatical categories and, for example the inflectional case system of the Russian language has always been a challenge for L2 learners of Russian. The same is true of the aspectual system. Verbal aspect in Russian is a grammatical category which implies inflectional changes. Both imperfective and perfective verbs can be exposed to derivational morphology and by means of it are capable of changing their aspect, sometimes zero morphological derivation takes place and the only way to form a member of the aspectual pair is to use a corresponding suppletive verb. Danish does not have such morphological tools in its arsenal, as it belongs to analytical languages, like English. Thus, we may assume that it takes a separate supra-morphological unit to express the difference between the imperfective and perfective. Here in further sections I shall discuss methods of transmitting the aspectual differences of Russian into Danish.

4.1. Verbal particles

“Postverbal particles in Danish are usually used with verbal predicates with originally concrete meaning, but which now have a more abstract meaning”. (Jakobsen 1994: 14). According to Jakobsen (1994: 14), when Danish verbs combine with verbal particles (such as **op**, **til**, **af**, **ud**...), a “completion of an action comes to the foreground”. Thus, one could assume that verbal particles can be *always* used to transmit Russian perfective aspect, while verbs without particles would be more frequently used for the translation of Russian imperfective verbs, however, it does not work in all the cases. Verbal particles if there are any *may*, but are not always required as elements of syntactic extension to convey the aspectual distinctions of a

Russian verb. (In the Russian language, this function is reserved to morphological derivation). I propose to analyze this assumption and try it in practice in comparing the verbal predicates in Danish and Russian. It is important to say, that we shall consider only finite verbal forms, and shall not take into account non-finite forms.

(12)

<p><i>Никто не открывал (ipf). Тогда Маргарита понеслась (pf) вниз во весь мах, отсчитывая этажи, долетела (pf) донизу, вырвалась (pf) на улицу и, глядя вверх, отсчитала (pf) и проверила (pf) этажи снаружи, соображая, какие именно окна квартиры Латунского. Несомненно, что это были (ipf) пять темных окон, в восьмом этаже на углу здания. Уверившись в этом, Маргарита поднялась (pf) в воздухе и через несколько секунд сквозь открытое окно входила (ipf) в неосвещенную комнату, в которой серебрилась (ipf) только узенькая дорожка от луны. По ней пробежала (pf) Маргарита, нашарила (pf) выключатель. Через минуту вся квартира была (ipf) освещена.</i></p>	<p>Ingen lukkede op. Så fløj Margarita nedad for fuld fart, talte etagerne undervejs, fo'r ud på gaden, talte etagerne en gang til og prøvede at finde ud af, hvilke vinduer der tilhørte Latunskijs lejlighed. Det måtte uden tvivl være de fem mørke vinduer på ottende sal på hjørnet. Da Margarita havde forvisset sig herom, fløj hun et par sekunder efter gennem et åbenstående vindue ind i en mørk stue, som kun oplystes af en sælvklar månestråle. Margarita fulgte strålen og fandt kontakten. Et øjeblik efter var lyset tændt i hele lejligheden.</p>
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<p><i>Щетка стояла (ipf) в углу.</i> <i>Удостоверившись, что дома никого нету,</i> <i>Мargarита открыла (pf) дверь</i> <i>на лестницу</i> <i>и проверила (pf), тут ли карточка.</i> <i>Карточка была (ipf) на месте,</i> <i>Мargarита попала туда, куда нужно</i> <i>было (ipf).</i> (Bulgakov, 2007).</p>	<p>Hun stillede kosten i en krog, forsvissede sig om, at der ingen var hjemme og åbnede døren ud til trappen for at se på navnskiltet. Det var hans. (Bulgakov, 1988).</p>
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No one opened the door. Then Margarita raced down at full swing, counting the floors, reached the bottom, burst out the door and, looking up, counted and checked the floors from outside, guessing which precisely were the windows of Latunsky's apartment. Undoubtedly they were the five dark windows at the corner of the building on the eighth floor. Convinced of it, Margarita rose into the air and in a few seconds was stepping through an open window into an unlit room, where only a narrow path from the moon shone silver. Margarita ran down it, felt for the switch. A moment later the whole apartment was lit up. The broom stood in a corner. After making sure that no one was home, Margarita opened the door to the stairs and checked whether the name plate was there. The name plate was in place. Margarita was where she wanted to be. (Bulgakov, 1997)

<u>Russain verb</u>	<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Danish corresponding variant</u>
1. <i>otkryval</i>	(ipf)	lukkede op
2. <i>poneslas</i>	(pf)	fløj
3. <i>doletela</i>	(pf)	nedad
4. <i>vyrvalas</i>	(pf)	ud
5. <i>otschitala</i>	(pf)	talte
6. <i>proverila</i>	(pf)	prøvede
7. <i>byli</i>	(ipf)	måtte være
8. <i>podnyalas</i>	(pf)	fløj
9. <i>vhodila</i>	(ipf)	ind
10. <i>serebrilas</i>	(ipf)	oplystes
11. <i>probezhala</i>	(pf)	fulgte
12. <i>nasharila</i>	(pf)	fandt
13. <i>byla osveshchena</i>	(ipf)	var tændt

14. <i>stoyala</i>	(ipf)	stillede
15. <i>otkryla</i>	(pf)	åbnede ud
16. <i>proverila</i>	(pf)	se på (infinitive construction)
17. <i>byla</i>	(ipf)	var
18. <i>popala</i>	(pf)	
19. <i>bylo</i>	(ipf)	

To the 19 Russian verbal predicates taken from this paragraph correspond only 13 Danish verbal predicates, three Russian verbal predicates are semantically translated into Danish through omitting the meaningful verb and keeping only verbal particles (**nedad, ud, ind**); one is translated by means of the infinitive; the last two Russian verbs are not translated at all. It might have been done for pragmatic reasons, as it is clear as it is, that “Margarita was where she wanted to be”.

What is interesting here is that only in 2 cases Danish verbal predicates with verbal particles correspond to the Russian perfective aspect with the meaning of completion of the action:

<i>otkryla</i> (pf)	åbnede ud
<i>podnyalas</i> (pf)	fløj efter.

We may assume that there is no obligatory correspondence between the perfective aspect and the use of verbal predicates in Danish, in other words, this correspondence is not regular, but possible, and Jacobsen’s idea that “completion of an action comes to the foreground” is true as we can see from these two verbs.

Most of the Russian verbs in the chosen paragraph are action verbs, with the exception of *otkryval* (*opened*), *byli* (*were*), *bylo* (*was*), *byla* (*was*), *stoyala* (*stood*), *vhodila* (*was stepping*), *serebrilas* (*shone silver*), which are non-action verbs, indicating either state or activity. They are imperfective, but the Danish variant does not explicitly indicate their imperfectiveness. Moreover, the verb *vhodila* (ipf) (*was stepping*) is translated only with the particle **ind** semantically entailed to **fløj**, which corresponds to the Russian perfective verb.

However, if we take the corresponding Danish sentence out of the narration, and do not use the Russian sentence as an example, we shall not have any idea of whether it was a one-time complete action or a process, when Margarita was entering the room. Most of the Danish verbs in this extract remain neutral to the Russian perfective, with the exception of the two verbs with

particles, but together in the narration with corresponding lexical means Danish is capable of conveying the idea of the Russian text. So, it is rather the whole narrative progression that indicates the perfectiveness.

Here is another paragraph from the same book. Only finite forms will be taken into account.

(13)

<p><i>Покончив с окнами Латунского, Маргарита поплыла (pf) к соседней квартире. Удары стали (pf) чаще, переулоч наполнился (pf) звоном и грохотом. Из первого подъезда выбежал (pf) швейцар, поглядел (pf) вверх, немного поколебался(pf), очевидно, не сообразив сразу, что ему предпринять, всунул (pf) в рот свисток и засвистел (pf) бешено. С особым азартом под этот свист, рассадив последнее окно на восьмом этаже, Маргарита спустилась (pf) к седьмому и начала (pf) крушить стекла в нем. (Bulgakov, 2007).</i></p>	<p>Da Margarita var færdig med Latunskijs vinduer, svævede hun hen til naboeligheden. Slagene tiltog i hyppighed, sidegaden fyldtes af klirren og drøn. Fra den første opgang kom gangvagten farende ud. Han kiggede op, stod lidt og tøvede, åbenbart i vildrende med hvad han skulle gøre, stak sin fløjte i munden og gav sig til at fløjte vildt og inderligt. Til lyden af denne fløjte gjorde Margarita sig med særlig dumdristighed færdig med vinduerne på ottende sal, svævede ned til syvende og begyndte at knuse ruderne her. (Bulgakov, 1988).</p>
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Having finished with Latency's windows, Margarita floated to the neighbour's apartment. The blows became more frequent, the lane was filled with crashing and jingling. The doorman ran out of the main entrance, looked up, hesitated a moment, evidently not grasping at first

what he ought to undertake, put the whistle to his lips, and started whistling furiously. To the sound of this whistle, Margarita, with particular passion, demolished the last window on the eighth floor, dropped down to the seventh, and started smashing the windows there. (Bulgakov, 1997)

<u>Russain verb</u>	<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Danish corresponding variant</u>
1. <i>poplyla</i>	(pf)	svævede hen
2. <i>stali chashche</i>	(pf)	tiltog
3. <i>napolnilsya</i>	(pf)	fyldtes
4. <i>vybezhhal</i>	(pf)	kom ud
5. <i>poglyadel</i>	(pf)	kiggede
6. <i>pokolebalsya</i>	(pf)	stod og tøvede
7. <i>vsunul</i>	(pf)	stak
8. <i>zasvistel</i>	(pf)	gav sig til at fløjte
9. <i>spustilas</i>	(pf)	svævede ned
10. <i>nachala</i>	(pf)	begyndte

In this extract 10 out of 10 Russian verbal predicates are translated with verbal predicates in Danish. All Russian predicate finite verbs are perfective in the Russian variant; 3 Danish verbs combine with postverbal particles; 5 Russian verbal predicate are translated as simplex-verbs in Danish; 3 Russian perfective verbs are translated with a descriptive phrase. Again, we see that postverbal particles are not a *sine qua non* solution in the translation of Russian perfective verbs, but a possible way, if semantics allows it.

In Danish the meaning of the Russian perfective prefix can be, expressed through postverbal particles, but in this case, in Danish, it will be closer to changes in the lexical aspect, and in general it would be possible only for a limited number of verbs.

Here are some examples:

(14)

Russian (ipf)	Danish	Russian (pf)	Danish
<i>pit</i>	drikke	<i>vypit</i>	drikke ud
<i>tech</i>	løbe	<i>vytech</i>	løbe ud

<i>sohnut</i>	tøre	vysohnut	tøre ud
zhech	brænde	szhech	brænde af

So, it is possible to conclude that verbal particles may help to translate Russian perfective verbs, however, this does not occur on a regular basis.

4.2. Lexical means of expressing the perfective/imperfective in Danish: time and place modifiers, special verb constructions, paired verbs

Since Danish does not have the category of verbal aspect, and the number of verbs with particles that more or less correspond to the aspectual differences in Russian is limited, translators have to use other means to express this difference, especially in the belles-lettres style. In this section we shall discuss possible lexical means for transmitting the Russian aspectual meaning.

Danish action and activity verbs take a different preposition in the adverbial modifier of time. Such Danish adverbial modifiers as **i en time, i en uge, i løbet af, fra morgen til aften** can be used in Russian-Danish translation if a Russian utterance has an imperfective verb as in (14).

(15)

<p><i>Она хлопала (ipf) дверьми и громко напевала (ipf), вихрем носясь по своей части квартиры, и по целым дням проветривала (ipf) у себя комнаты. (Belov, 1987</i></p>	<p>Hun smækkede med dørende, sang i vilden sky, var ustandselig i bevægelse inde hos sig selv, og <u>fra morgen til aften</u> luftede til tider ud. (Belov, 1990)</p>
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[lit: She slammed the doors and sang loudly, moving all over her part of the flat like a whirlwind, and aired out her rooms the whole days through].

Durst-Andersen and Herslund (1996) argue, that “Danish action verbs combine more likely with the adverbial modifier of time, containing the preposition **på**”. It can be the case, but

examples from Russian-Danish translations show that Russian action verbs, that are perfective ones, can be translated in Danish without preposition **på** in the adverbial modifier of time. Such adverbial modifiers as **en hel time, en time, en uge, et par år**, can be also used. It should be noted, that in Danish an action verb will be used.

(16) *Они часа два **проплутали** (pf) без толку.* (Pasternak, 2007)

Et par timer flakkede de om uden mål og med. (Pasternak, 1958)

[lit: For about two hours they wandered uselessly.]

(17) *Она с полчаса **пробродила** (pf) по ближайшим переулкам, куда иногда заворачивали мужички с овощами и картошкой из пригородных деревень.* (Belov, 1987)

En halv times tid flakkede hun om i de nærmeste stræder, hvor man af og til kunne træffe bønder med grøntsager og kartofler fra landsbyerne i oplandet. (Belov, 1990)

[lit: For half a hour she wandered along the nearest side streets, where now and then one could meet peasant men from the neighbour countryside who came with vegetables and potatoes.]

One can argue that these adverbial modifiers of time are just translated from Russian, as they are found in the Russian phrase. But for these modifiers, the Danish translation would be rather ambiguous. In (16) “**De flakkede om uden mål og med**” could have been understood as “They were wandering”.., whereas the Russian corresponding verb is perfective and the perfectiveness is translated into Danish by means of **et par timer**. It is worth noting that if we omit the adverbial modifier in the Russian sentence, the verb will remain perfective, and a Russian speaker would always say that the meaning is that “they wandered for a certain period of time”, the action is a complete one, and is not a process, while in Danish the phrase without any time modifier will only confuse the recipient. That is way it is obvious that even if the Russian

sentence had not have the adverbial modifier, the Danish translator would have definitely add an appropriate time modifier to show that the action was completed.

The imperfectiveness of Russian verbs can be transmitted in Danish by means of adverbial modifiers of place.

- (18) *В три часа ночи она была уже на ногах. С ведрами бегала* (ipf) *между ребячьими головами, носила с колодца воду.* (Belov, 1987)
Klokken tre var hun allerede oppe og i gang. Hun **løb frem og tilbage** med spandene mellem de sovende børn og bar vand ind fra brønden. (Belov, 1990)

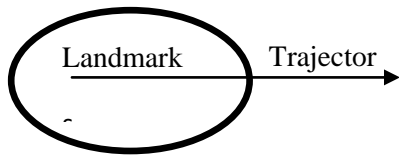
[lit: At three o'clock in the morning she was already awake. She ran back and forth between the children's sleeping heads and carried water from the well.]

In (18) *begala* (ipf, past, 3sing, female) (run), is translated as **løb frem og tilbage**, to show the cyclic repeating of the action denoted by the imperfective verb.

Very often a problem arises when one has to translate Russian perfective verbs denoting the so-called “*inchoative action*” Janda (1986). The inceptive meaning of such verbs is usually concentrated in prefixes, such as *ras-*, *za-*, *na-*. For example, *rasplakatsya* (pf) (ZA-cry, burst into tears), *zabegat* (pf) (ZA-run, start running), *zasmeyatsya* (pf) (ZA-laugh, burst into laugh), *nahlynut* (pf) (NA-pour, gush out). The verbs with an inchoative meaning are always perfective.

In Durst-Andersen's terms they will be action verbs denoting events, not processes. This can be substantiated by the idea that they imply a state that preceded the newly started action and that they involve an activity. *Zakrichat* (start screaming) implies the state of “not screaming” and a departure from it by performing an activity of producing loud sounds by means of vocal cords. If we imagine an action as a combination of a landmark and a trajector, it is possible to see that in such verbs the trajector is an action itself and the landmark is a person or an agent. See **Picture 1**. Such verbs are usually characterized by the fact, according to Janda (1986: 112), that “until the action is performed it remains a hidden potential of the subject of the verb”. It should

be noted, that some of the Russian verbs with the inchoative meaning are reflexive, and require a reflexive suffix.



Picture 1.

In some cases Danish verbs remain neutral to this inchoative component of the meaning. In (19) *zaojkala* (pf, past, 3sing, female) (started saying “ooh”) is translated as **hvinede**, just a simplex-verb. Another possible solution for the translation of such Russian verbs in Danish can be the combination of the verb **begynde/starte med at gøre noget** and the activity verb. In (19) *zarugalas* (pf, past, 3sing, female) (started to swear) is translated as **begyndte at skælde ud**. So, both decisions are correct, though the second one is closer to the meaning of the Russian verb, as far as the inchoative component is concerned.

It is interesting to note, that the Danish translator put the Danish predicates in a different order, not like in the Russian sentence. We can suppose that the construction **begyndte at skælde ud** is more phonetically appropriate for the end-position in the Danish sentence.

- (19) *Женщина вытащила ведро наверх и нечаянно облилась водой-холодянкой. Заругалась* (pf), *зайкала* (pf). (Belov, 1987)

Kvinden fik spanden op og kom ved et uheld til at hælde det kolde vand ud over sig. Hun **hvinede** og **begyndte at skælde ud**. (Belov, 1990)

[lit: The woman took the bucket out and spilt some cold water over herself. She started swearing and saying “ooh”.]

However, these are rather literal variants, and they may lack expressiveness or may sound artificial. In Danish there are set combinations which correspond to the Russian inchoative perfective verbs. Usually such Danish verb expressions consist of the verbs with a broader

semantics such as **komme, gå, sætte sig, give sig, bryde** and either **a preposition + a noun, a preposition+ an infinitive** or **an adjective**.

(20) (V+Prep+N)

*Пение **расстроилось** (pf) и оборвалось.* (Pasternak, 2007)

Sangen **gik i skudderuddder** og døde hen. (Pasternak, 1958)

[lit: The singing got out of tune and stopped abruptly.]

(V+Prep+N)

(21) *На всякий случай она открыла кладовку, куда уборщица складывала дрова, и **рассмеялась** (pf).* (Belov, 1987)

For en sikkerheds skyld lukkede hun dog op ind til det lille aflukke, hvor rengøringskonen opbevarede brændet, og hun **brast i latter**. (Belov, 1990)

[lit: Just to be on the safe side she opened the storeroom, where the charwoman put firewood, and burst into laughter.]

(22) (V+Prep+INF)

*Из первого подъезда выбежал швейцар, погляделвверх, немного поколебался, очевидно, не сообразив сразу, что ему предпринять, всунул в рот свисток и бешено **засвистел** (pf).* (Bulgakov, 2007)

Fra den første opgang kom gangvagten farende ud. Han kiggede op, stod lidt og tøvede, åbenbart i vildrende med hvad han skulle gøre, stak sin fløjte i munden og **gav sig til at fløjte** vildt og inderligt. (Bulgakov, 1988)

The doorman ran out of the main entrance, looked up, hesitated a moment, evidently not grasping at first what he ought to undertake, put the whistle to his lips, and started whistling furiously. (Bulgakov, 1997)

(23) (V+Adj)

*Дома она **накинулась** (pf) с упрёками на сына...* (Belov, 1987)

Da de var kommet hjem, **gik** hun **løs** på sønnen med sine bedrejdelser...
(Belov, 1990)

[lit: At home she attacked the son with reproaches...]

In (20) *rasstroilas* (pf, past, 3sing, neutral) (got of out tune) is translated as **gik i skudderuuddder**. In (21) *rassmeyalas* (pf, past, 3sing, female) (burts into laughter) is translated as **brast i latter**. In (22) **gav sig til at fløjte** correspond to the Russian verb *zasvistel* (pf, past, 3sing, male) (started whistling). The simple Russian predicate in (23) *nakinulas* (pf, past, 3sing, female) (attacked) is expressed in Danish as **gik løs**.

In some cases Russian imperfective verbs can be translated by a combination of two Danish verbs, both of them are semantically equal in such cases and in Danish sentences they function as homogeneous verbal predicates. I shall further call them *paired verbs*.

(24) ...*Надежда не думала с ней из-за Мишки ругаться* (ipf). (Belov, 1987)

...men det vile aldrig falde Nadesjda ind at **stå og skændes** med hende på grund af Misja. (Belov, 1990)

[lit:...but Nadezhda has never had in mind to argue with her about Mishka.]

(25) *Из первого подъезда выбежал швейцар, поглядел вверх, немного поколебался* (pf), *очевидно, не сообразив сразу, что ему предпринять, всунул в рот свисток и бешено засвистел*. (Bulgakov, 2007)

Fra den første opgang kom gangvagten farende ud. Han kiggede op, **stod** lidt og **tøvede**, åbenbart i vildrende med hvad han skulle gøre, stak sin fløjte i munden og gav sig til at fløjte vildt og inderligt. (Bulgakov, 1988)

The doorman ran out of the main entrance, looked up, hesitated a moment, evidently not grasping at first what he ought to undertake, put the whistle to his lips, and started whistling furiously. (Bulgakov, 1997)

In (24) the Russian verb *rugatsya* (ipf, inf) (to swear) is translated as **stå og skændes**. In (25) *pokolebalsya* (pf, past, 3sing, male) (hesitated) is translated by two words **stod tøvede**. We can assume that the verb **stå** in the past corresponds to the meaning of the Russian prefix *po-* with the meaning “hesitated for some time”, and in Danish the verb **stå** compensates the absence of this meaning in the simplex-verb **tøve**.

A more frequent usage of paired verbs is typical of the cases when a Russian imperfective verb is close in its meaning to the English Progressive, in Durst-Andersen’s terms – activity verb.

(26) *Был сухой морозный день начала ноября, с серо-свинцовым спокойным небом и реденькими, почти считанными снежинками, которые долго и уклончиво **вились**, (ipf, past, 3plur) перед тем как упасть на землю...* (Pasternak, 2007)

Det var en tør frostdag først i november med rolig, blygrå himmel og så få snefnug, at de næsten lod sig tælle, som **vendte og drejede sig** før de faldt til jorden... (Pasternak, 1958)

[lit: It was a dry and frosty day at the beginning of November with calm grey sky and so few snowflakes that one could count them, which for a long time and evasively kept whirling before they fell down on the ground...]

In (26) *vilis* (ipf, past, 3pl, reflex) (were/kept whirling) is translated as **vendte og drejede sig**, in this case **vente** underlines the imperfectiveness. In the Danish version the adverbial modifiers *dolgo* and *uklonchivo* (for a long time and evasively) are omitted, because it would be excessive to use them, as **vente** gives enough duration. Other combinations such as **sidde og tænke, sidde og læse, stå og vise** can be used correspondingly for Russian imperfective verbs in the situations, when imperfective verbs.

(27) *Dér **sad** en fyr **og læste** avis. Dér **sad** to svenske par **og snakkede**. Dér **sad** to blonde, solariebrune næsten-skønheder **og flirtede** med noget, der kan have været en rockmusiker.*

<http://ordnet.dk/korpusdk/teksteksempler/kontekst>

The corresponding Russian verbs for Danish predicates in bold type in (27) are: *chital* (pf, past, 3sing, male) **sad og læste**, *razgovarivali* (ipf, past, 3plur) **sad og snakkede**; *flirtovali* (ipf, past, 3plur) **sad og flirted**.

Sometimes paired verbs have a prepositional complement.

(28) Næste dag slagtede han grisen, pakkede hjertet ind i papir og gik op med det til den kloge kones hus. Der **sad** hun og **læste i en stor bog**.

<http://ordnet.dk/korpusdk/teksteksempler/kontekst>

Beyond paired verbs for the processual meaning such verbal constructions as **være i gang med at gøre noget**, **være ved med at gøre noget**.

(29) Danmark **er i gang med at udføre** det største anlægsarbejde nogensinde, Storebæltsforbindelsen, og en række af de erfaringer, vi har opnået i den sammenhæng, kan umiddelbart overføres til de to faste forbindelser mod

Øst og Syd. <http://ordnet.dk/korpusdk/teksteksempler/kontekst>

These set combinations illustrated in (27), (28), (29) can be used only for the translation of Russian imperfective verbs, because the perfective aspect cannot be logically used in Russian for the idea of a process.

In this section I have discussed Danish lexical means that can be used to express Russian aspectual distinction. These lexical means are time, and place modifiers, special verbal constructions and paired verbs.

We can conclude that in disputable cases the preposition **på** in the adverbial modifier would correspond to Russian perfective verbs, and the corresponding Danish verb will be an action verb in Durst-Andersen's terms. Adverbial modifiers which do not contain any preposition and adverbial modifiers of place may be used as supplementary tools to express the perfective. Special verbal constructions, such as **komme til+inf**, **gå+adj**, **sætte sig til+inf**, **give sig til+inf**, **bryde i+noun**, can be widely used in Danish to translate Russian perfective verbs, which denote an *inchoative action*. Such a correspondence can be explained by the fact that Danish verbal constructions of such a type express an idea of an unexpected action – the

semantic element of the perfective in Russian. Paired verbs, of which one usually locates (**stå, sidde, ligge**) an agent and the other denotes the type of activity, can be used for the translation of Russian imperfective verbs, as well as **være i gang med at gøre noget, være ved med at gøre noget**. However, a translator should always make his or her variant appropriate to the style of the text, and bear in mind that what is a good and expressive variant for the belles-letters style, may not fit into an official document and vice a versa.

4.3. Analytical tense forms for marking perfectiveness

The Russian language has only three grammatical tenses: present, future and past. Danish, according to Diderichsen (1974), as well as many other Germanic languages has an elaborated tense system, which allows marking grammatically temporal distinctions in a more detailed way. Thus, for instance, to mark a past action prior to another past action Russian does not use the past or present perfect tense (*førnutid and førdatid*), because it simply does not have it. However, it is always clear from the context whether the verb denotes a prior action or not. The priority of an action in Russian is indicated either by means of adverbial modifiers of time, such as *uzhe* (already), *togda* (then), *prezhde* (before); conjunctions with a subordinate clause of time: *pered tem kak* (before), *posle togo kak* (after) and others; or alternatively by means of aspectual differences.

(30) Этот Колька накануне **подрался** (pf) с кем-то, а в тот день зашел в милицию вместе с Мишкой. (Belov, 1987)

Denne Kolja **havde været i slagsmål** et par dage inden og var fulgt med Misja ind på politistationen her i dag. (Belov, 1990)

[lit:This Kolya had fought with someone the day before, and the that day he dropped into the police station together with Mishka.]

In (30) *podralsya* (pf, past, 3sing, male) (fought) is translated as **havde været i slagsmål**, with the verb in the past perfect (*førdatid*). It is logical, because the adverbial modifier of time *nakanune* (the day before) indicated a priority in relation to the second predicate. However, what

is interesting here is that the Danish language requires the perfect tense, while in Russian it is enough to mark it with the perfective verb and an adverbial modifier, but even if "the day before" had been omitted, we could have easily read it as a prior action due to the perfective aspect of the first verb.

As for present perfect in Danish (*førnutid*), it can be widely used for Russian future perfective verbs in the subordinate clauses of time.

(31) *Как только я прочту (pf) книгу, я дам тебе ее.*

Så snart jeg **har læst bogen**, giver jeg den til dig. (Novakovich, Uskov, Chekansky 1996: 411)

[lit: As soon as I have read the book, I shall give it to you.]

In general, the Danish present perfect tense (*førnutid*) may be used for the translation of Russian perfective verbs with the resultative meaning.

So, Danish tense system allows expressing some meanings of Russian perfective verbs and compared to the Russian language, where aspectual pairs of verbs are created inflectionally, Danish tense forms used to express the perfectiveness of Russian verbs will be formed analytically.

Conclusion

In this paper I gave an overview of different approaches to aspect and aspectuality. I discussed the distinction between the members of the binary opposition of Russian verbal aspect and can conclude that the meaning of the perfective aspect, as a marked member of the binary opposition, is more concrete than that of the imperfective aspect: Russian perfective verbs contain an internal limit of the action which can be perceived as an indivisible and total whole; Russian imperfective verbs do not contain any reference to an internal limit of the action which can be perceived neither as an indivisible nor a complete one.

I tried to substantiate the idea that in Russian the category of aspect is not a purely grammatical, but a grammatico-semantic category. This idea was illustrated by the correlation between Russian verbal aspect and situation types.

In *section 3* I made an overview of lexico-semantic classes of Russian and Danish verbs, according to Durst-Andersen's (1992) theory. This was done to show that verbal aspect is determined by the deep semantics of verbs, and that of states, activities and actions only actions which contain, according to Durst-Andersen (1992), two ground-situations (a stable and instable), an two ground-prepositions (one based on activity and another on a state description) can form aspectual pairs. It was further concluded that action verbs denote either events or processes and non-action verbs (states and activities) refer to either state or activity respectively.

As far as Danish verbs as are concerned their belonging to states, activities or actions is determined by their syntactic surrounding, and there is a general regularity that an adverbial modifier of time with the proposition **på** gives an action reading to the verb, while preposition **i** an activity reading, moreover, activity verbs usually take a prepositional complement in comparison to state verbs which take a direct object.

By analyzing examples from edited Russian-Danish translations I have also tested the hypothesis that the Danish language, though it does not have the category of aspect, in the majority of cases is capable of expressing Russian aspectual distinctions by means of syntactical extension:

- time and place modifiers;
- special verbal constructions;
- paired verbs;
- analytical tense forms.
- verbal particles.

However, it should not be taken for granted that Danish can *always* cope with the Russian aspectual distinction. There may be cases when only a descriptive construction can be used, and the nominalization may take place. In some cases the discourse itself or a narrative progression of the context helps to conceive whether the meaning is perfective or imperfective.

Further studies on the topic can be dedicated to analyzing whether there is a correlation between the Russian perfective and imperfective aspect and telicity/atelicity in Danish.

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