THE DEVELOPMENT OF OVERT ASPECTUAL MARKING AMONG RUSSIAN BIASPECTUAL VERBS

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ABSTRACT

John Joseph Korba: THE DEVELOPMENT OF OVERT ASPECTUAL MARKING AMONG RUSSIAN BIASPECTUAL VERBS

The majority of Russian verbs are marked for aspect. Most verbs are either imperfective or perfective, and related perfective or imperfective verbs are derived by affixation. However, biaspectual verbs do not initially make a morphological distinction between imperfective and perfective. Scholars (Janda (forthcoming), Čertkova and Čang (1998), Jászay (1999)) have noted both the stability of the biaspectual verb class and some biaspectual verbs' tendency to form aspectual partners. Jászay surveyed native speakers and found that biaspectuals do form derived imperfective verbs used in part of the verbal paradigm, but not uniformly. He terms this phenomenon partial biaspectuality.

My research continues the work done by Jászay and examines the phenomenon of partial biaspectuality among the biaspectual verbs that form prefixed perfective aspectual partners. Using data collected from the Russian National Corpus, I look at unambiguous perfective morphological forms and show that prefixed perfective partners are not used uniformly.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	
i	Imperfective (superscript)
i/p	Biaspectual (superscript)
p	Perfective (superscript)
PaG	Past Gerund
PPP	Past Passive Participle
RNC	Russian National Corpus

Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis is concerned primarily with the status of biaspectual verbs in the aspectual system of Russian. Biaspectual verbs include a large number of the verbs borrowed into Russian in the past several centuries. Čertkova and Čang (1998) placed the number of biaspectuals of foreign origin at 90%. Furthermore, verbs of foreign origin are not solely biaspectual. Janda (forthcoming) estimated that approximately 40% of foreign verbs borrowed into Russian in the Oxford Russian Dictionary (Wheeler 1992) serve as ordinary imperfective simplex stems.

The majority of Russian verbs express aspect by the use of prefixes or suffixes. The verb читать^{i} 'read' derives a perfective прочитать^{p} 'read' by the addition of the prefix про-. Most verbs that form an aspectual partnership do so by this process of prefixation. However, some verbs do so by the addition of an imperfectivizing suffix. For example, the verb дать^{p} derives the imperfective давать^{i} by the addition of the suffix -вай-. The process of developing aspectual partners will be further discussed in Section 2.1.

Biaspectual verbs, unlike most verbs in Russian, can express both aspects with the same unaffixed, or base form. Thus, a verb like ориентировать$^{i/p}$ 'orient' can express both imperfective and perfective aspects in this base form. Further discussion of the system of lexically related verbs is given in Section 2.1. Unlike the majority of Russian verbs, biaspectual verbs are not morphologically marked for aspect. Three examples of a biaspectual verb, использовать$^{i/p}$ 'use', follow:

(1) Вы используете[i] сейчас эти материалы?
[You use[i]-NONPAST now these materials?]
'Are you using these materials now?'

(2) Вы используете[p] завтра эти материалы?
[You use[p]-NONPAST tomorrow these materials?]
'Will you use these materials tomorrow?'

(3) Вы будете использовать[i] эти материалы?
[You will use[i]-INF these materials?]
'Will you be using these materials?' (Čertkova and Čang 1998: 13)

In examples (1) and (2) the verbs have identical form; however, Čertkova and Čang argue that example (1) expresses the present tense in the imperfective, reinforced by the adverb сейчас 'now'. Example (2) expresses the future tense with a perfective form, triggered by the presence of the adverb завтра 'tomorrow'. Often such adverbs of time are not present, and other cues in the context indicate to the listener which aspect is present. In the third example, the use of the compound, or periphrastic, future implies that the infinitive использовать is an imperfective form. The syntax of Russian does not permit the use of a perfective in the periphrastic future construction and the future tense of a perfective verb is formed by simply conjugating it. More discussion of the difference between morphological and syntactic expression of aspect will be presented in section 2.1.

The necessity for context to disambiguate which aspect a biaspectual verb is expressing has led to varying opinions on the true nature of the biaspectual verb. The biaspectual verbs do not exhibit the morphological behavior typical of other verbs, and scholars have differed in their treatment of biaspectual verbs. Some scholars (Isačenko 1960: 146, Avilova 1968) treat biaspectual verbs as anomalous in the general system of Russian verbs and place them outside of the system. However, all scholars agree on one

point: that in some cases biaspectual verbs gain aspectual morphology in order to "eliminate" biaspectuality. Biaspectuality is eliminated by the formation of morphologically distinct aspectual partners. These partners are formed with the addition of an aspectual prefix or suffix to the base form. This elimination of biaspectuality will be further discussed in Section 2.3.

Recently, several scholars (Čertkova and Čang 1998: 16, Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade 1999: 257-259, Jászay 1999: 169-174) have shown that the newly-formed morphologically distinct aspectual partners of biaspectual verbs often do not serve as complete partners, but rather are applied only to certain forms of the verbal paradigms. A complete aspectual partner would function as only perfective or imperfective for the verb throughout the paradigm. In the case of verbs that have acquired aspectual partners, we see variation within certain parts of the paradigm, and in many cases both the newly formed verb and the morphologically unaffixed base verb are possible. More discussion and examples of the partial distribution of such verbs will be given in Chapter 4.

Some verbs exhibit true biaspectuality; that is, they do not morphologically derive an aspectual partner. Other verbs allow for a variety of forms variously distributed within the paradigm. Организовать$^{i/p}$ 'organize' derives an imperfective partner организовывать^{i}, which must be used when it is necessary to express an imperfective action in the past tense (Jászay 1999: 175). According to Jászay's survey of native speakers, организовывать^{i} is also used in present-tense contexts except for the third person singular, which prefers the non-derived организует^{i}. Jászay refers to this phenomenon as 'частичная двувидность', or partial biaspectuality. The additional derived perfective сорганизовать^{p} was judged by most native speakers as too colloquial,

though it is present in a number of dictionaries (Jászay 1999: 171). As one can see, the derivation of aspectual partners with some biaspectual verbs is anything but clear and definitive.

This thesis will investigate biaspectual verbs and the phenomena of aspectual formation and partial biaspectuality, and will reference the current discussion (Jászay 1999 and Čertkova-Čang 1998) on biaspectual verbs. Chapter 2 is devoted to the status of biaspectual verbs in the verb system as a whole; the role morphology and phonology play in their usage and development; as well as the concepts of affixation and partial biaspectuality. In Chapter 3 I will discuss the methods employed to examine the distribution of perfectivizing "empty prefixes" and the imperfectivizing suffix -ывай- in the development of aspectual partners for biaspectual verbs. Examples were found on webpages and blogs (short for 'weblogs', a personal internet journal) accessed via the internet search engine Yandex (http://www.yandex.ru), as well as in the database of articles and literature available in the Russian National Corpus (http://www.ruscorpora.ru). Chapter 4 contains an analysis of the data. Special attention will be paid to high-frequency biaspectual verbs and the affixes they employ in order to derive aspectual partners. Finally, in Chapter 5 I will present the conclusions one may draw from this thesis, mainly that biaspectual verbs do develop prefixed perfective partners, and that data from corpora can tell us much about the relationship between an unprefixed biaspectual verb and its prefixed partner. I will also pose questions that arise as a result of the research, and suggest possible paths in order to answer them.

Chapter 2. Survey of Scholarly Literature

In this section, we will survey a subset of the vast literature written on Russian aspect, focusing on the commonly called "purely aspectual" prefixes, and recent studies done on biaspectual verbs.

Section 2.1. Aspect

Comrie writes: "Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (1981: 3). This is in contrast to tense, which is concerned with placing a particular situation in time (1981:2). In Russian, there exist two aspects: the perfective and the imperfective. When an action is described by a perfective verb, it is construed by the speaker to be an unanalyzable whole and the speaker is not concerned with the internal structure of the event (Comrie 1981: 4). The imperfective serves the opposite purpose: it views the situation from the inside and is concerned with the internal structure of the event.

The choice of how to describe an event is the speaker's. Often the same event may be described with both perfective and imperfective verbs, depending upon the speaker's intent. Thus, one may read a sentence in Russian as он стоял^{i} там час, он постоял^{p} там час, or он простоял^{p} там час[1] (Comrie 1981: 17), all having essentially the same meaning in English 'he stood there for an hour'. However, each form hints at the

[1] Comrie transliterates all of his Russian examples. In order to keep all examples the same, I give them in Cyrillic.

intended meaning of the speaker. In the sentence он постоял[p] там час, the speaker views the length of time as relatively short. He may have been expecting the man to stand there longer, and might be speaking about one of the Queen of England's guards or a newspaper vendor. In a sentence like он простоял[i] там час, the speaker views the hour as a long period of time, and might be speaking about an annoying accordion player on the street or an old man waiting in line at the store. In this way, different perfectives can describe the same basic situation, depending on the speaker's relationship to the event.

Janda (2007) suggests it is necessary to distinguish the different types of perfectives in Russian and to create a more complete picture of Russian aspectual derivation. Russian forms the perfective most often by the addition of a prefix to a simple imperfective stem, which Janda calls the *Activity*. In some cases, this prefixed verb is considered to be the *Natural Perfective*; that is to say, the prefix adds no new meaning to the verb. Thus, the verb читать[i] 'read' has the Natural Perfective прочитать[p] 'read'. There also exist *Specialized Perfectives*, or verbs that are lexically related to the verb but have an added meaning provided by the prefix. Thus, the verb читать[i] 'read' has the Specialized Perfective перечитать[p] 're-read'. The Specialized Perfective often forms an imperfective partner by adding an imperfectivizing suffix, most commonly -ывай-. For example, the *Specialized Perfective* перечитать[p] 're-read' has the imperfective partner перечитывать[i], also meaning 're-read'. A verb may also form a *Complex Act Perfective* by the addition of a prefix. In such a case, the prefix does not overtly change the lexical meaning of the base verb, but rather brings the focus to one part of the event or another: the inception, the duration, or the termination of an action is the focus. The verb читать[i] has a Complex Act Perfective почитать[p], which means 'read for a little while'. Other

prefixes are often employed: the verb петь[i] ‘sing’ has the Complex Act Perfective запеть[i] ‘begin to sing’ and работать[i] ‘work’ has the Complex Act Perfective отработать[p] ‘stop working’. In general, Complex Act verbs do not derive secondary imperfectives (Janda 2007).

Janda’s (2007) model explains more of the complex relationships among aspectually related verbs. Most importantly, the cluster model accepts homonymy between forms. For example, the form прочитать[p] may represent both the Natural Perfective for читать[i] ‘read’ and a Specialized Perfective, meaning ‘read through’, which then motivates the derivation of a Specialized Imperfective прочитывать[i]. In another study, Janda (forthcoming a) hypothesizes that foreign biaspectual verbs more often represent completable actions and thus homonymy between an Activity and Natural Perfective form is motivated. In the cluster model, Complex Act Perfectives may only be formed from verbs when describing action that has an incompletable construal. In Janda’s study of borrowed verbs, the tendency for biaspectual verbs to form the Complex Act Perfective по-X ‘do X for a while’ was compared to the same tendency for non-biaspectual verbs. Janda examined unprefixed biaspectual and Imperfective verbs of foreign origin, in order to have sufficient data on prefixed forms. Then the number of verbs with 0 attestations of по- prefixed forms was compared to the number of attestations with over 1000 по- prefixed forms. As hypothesized, 70/75 (93.3%) of the verbs with 0 по-prefixed tokens were biaspectual, while 26/29 (89.6) of the verbs with over 1000 по-prefixed hits were Imperfective. Therefore, Janda’s (forthcoming a) hypothesis is confirmed and biaspectual verbs almost exclusively describe completable actions.

Section 2.2. Empty Prefixes

Why is it necessary for different verbs to take different perfectivizing prefixes to form Natural Perfectives? The question of which prefixes combine with which verbs to form Natural Perfectives is not easily answered. The most salient meaning added to a base imperfective verb by the prefix to form the Natural Perfective is generally grammatical, it is easy to see why the prefixes are "purely aspectual" in nature. However, some scholars have argued with this definition of perfectivizing prefixes, and the question for now has not yet been sufficiently answered, either in the literature or by empirical studies.

In a study of many authors , Tixonov (1964) defends the status of the "empty" prefix. He challenges the arguments of experts on aspectuality. Aspectologists, who believe the prefixes forming Natural Perfectives have some important lexical component, offer examples of pairs of Activity and Natural Perfective such as чернеть^{i} 'turn black; show black' – почернеть^{p} 'turn black' or командовать^{i} 'give a command; be in command' – скомандовать^{p} 'give a command'. In these examples, the Natural Perfective does not correspond to all meanings of the imperfective Activity verb. However, Tixonov argues that such verbs are few in number.

Comrie (1981: 88) argues that the choice of prefix is not arbitrary, because in any other case it gives some added meaning to the verb. For example, the same prefix про- is used to form the Natural Perfective to читать^{i}/прочитать^{p} 'read' as well as the Specialized Perfective прочитать^{p}/прочитывать^{i} 'read through, leaf through' while with the verb писать^{i} 'write' it is only used to form the Specialized Perfective прописать^{p}/прописывать^{i} 'prescribe, order'. In the case of the Specialized Perfectives,

the prefixes add enough new lexical meaning to change the meaning of the verbs and to motivate the formation of a secondary imperfective. However, the fact that the prefix adds no lexical meaning does not necessarily imply that when a prefix is used to form a Natural Perfective, the prefix itself is devoid of meaning. Several scholars, such as Comrie (1981) and Janda (1985, 1986) have argued that the prefix used to form the Natural Perfective in Russian contains lexical meaning as well.

Section 2.3. Studies of Biaspectual Verbs

Biaspectual verbs consist of two types: those with historically Slavic roots, such as казнить$^{i/p}$ 'punish' and родить$^{i/p}$ 'give birth'; and foreign borrowings, such as анализировать$^{i/p}$ 'analyze'. Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: 257) that not all verbs ending in -овать are foreign borrowings; verbs with native Russian roots exist, such as советизировать$^{i/p}$ 'Sovietize', военизировать$^{i/p}$ 'militarize', большевизировать$^{i/p}$ 'Bolshevize'. Most of these verbs were formed around the time of the Soviet Revolution and also employ the suffix -овать. Čertkova and Čang (1998) conducted a statistical study in which they found that approximately 10% of biaspectual verbs were of Slavic origin, while 90% of such verbs are foreign borrowings in -овать.

As stated in the introduction, scholars have not always agreed on the status of biaspectual verbs in the system of Russian aspect. Isačenko (1960: 143) and Avilova (1968) argue that biaspectual verbs are anomalous, and Avilova further argues that it is necessary for biaspectual verbs to form morphologically distinct aspectual partners. Other scholars, such as Mučnik (1966), Čertkova and Čang (1998), and Jászay (1999) argue that biaspectual verbs do not form a separate class with regards to aspect, although they

acknowledge that in contemporary Russian, there is a strong tendency towards assimilating these verbs into the aspectual system.

Most scholars of Russian aspect agree that any particular use of a biaspectual verb is clearly imperfective or perfective from the context. The only dissenter is Timberlake (2004: 408). He claims that, because biaspectual verbs are not marked, they cannot be placed in the aspectual system. Timberlake goes as far as to call these verbs anaspectual. However, it appears that the majority of scholars believe that biaspectual verbs express only one aspect in any given context, despite the lack of formal aspectual morphology. We have seen this lack of ambiguity in the examples previously introduced:

(4) Вы используете[i] сейчас эти материалы?
[You use[i]-NONPAST now these materials?]
'Are you using these materials now?'

(5) Вы используете[p] завтра эти материалы?
[You use[p]-NONPAST tomorrow these materials?]
'Will you use these materials tomorrow?'

(6) Вы будете использовать[i] эти материалы?
[You will use[i]-INF these materials?]
'Will you use these materials?' (Čertkova and Čang 1998: 13)

In sentence (4), the verb expresses an imperfective action; the action is taking place in the present and the speaker is focusing on the action itself. In sentence (5), the action will take place in the future, and the speaker is focusing on the result of the action. In sentence (6), the verb is imperfective, thus the speaker is focusing on the action, which might take place in the future. In (4) and (5), the aspect expressed by the biaspectual verb is apparent from the context—specifically, the presence of temporal adverbs сейчас 'now' and завтра 'tomorrow'. However, in (6) the aspect can be deduced from the syntactic construction; this construction, with the conjugated form of быть 'be' to express a future

action, is only possible with imperfective verbs. A verb's aspect can be disambiguated both by context and by syntax; in the periphrastic future, only the imperfective is possible. Thus in certain parts of the paradigm, aspect is unambiguous.

Jászay (1999) surveyed 28 native speakers to determine better the usage of организовать[i/p], атаковать[i/p], реализовать[i/p], арестовать[i/p] in imperfective contexts and compare their usage to derived imperfectives организовывать[i/p], атаковывать[i/p], реализовывать[i/p], арестовывать[i/p]. There is little concensus among dictionaries and grammars concerning the true usage of these four derived imperfective verbs, nor of biaspectual verbs in general, so it was a useful study. Jászay used the following seven contexts to test whether the unprefixed biaspectual verb or its derived imperfective partner is preferred in imperfective contexts:

(1) following a phasal verb, such as стоит читать[i] 'it is worth reading';

(2) in the periphrastic future (i.e. буду читать[i] 'I will read');

(3) concrete process, i.e. я читаю[i] 'I am reading';

(4) repetition in the past, i.e. каждый день я работал[i] 'Every day I worked';

(5) repetition in the present, i.e. каждый день я работаю[i] 'Every day I work';

(6) general-factual meaning, as in Вы когда-нибудь читал[i] Тольстого 'Have you ever read Tolstoy';

(7) and negative imperative meaning, communicating prohibition, for example Не читай[i] мой дневник! 'Don't read my diary!'.

Jászay notes that each pair of verbs shows a different pattern for expressing imperfective aspect. For example, атаковать[i/p] remains strongly biaspectual and can express both perfective and imperfective, despite the presence of атаковывать[i]. On the other end of the

scale, the derived imperfective реализовывать[i] was strongly preferred by native speakers in an imperfective context. The verb организовать[i/p] had the most complex relationship with its derived imperfective организовывать[i]. In the past tense, speakers said that only организовывать[i] can be used to express imperfective aspect. In the present tense, организовывать[i] is also preferred, except in the third person singular, which prefers организует[i] (though организовывает[i] is possible).

Jászay (1999: 169) notes further that aspect is distinct when gerunds and participles are formed from biaspectual verbs, despite the lack of discrete aspectual morphology. Thus, the Past Gerund and past passive participle are always formed from a perfective verb, and the gerund использовав[p] 'having used' and the Past Passive Participle использованный[p] 'used' are unambiguously perfective; likewise, the present gerund and present active and passive participles are formed from imperfective verbs, and thus the gerund используя[i] 'using' and the present passive participle используемый[i] 'being used' are unambiguously imperfective.

Čertkova and Čang note that very often biaspectual verbs active in contemporary life are not properly listed in the dictionary. Either biaspectual verbs do not appear at all in dictionaries, or they are listed incorrectly regarding biaspectuality. Čertkova and Čang sought to study biaspectual verbs listed in the dictionary. The authors began their study by collecting all verbs listed as biaspectual in the Dictionary of the Russian Language (Ožegov 1990). Of the 11680 entries in the dictionary, 460 of them were biaspectual. In addition, the authors analyzed examples from literature, as well as transcripts of radio, television, and daily conversations of native speakers.

There are essentially two types of biaspectual verbs, verbs of Slavic origin and

verbs borrowed from Western European languages. By Čertkova and Čang's count, approximately 10% of all biaspectuals are of Slavic origin (38/460), with the borrowed biaspectuals consituting a large majority of biaspectual verbs. The Slavic verbs tend to have a variety of suffixes, while borrowed verbs end in the verbal stem -овать. Enlarged versions of these suffixes include –ировать and -изировать.

In order to analyze the status of biaspectual verbs, Čertkova and Čang postulated 5 diagnostic contexts to disambiguate aspect in a given utterance:

(1) Concrete process present tense, and

(2) Concrete process past tense, both of which would contextually suggest an imperfective;

(3) Concrete factual past tense, which would contextually suggest a perfective;

(4) Concrete process future, which would definitely require an imperfective in the periphrastic future;

(5) Concrete factual future tense, which would contextually suggest a perfective.

According to the analysis, the verbs fell into four groups:

(1) True biaspectuals, which accounted for 64% (289) of the verbs;

(2) Verbs functioning both as biaspectual and in a verbal pair, which accounted for 26% (123) of biaspectual verbs;

(3) Verbs functioning only as paired verbs (that is, they have developed pairs and lost their biaspectuality), which accounted for 9% (43) of the verbs; and

(4) Verbs functioning not as biaspectual verbs, constituting 1% (5) of all verbs.

The verbs in groups 2 and 3 are of interest to this thesis.

Of the 412 verbs that still function as biaspectual verbs to some degree, approximately one-third exist in verb pairs. By Čertkova and Čang's count, 73% of these paired verbs employ prefixes to form aspectual pairs, while 27% employ suffixes. Čertkova and Čang argue that both biaspectual verbs and their prefixed counterparts can be used in cases where a perfective is required. We will examine later whether this is actually the case, even with verbs of the third group. Biaspectual verbs employ 11 "purely aspectual" prefixes, of a list of 17 in Russkaja grammatika (1980, 586), in order to form aspectual pairs: про-, за, с- (со-), от-, на-, по-, вы-, о-, раз-, об-, у-.

Table 1. Frequency of Prefixes to Form Aspectual Partners for Biaspectual Verbs

	про-	за-	с-	от-	на-	по-	вы-	о-	раз-	об-	у-
number of pairs (98 total)	27	23	18	11	6	5	2	2	2	1	1
percent	28	23	19	11	6	5	2	2	2	1	1

In Table 1, Čertkova and Čang give the number of verbs that form perfectives with each prefix. Some verbs employ more than one "aspectually pure" prefix to form perfective aspectual partners.

Some verbs also use suffixation. Verbs ending in –овать can take have imperfectivizing suffix -ывай. Scholars generally listed only six: арестов(ыв)ать, атаков(ыв)ать, конфисков(ыв)ать, мобилизов(ыв)ать, образов(ыв)ать. Ožegov lists 15, and Čertkova and Čang found 33 (27%). When expressing the present tense, some of these biaspectual verbs often allow both the biaspectual verb and the suffixed pair.

However, in certain cases the suffixed imperfective aspectual partner is required:

(1) Concrete process Future (periphrastic construction with conjugated быть)

(2) Phasal verb constructions requiring infinitive (начинать[i]/начать[p], продолжать[i]/продолжить[p] + infinitive)

(3) With time adverbs such as долго, два часа

(4) With modal verbs such as не следует[i] and не стоит[i].

Some verbs employ both prefixation and suffixation . For example, организовать both организовывать and сорганизовать.

Some biaspectual verbs have both prefixed and suffixed forms, like организовать which has both сорганизовать[p] and организовывать[i]. The prefixed forms are more colloquial. In the development of aspectual pairs, the language "prefers" one form over another, and this preference can develop fairly rapidly.

Čertkova and Čang designate some verbs previously considered biaspectual to be only paired verbs. Some of these verbs include: проанализировать[p], продемонстрировать[p], спровоцировать[p], сформулировать[p], охарактеризовать[p]. Of the 460 verbs, 41 exist in pair-only relationships, i.e. only the perfective partner is used in contexts requiring perfective aspect. We will examine the verb pairs (про)анализировать, (про)демонстрировать and (о)характеризовать later in Section 4.2.

Though a tendency exists for Russian biaspectual verbs to develop aspectual partners, a majority of the verbs listed as biaspectual (69%) continue to be truly biaspectual verbs. Furthermore, Čertkova and Čang argue that biaspectual verbs express only one aspect in any given context. Often the aspect of biaspectual verbs can be

deduced from the context or from syntax, as with the periphrastic future. Russian biaspectual verbs are not anomalous, but are an important part of the lexicon of Russian.

What is not agreed upon is the way in which biaspectual verbs "assimilate" into the Russian verbal system. Once a perfective partner is formed, how is it used? In their statistical study of biaspectual verbs present in Ožegov's 1990 dictionary, Čertkova and Čang found the biaspectual verbs demonstrated varied behavior when deriving aspectual partners. A majority of verbs (284 verbs, or 64%) exhibited "true biaspectuality", that is to say they derive no aspectual partner. More than one-fourth of biaspectual verbs (123 verbs, or 26%) exhibited what Jászay termed "partial biaspectuality", that is they functioned both as biaspectual verbs and as paired verbs. The next largest group (43 verbs, or 9%) functioned as pairs, while 5 verbs functioned as imperfective isolates (Čertkova and Čang 1998: 16).

Jászay (1999: 169-170) has further noted that those verbs of the second largest group, which act both as biaspectual verbs and paired verbs, rarely function as neatly as that. In the previously mentioned case of организовать$^{i/p}$, the derived imperfective организовывать^{i} must be used to signal imperfective in the past tense, but the non-past allows and even prefers the non-derived организует^{i} in the third person singular form to express imperfective aspect. Partial biaspectuality seems to be the fate of those verbs which derive an imperfective partner through suffixation, while prefixation allows for no such variation and requires the verbs to behave as full pairs (Jászay 1999: 176).

Phonology plays an important role in the derivation of an imperfective aspectual partner through the addition of the imperfectivizing suffix -ывай- to the verb stem. Jászay (1999) and Mučnik (1966) both note that the formation of such an imperfective aspectual

partner is dependent upon the verb having stress on the last syllable of the stem. The verbs атакова́ть[i/p] and организова́ть[i/p] are both suffix-stressed verbs, so the formation of imperfective biaspectual partners атако́вывать[i] and организо́вывать[i] is allowed. An interesting formation is the verb испо́льзовать[i/p], which is stem stressed. The verb [?]использовывать[i] can be found in usage, especially on internet journals, but it is marked as incorrect in most dictionaries, when it is acknowledged at all.

Perfectivizing prefixes play a more central role in the formation of a morphologically distinct aspectual partner. Čertkova and Čang (1998: 17) list 11 perfectivizing "empty" prefixes, which are used with biaspectual verbs: про-, за-, с- (со-), от- (ото-), на-, по-, вы-, о-, раз- (разо-, рас-), об- (обо-), у-. Some scholars believe that these prefixes are "purely aspectual" and do not possess any overt lexical meaning of their own (Forsyth 1980). Others believe that perfectivizing prefixes are inherently lexical in meaning (Isačenko 1960, Maslov 1961, Comrie 1982). Čertkova and Čang (1998: 18) note a correlation between the "purely aspectual" prefix and the semantics of the verb it works with. They write, "Оказалось, что приставки, несмотря на их 'чистовидовой', т.е. десемантизированный характер, все же избираются той или иной видовой корреляцией в соответствии с определенной приставочной семантикой." "It seems that prefixes, despite their 'aspectually pure', or their desemanticized character, nevertheless choose one or another aspectual correlation in accordance with the specific semantic meaning of the prefix." More discussion on "purely aspectual" prefixes may be found in section 2.2.

This thesis will mainly focus on the phenomenon of the derivation of aspectual partners for biaspectual verbs. Using data available in the Russian National Corpus, we

will observe current usage of biaspectual verbs and their derived partners, examine the relationship between a biaspectual verb and its derived perfective partner, and see if certain verbal forms prefer the unprefixed base verb or its aspectual partner.

Chapter 3. Research Methodology

In this section, I will explain the methods used to explore further the development of aspectual partners, both through the addition of perfectivizing prefixes and imperfectiving suffix -ывай-. I will explain the methods I used to build upon the work done by Čertkova and Čang (1998) and Janda (2007) concerning semantic overlap between the "empty" prefixes and the biaspectuals verbs they combine with to derive aspectual partners, as well as explore the differences across the paradigm as pointed out by Jászay (1999).

Section 3.1. Data set and Yandex Search

The list of biaspectual verbs used in this project was based on data collected by Cori Anderson (2002). Anderson drew biaspectual verbs from two dictionaries: Ožegov and Švedova (1999) and Zaliznjak (1977). The list contains 941 verbs that one or both dictionaries consider to be biaspectual. The strategy for this thesis was to look primarily at high frequency verbs, because they are likely to provide more examples of derived aspectual partners.

Two methods were used. First, the general frequency of the entire set of 941 biaspectual verbs was established by site frequency on the Russian search engine Yandex (http://www.yandex.ru). Suffixed imperfective forms of all 941 verbs were searched for on Yandex and their frequency was recorded as well. Finally, the top 20 verbs (according to frequency of the base form) were searched, adding the potetially "empty" prefixes described in Section 2.2.

The frequency of each verb was determined by the number of occurrences on Yandex. Yandex (http://www.yandex.ru) is a Russian-based internet search engine with the capability to lemmatize verbs. Unless a search is bounded in quotation marks, Yandex will identify all the possible forms within the verbal paradigm, that is to say, non-past and past tense forms for all persons and numbers, as well as the imperative, participles, and gerunds.

Each unprefixed verb was entered into the search engine. Yandex provides two numbers on its search engine: the number of pages containing some form of the verb, and the number of sites. I chose to use the number of sites, because pages are often copied on websites many times. For example, a website may create a page every time someone posts a message to a forum, thus creating multiple attestations of the same verb. Therefore, I chose to use the number of websites that had an instance of the verb to determine frequency.

I then looked more closely at the verbs with the highest frequency. The top 20 verbs according to the frequency of base verbs on Yandex are listed in Table 1:

Table 2. Frequency of Base Verb Forms on Yandex

Base verb	Frequency of base verb on Yandex
использовать$^{i/p}$	51672
транслировать$^{i/p}$	43750
рекомендовать$^{i/p}$	19264
обещать$^{i/p}$	12732
родить$^{i/p}$	12435
реализовать$^{i/p}$	11906
гарантировать$^{i/p}$	10571
приветствовать$^{i/p}$	10248
специализировать$^{i/p}$	8842
ориентировать$^{i/p}$	8325
фиксировать$^{i/p}$	7415
сочетать$^{i/p}$	7351
женить$^{i/p}$	7299
демонстрировать$^{i/p}$	7270
характеризовать$^{i/p}$	7225
исследовать$^{i/p}$	6646
велеть$^{i/p}$	5877
анализировать$^{i/p}$	5516
оборудовать$^{i/p}$	5288
ранить$^{i/p}$	5282

I utilized this set in an attempt to find perfective forms, which will be discussed later in Section 4.2.

I also searched at this time for the frequency of imperfective verbs derived by suffixation from biaspectual stems on Yandex. The frequency of the base verb was not considered, only the imperfectivized form. Verb with over 1,000 hits for the imperfectivized form were considered.

Table 3. Frequency of Base Verb and Derived Imperfective Forms on Yandex[2]

Verb	Frequency of Base Verbs on Yandex	Frequency of Imperfectivized Verbs on Yandex
реализовать$^{i/p}$	11906	11905
нормализовать$^{i/p}$	1797	1765
аттестовать$^{i/p}$	1972	1757
сообразоваться$^{i/p}$	1038	1710
нейтрализовать$^{i/p}$	2009	1666
локализовать$^{i/p}$	1515	1628
мобилизовать$^{i/p}$	1622	1625
парализовать$^{i/p}$	2291	1607
авторизовать$^{i/p}$	1816	1562
реорганизовать$^{i/p}$	1549	1538
ассигновать$^{i/p}$	1496	1537
легализовать$^{i/p}$	1689	1536
аккредитовать$^{i/p}$	1817	1394
конфисковать$^{i/p}$	1450	1392
демобилизовать$^{i/p}$	1388	1324
центровать$^{i/p}$	1689	1300
дезорганизовать$^{i/p}$	1215	1223
атаковать$^{i/p}$	4722	1171
материализовать$^{i/p}$	1443	1012

It is important to note that scholars, as well as the dictionaries cited by Anderson (2002) often differ in categorizing verbs as biaspectual or non-biaspectual. The verbs анализировать$^{i/p}$ ‘analyze’ and демонстрировать$^{i/p}$ ‘demonstrate’ are listed as imperfective by Zaliznjak (1977), while Ožegov and Švedova (1999) list the verbs as biaspectual with a note that both verbs employ the prefix про- to develop a perfective aspectual partner. Also, Ožegov and Švedova (1999) list фиксировать$^{i/p}$ ‘fix, set’ as imperfective except in the past tense and in the infinitive form. The verb атаковать$^{i/p}$ ‘attack’ is listed both by Zaliznjak (1977) and Ožegov and Švedova (1999) as biaspectual; Čertkova and Čang (1998: 21) cite

[2] In instances where the frequencies for the base biaspectual verb and its aspectual partner derived by an imperfectivizing suffix are the same or very close, the lemmatizing dictionary for Yandex considers them to be an aspectual pair. Although the numbers cannot really give us statistically useful information, it is interesting that the search engine considers the verbs to be an aspectual pair.

their own work, as well as work of previous scholars to argue that this verb атаковать^{p} is perfective with the imperfective aspectual partner атаковывать^{i}. Jászay (1999: 173) states that in his survey, native speakers preferred the unsuffixed form атаковать$^{i/p}$ in situations requiring imperfective. This disparity comes as no surprise; Jászay (1999: 169) remarks that frequently dictionaries do not agree on the status of biaspectual verbs. I chose to include all these verbs, and I will analyze contemporary usage to see whether they are truly biaspectual, partially biaspectual, or rely solely on a prefixed partner to express perfective aspect or a suffixed partner to express imperfective aspect. A further analysis of partial biaspectuality with regard to these verbs can be found in Chapter 4.

The difficulty in using Yandex, or any internet search engine, is the abundance of questionable forms. It is easy to find isolated examples of prefixed biaspectual verbs, which may be used in an ironic sense or are simply ungrammatical. It was therefore necessary to set up criteria by which we might separate ad-hoc creations from well-attested items. I utilized Yandex again with the first group to find any prefixed forms. When relatively few occurrences (fewer than 100 hits) were found, it seemed reasonable to assume that the prefixed verb is not well-established in the lexicon. One would hope that the "correct" prefixed forms might have a relatively higher frequency than other prefixed forms. The goal of this search was to discover how many prefixed forms are possible, but rather to identify candidates warranting further examination.

When searching for prefixed perfectives, a number of rarely attested examples appeared. Most dictionaries do not recognize the forms discussed in this section, so it was necessary to sort through the data to eliminate ad-hoc verbs created by authors. Since the goal was to find Natural Perfectives, it was also necessary to identify and eliminate

Specialized Perfectives (that is to say, perfective verbs where the meaning of the verb is altered by the additional meaning added by the prefix, and thus lexically distinct from the base verb) and Complex Act Perfectives.

I used as input all of the Top 20 verbs with each prefix added. The data follows below. (Please note, the data is presented in two tables.)

Table 4. Frequency of Top 20 Verbs with Prefixes on Yandex

TOP VERBS	Base Verb	Imper-fective	в	вз-/воз-	вы-	до-	за-	из-	на-	о-/об	от-	пере-	по-	при-	про-	раз-	с-	у-
использовать$^{i/p}$	51672	340	67	0	42	252	182	3	34	2	29	518	1476	3	55	0	71	17
транслировать$^{i/p}$	43750	2	0	0	3	4	52	0	24	132	1373	891	95	0	1014	2	426	1
рекомендовать$^{i/p}$	19264	81	21	1	4	12	2526	3	350	62	1088	6	2327	18	127	46	60	2
обещать$^{i/p}$	12732	0	5	0	10	49	59	14	741	6	8	121	4146	819	186	42	1	1
родить$^{i/p}$	12435	12435	943	99	988	399	424	205	350	4	1088	6	2327	18	127	46	60	2
реализовать$^{i/p}$	11906	11905	2	0	5		11	0	58	39	9	29	41	0	5	1	18	1
гарантировать$^{i/p}$	10571	0	6	0	2	11	96	1	31	20	16	8	24	4	1550	0	32	5
приветствовать$^{i/p}$	10248	0	7	59	0	11	71	0	11	64	24	2		0	24	0	3	1
специализировать$^{i/p}$	8842	1	7	0	3	43	50	12	134	31	30	187	21	3	64	4	53	6
ориентировать$^{i/p}$	8325	9	0	0	0	17	7	1	14	42	8	1825	138	1	37	270	2210	0
фиксировать$^{i/p}$	7415	0	1	0	0	42	5259	2	27	9	1286	34	81	109	98	539	111	2
сочетать$^{i/p}$	7351	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	60	3	0	3	34	3	60	0	48?	1
женить$^{i/p}$	7299	0	0	4	49	40	122	193	87	968	1161	1284	1019	79	133		42	69
демонстрировать$^{i/p}$	7270	1	1	0	1	22	43	1	23	39	17	1	492	9	5664	3	1	2
характеризовать$^{i/p}$	7225	119	4	1	1	1	8	0	2	2698	63	1	0	1	7	4	124	0
исследовать$^{i/p}$	6646	5	1	0	5		31	3	314	1	6	120	1292	7	197	1	0	5
велеть$^{i/p}$	5877	0	76	3	7	19	17	3	18	64	77	1	2134	127	115	40	91	100
анализировать$^{i/p}$	5516	3	5	0	4	128	80	6	287	12	21	119	1155	2	3905	10	36	2
оборудовать$^{i/p}$	5288	6	6	0	0	1926	2	0	4	0	1	1748	5	3	1	156	4	2
ранить$^{i/p}$	5282	0	0	1	762	77	419	1237	154	0	22	517	984	142	295	8	1315	0

The highlighted forms were considered high enough in correspondence to total frequency to deserve at least second consideration. It would be necessary to verify each of the examples found on Yandex with native speakers, in order to determine whether the example is legitimate. The search engine Yandex can provide no guarantees to the linguistic background of the speaker or the quality of writing he or she produces. Data from Yandex might best be utilized then with additional input from native speakers. Therefore it was deemed better to search for examples of the above forms on the RNC.

Section 3.2. Russian National Corpus

The Russian National Corpus (http://www.ruscorpora.ru) is a corpus collected primarily from newspapers, magazines, and literature, as well as personal letters and some conversation. At the time that this paper was written, the corpus contained more than 140 million words. The corpus' search engine is the same as Yandex's search engine, and thus it automatically searches for all verbal forms, and also allows for searching according to grammatical and sematic tags. Unlike Yandex, which provides unedited data from any breed of website, RNC contains only works that have been edited. There are positive and negative aspects to each resource; RNC provides mostly edited, written works, at the expense of writing that might be deemed too colloquial. Yandex provides access to a large number of websites, including blogs, which can provide insights into words that might appear more often in colloquial speech.

The potential candidates for Natural Perfectives as determind by the search on Yandex were entered into the RNC's search engine described in section 3.1. The frequency of the following forms is below:

Table 5. Frequency of Prefixed Forms on the RNC

Verb	Number of Attestations on the RNC	Verb	Number of Attestations on the RNC
доиспользовать[р]	1	сориентировать	122
заиспользовать[р]	0	отфиксировать[р]	0
переиспользоватье	0	прификсироватье	0
поиспользоватье	0	расфиксировать[р]	0
отранслировать[р]	0	сфиксировать[р]	0
оттранслировать[р]	0	подемонстрировать[р]	0
перетранслировать[р]	0	продемонстрировать	2000
протранслировать[р]	0	охарактеризовать	800
странслировать[р]	0	схаратеризовать[р]	0
зарекомендовать[р]	0	доисследовать	4
нарекомендовать[р]	0	наисследовать[р]	1
отрекомендовать	400	переисследовать[р]	1
порекомендовать	400	поисследоватье	3
прорекомендовать[р]	0	происследовать[р]	0
наобещать[р]	65	повелеть	2000
переобещать[р]	0	привелеть[р]	0
пообещать	2000	провелеть[р]	0
прообещать[р]	0	увелеть[р]	0
вродить[р]	0	доанализировать[р]	0
выродить[р]	21	наанализировать[р]	0
дорадить[р]	0	переанализировать[р]	1
зародить[р]	1	поанализировать[р]	1
изродить[р]	0	проанализировать	1000
народить	112	дооборудовать[р]	7
отродить[р]	3	переоборудовать	197
породить[р]	70	разоборудовать[р]	0
прородить[р]	0	выранить[р]	0
дореализовать[р]	1	заранить[р]	0
прогарантировать[р]	5	изранить	300
поприветствовать	154	наранить[р]	0
наспециализировать[р]	0	переранить[р]	22
переспециализировать	0	поранить	186
переориентировать	128	приранить[р]	0
зафиксировать	1000	проранить[р]	0
переориентировать	128	сранить[р]	0
разориентировать[р]	1		

Of the 20 verbs searched, it appears that 12 verbs have possible candidates for Natural Perfectives, which were defined as prefixed verbs with over 100 hits on RNC. Some perfectives are well established in the literature and do not warrant further

examination. The verb обещать is for the most part imperfective, and has the Natural Perfective пообещать. The verb родить is almost always perfective, except in the gnomic present tense, where it has the imperfective рождать (Timberlake 2004: 44). However, I chose to include these verbs so that they might serve as a guideline to see whether or not one could deduce the Natural Perfective of any verb simply based on the frequency.

Chapter 4. Analysis

In this chapter, the data collected on biaspectual verbs that form prefixed perfective partners will be analyzed. In section 4.1, problematic data and verbs considered to be possible Natural Perfectives will be singled out and discussed. In section 4.2, I will discuss the formation of perfective partners to biaspectual verbs. Particular attention will be paid to the Past Passive Participle and Past Gerund in determining the span of the perfective partner. In section 4.3, I will attempt to explain how the perfective partner is formed; that is to say, why a prefix (or some prefixes) is chosen over others to form the Natural Perfective. I will also discuss work done by Langacker (2005) on conceptual overlap.

Section 4.1. Data

The use of prefixes to form innovative perfectives from biaspectual verbs is not restricted to fiction. Journalists frequently use forms created from prefixed biaspectual forms, especially when using the past passive participle and the infinitive. Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999: 258) attribute the formation of prefixed perfectives from many biaspectuals to the need for greater clarity. They give examples such as:

> **проигнорированы**^{P} факты ‘the facts were ignored’
>
> **профинансировать**^{P} изготовление для каждого депутат нагрудного знака ‘to finance the manufacture of a lapel badge for each deputy’ (Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade 1999:258)

Here, the usage of the prefix про- clarifies that the action is perfective. The prefix

про- is the most common prefix used to form Natural Perfectives from biaspectual stems, according to the statistical analysis by Čertkova and Čang (1997). This is especially true in the case of the Past Passive Participle, which always expresses the perfective aspect. It appears that writers and journalists employ prefixes to express the concept of perfectivity in more concrete, morphological terms.

Below is another example of the employment of про- in a Past Passive Participle.

> Во-первых президент об этом высказался его позиция была **протранслирована**$^{\mathbf{p}}$ в СМИ сегодня он еще утром на заседании на встрече с представителями правительства еще раз об этом сказал.
>
> First of all, the president expressed his position about this. His position was transmitted in the media. He is still meeting this morning and at the meeting with representatives of the government he spoke about this again.
>
> А. Илларионов, А. Венедиктов. Беседа А. Венедиктова с А. Илларионовым в эфире радиостанции "Эхо Москвы", Москва (2003–2004)

Here, we see that the president's position was transmitted by the mass media. To emphasize this movement from one place to another, the speaker uses the prefix про-. The example is taken from natural speech, which is perhaps is freer still in allowing for innovative perfectives than written works.

It is clear from the searches done in Chapter 3 that biaspectual verbs are, at the very least, forming new prefixed perfectives. The difficulty lies in determining whether the relationship between the biaspectual verb and its perfective counterpart is primarily aspectual or lexical. In other words, are the newly formed perfectives Natural Perfectives, Specialized Perfectives, or Complex Act

Perfectives. As discussed in Section 2.3, Jászay (1999: 174) demonstrated that a biaspectual verb may have a derived imperfective, which might not necessarily serve as the imperfective for all purposes. He termed this relationship “partial biaspectuality”. In this section, we will look at the possible perfective partners corresponding to the high-frequency verbs which brought up over 100 hits on the RNC.

Table 6. Top 20 Prefixed Biaspectual Verbs with >100 hits[3].

Verb	Number of Attestations on RNC
зарекомендовать	400
порекомендовать	400
сориентироватъ	100
пообещать	2000
поприветствовать	154
переориентировать	128
зафиксировать	1000
продемонстрировать	2000
охарактеризовать	800
повелеть	2000
проанализировать	1000
переоборудовать	197
народить	112
изранить	300
поранить	186

The RNC makes it possible to search for specific verbal forms by taking advantage of its grammatical attributes feature. This allowed me to search for the Past Passive Participle by checking the features for past (прошедшее время), passive (страдательный залог), and participle (причастие). The following data was collected from the search.

[3] RNC cannot provide specific numbers for forms at or above 300, so all attestations numbering 300 above are approximate

Table 7. Comparison of Typically Perfective Verbal Forms on Russian National Corpus.

Verb	Infinitive	Past Passive Participle	Past Gerund	Past tense	Non-past tense	Total
характеризовать$^{i/p}$	155	13	0	200	713	1081
охарактеризовать^{p}	363	194	14	319	30	920
демонстрировать$^{i/p}$	446	13	1	817	1201	2478
продемонстрировать^{p}	667	297	85	1115	37	2201
велеть$^{i/p}$	144	0	0	0	2079	2223
повелеть^{p}	58	3[4]	21	592	82	756
анализировать$^{i/p}$	655	22	0	315	350	1342
проанализировать^{p}	528	314	132	201	100	1275
ориентировать$^{i/p}$	69	2051	0	41	97	2258
сориентировать^{p}	33	69	4	13	8	127
фиксировать$^{i/p}$	223	636	0	237	435	1531
зафиксировать^{p}	296	1872	12	308	13	2501
рекомендовать$^{i/p}$	475	618	4	1094	1557	3748
зарекомендовать^{p}	30	4	6	239	11	290
порекомендовать^{p}	137	2	6	281	55	481

It is interesting to note that there are no attestations of the unprefixed biaspectual verbs forming the Past Gerund, with the exception of рекомендовать and демонстрировать. Furthermore, the Past Passive Participle is again more probably to be formed from the prefixed form, with the exceptions being рекомендовать.

It appears that the prefixed form is used in more Past Passive Participles and Past Gerunds, because the unprefixed verb relies on this candidate for Natural Perfective in order to express more clearly the perfectivity of the participle or gerund. In cases where the unprefixed verb does from the Past Passive Participle and Past Gerund, it is most likely because the prefixed verbs are not functioning as Natural Perfectives in those parts of the verbal paradigm, or at all. We turn now to some examples of Past Passive

[4] The verb велеть 'order' in Modern Russian does not form the Past Passive Participle, and is typically followed by a verb in the infinitive describing the action ordered. The three instances of the PPP being formed from повелеть were from 1800 or before.

Participles and Past Gerunds in order to support this claim.

The verb рекомендовать and its prefixed partners are a good place to start, because it does not appear that either of the perfectives serve as a Natural Perfective. Of the approximately 400 examples of зарекомендовать, about 350 are immediately followed by себя.

> В числе участников много велосипедистов, которые несмотря на молодость, успели хорошо **зарекомендовать**^{P} себя.
>
> "Among the representatives are a number of bicyclists, who, despite being young, managed to represent themselves quite well."
>
> А. Литвайтис. Младшая сестра велогонки мира, "Советский спорт", 1971.06.10

In Modern Russian, the verb зарекомендоватъ can only have the meaning of representing oneself well or proving oneself to others. It would then appear that зарекомендоватъ is either a) a Specialized Perfective, or b) a Natural Perfective to the unprefixed biaspectual verb рекомендовать, but only in the meaning of ‘to represent oneself (well)’, or c) both a Specialized Perfective and a Natural Perfective. When I searched for зарекомендовывать on Yandex, the form is attested, with the infinitive having approximately 267 hits. This would suggest that a Specialized Perfective is possible, though perhaps fairly rare.

On the other hand, порекомендовать has no attested constructions with себя on RNC, and only one attestation of a derived imperfective порекомендовывать on Yandex. This would suggest it functions as a Natural Perfective in certain contexts. It most often governs inanimate objects, infinitive verbs, or adverbial phrases. The verb порекомендовать corresponds to the meanings ‘recommend sth.’ and ‘advise’. However, in any case, no one prefixed form of the verb рекомендовать has replaced the base form

in the formation of Past Passive Participles or Past Gerunds. I will further discuss the case of рекомендовать and its perfectives in Section 4.2.

The verb демонстрировать has no attestations of the Past Passive Participles and the one attestation of a Past Gerund is from over a century ago.

> Против него на козетке фигурировала пикантная пейзанка, кокетливо **демонстрировав** свою миниатюрную ботинку из-под шемизетки, и цитировала что-то из литературного альбома с гравюрами.
>
> Лейкин Н.А. Из записной книжки отставного приказчика Касьяна Яманова (1874)
>
> Across from him on the love seat appeared a zesty peasant woman, showing her miniature boot from under her chemisette flirtatiously, she then quoted something from a literary album with engravings.

However, продемонстрировать^{p} is well attested, both in forming the Past Passive Participle and the Past Gerund. In the example below, the Past Passive Participle of the prefixed verb продемонстрировать^{p} is used.

> Адвокаты пророчествуют, что в этот день "будет продемонстрирована несостоятельность судебного процесса над журналистом".
>
> Lawyers predict that on that day "the failure of the judicial process for journalists will be demonstrated."
>
> Вячеслав Морозов, Адмирал ФСБ. "Наш современник". 2004.

It would appear then that, at least for the purpose of forming the Past Passive Participle and Past Gerund, демонстрировать$^{i/p}$ requires its perfective partner продемонстрировать^{p} to express the perfective aspect.

In the next section, we will take a closer look by examining the overall paradigm of each verb.

Section 4.2. Case Studies

In this chapter, I describe the study I undertook to examine the relationships between a biaspectual verb and its derived prefixed perfective partner. These case studies complement the work done by Jászay on biaspectual verbs and imperfectives derived from them. As mentioned before in section 2.3, Jászay relied on syntactic restrictions in order to examine constructions that allowed only for imperfective verbs. He also relied on the intuitions of native speakers. For the purpose of this thesis, I take a more restricted approach. I compare the Past Passive Participle (PPP) and Past Gerund (PaG), which are solely perfective by their morphological nature. I gathered data from the Russian National Corpus and compared the frequency of both the unprefixed, base biaspectual verb and its prefixed perfective partner in forming the PPP and PaG.

Jászay argues that borrowed biaspectual verbs regularly develop aspectual partners, though with varying behaviors that could easily be listed in dictionaries. He also proposes that when a biaspectual verb develops a perfective aspectual partner through prefixation, the verb is no longer biaspectual at all, but when a biaspectual verb develops an imperfective partner, it can remain a biaspectual verb. The research portion of this thesis will try to test these hypotheses by employing actual data available through the Russian search engine Yandex and the Russian National Corpus.

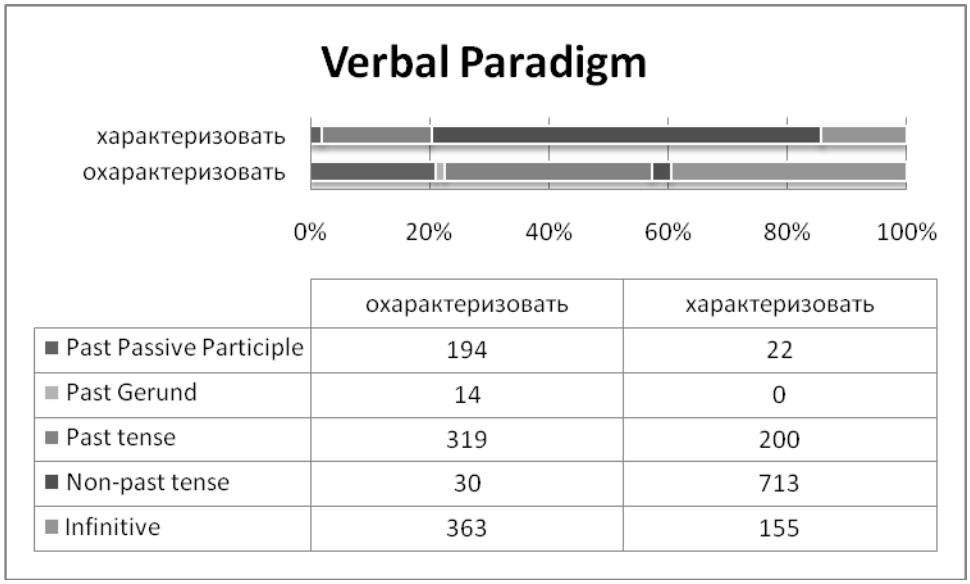
The data used here was gathered from the RNC. The RNC facilitates searches defined by grammatical features, which allowed me to filter the results to include only Past Passive Participles and Past Gerunds. On the search page, one may select grammatical features to search for. As an example, when I searched for the Past Passive Participle, I typed the infinitive in the input box and then checked grammatical feature

boxes for прошедшее время (past tense), страдательный залог (passive voice) and форма: причастие (participle form) to return the Past Passive Participle. The results then gave me all possible forms, included short forms and declined forms in the various cases.

In this section, we will examine the relationship between the unprefixed biaspectual verb and its prefixed perfective partner verb, by examining the number of PPPs and PaGs each verb forms. Six verbs were considered, which came from the Top 20 verbs by frequency from the original search on the web. The verb pairs are: характеризовать (охарактеризовать), демонстрировать (продемонстрировать), анализировать (проанализировать), ориентировать (сориентировать), фиксировать (зафиксировать), рекомендовать (зарекомендовать, порекомендовать).
Each verb was examined as a case study, in order to see if biaspectual verbs related to their perfective partners in a consistent fashion, or if the relationship of a biaspectual verb to its perfective partner could vary from other biaspectual verbs.

In this first presentation of the data, we will examine the different forms created from the prefixed perfective verbs. We will concentrate especially on the ratio of PPPs and PaGs formed from the base biaspectual verb to those formed by the prefixed biaspectual verb, since these forms are perfective regardless of the verb they are formed from.

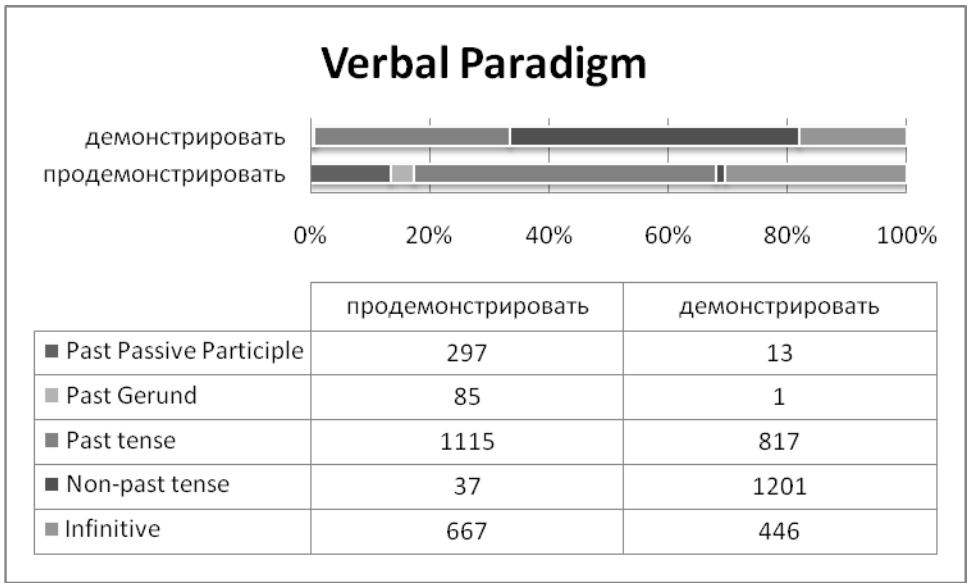
Figure 1. Comparison of Verbal Forms from характеризовать$^{i/p}$/охарактеризовать^{p}



	охарактеризовать	характеризовать
Past Passive Participle	194	22
Past Gerund	14	0
Past tense	319	200
Non-past tense	30	713
Infinitive	363	155

There were 14 instances of the Past Gerund formed from охарактеризовать, while none were formed from характеризовать. In the figure above, you can see that охарактеризовать accounts for over 194/218 (94%) of the PPPs formed. The prefixed perfective охарактеризовать was used to form approximately 94% of the PPP. Furthermore, 10/22 (45%) the instances of характеризовать forming the PPP were from before 1936, while only 18/195 (9%) of instances formed from охарактеризовать are from the same period. The earliest instance of охарактеризовать forming the PPP is from 1836. It appears that in the formation of the PaG, the prefixed perfective partner is the only verb used and in the formation of the PPP it is strongly preferred.

Figure 2. Comparison of Verbal Forms from демонстрировать$^{i/p}$/продемонстрировать^{p}



	продемонстрировать	демонстрировать
Past Passive Participle	297	13
Past Gerund	85	1
Past tense	1115	817
Non-past tense	37	1201
Infinitive	667	446

The verb демонстрировать exhibits a similar profile to характеризовать$^{i/p}$. Only the prefixed perfective is used in forming the PaG, and it is strongly preferred in forming the PPP. The only instance of the PaG being formed from the base verb in the corpus is from 1874, while the first instance of продемонстрировав^{p} is from 1930.

In the formation of the PPP, the prefixed perfective is more commonly used. Almost 96% of instances of PPP were formed from the prefixed perfective продемонстрировать^{p}. In the case of демонстрировать$^{i/p}$, 12/13 instances were after 1966, so it appears that forming the PPP from the unprefixed verb is still possible, just not nearly as common.

The one example of the Past Gerund formed from the verb демонстрировать is actually imperfective.

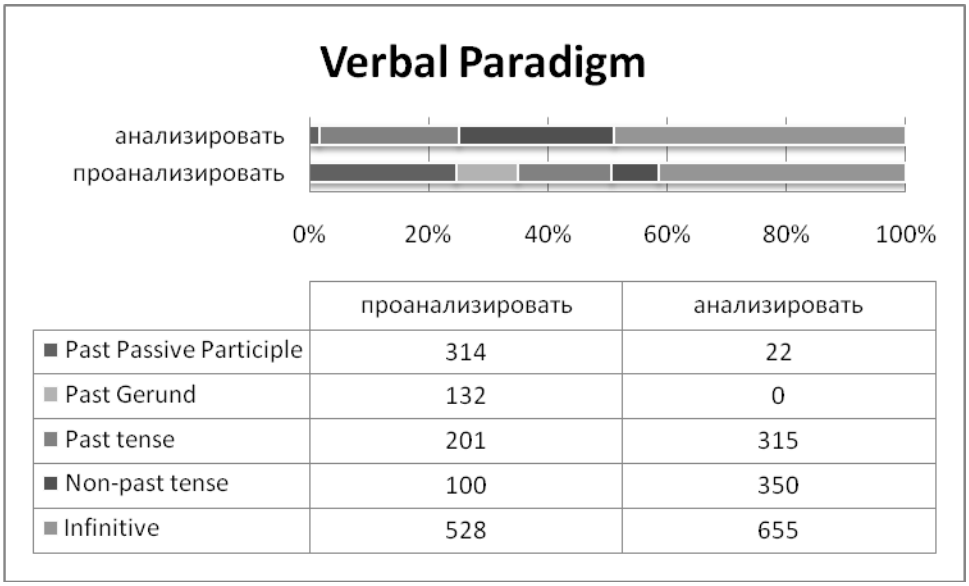
> Против него на козетке фигурировала пикантная пейзанка, кокетливо демонстрировав свою миниатюрную ботинку из-под шемизетки, и цитировала что-то из литературного альбома с гравюрами.

Лейкин Н.А. Из записной книжки отставного приказчика Касьяна Яманова (1874)

> Across from him on the love seat appeared a zesty peasant woman, showing her miniature boot from under her chemisette flirtatiously, she then quoted something from a literary album with engravings.

In this instance the Past Gerund is expressing an imperfective aspect. It was possible to form a Past Gerund from an imperfective verb prior to Modern Russian. The example is composed mainly of foreign words derived from French and the use of a non-native biaspectual verb to form an imperfective Past Gerund may further contribute to the foreignness of the prose, or its use may simply attest to the author's poor grasp of Russian stylistics. Beside this example, Past Gerunds are exclusively formed from продемонстрировать in the data.

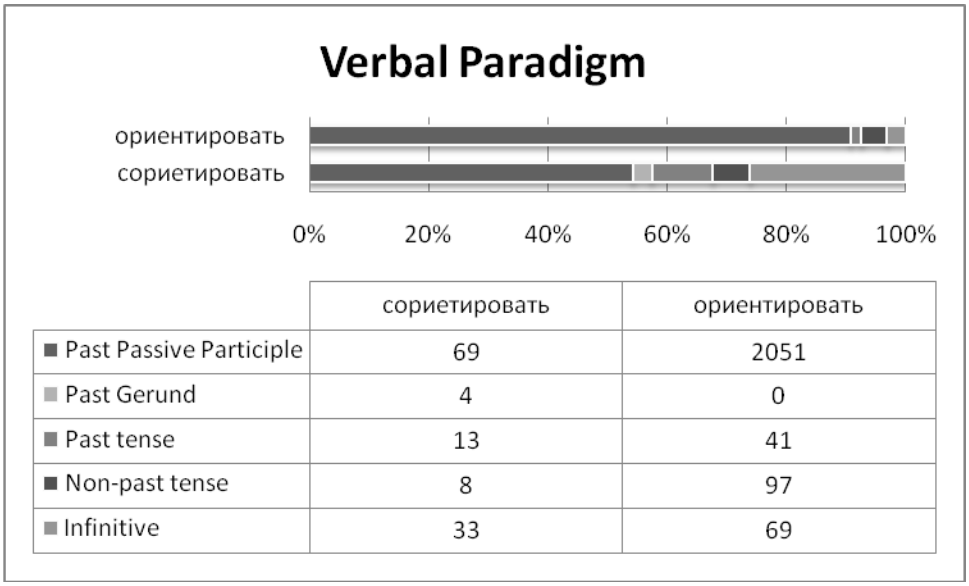
Figure 3. Comparison of Verbal Forms from анализировать$^{i/p}$/проанализироват^{p}



	проанализировать	анализировать
Past Passive Participle	314	22
Past Gerund	132	0
Past tense	201	315
Non-past tense	100	350
Infinitive	528	655

The unprefixed verb анализировать does not form any PaGs, and very few PPPs. Of the instances of PPP formed from the base biaspectual verb анализировать, only 8/22 were from after 1955, while 310 instances of PPP formed from проанализировать were from after 1955. These data confirm Čertkova and Čang, suggesting that анализировать is functioning, at least in regard to the formation of the PPP and PaG, as a paired verb with проанализировать.

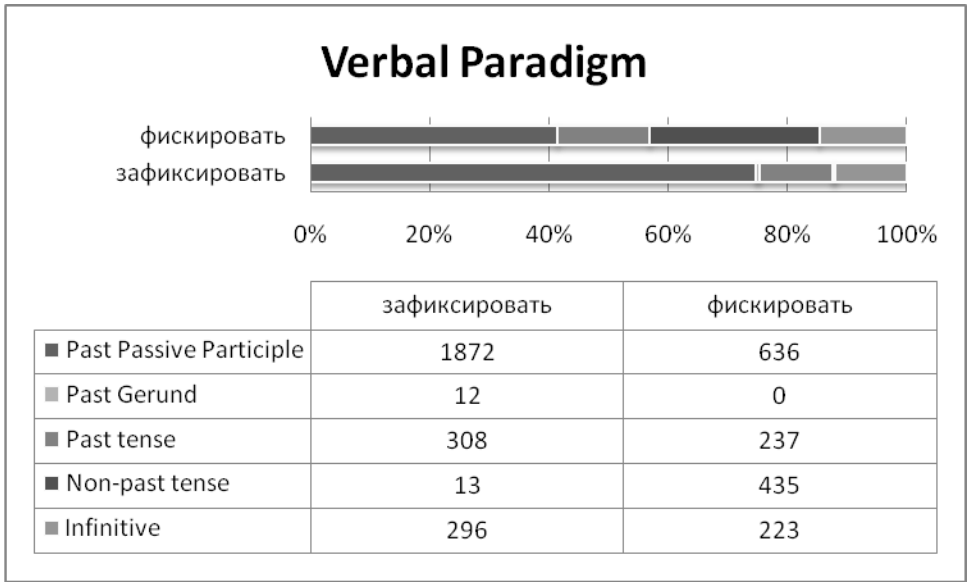
Figure 4. Comparison of Verbal Forms from ориентировать$^{i/p}$/сориентировать^{p}



	сориетировать	ориентировать
Past Passive Participle	69	2051
Past Gerund	4	0
Past tense	13	41
Non-past tense	8	97
Infinitive	33	69

The verb ориентировать exhibited different behavior from the previous verbs. There were 4 instances of the PaG, all of which were formed from the prefixedverb сориентировать^{p}. Furthermore 2051 (97%) instances of the PPP were formed from the unprefixed base verb ориентировать. Clearly, ориентировать$^{i/p}$ is used primarily to form the PPP and сориентировать is an option in the formation of the PaG, however, it is unclear whether ориентировать is relying on сориентировать as a sole partner for the other forms. In any case, ориентировать and сориентировать do not function as a true aspectual pair, and ориентировать apparently continues to function as a biaspectual verb.

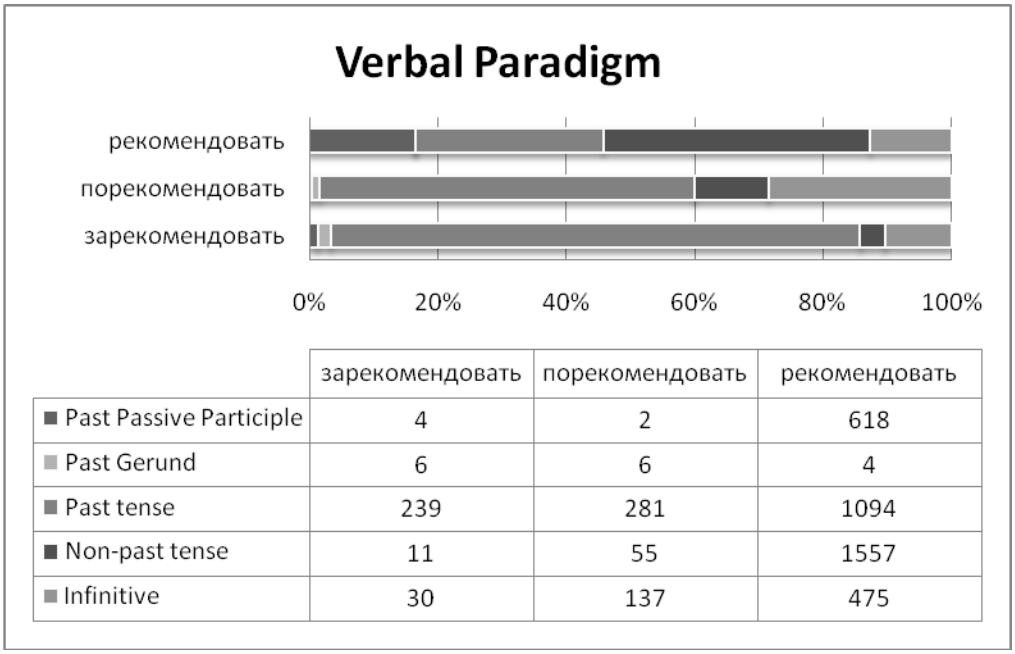
Figure 5. Comparison of Verbal Forms from фиксировать$^{i/p}$/зафиксировать^{p}



	зафиксировать	фискировать
Past Passive Participle	1872	636
Past Gerund	12	0
Past tense	308	237
Non-past tense	13	435
Infinitive	296	223

The verb фиксировать^{p} and its perfective partner зафиксировать^{p} is not listed as a relationship in Ožegov and Švedova. It appears that зафиксировать is the Natural Perfective to at least some of the meanings of фиксировать, as no Past Gerunds were formed from фиксировать$^{i/p}$, while 12 were formed from зафиксировать^{p}. However, 636 instances of the PPP formed from фиксировать are attested, so it appears that in regards to this form, it is still functioning as a biaspectual verb. Another argument for фиксировать$^{i/p}$ still functioning as a biaspectual verb is the relative lack of Non-past tense forms created from зафиксировать^{p}. Again, one would have to parse the Non-past tense attestations of фиксировать to determine if there are any perfective future-tense forms. It may be the case that the verb is simply not used very often in the future tense as a perfective, but this cannot be determined without analyzing all the examples.

Figure 6. Comparison of Verbal Forms from рекомендовать$^{i/p}$/порекомендовать^{p}/зарекомендовать^{p}



	зарекомендовать	порекомендовать	рекомендовать
Past Passive Participle	4	2	618
Past Gerund	6	6	4
Past tense	239	281	1094
Non-past tense	11	55	1557
Infinitive	30	137	475

The verb рекомендовать$^{i/p}$ has зарекомендовать^{i} listed as a potential Natural Perfective. I also found 481 attestations of the verb порекомендовать^{p}, which was not listed as a Natural Perfective. A majority of the PPP formed by the verbs were formed from рекомендовать^{p}. By looking at the PPP and PaG, one may conclude that, at least for these forms, рекомендовать^{p} is still functioning as a biaspectual verb.

Part of the problem may lie in the polysemous nature of рекомендовать$^{i/p}$. It really has several meanings: a) to recommend something, b) to advise someone, or c) to recommend/represent oneself well. The verb зарекомендовать^{p} has this meaning: all attestations involved the construction зарекомендовать себя ‘to represent oneself well’. The perfective порекомендовать^{p} often has the first two meanings. Many dictionaries have also noted Natural Perfective отрекомендовать^{p}, which was attested only once in the RNC. In the case of these perfectives, it would be especially useful to examine the

past tense usages to see if рекомендовать is treating either of these truly as Natural Perfectives (as Ožegov claims for the prefixed perfective зарекомендовать) or they are merely variants, with рекомендовать$^{i/p}$ still functioning as a biaspectual verb.

4.2.1. Summary of Case Studies

In general, three relationships among base and prefixed biaspectual verbs can be observed: 1) a heavy reliance on the prefixed biaspectual verb to form the PPP and PaG, as with анализировать$^{i/p}$ and демонстрировать$^{i/p}$; 2) the base biaspectual verb still playing a perfective role in the formation of PPP but relatively few attestations of the PaG, as with ориентировать$^{i/p}$, фиксировать and, arguably, характеризовать$^{i/p}$; and 3) biaspectual verbs still forming a large percentage of both PaG and PPP, as with рекомендовать$^{i/p}$.

These groups might suggest a hierarchy in the development of the perfective partners. In our data, the Past Gerund was always formed from the prefixed partner more often than the Past Passive Participle, which was sometimes formed from the base biaspectual verb. This hierarchy fits line with a general trend noted by Tore Nesset (2006) in the stem shift of Russian verbs. Verbs such as махать(ся) are slowly but surely changing from unproductive a-stems to aj-stems. In his data, the forms seemed to show a general trend of development: Gerund > Imperfective > other finite forms > 1 singular (non-past) > 3 plural (non-past) > 3 singular (non-past). Thus, changes in the verbal stem were generally noted first in the Gerunds and later in other forms, beginning with less typical members of the verbal paradigm and slowly shifting to more prototypical members. However, there is simply not enough data from the RNC to prove such a claim at this time: the data we gathered was heavily weighted towards data from the past 15 years, as electronic sources make it easier to gather this material. However, it would be interesting to test this hypothesis with a corpus with a larger spread of data over time.

Also, this data is in line with research done onverbs. Scholars in recent years have

noted the tendency both in children and in adults to use particular forms of verbs more often than others (Tomasello 1992, Rice and Newman 1999). It appears that with biaspectual verbs, the behavior of aspectual inflection is different for each verb.

Section 4.3. Possible Motivation

Perfectivizing prefixes play an important role in the the formation of a morphologically distinct aspectual partner for biaspectual verbs. Čertkova and Čang (1998: 17) list 11 perfectivizing "empty" prefixes, which are used with biaspectual verbs: про-, за-, с- (со-), от- (ото-), на-, по-, вы-, о-, раз- (разо-, рас-), об- (обо-), у-. Some scholars do not claim that these prefixes are empty at all, but rather possess a lexical meaning (Isačenko 1960: 147, Comrie 1981: 88).

Langacker (2003) discusses a similar phenomenon in a more general sense. He writes about the conceptual overlap that can exist between two component structures. Langacker claims that "correspondences between component structures indicate **conceptual overlap**: corresponding entities each project to the same entity at the composite structure level" (Langacker 2003: 9). He goes on to argue that the components of this structure should not be thought of as distinct units cobbled together to form a composite structure. Instead, they overlap in meaning, and are separated into parts simply for the purpose of having a symbolic language to describe the situation.

Conceptual overlap may be applicable to the prefixes used to derived perfective partners. Despite the claim that prefixes are "aspectually pure", it may in fact be the case that there is strong conceptual overlap between the prefix and the unprefixed verb. Since the difference between the base verb and its Natural Perfective is simply aspectual, the lexical meaning of the entire construction of prefix plus verb stem is traditionally attributed to the base verb, and the prefix is felt to be lexically empty and merely serves a grammatical purpose.

One example of this reading of grammatical markers is the auxiliary verb 'do' in

English. It often appears only in certain grammatical constructions: questions “Did he finish?” (cf. “he finished”), or negated sentences “I do not see it” (cf. non-negated “I see it.”) Because the auxiliary ‘do’ often serves a grammatical purpose, it has been considered to be meaningless (Langacker 2003: 10). However, as Langacker observes, this is not the case. Rather, there is extremely concise conceptual overlap between the verb “do” and the verb it is representing. Langacker cites another example in English, “They do”. In this example, the verb “do” could be profiling any verb. They may read books, enjoy soft rock, or support President Bush. The auxiliary verb “do” does not differ depending on the verb it profiles, and the conceptual overlap between the profiled verb and “do” is complete.

A similar reading may inform us of the status of the “empty” prefix in Russian. “Empty” or “aspectually pure” prefixes are claimed to be devoid of lexical meaning and serve a grammatical purpose. However, what if the prefix chosen does have meaning and does not serve only a grammatical purpose, but rather overlaps conceptually with the verb it perfectivizes? As stated before, many scholars have argued for this reading, and Čertkova and Čang (1999: 18) address it: “Оказалось, что приставки, несмотря на их ‘чистовидовой’, т.е. десемантизированный характер, все же избираются той или иной видовой корреляцией в соотвествии с определенной приставочной семантикой.” “It seems that prefixes, despite their “aspectually pure”, or their desemanticized character, nevertheless choose one or another aspectual correlation in accordance with the specific semantic meaning of the prefix.” Comrie (1991: 77) agrees that the prefix chosen is based on lexical meaning.

It does seem that the prefix is not meaningless, but rather its lexical meaning

overlaps very closely with the meaning of the verb. The prefix про-, which often has the meaning of сквозь ‘through’ (Čertkova and Čang 1998: 18), may overlap more conceptually with the verb демонстрировать$^{i/p}$. One can imagine that the object of the demonstration (a protest, a speech) might be prepared, and thus it is something one can go through. Likewise, the verb характеризовать may combine with prefix о- to form a perfective. One meaning of о- used to derive Specialized Perfectives from other verbs is the abstract meaning of “exposing to the action in the root”, much as in the verbs описать^{p} ‘describe’ and осмотреть^{p} ‘examine’ (Townsend 1975: 127). Townsend lists “to fix or make permanent” as one of the lexical meanings of the prefix за-, which overlaps quite well with the meaning of verb фиксировать$^{i/p}$ (Townsend 1975: 124). It would appear that the lexical meaning of the prefix does in fact play a part in the development of the Natural Perfective it helps to derive.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have examined the tendency of biaspectual verbs to develop perfective partners. With some biaspectual verbs, the use of derived perfective partners seems to be restricted still to the colloquial registers, while for others prefixed perfectives seem to have replaced the biaspectual base verbs, especially in situations requiring the Past Passive Participle and Past Gerund. Imperfectivization of biaspectual verbs is also possible, and seems to be regulated by a phonological rule stating that only suffix-stressed verbs may form derived imperfective partner verbs.

I have examined the biaspectual verb and specifically its tendency to form prefixed perfective aspectual partners. The place of the biaspectual verb in the Russian verb system as a whole has proven problematic. Recent research has led to a better understanding of the place of biaspectual verbs in the overall aspectual system. Janda (forthcoming a) shows that biaspectual verbs more often describe completable actions, and this tendency may motivate the acceptance of one form to describe both imperfective and perfective actions. Čertkova and Čang (1998) have shown that among the biaspectual verbs, a majority (62%) remain biaspectual, despite the tendency for biaspectual verbs to develop aspectual partners. Jászay builds upon the work of Čertkova and Čang and, by a survey of native speakers, demonstrates that biaspectual verbs and their imperfective partners do not show an immediate aspectual relationship; rather, the imperfective forms of biaspectual verbs are more often accepted in specific forms, and the forms often vary depending on the verb.

By analyzing several biaspectual verbs and their perfective partners, I would argue the same is true for biaspectual verbs and their perfective derivatives. We have see, just by analyzing data of the two unambiguously perfective forms Past Passive Participle and Past Gerund, that biaspectual verbs do not immediately relinquish their ability to form the perfective form Past Passive Participle, but it continues to be possible to use certain base biaspectual verb in this particular context. Further analysis of past and non-past tense forms of biaspectuals and their perfective aspectual partners is necessary; however, it would be necessary to rely on context rather on morphology and would probably require additional input from native speakers.

In the future, it would be interesting to test the acceptance by native speakers of certain prefixed perfective forms, and see if they show a similar hesistance to accept more prototypical forms. In this way, it might be possible to understand the development of perfective aspectual partners for verbs without relying on context to examine data.

Internet resources such as Yandex and Yandex's search engine for web blogs could prove useful in the future in analyzing the development of prefixed perfective partners of biaspectual verbs. Colloquial usage may vary from the sources available in the RNC. In general, it appears that more informal usage allows for various forms. It might be interesting to study these ad-hoc forms as well, to gain insight into how native Russian speakers use and adapt their language to describe their world.

The class of biaspectual verbs is extremely interesting for learners and linguists alike. Many learners can often recognize borrowed biaspectual verbs upon sight. Biaspectual verbs are employed largely in the realms of technology, science, and politics, and are often in the press. However, their status in the Russian verbal lexicon as a whole

still remains unknown. Further study of the development of aspectual partners for biaspectual verbs and partial biaspectuality among their Natural Perfectives warrants further investigation. The answers to these problems may shed light not just on the nature of biaspectual verbs, but on the Russian aspectual system as a whole.

Appendix 1. EXAMPLES OF THE PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

(1) характеризован

И этот момент еще **характеризован** в Ветхом Завете словом, которое опять-таки на всех языках усложняет понимание несмотря на то, что это единственный способ, которым это понимание до нас доходит: создан хаос.

Антоний (Блум), митрополит Сурожский. “Мысли при чтении Священного писания”. 1996.

And that moment is also characterized in the Old Testament by a word, which, however, in all languages complicates understanding despite the fact that this is the only way by which understanding comes to us: chaos is created.

(2) охарактеризована

Но если в предыдущих двух — в декабре 2003 и мае 2004 годов — представители лаборатории сразу же заявили, что пропажа не представляет угрозы для национальной безопасности, то нынешняя ситуация была **охарактеризована** как "очень серьезная".

Нарушения секретности в Лос-Аламосской лаборатории в США. "Зарубежное военное обозрение". 2004.10.25.

But if in the previous two – in December 2003 and May 2004 – representatives of the laboratory immediately stated that the loss did not constitute a threat to national security, then the current situation was characterized as “very serious".

(3) демонстрирован

Отказ от сценической иллюзии здесь был **демонстрирован** с исключительной силой.

Юрий Елагин. Темный гений. 1998.

Rejection of dramatic illusions was demonstrated here with exceptional strength.

(4) продемонстрированное

Адвокаты пророчествуют, что в этот день "будет продемонстрирована несостоятельность судебного процесса над журналистом".
Вячеслав Морозов, Адмирал ФСБ. *Наш современник*. 2004.

Lawyers predict that today "the failure of the judicial process for journalists will be demonstrated."

(5) зарекомендованы

Рассказывали, что он вас встретит, обласкает, прельстит, обворожит своим простодушием, особенно если вы ему почему-нибудь нужны и, уж разумеется, если вы предварительно были ему **зарекомендованы**.
Ф.М. Достоевский. Бесы. 1871–1872.

They said that he will meet you, treat you kindly, entice you, bewitch you with his openheartedness, especially if you prove ahead of time for some reason necessary for him, and of course, if you've previously been recommended to him.

(6) алаизированной

Данные представлены в процентах от соответствующих показателей в исходной среде, **анализированной** до удаления вируса.
"Внеклеточный иммунореактивный нуклеопротеин вируса гриппа, не связанный с вирионами." *Вопросы вирусологии*. 2001.

The data is given in percentages of corresponding factors in the initial environment, analyzed before the removal of the virus.

(7) ориентировано

Общее образование будет **ориентировано** на выравнивание стартовых возможностей детей и индивидуализацию образовательных программ.
Члены правительства России о задачах 2005 года. *Наука в Сибири* (Новосибирск). 2005.01.10.

General education will be geared toward the leveling of beginning opportunities for children and toward the individualization of educational programs.

(8) сориентирована

В этих условиях национальная идея должна быть **сориентирована**, в первую очередь, на обеспечение экономической самодостаточности государства, прекращение перекачки за бесценок полезных ископаемых за рубеж, установление экономически обоснованных цен на российские ресурсы и западную технику и технологию.

О пользе общегосударственной идеи и попытках ее определения. *Жизнь национальностей*. 2004.

Under these conditions the national idea should be oriented, first of all, toward the security of economic self-sufficiency of the government, stopping the exchange of useful minerals for next to nothing abroad, establishing economically sound prices for Russian resources and western technology.

(9) фиксированным

Суть альтернативной системы оплаты заключается в переходе абонента на оплату электроэнергии по **фиксированным** платежам.

Инструкция по заполнению заявления застрахованного лица о выборе инвестиционного портфеля. 2004.

The essence of the alternative payment system lies in switching the subscriber to payment for electricity at a fixed rate.

(10) зафиксированы

В итоговом документе заседания **зафиксированы** согласованные подходы по важнейшим двусторонним и международным проблемам.

Россия — Украина. *Дипломатический вестник*. 2004.

In the final document of the meeting the consensual approaches to the most important bipartite and international issues were recorded.

(11) рекомендованных

Государство лишь выпускало "Перечень учебных изданий", **рекомендованных** на очередной учебный год.

Наталья Иванова-Гладильщикова. История с литературой. Скандал вокруг школьных учебников продолжается . *Известия*. 2001.09.25.

The government just released the “List of educational publications” recommended for the next academic year.

(12) зарекомендованная

В то же время отлично **зарекомендованная** надежность генераторов остается на прежнем высоком уровне благодаря отсутствию обмоток на роторе и скользящих контактов.

А.Г. Сивоплясов. “ЗАО "Уралтермосвар": новые возможности в технологии сварки”. *Газовая промышленность*. 2004.

At the same time, the well-established reliability of the generators remained at the former high level thanks to the absence of housing on the rotor and sliding contacts.

(13) порекомендованный

Вызывая поочередно курсанток для допроса, Вайс убедился, до какой степени утраты даже тени человеческого достоинства довел этих женщин метод, **порекомендованный** Гагеном.

Вадим Кожевников. Щит и меч. 1968.

Summoning the students one at a time for interrogation, Weiss became convinced to what extend te method recommended by Hagen had led these women to the loss of even a shadow of human dignity.

Appendix 2. EXAMPLES OF THE PAST GERUND

(14) характеризовав

No attestation.

(15) охарактеризовав

Центральный совет принял обращение к политическим партиям и движениям России, **охарактеризовав** обыски как акты устрашения непокорных оппонентов власти.

Татьяна Становая. Дважды приватизированные. ПОЛИТКОМ.РУ. 2003.06.02.

The central council accepted the appeal to the political parties and movements of Russia, having characterized the searches as acts of intimidation against unruly opponents of the authorities.

(16) демонстрировав[i]

Против него на козетке фигурировала пикантная пейзанка, кокетливо **демонстрировав**[i] свою миниатюрную ботинку из-под шемизетки, и цитировала что-то из литературного альбома с гравюрами.

Лейкин Н.А. Из записной книжки отставного приказчика Касьяна Яманова. 1874.

Across from him on the love seat appeared a zesty peasant woman, showing her miniature boot from under her chemisette flirtatiously, she then quoted something from a literary album with engravings.

(17) продемонстрировав

Российский проект оказался победителем тендера, **продемонстрировав** преимущество отечественных двигательных технологий.

Б.И. Каторгин. “Перспективы создания мощных жидкостных ракетных двигателей”. *Вестник РАН*. 2004.

The Russian project proved to be the winner of the bid, having demonstrated its superiority in domestic motor technology.

(18) анализировав

No attestation.

(19) проанализировав

Проанализировав пути построения новых тестов, К.М. Гуревич предложил понятие статистической нормы как критерий сравнения результатов тестирования.
Т.Д. Марцинковская. “Методологические принципы и ведущая проблематика исследований в Психологическом институте.” *Вопросы психологии*. 2004.

Having analyzed the method of composing new texts, Gurevich suggested the notion of statistical norms as criteria for comparing the results of testing.

(20) ориентировав

No attestation.

(21) сориентировав

Уходя из "Арсенала", чтобы сделать группу "Квадро", он увел с собой еще трех музыкантов — Зинчука, Куликова и Брусиловского, **сориентировав** их на более простой и коммерческий вариант программы, рассчитанной на гарантированный успех, но без отступления от принципов инструментальной музыки стиля "фьюжн", без ухода в пресловутую "попсу".
Алексей Козлов. Козел на саксе. 1998.

Leaving Arsenal in order to create the group Quadro, he took three musicians with him – Zinčuk, Kulikov and Brusilovsky, having guided them to a simpler and more commercial version of their repertoire, calculated for a guaranteed success, but without the deviating from the principals of the instrumental style of “fusion” and without a departure into the notorious “pop music”.

(22) фиксировав

No attestation.

(23) зафиксировав

Но, **зафиксировав** в договоре аренды экологические требования к нарушителям, можно будет еще применять такой метод воздействия, как выплата неустойки за нарушение договорных обязательств.

Александр Сизов. “Москвичам не хватает простора”. *Вечерняя Москва*. 2002.10.10.

However, having recorded in the lease agreement the ecological demands on the violators, it will also be possible to employ a particular course of action, such as the payment of damages for violation of the contractual agreement

(24) рекомендовав

Эксперты ВБРР признали нецелесообразным дальнейшее участие в капитале Нефтепромбанка, **рекомендовав** сосредоточить усилия на развитии Охабанка.

“Банковские новости”. *Финансы и кредит*. 2003.

The experts of the Pan-Russian Bank of Regional Development recognized the impracticality of further participation in the stocks of Neftprombank, having recommended focusing its efforts on the development of Oxabanok.

(25) зарекомендовав

Придя в клинику и быстро **зарекомендовав** себя подающим надежды хирургом, он с головой погрузился в научную тему некоего профессора-консультанта.

Алексей Лужбин. “Цифра Паукова”. *Столица.* 1997.06.17.

Having come to the clinic and quickly proving himself to be a surgeon of great promise, he immersed himself in studying the scholarly work of a certain consulting professor.

(26) порекомендовав

Им предложили отобрать несколько новых немецких картин, **порекомендовав** лучшие из них для покупки.

Ольга Егорова. “Королева Чардаша”. "*Спецназ России*. 2003.05.15.

It was suggested that they take a few of the new German paintings, after having recommended the best of them for purchase.

Appendix 3. EXAMPLES OF THE PAST TENSE

(27) характеризовали

Мне не приходилось слышать от неё высказываний, которые бы её лично **характеризовали**, хотя я говорил с ней на самые разные темы; она обычно молча слушала.

Виктор Пелевин. Ника. 1992.

I never had the chance to hear stories from her, which might have characterized her more intimately, although I spoke with her on the widest range of topics; she usually listened quietly without speaking.

(28) охарактеризовал

— Авантюрист и проходимец, — так **охарактеризовал** Березовского Ельцин, встретившись в декабре 2001 года с несколькими журналистами, с которыми довелось ему тесно сотрудничать в бытность главой государства.

Борис Грищенко. Посторонний в Кремле. 2004.

Yeltsin characterized Berezovsky as “an opportunist and a conman,”, when they had met in December 2001 with several journalists, with whom he had managed to cooperate closely while he was head of government

(29) демонстрировала

По его подсчетам, всегда, когда в своей новейшей истории Россия **демонстрировала** рост выше 5% в год, это объяснялось скачками цен на нефть.

Андрей Литвинов. Последний год высоких зарплат. "Газета", 2003.01.04

By his count, every time Russia showed growth of more than 5% a year, this was explained by increases in oil prices.

(30) продемонстрировали

На королевском родео, которое проходит в канадском городе Калгари, местные любители острых ощущений **продемонстрировали** новую забаву.

“Еще одна забава”. *Знание — сила*. No. 7. 2003.

At the Rodeo Royal, which takes place in the Canadian city of Calgary, local fans of big thrills demonstrated a new form of entertainment.

(31) анализировала

Нина Андреевна вообще крайне редко **анализировала** свои чувства, симпатии и антипатии.
Влада Валеева. Скорая помощь. 2002.

In general, Nina Andreevna very rarely analyzed her feelings, her likes and dislikes.

(32) проанализировала

Я не обиделась, наоборот, сама все **проанализировала**, сама себя поругала, сама в себе разобралась и приготовилась к пересъемке сцены.
Лидия Смирнова. Моя любовь (1997)

I didn't get mad, to the contrary, I analyzed everything myself, scolded myself, investigated myself and prepared for refilming the scene.

(33) ориентировали

Мы слишком долго **ориентировали** нашу промышленность на то, чтобы произвести как можно больше угля, руды, чугуна, стали.
Лапутина, Скляр О. И. "Надо решать!" *Работница*. 1989.

For too long we directed our industry towards producing as much coal, ore, cast iron, and steel as possible.

(34) сориентировали

Это мы нашу экономику **сориентировали** только на продажу сырья.
В. Жириновский, М. Делягин. "Беседа В. Жириновского и М. Делягина в эфире радиостанции *Эхо Москвы*". Москва. 2003–2004.

We were the ones that oriented our economy exclusively toward the sale of raw materials.

(35) фиксировал

А потом в дневнике **фиксировал** все изгибы интеллигентского сознания.
Иосиф Гальперин. Беспределкино. "Совершенно секретно". 2003.04.08.

And then he recorded all meanderings of intelligent consciousness in his journal.

(36) зафиксировало

Германия, Франция, Испания, Япония и другие цивилизованные страны являются национальными государствами, что **зафиксировало** в их конституциях.
Вадим Якунин. “Русская нация и государство”. *Жизнь национальностей*. 2004 .

Germany, France, Spain, Japan, and other civilized countries are state governments; that is stated in their constitutions.

(37) рекомендовал

Я бы **рекомендовал** московскому чиновничеству не трогать эту тему вообще.
Михаил МЕНЬ. “Граница пройдет по разделительной полосе”. *Известия*. 2002.03.03.

I would advise Moscow officials not to deal with this subject at all.

(38) зарекомендовал

Что касается Совета, то он был создан менее года назад по поручению Президента России и за короткий срок **зарекомендовал** себя как действенный и эффективный орган.
Ответ официального представителя МИД России на вопрос агентства Интерфакс в связи с проведением IX Российского экономического форума. *Дипломатический вестник*. 2004.

Concerning the Council, it was formed less than a year ago on the order of the President of Russia and for a short time proved itself to be an efficient and effective agency.

(39) порекомендовать

Она сказала, что гинеколог **порекомендовал** ей применять таблетки кетонал при менструальные [sic] болях.
"Эти дни" совсем без боли. *Даша*. 2004.

She said that the gynecologist recommended she take Ketonal pills for menstrual pain.

Appendix 4. EXAMPLES OF THE NON-PAST TENSE

(40) характеризует

Это дом, в котором человек живет и который его — человека — **характеризует** как хозяина.

Петр Мирошников. “Если дорог тебе твой дом...”. *Восточно-Сибирская правда*" (Иркутск). 2003.06.28.

It is a house in which a person lives and which characterizes him, the person, as the master of the house.

(41) охарактеризует

А пока Евгения Юрьевна **охарактеризует** ему будущий проект в самых общих чертах.

Елена и Валерий Гордеевы. Не все мы умрем. 2002.

In the meantime Evgenia Jurevna will outline the future project for him in the most general of terms.

(42) демонстрирует

Эта единственная в России ежегодная художественная выставка **демонстрирует** зрителю все лучшее, что было создано за последние два года отечественными художниками театра.

“Пространство для игры”. *Культура*. 2002.03.25.

This annual artistic exhibition, the only one of its kind in Russia, demonstrates to the viewer the very best that has been created in the last two years by the nation’s dramatic artists.

(43) продемонстрирует

Материалы переписи **продемонстрирует** [sic] перед всем миром огромные изменения в жизни и культурном облике советских людей, в хозяйственном и культурном строительстве страны.
"Подготовка к Всесоюзной переписи населения". Северный колхозник. 1959.01.06.

Census materials will demonstrate in front of the entire world the great changes in the life and cultural sphere of the Soviet people, and in the economic and cultural development of the country.

(44) анализирую

Хотя, если честно, я не **анализирую** рекламу, да и не считаю себя специалистом рекламного рынка, поэтому оцениваю не с точки зрения профессионализма, а с позиции творчества, интересности, юмора.
Стереовзгляд. *Рекламный мир*. 2003.03.31.

Though, to be honest, I'm not analyzing the commercial, nor do I consider myself a specialist in the advertising market. So I am judging it not from a professional point of view, but rather as a creative work, a novelty, and a piece of humor.

(45) проанализируют

Официально итоги визита станут известны после того, как эксперты **проанализируют** все увиденное в спокойной домашней обстановке.
Екатерина Выхухолева. "Меньше социализма". *Известия*. 2003.07.08

Officially the results of the visit will be known after experts analyze everything observed in private.

(46) ориентирует

Сегодня действует Закон "О социальной защите инвалидов в РФ", который **ориентирует** на программы реабилитации.
"Служба. Декада инвалидов. Жить достойно, а не выживать." *Марийская правда*. (Йошкар-Ола). 2003.01.10

Today a law "On the social protection of invalids in the Russian Federation" is in effect, which is focused on rehabilitation programs.

(47) сориентирует

Выставка поможет производителям заявить о себе, позволит им найти новых партнеров и заключить выгодные контракты, а также **сориентирует** потребителей в широком ассортименте предлагаемых товаров.

Выставке детского и школьного питания дан старт. *Мясная индустрия*. 2004.

The exhibition helps producers publicize about themselves, allows them to find new partners and draw up lucrative contracts, and also orients buyers to a wide assortment of available goods.

(48) фиксирует

Книга беспристрастно **фиксирует** все рекорды, даже печальные.

Ксения Веретенникова. “Я ль на свете всех длиннее?. На скрижалях истории появились новые имена”. *Известия*. 2001.08.12.

The book impartially registers all records, even the gloomy ones.

(49) зафиксирую

И теперь одна добавка к этому, которую я сейчас пока просто **зафиксирую**, чтобы вы держали это в голове.

Мераб Мамардашвили. Картезианские размышления. 1981–1993.

And now one addition to that, which I am simply recording for the time being, so that you can that you bear it in mind.

(50) рекомендую

Я всем **рекомендую** читать журнал "Народное творчество", называю особенно интересные статьи, обращаю внимание на сроки проводимых семинаров, даю адреса музеев, куда можно в каникулы съездить с детьми.

“Подарок от наших бабушек”. “Народное творчество”. 2003.

I recommend that everyone read the journal “National Art”, I point out especially interesting articles, call attention to the dates of seminars being conducted, give the addresses of museums, where you can go with children during vacations.

(51) зарекомендует

Все решат избиратели, а их мнение будет зависеть от того, как партия **зарекомендует** себя.

Николай Подгорин. “Наука побеждать от Тулеева”. *Независимая газета*. 2003.

The voters decide everything, and their opinion will depend on how the party represents itself.

(52) порекомендует

Бабушка, как только узнала, что у меня мастопатия, **порекомендовала** сделать йодную сеточку. Стоит ли? Юлия Р. Вообще-то препараты йода действительно применяют при мастопатии, но сеточка, конечно, народное средство, не очень эффективное. Обязательно нужно посоветоваться с маммологом — он порекомендует что-нибудь более современное.

“Скажите, доктор...” *Даша*. 2003.

My grandmother, as soon as she found out that I had a mastisis, recommended I do an iodine application. Is it worth it? Julia P. Generally speaking, iodine preparations are employed for mastisis, but applications, as they are really a folk remedy, are not especially effective. You should definitely consult with a specialist – he will recommend something more modern.

Appendix 5. EXAMPLES OF THE INFINITIVE

(53) характеризовать

В книге рассказывается невероятное количество мелочей, которые так ярко могут **характеризовать** нашу жизнь.
Анастасия Гулина. “Старая Москва”. *Богатей* (Саратов). 2003.11.06.

In the book an unbelievable number of details are recounted, which can vividly characterize our lives.

(54) охарактеризовать

Позицию церкви в данном вопросе, сказал владыка, можно **охарактеризовать** как позицию невмешательства в экономику.
Наталья Коныгина, Алексей Крижевский. “Под рыночную экономику подвели православную основу”. *Известия*. 2002.12.16.

It is possible to characterize the position of the church on this point by comparing it to the economic principal of laissez-faire, said the bishop.

(55) демонстрировать

Москву надо покорять, как женщину: постоянно ей **демонстрировать** свою готовность идти ради нее на подвиги.
Ольга Ермолаева. Леонид Филатов: “Это целая философия...”. *Известия*. 2001.10.12.

One must bring Moscow under control, as one does with a woman, and always demonstrate one’s preparedness to achieve great feats for her sake.

(56) продемонстрировать

Это тоже должно было **продемонстрировать**, что в Кремле все спокойно.
Олег Трояновский. Через годы и расстояния. 1997.

It was also necessary to show that all was peaceful in the Kremlin.

(57) анализировать

Оба имеют способность смотреть на шахматную доску, **анализировать** позиции, потом делать наиболее оптимальное перемещение.
В.А. Александр. “Отличный способ игры”. *Столица*. 1997.05.27.

Both of them have the ability to look at the chessboard, analyze the positions, and then make the most optimal moves.

(58) проанализировать

Мы не можем уже отследить, **проанализировать** укоренившуюся привычку, потому что делаем это на автомате — как завязываем шнурки.
Ольга Зверькова. “Памперс для героя”. *Семейный доктор*. 2003.

We can no longer notice or analyze an ingrained habit, because we do it automatically, like tying our shoes.

(59) ориентировать

Если вы только планируете строительство загородного дома, не забудьте **ориентировать** кухню окнами на север, восток или северо-восток: яркий солнечный свет будет мешать работе.
Татьяна Демидова. “Кухонный вопрос”. *Homes & Gardens*. 2002.

If you are planning the building of a country home just now, don’t forget to orient your kitchen so that the windows face north, east, or north-east: bright sunlight will disturb your work.

(60) сориентировать

Несмотря на то что книгу писали русские и американцы, можно сказать, что авторскому коллективу удалось **сориентировать** весь материал конкретно именно на Россию — все примеры из прошлого экономики зарубежных стран иллюстрируют процессы, происходящие сегодня в нашей стране.
Нильс Иогансен. “Работа над чужими ошибками. Русско-американские рекомендации по управлению бизнесом”. *Известия*. 2001.10.11.

Despite the fact that both Russians and Americans wrote the book, one can say, that the authors succeeded in orienting all the material particularly towards Russia – all the examples from the economic pasts of foreign countries illustrate the processes, which are taking place today in our country.

(61) фиксировать

Думаю, несчастье многих художников, в том числе и меня, что, когда луч тебя касается, ты не успеваешь его **фиксировать**.

Алла Сигалова. “Там луч побродил по мне”. *Театральная жизнь*. 2003.04.28.

I think the unhappiness of many artists, including my own, is that when the light touches you, you don’t have time to capture it.

(62) зафиксировать

Письменность, которая, кажется, должна **фиксировать** язык, в самом деле его изменяет.

Ю. М. Лотман. Слово и язык в культуре Просвещения. 1987–1989.

Literature, which it seems should fix language, in actuality changes it.

(63) рекомендовать

Немедикаментозную программу снижения артериального давления следует **рекомендовать** всем пациентам независимо от тяжести артериальной гипертонии и медикаментозного лечения.

И.С. Ткачук. “Советы доктора Ткачука”. *Встреча*" (Дубна). 2003.06.25.

A program that doesn’t include medication for lowering blood pressure should be recommended to all patients independently of the seriousness of their hypertension and their drug treatment.

(64) зарекомендовать

Только бы еще у них была возможность в полном объеме **зарекомендовать** себя на игровой площадке.

Олег Ратников. “"Зенит" в высшей лиге.” Восточно-Сибирская правда (Иркутск). 2003.06.19.

If only they had the possibility proving really prove themselves on the playing field.

(65) порекомендовать

— Какие способы бросить курить вы могли бы **порекомендовать**?
Евгений Сусоров. “Истории из жизни”. *Вечерний Екатеринбург*. 2004.11.06.

What methods for giving up smoking might you be able to recommend?

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