

On Semantic Peculiarities of Secondary Imperfective Verbs in Russian: Their In/Compatibility with the Notions of Duration and Completion

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Introduction

It is a well-known fact that some secondary imperfective verbs in Russian cannot express *duration* – a notion, ascribed to the imperfective aspect. Of the three, or even four, possible aspectual meanings of the imperfective aspect – *duration / progressive continuity, general validity, and repetition* – some secondary imperfective verbs are limited to expressing only *iterativity*, a notion of *repetition*, embedded in their lexical semantics. The interpretation of the term *iterativity* in this work is close to the one given by Mehlig (2006) in which the iterative predicate describes an unbounded number of repetitions and the particular meaning is embedded in the verb's semantics. In other words, *iterativity* is expressed by the verb form itself without additional contextual indicators of *repetition*, unlike regular imperfective verbs. To my knowledge, no comprehensive and generally accepted explanation of this phenomenon exists in theoretical works on the Russian verbal aspect; moreover, no reasonable classification of such verbs for practical teaching / learning needs is available.

Most Russian language textbooks typically introduce the aspectual opposition of Russian verbs as a contrast between *duration* and *completion*, considered basic meanings of the imperfective and perfective aspects respectively: for example, (1) **Он читал** (Imp.) книгу неделю / (He read the book for a week) vs (2) **Он прочитал** (Per.) книгу за неделю (He read the book in a week). In both sentences, duration of a week for the same type of activity is specified. However, the imperfective verb **читал** entails an open-ended duration, expressed by the noun **неделю** in the accusative case, while the perfective form **прочитал** requires an indicator of 'close-ended' duration – such as the prepositional phrase **за**

неделю, in which the preposition *за* refers to a final point in time by which the activity had been completed.

Quite often though, we run across contexts, in which certain secondary imperfective verbs are not compatible with open-ended *duration* indicators, as is expected. Instead, they are compatible with indicators of *completion*, which are usually associated with perfective verbs. As a result of such compatibility, a *repeated completion*, or *iterativity*, is expressed. Compare the following sentences: (1) «Он читал (Imp. Simplex) книгу *неделю*», (2) «Он прочитал (Per.) книгу *за неделю*». and (3) «Он *прочитывал* (Imp. Sec.) книгу ?*неделю* / *за неделю*».¹ In example (1), the indicator of *duration* «*неделю*» (*for a week*) is compatible with the primary, simplex imperfective verb *читал* but incompatible with the secondary imperfective verb in example (3). However, an indicator of *completion* *за неделю* (*in a week*), is compatible with both forms of the verb, the secondary imperfective form *прочитывал* and the perfective form *прочитал*, meaning that both verb forms require a 'close-ended' indicator of *duration* emphasizing *completion* of the action. The difference between contexts (2) and (3) is that context (3), in addition to the notion of *completion*, also refers to a number of completed actions, while context (2) refers only to a one-time *completion*.

This type of secondary imperfective verb still puzzles many linguists and complicates explanation of the verbal aspect in Russian as a binary opposition of the perfective, as its marked member, and the imperfective, as an unmarked one. See, for example, Roman Jakobson's seminal work "О структуре русского глагола" (1985) or Oscar Swan's "The Mystery of the Imperfective Completive" (1977).

According to V. D. Klimonov (2010), who investigated the reorganization of aspectual paradigms in the history of Russian verbs within a framework of the natural grammar theory, *iterativity*, as a grammatical notion of imperfective verbs in Russian, is traced back to the earlier stage of the Old-Russian language, of the eleventh through twelfth centuries. It was expressed in such oppositions as *пълзти* – *пълзать*, *пасти* (<*падти*) – *падати*, etc. A new, original Russian

¹ Throughout this work the sign '?' is used before contextual indicators if they seem to be incompatible with either of the aspectual verb forms – imperfective or perfective. The explanation of such incompatibility is provided.

suffix *-ыва-* / *-ива-* appeared in the second stage of the language's development in the thirteenth through fourteenth cc. and, according to Klimonov, the suffix became a formal means for denoting *imperfectivity*. In the third stage of Russian language development, from the fifteenth through the seventeenth cc., the sphere of usage of the imperfective suffix *-ыва-* / *-ива-* widened: in addition to the notion of *imperfectivity*, it became a marker of *iterativity* in secondary imperfective verbs, as in *хаживати*, *писывати*, *тапливати*, etc., formed from simplex imperfective verbs *ходити*, *писати*, *топяти*. Lastly, during the fourth and final stage in the development of Russian, which began in the eighteenth c., the sphere of usage of imperfective verbs with the purely *iterative* notion of *repeated* actions became obsolete, and the suffix *-ыва-* / *-ива-*, when added to prefixed perfective verbs, assumed its first function of denoting only *imperfectivity*. Unfortunately, Klimonov does not specify exactly what the term *imperfectivity* meant in the earlier stages in the Russian language history.²

Indeed, verbs such as *хаживати*, *писывати*, *тапливати* became obsolete; however, many secondary imperfective verbs, formed from prefixed perfective verbs, still preserve a semantic notion of *iterativity*. The existence of this type of secondary imperfective verb prevents linguists from coming to a generally accepted position on how to properly categorize the aspect of Russian verbs. As early as the 1930s, in his work "О структуре русского глагола" (1985), Roman Jakobson struggled to define the verbal aspect as a binary opposition. Due to the presence of this type of secondary imperfective verbs with *iterative* meaning, he had to suggest a special model of binary opposition, a

² It can be assumed that he meant a traditional interpretation of the basic function of imperfective verbs to indicate *duration*. For example: «В отношении категории вида все глаголы старославянского языка распались на две основные группы: глаголы имперфективные и перфективные. Имперфективные глаголы – это глаголы, выражающие *длительное* действие: например, *творити*, *дѣлати*. Перфективные глаголы – это глаголы, которые обозначают действие, находящееся в определенном отношении к *законченности* или с *оттенком законченности* (например, *сътворити*, *сдѣлати*).» (In regard to the category of verbal aspect, all Church-Slavonic verbs have fallen into two groups: imperfective and perfective. Imperfective verbs are the verbs that denote continuous actions: for example, *to create*, *to do / make*. Perfective verbs are the verbs that denote actions being in a certain relationship with the concept of completion: for example, *to have created*, *to have done / made*.) (Ёлкина, 1960,152)

“privative” opposition, which included two marked members within the same binary opposition in which perfective verbs are marked (+), and imperfective verbs are generally unmarked (--), although the latter include a marked group of secondary imperfective verbs with *iterative* meaning. His interpretation has been accepted but not without doubts and reservations. In fact, questions about the essence of the category of aspect in the Russian verbal system, especially about the place of secondary imperfective verbs with *iterative* meaning occupy, still emerge recurrently among Russian aspectologists (see, for example, Кравченко 1995, Соболева 2011, Титаренко 2007, Ясам 1997, LeBlanc 2006, Swan 1977).

Research Questions

This study is an attempt at unveiling what Swan (1977) coined the “mystery of the imperfective completive” and finding answers to the following questions: 1) What factors contribute to the limitation of certain secondary imperfective verbs in expressing *duration*, a notion ascribed to the imperfective aspect? 2) What role do the semantics of prefixes and verb stems play in this limitation? 3) Why are some secondary imperfective verbs compatible with contextual indicators of *completion* typically associated with the perfective aspect?

Data Collection and Instrument for Testing Verb Compatibility with Aspectual Notions

This research is based on an analysis of the contextual usage of 300 secondary imperfective verbs. As a starting point, the researcher used the dictionary *The Big Silver Book of Russian Verbs*, a 2000 verb index, by Jack Franke (2004). The index lists aspectual verb pairs in alphabetical order with the imperfective forms as their initial forms. Using this index, the researcher selected perfective verbs that allowed the formation of secondary imperfective verbs which, in their turn, seemed to tolerate indicators of *completion*. During this procedure the researcher relied predominantly on her native speaker’s intuition, consulting with two other educated native speakers in ambiguous cases.³

³ The author is grateful to her colleagues Elena Sedova-Hotaling and Elena Koudinova for contributing their opinions on the issue.

The selected verbs were supplied with minimal contexts in which the verbs were used in the past tense masculine form with a direct / indirect object or a prepositional phrase semantically required by the verb. In addition, extended contexts of *duration* – *минуту* / *час* / *неделю* (*for a minute / for an hour / for a week*) and *completion* – *за минуту* / *за час* / *за неделю* (*in a minute / in an hour / in a week*) – were provided. Further, two other parameters were added: (1) a present-tense context – *сейчас* (*now*) – for checking the verbs' ability to express actions in progress; and (2) a column for checking whether the notion of *iterativity* was included in the verbs' semantics.

The final list consists of 300 contextual usages of secondary imperfective verbs. In some cases, a verb shows compatibility with contextual indicators of both *duration* and *completion*. An example is *доказывал правоту час* (*was proving his right position for an hour*) which indicates *duration* and *доказывал правоту за час* which indicates *completion*. It should be noted, though, that the second context *доказывал правоту за час* expresses both *completion* and *repetition* (*used to prove his right position in an hour*). This verb is also compatible with an indicator of *progression*: *сейчас он доказывает свою правоту* (*now he is trying to prove his right position*).

In other cases, though, the verb is compatible with only one context, either *duration* or *completion*. For example, in the expression *вскипал от злости ?минуту* - *duration* / *за минуту* – *completion*, the predicate *вскипал от злости* (*boiled in anger*) is incompatible with the notion of *duration* due to its semantics of instantaneous emotional reaction that precludes its being stretched out in time. For the same reason, it cannot be perceived in *progression* – *?сейчас он вскипает от злости*. However, the element of instantaneity in its semantics allows it to express the notions of both *completion* and *iterativity*: *вскипал от злости за минуту* implies the tendency to get angry in every provocative situation.

In contrast, the predicate *доверял жене* is compatible with both the notion of *duration* – *доверял жене только год* пока она не изменила ему (*trusted his wife for only a year until she betrayed him*) and *progression* – *сейчас он доверяет своей жене* (*now he trusts his wife*).⁴

⁴ It should be noted though that, unlike English, the Russian verb system does not differentiate formally between *durative* and *progressive* meanings. Therefore, both

However, it precludes the notion of *completion*: *доверял своей жене ?за год / ?за час / ?за минуту*. Such incompatibility relates to the verb's semantics: stative verbs usually assume continuity.

The predicate *посматривал на нее* represents yet another example of the different distribution of aspectual notions; it inherently involves an unbounded number of repetitions but precludes a notion of *completion*. Two other aspectual notions, *duration* -- *посматривал на него час* (*was glancing / glanced at him for an hour*)-- and *progression* -- *сейчас он посматривает на него* (*now he is glancing at him*) -- suggest the following interpretation. Even though both contexts are valid, each one is nevertheless perceived as primarily *iterative* because each implies an unbounded number of glances rather than a *continuous* uninterrupted activity of looking at someone.

All the verbs and contexts selected for the study are presented in Table 1 in the Appendix. Table 1 includes the following nine columns: (1) prefix, if it is discerned⁵; (2) perfective form, marked as transitive (t) or intransitive (int); (3) secondary imperfective form in a minimal context, described above; (4) type of aspectual membership: pair or triplet; (5) indicator of *duration*; (6) indicator of *completion*; (7) indicator of *progression* in the present-tense context; (8) semantically embedded *iterativity*; and (9) types of aspectual combination. Please see example directly below:

contexts (*доверял жене только год* and *сейчас он доверяет своей жене*) sound normal despite the fact that the latter is not *progressive* per se.

⁵ Verbs are considered prefixed if other verbs with different prefixes and the same stems exist in the language. For example: читать – прочитать / прочитывать, перечитать / перечитывать; or привыкнуть / привыкать and отвыкнуть / отвыкать. The two latter pairs are still considered prefixed although no simplex verb without a prefix exists in the language. Therefore, verbs that do not fit either of these two groups are considered in a separate group: for example, дать / давать, заснуть / засыпать, надоесть / надоедать, etc.

Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
в- /вз- /вс-	вложить - t	вкладывал деньги в автомат	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	взглянуть - int	взглядывал на неё	pair	-	-	-	+	B
	вскипеть - int	вскипал от злости	pair	-	+	-	+	C
до-	дождаться - int	дождался его	pair	+	-	+	-	D

Data description

Of the 300 secondary imperfective verbs, 204 verbs are transitive, and 96 are intransitive. In all, 270 verbs are prefixed, and 30 verbs make up a motley group in which some have no prefix (e.g., *быть* – *бывать*, *явиться* – *являться*), while others have a prefix that is no longer discernable due to the absence of same-stem simplex verbs in contemporary Russian with the same meaning (*надоесть* – *надоедать*, *заснуть* – *засыпать*, or *оказать* – *оказывать*). The most numerous group includes verbs with the prefix *за-* (38 secondary predicates), followed by a group with no prefixes (30); and groups with the prefixes *по-* (27), *вы-* (26), *до-* (23), *при-* (19), *на-* (18), *пере-* (14), *про-* (14), *в/вз-* (13), *с-* (13), *пере-* (13), *от-* (11), *о/об-* (11), *у-* (10), *раз-/ рас-* (9), *пред-* (7), *под-* (6), *пре-* (6), and *из-/ис-* (6). Most secondary imperfective verbs in the data form pairs with the perfective verbs from which they are formed. Only one tenth (about 32) of the 300 total verbs form triplets: *пахать* / *вспахать* / *вспахивать*, *лечить* / *вылечить* / *вылечивать*, *тащить* / *вытащить* / *вытаскивать*, *пить* / *выпить* / *выпивать*, etc. All of the triplets in the data are confirmed by the Ozhegov dictionary (1960) except the following three – *болеть* / *заболеть* / *заболевать*, *таить* / *затаить* / *затаивать*, and *греть* / *согреть* / *согревать*. In the researcher's opinion, they are still perceived as triplets because, like all other triplets, they differ from each other only aspectually, not semantically. For convenience, **triplets** in Table 1 are written in a bold font, and the original simplex verbs are also bolded and underlined: **выШИТЬ** / **выШИВАТЬ**.

An analysis of the compatibility and incompatibility of secondary imperfective verbs with indicators of *duration* and *completion* yields the following results: of the 300 secondary imperfective verbs, 127 verb predicates (42% of the total number) are incompatible with the notion of *duration* – quite a big group for an exception, since the notion of *duration* is considered a primary aspectual notion of the imperfective aspect. Surprisingly, of the same 300 secondary imperfective verbs, 245 predicates (81.6%) are compatible with the notion of *completion*, and only 55 predicates incompatible. Both observations question the traditional approach to teaching Russian verbal aspect by ascribing a notion of *completion* exclusively to the perfective aspect.

An analysis reveals four combinatory patterns of the aspectual semantic notions associated with secondary imperfective verbs. See the chart below.

Notions >	Duration (неделю)	Completion (за неделю)	Progression (сейчас)	Iterativity (imbedded in verb semantics)
Type / Number				
Type A - 162	+	+	+	--
Type B - 44	--	--	--	+
Type C - 83	--	+	--	+
Type D - 11	+	--	+	--

Verbs in pattern A are compatible with contextual indicators of *duration*, *completion*, and *progression* but do not include *iterativity* in their lexical semantics. This is the biggest group in the data, a total of 162 verbs, of which 132 verbs are transitive and 30 intransitive. For example, the following verb predicates concur with both contextual indicators of *duration* and *completion*, and they can also be perceived as situations *in progress*: (1) *вносил* чемодан в комнату *две минуты* / *за две минуты* / *сейчас* он *вносит* чемодан в комнату (he was bringing a suitcase into the room for two minutes / he used to bring it into the room in two minutes / now he is bringing it into the room); (2) *выбрасывал* хлам *два часа* (he threw away a junk for two hours) / *за два часа* (in two hours) / *сейчас* он *выбрасывает* хлам (now he is throwing away a junk) ; (3) *подкрадывался* к дому *полчаса* (he was sneaking / ?snuck / sneaked up to a house for half an hour) / *за полчаса* (in half an hour) / *сейчас* он *подкрадывается* к дому (now he is sneaking up to a house); (4) *молоко прокисало* *день* (the milk was turning / ?turned sour for a day) / *за день* (turned sour in a day) / *сейчас* *молоко уже прокисает* (now the milk is turning sour). In these examples, as well as in others of this type of context in the data, the compatibility with the indicators of *duration* and *progression* is obvious and can be explained by the fact that such verbs belong to the classes of either *activities* (*вносил*, *выбрасывал*, *подкрадывался*) or *states* (*прокисало*). Both *activities* and *states* are perceived as situations stretched out in time. The semantics of the prefixes in each of these verbs also reinforce the perception that these situations are extended in time.

However, the ability of these verbs to express the notion of *completion* reveals that, in such contexts, the focus is shifted from *duration* of the situation to its *completion*: *вносил / выбрасывал / подкрадывался / прокисало за две минуты*.⁶ All these contexts -- *Он вносил чемодан / выбрасывал хлам / подкрадывался к дому за десять минут* -- mean that it took him ten minutes to complete these activities. A similar interpretation applies to the context *молоко прокисало за десять минут* – the milk tended to turn sour in ten minutes. It is logical to conclude that verbs of this type preserve in their semantics a notion of *perfectivity*, which is interpreted here as a one-time, or localized-in-time, occurrence (Соболева 2011).

Pattern B comprises verbs that are truly iterative. Semantically, they express an unbounded number of occurrences and are incompatible with notions of either *completion*, *duration*, or *progression*. There are a total of 44 verbs of this type: 18 are transitive, and 26 are intransitive. Examples are (1) *взглядывал на нее ?две минуты* (he glanced at her ?for two minutes) / *?за две минуты* (?in two minutes) / *?сейчас он взглядывает на нее* (?now he is glancing at her); or (2) *замалчивал истину ?час* (he hushed up the truth ?for an hour) / *?за час* (?in an hour) / *?сейчас он замалчивает истину* (?now he is hushing up the truth); or (3) *посещал друга ?день* (he visited his friend ?for a day) / *?за день* (?in a day) / *?сейчас он посещает друга* (?now he is visiting his friend). It seems that the semantics of both verb stems and their prefixes prohibit these verbs from being perceived as situations stretched out in time or be completed in a certain period of time; however, the notion of *repetition* is easily recognized.

The contexts with simultaneous situations illustrate this point well. In the following complex sentences, verb situations in both clauses present two simultaneous situations, each one referring to an unbounded number of repetitions due to the presence of secondary imperfective verbs in one of the clauses: *Когда он взглядывал на нее, она краснела* (Every time he glanced at her, she ?was turning⁷ / turned red); *Когда он замалчивал истину, это приводило к беде* (Every time he hushed up the

⁶ The choice of emphasis on either duration or completion is purely pragmatic and depends on the speakers' preference (see Соболева 2011).

⁷ The progressive notion, clearly perceived in Russian, does not sound good in English though.

truth, it led to misfortune); Когда он **посещал** друга, тот бывал рад (Every time he visited, his friend felt very happy).

Yet, the predicate **помешивал кашу** differs from the three predicates considered above: **помешивал кашу час** (he stirred porridge for an hour) / **?за час** (?in an hour) / **сейчас он помешивает кашу** (now he is stirring porridge). Due to the iterative semantics of its simplex stem **мешать** (to produce a number of movements to prevent porridge from clotting), this predicate denotes a series of movements. However, the delimitative semantics of the prefix **по-** allows it to concur with indicators of both limited duration -- **помешивал кашу час** (he stirred porridge for an hour) and *progression* -- **сейчас он помешивает кашу** (he is stirring porridge now). Nevertheless, the overall notion of separate multiple movements is preserved in either context – *durative* or *progressive*; its incompatibility with the notion of *completion* is also due to the same semantic peculiarity of denoting a multiple number of discrete movements, each so short in its realization that even together they cannot entail the notion of *completion*.

Pattern C verbs express both *completion* and *iterativity* but are incompatible with notions of *duration* and *progression*. Of 83 such verbs, 49 are transitive and 34 intransitive. For example, it is possible to say **переставал / прекращал работать за минуту** (used to stop working in a minute); **появлялся дома за минуту** (used to appear at home in a minute); **прочитывал книгу за день** (used to finish reading in a day), or **наезжал на газон за минуту** (used to run over a lawn in a minute). However, the context **переставал / прекращал работать ?минуту** does not make any sense – *?stopping working continued for a minute*. Yet, it is possible to say both in Russian and English: **переставал работать на минуту** (he used to stop working for a minute), meaning that he periodically stopped working for one minute. It is also impossible to express a truly progressive situation with the verb **переставать**: **?Сейчас он перестает работать** (?Now he is stopping working). In both languages the *past perfective* / *present perfect* forms are more pertinent: **Сейчас он уже перестал работать** (He has already stopped working).

The same explanation applies to the incompatibility of the three other verb predicates with indicators of *duration* and *progression*: **появлялся дома ?минуту** (used to appear at home *?for a minute*); **прочитывал книгу ?день** (used to finish reading a book *?for a day*);

наезжал на газон ?минуту (used to run over a lawn ?for a minute);
*?Сейчас он появляется дома / ?Сейчас он прочитывает книгу /
?Сейчас он наезжает на газон*. The notion of repetition (*iterativity*)
embedded in the semantics of these verbs does not allow them to be
perceived as either stretched out in time for a certain period or
simultaneous with the moment of speech (a context for the present
progressive).

The data show that verbs of this group include both prefixed
activity verbs (*прочитывал книгу, наезжал на газон*) and prefixed
achievements (*переставал работать, появлялся в доме*)⁸. It seems that
in the case of *activity* verbs, the semantics of prefixes play a decisive role
in making them incompatible with the notion of *duration*. Compare, for
example, the predicates *прочитывал книгу ?неделю* and *дочитывал
книгу неделю* (was finishing reading a book for a week) or *наезжал на газон
?пять минут* and *переезжал (через) газон пять минут* (was crossing a
lawn for five minutes). Both prefixes *про-* and *на-* put emphasis on the
final stage of achievement, while the prefixes *до-* and *пере-* suggest that
even though some time is needed for completing an activity, the focus is
still on completion. In the predicates *переставал работать* and
появлялся в доме the verbs are formed from the perfective verbs
перестать and *появиться*, formed in their turn from the simplex
perfectives *стать* and *явиться*. The common semantic dominator of
all perfective verbs is the notion of being a *localized-in-time*, or a *one-time*,
situation. It is obvious that this notion is preserved both in the prefixed
derivates *перестать* and *появиться* and in the secondary imperfective
verbs *переставать* and *появляться*. Hence, indicators of *duration* are
not acceptable in contexts with such verbs, while indicators of *completion*
are.

Finally, pattern D includes verbs that are compatible only with
indicators of *duration* and *progression* but not *completion*. They also do
not assume *iterativity* semantically. There are only 11 verbs of this type
in the data. Five of them are transitive, and six intransitive. For

⁸ In this work, the Vendler (1967) classification of verb semantics is used for its
convenience. Paducheva (2009) gives the following Russian equivalents of Vendler's
terms: state - *статив*, activity - *деятельность*, accomplishment - *совершение*,
achievement - *достижение*. The extent to which Vendler's classification is applicable to
the Russian verb system will be considered in the discussion section.

example, (1) *раздумывал о решении час / ?за час / сейчас он раздумывает о решении* (he considered his decision for an hour / ?in an hour / now he is considering his decision); (2) *сгорал от стыда весь день / ?за день / сейчас он сгорает от стыда* (he felt ashamed for the whole day / ?in the whole day / he feels (?is feeling)⁹ ashamed now); (3) *затруднял мне работу все утро / ?за все утро / сейчас он затрудняет мне работу* (he made my work difficult for the whole morning / ?in the whole morning / now he is making my work difficult); (4) *увлекался музыкой неделю / ?за неделю / сейчас он увлекается музыкой* (he became engrossed in music for a week / ?in a week / now he is [?becoming] engrossed in music); or (5) *переживал горе год / ?за год / сейчас он очень переживает из-за дочери* (he took hard his sorrow for a year / ?in a year / now he takes[?is taking] it hard on himself because of his daughter).

These verbs are predominantly *states* that presuppose an extended period of time for their realization; hence, no completion is expected. Their semantics also exclude the concept of *iterativity*.

As to the notions of *duration* and *progression*, the examples considered above reveal an interesting observation. It seems that in Russian, due to the absence of special progressive verb forms, the same imperfective forms (past, present, and future) are used to express the notions of both *duration* and *progression*. The former requires a contextual indicator of *duration*, while the latter requires a broader context that includes either the moment of speech or another verb situation for establishing condition for simultaneity. For example, *Он читал газету час.* (He read a newspaper for an hour.) / *Сейчас он читает газету.* (Now he is reading a newspaper.) / *Когда дети спали, он читал газету.* (When the children were sleeping, he read a newspaper).

However, in the present tense context, stative verbs are not perceived as truly progressive. A translation of contexts with stative verbs in pattern D illustrates this point: *Сейчас он очень переживает из-за дочери* means *He takes it hard on himself now because of his daughter* and not *He is ?taking it hard on himself now because of his daughter*. Another example, *Сейчас он увлекается музыкой*, means *Now he is engrossed in music* rather than *He is ?becoming engrossed in music*.

⁹ Stative verbs in English are rarely used in the present progressive tense.

The combinatory patterns in semantic distributions and the numbers of occurrences for each of the four groups A, B, C, and D (prefixed / non-prefixed or transitive / intransitive verbs) are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Combinatory Distribution of Semantic Notions

Prefix (#) of verbs	Pattern A		Pattern B		Pattern C		Pattern D	
	Tr.	Intr.	Tr.	Intr.	Tr.	Intr.	Tr.	Intr.
в/вз 13	5	2		1		5		
вы 26	19	5			2			
до 23	8	3			4	5	2	1
за 38	20	1	2	4	7	3	1	
из/ис 6	4			1	1			
на 18	6		1		7	4		
о/об 11	8	1			2			
от 11	7	3			1			
пере 13	8				3	1	1	
по 27	8		5	9	1	3	1	
под 6	5	1						
пре 6	2		1		3			
пред 7	1		2		4			
при 19	3	2	5	6	3			
про 14	5	4	1		2	2		
раз 9	8							1

Prefix	Pattern A		Pattern B		Pattern C		Pattern D	
c 13	5	2			5			1
y 10			1		3	5		1
No Prefix 30	10	6		4	1	7		2
Total 300	132	30	18	26	49	34	5	6

Proceeding from the data, the following observations are formed:

- (1) An incompatibility of secondary imperfective verbs with indicators of *duration* is attested in 127 of the 300 total contexts: of these 127, 67 verbs are transitive and 60 are intransitive. This group makes up 42% of the total number of verbs considered in the research. In Table 2 these verbs are placed under Patterns B and C, with total numbers at the bottom of the table.
- (2) The data on the compatibility of secondary imperfective verbs with indicators of completion is even more striking: of 300 verbs, 245 verbs (82.6%) are compatible with it. This is, of course, contrary to the prevalent position in methodological explanations of the verbal aspect in Russian, which presents a notion of *completion* as the basic function of the perfective aspect. These verbs are placed under Patterns A and C in Table 2. Of these, 181 verbs are transitive, and 64 are intransitive.
- (3) Moreover, the data also show that a quite large number (162) of contexts with secondary imperfective verbs reveal their compatibility with notions of both *duration* and *completion*, making up 54%. All these verbs represent the type under Pattern A; 132 of them are transitive, and 30 are intransitive verbs.
- (4) The data suggest that transitive / intransitive features do not seem significant within the three groups: respectively, 18 transitive verbs versus 26 intransitive verbs in group B; 49 versus 34 in group C; and 5 versus 6 in group D. However, the verbs in group A are mostly transitive – 132 versus 30 intransitive. Transitive verbs in this group predominantly

describe *activities*, and this explains their compatibility with the notions of both *duration* and *completion*.

- (5) Another observation worth mentioning is the compatibility / incompatibility of prefixed imperfective verbs of motion with indicators of *duration* and *completion*. Of the 300 total verbs in this study, 41 are prefixed verbs of motion, derived from their multi-directional simplex verbs of motion, such as *вносить*, *въезжать*, *вылетать*, *выезжать*, *доезжать*, *доходить*, *доставлять*, *заезжать*, *объезжать*, etc. Verbs of motion were not a focus of this research mainly because that large group of verbs has been described in great detail and quite comprehensively in the methodological literature for learners of Russian. However, even this small number of randomly selected verbs shows the same patterns as most of the secondary imperfective verbs in the study in regard to their compatibility / incompatibility with indicators of *duration* and *completion*.

Group A includes 20 verbs: for example, *Он вносил чемодан в дом минуту* (He was bringing a suitcase inside the house for a minute) / *за минуту* (he brought a suitcase inside the house in a minute), *Сейчас он вносит чемодан в дом* (Now he is bringing a suitcase inside the house).

Group B contains 11 verbs: for example, *Он забежал домой ?минуту* / *?за минуту* / *?Сейчас он забежал домой*. All three contexts are untranslatable to English because, in each context, the verb forms *забежал* / *забежал* refer to a number of occasions when he *stopped* or *stops* by the house: *He used to stop by the house for minute* (*на минуту*, not *?минуту*), and not *?in a minute* (*?за минуту*); similarly, *he stops*, not *?is stopping by the house*. This phenomenon reveals the verb's truly iterative nature because its semantics has preserved a multi-directional essence of its original simplex verb *бежать* (to run multiple times).

Group C includes 10 verbs: for example, *Он доходил до дома ?минуту* (He used to reach the house / come up to the house ?for a minute) / *Он доходил до дома за минуту* (He used to reach the house / come up to the house in a minute) / *?Сейчас он доходит домой* (?Now he ?is coming up to the house). As in the case of the verb *забегать*, the semantics of verb *доходить* have also

preserved the iterativity notion which is characteristic of all simplex multi-directional verbs of motion. Therefore, its iterative nature does not tolerate either the concept of duration or progression. However, it differs from the verb *забегать* in its compatibility with an indicator of *completion*. This is due to the semantics of the prefix *до-* which presupposes some period of time needed for attaining a goal. On the contrary, the prefix *за-* does not imply such an idea. Rather, it refers to an initial point of visit which presupposes a possible period of stay: *Он забежал на минуту* means *He stopped by and stayed for a minute and then left*.

Discussion

The data used in the research is small in its scope. It includes only 300 secondary imperfective verbs, selected from a 2000-verb index and then supplied with minimal and extended contexts to check the compatibility of each with aspectual indicators of *duration* and *completion*. Nevertheless, it is representative enough to make observations about how distribution of aspectual notions within this group of secondary imperfective verbs takes place.

The data reveal four combinatory patterns, described above, that allow one to draw insightful conclusions, such as why some secondary imperfective verbs are incompatible with indicators of *duration* and *progression*, the prevalent notions of the imperfective aspect, and why many other verbs are compatible with indicators of *completion*, typically associated with the perfective aspect. Overall, the decisive factors in combinatory distribution of aspectual notions are the semantics of the verb stems and their prefixes.

The fact that 82.6% of 300 secondary imperfective verbs are compatible with the notion of *completion* and 42% of them are incompatible with the notion of *duration* raises several questions concerning the traditional approach to introducing the category of verbal aspect to learners of Russian. Among these are: Is the category of verbal aspect in Russian indeed a privative binary opposition if, as we have just observed, it embraces at least four types of verbs that function differently? Does it help Russian language learners to grasp the essence of the category of verbal aspect if we introduce it through aspectual

pairs, despite the fact that no general agreement exists among grammarians and lexicologists as to how to define the pairs?

Indeed, more and more researchers express doubts about the traditional explanation of the category of verbal aspect. A convincing critique of the predominant approach to the interpretation of verbal aspect in Russian is given by A. В. Кравченко. In his article "A New Cognitive Framework for Russian Aspect" (1995), he presents his own classification of aspectual features of Russian verbs, proceeding from their morphological characteristics. He recognizes three parameters for describing the formation of aspectual verb forms in Russian: (1) base verbs + (2) spatial prefixes → (3) derived verbs. Base verbs can be imperfective (IMP1 - *вести*) or perfective (PF1 - *дать*). Proceeding from the imperfective base verb, he identifies six steps in the formation of aspectual forms: IMP1 (*вести*)→IMP2 (*водитъ*)→IMP3 (*важивать*)→PF3 (*вывести*)→IMP2der (*выводить*)→IMP3der (*вываживать*). Proceeding from the perfective base verb, he identifies four steps: PF1(*дать*)→ IMP2 (*давать*)→ PF3 (*выдать*)→IMP2der (*выдавать*). He also identifies a third type of formation of aspectual verb forms that includes six steps, proceeding from the perfective suffixed form (PF2): PF2(*толкнуть*)→ IMP2 (*толкать*)→ IMP3 (*талкивать*)→PF2 der (*вытолкнуть*)→ PF4 (*вытолкать*)→IMP3der (*выталкивать*).

This approach looks attractive because it allows for the systematization of all existing morphological types of aspectual forms of Russian verbs in a simple yet comprehensive way. It focuses on verb formation and shows how various aspectual verb forms correlate with each other. Hence, dealing with aspectual pairs becomes unnecessary. Instead, a dictionary can simply provide verb forms in the alphabetical order, listing all other related verbs with a common stem and lexical meaning in the same entry: for example, 1) *увезти* (prefixed per.) / *везти* (base unidirectional imp.) / *возить* (base multidirectional imp.) / *увозить* (prefixed sec. imp.) , 2) *завезти* (prefixed per.) / *везти* (base unidirectional imp.) / *возить* (base multidirectional imp.) / *завозить* (prefixed sec. imp.), 3) *прочитать* (prefixed per.) / *читать* (base imp.) / *прочитывать* (prefixed sec. imp.), 4) *перечитать* (prefixed per.) / *читать* (base imp.) / *перечитывать* (prefixed sec. imp.), and so on.

Approaches to organizing verb entries in a dictionary can vary considerably; however, pairing verbs as perfective versus imperfective

should be abandoned. It would be more beneficial for the learner of Russian to be exposed to the rich and intricate system of Russian verbs that allows for differentiating meticulous nuances in their semantics.

We definitely need to reconsider the traditional approach to defining basic aspectual meanings of the perfective and imperfective aspects as, respectively, *completion* and *duration / progression*. The data of this research questions the validity and rationale of this approach. How can we continue to confuse Russian language learners telling them that the notion of *completion* is ascribed only to the perfective aspect if so many secondary imperfective verbs are just as compatible with it? ¹⁰

In her empirical study, В. С. Соболева (1998, 2011) suggested that (1) the basic invariant aspectual notion of the perfective verb is a *specific localized-in-time situation* and (2) the basic notion of the imperfective aspect is a *general validity*. Their Russian equivalents are, correspondingly, *конкретно-фактическое значение* and *обще—фактическое значение*. ¹¹ These two basic notions are interchangeable in minimal contexts – the preference for one over another reflects a purely pragmatic decision on the part of the speaker: *Я уже говорил (Imp.) ему об этом сегодня утром (general) / Я уже сказал (Per.) ему об этом сегодня утром (specific)*. The semantic difference between these two forms is untranslatable into English: both sentences mean *I have already told him about it this morning*. For the Russian speaker, though, the difference depends on the emphasis, whether she recalled the fact as a situation that happened some time in the morning or as one that happened in the morning at a particular time.

All perfective verbs are contextually independent; in any context, minimal or extended, they designate a *specific, localized-in-time situation* and, therefore, are used for expressing sequential situations: *Вчера я купил (Per.) новую машину. После того как я купил (Per.) ее, я сразу поехал (Per.) на ней кататься по городу. (Yesterday I*

¹⁰ The same applies to consideration of *boundedness* or *totality* as the basic meaning of the perfective aspect. See, for example, the arguments of А. В. Кравченко (1995).

¹¹ The Russian terms were suggested by О. П. Рассудова (1968), though she considered them only contextual, not basic aspectual meanings of the perfective and imperfective aspects. J. A. Forsyth (1970) was more accurate, defining the basic meaning of the imperfective aspect as *simple denotation*, which, in essence, does not differ from the term *general-validity*.

bought a new car. After I had bought it / After buying it, I immediately drove it around the town.)

Of the four meanings of the imperfective aspect, only the basic meaning of *general-validity* is bound to a minimal context. The three other aspectual notions of the imperfective aspect -- *repetition* (*повторяющееся действие*), *duration* and *progression* (*длительное* and *актуально-длительное действие*) -- are contextually dependent. They are realized in extended contexts: *repetition* and *duration* are expressed on the phrasal level, for example, *читал книгу каждый вечер / два дня* (*read a book every evening / for two days*), and *progression* is expressed on the sentential level, as simultaneous situations, for example, *Когда дети читали, мать готовила ужин* (*While the children were reading, the mother was preparing dinner*).

Such interpretation of aspectual functions of the perfective and imperfective verbs seems to be in agreement with the binary opposition principle on the basis of which the category of verbal aspect is described. However, the secondary imperfective verbs that reveal their *iterative* nature and compatibility with indicators of *completion* raise reasonable doubts about the validity of the binary opposition approach. Obviously, we need to develop a new, different approach. Maybe, after all, Vendler's (1967) classification of verb stems is applicable if we abandon the aspectual pairing approach and follow instead Kravchenko's (1995) approach to describing aspect from the verbal morphology perspective. Although application of Vendler's classification to the Russian verb system was not the purpose of this research, it would be interesting to look at such a possibility in the near future.

Conclusion

It is quite obvious that secondary imperfective verbs in Russian do, indeed, create the 'mystery' Oscar Swan mentioned in his article (1977). It seems that, contrary to Klimonov's position (2010), the semantic notion of *iterativity* has not been lost by the language; rather, it has found another way of expressing itself through a combination of originally iterative suffixes *-ыва-* /*-ива-* and prefixed perfective verbs.

Even though specialists on the verbal aspect in Russian have in the past periodically devoted their attention to this phenomenon, up to

now no comprehensive explanation has been offered.¹² Likewise, a survey of Russian textbooks yields no specific information about introducing secondary imperfective verbs to students of Russian.

The findings of this research strongly suggest a revision of the existing approach to the introduction of the Russian verbal aspect in textbooks as a binary opposition between the perfective completive and the imperfective durative. Teachers of Russian need to focus more on the role of verb morphology and context in the distribution of aspectual notions between the aspects. Indeed, changing what we are accustomed to requires, first of all, making a decision and then putting some effort into developing a new approach. However, the need for change is urgent: creating a simple, comprehensive, and generally accepted interpretation of the verbal aspect in Russian will benefit all parties: linguists, who are concerned with theoretical explanations of language phenomena, as well as teachers and learners of Russian, both of whom are in need of systemic and comprehensive explanations of how Russian verbs function.

¹² See for examples E. В. Горбова, (2011), Ю. С. Маслов, (1948), А. К. Мукарапова (2007), Е. И. Семиколенова (2007), Е. Я. Титаренко (2007, 2009), О. Ю. Шубина (2008), Л. Ясаи (1997), Galambos, A. (2007), LeBlanc, N. (2006), and many others.

Appendix

Table 1: Classification of secondary imperfective verbs (300)

Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
в /вз /вс	вложить - t	вкладывал деньги в автомат	pair	+	+	+	-	A
(13)	взглянуть - int	взглядывал на неё	pair	-	-	-	+	B
	вскипеть - int	вскипал от злости	pair	-	+	-	+	C
	возникнуть - int	возникал везде	pair	-	+	-	+	C
	возобновить -t	возобновлял контракт	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	влюбиться - int	влюблялся в неё	pair	-	+	-	+	C
	вмешаться - int	вмешивался в дело	pair	-	+	-	+	C
	внести - int	вносил чемодан в дом	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	въехать - int	въезжал во двор	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	вспахать - t	вспахивал поле	triplet	+	+	+	-	A

Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
	вспомнить - t	вспоминал детство	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	вскочить - int	вскакивал с места	pair	-	+	--	+	C
	войти - int	входил в дом	pair	+	+	+	-	A
вы (26)	выбросить - t	выбрасывал хлам	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	<u>выпить</u> -t	выпивал водку	triplet	-	+	-	+	C
	выздороветь -int	выздоровливал	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	выключить - t	выключал свет	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	вылететь - int	вылетал с базы	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	вылить - t	выливал воду	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	вынести - t	выносил мусор	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	выписать - t	выписывал рецепт	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	высказать - t	высказывал упрёк	pair	+	+	+	-	A

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Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
	вынуть -t	вынимал очки из футляра	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	вылечить - t	вылечивал больного	triplet	-	+	-	+	C
	<i>вытащить</i> - t	вытаскивал занозу	triplet	+	+	+	-	A
	высмеять - t	высмеивал человека	pair	+	+	+	-	A
	выехать - int	выезжал из города	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	выбрать - t	выбирал книгу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	выбежать - int	выбегал на улицу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	вывесить - t	вывешивал костюм	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	выделить - t	выделял бюджет	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	выдержать - t	выдерживал стресс	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	выдумать - t	выдумывал историю	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	вызвать - t	вызывал врача	pair	+	+	+	--	A

Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
	выиграть - int	выигрывал в споре	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	выгулять - t	выгуливал собаку	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	выкупить - t	выкупал дом	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	вывести - t	выводил коня	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	выдать - t	выдавал книгу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
до (23)	добить - t	добивал оппонента	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	доехать - int	доезжал до дома	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	доказать - t	доказывал правоту	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	достигнуть - int	достигал цели	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	догнать - t	догонял сестру	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	дойти - int	доходил до дома	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	дозвониться - int	дозванивался до неё	pair	--	+	--	+	C

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Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
	доложить - int	докладывал директору	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	допустить - t	допускал ошибку	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	долететь - int	долетал до места	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	дополнить - t	дополнял <u>слова</u> к тексту	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	дождаться - int	дождался его	pair	+	-	+	--	D
	допросить - t	допрашивал его	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	довести - t	доводил сына до школы	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	довезти - t	довозил его до дома	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	добежать - int	добегал до дома	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	доверить - t	доверял жене секреты	pair	+	--	+	--	D
	дожить - t	доживал жизнь в бедности	pair	+	--	+	--	D
	добраться - int	добирался до дома	pair	+	+	+	--	A

Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
	донести - t	доносил сумку до дома	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	договорить - t	договаривал речь до конца	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	долить - t	доливал воду в танк	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	добавить - t	добавлял воду в танк	pair	+	+	+	--	A
за (38)	застыть - int	застывал на месте	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	заставить - t	заставлял его спать	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	замедлить - t	замедлял ход	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	заразить - t	заражал детей гриппом	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	затруднить - t	затруднял работу	pair	+	--	+	--	D
	замолчать - t	замалчивал истину	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	замолкнуть - int	замолкал внезапно	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	завязать - t	завязывал пояс	pair	+	+	+	--	A

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Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
	закреть - t	закрывал дом	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	завербовать - t	завербовывал агента	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	заболеть - int	заболевал гриппом	triplet	--	+	--	+	C
	запросить - t	запрашивал центр / информацию	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	забросить - t	забрасывал мяч в дом	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	задать - t	задавал мне вопрос	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	занести - t	заношил книгу домой	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	завернуть - t	заворачивал книгу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	заказать - t	заказывал билет	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	заехать - int	заезжал домой	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	загадать - t	загадывал желание	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	замерзнуть - int	замерзал на ветру	pair	+	+	+	--	A

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	завести - t	заводил кошку	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	завести – t	заводил мотор	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	задуматься - int	задумывался над чем-то	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	закончить – t	заканчивал урок	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	заучить - t	заучивать поэму	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	заслужить - t	заслуживал награду	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	запахнуть – t	запахивал шубу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	заметить – t	замечал ошибку	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	заглянуть - int	заглядывал в окно	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	забежать - int	забегал домой	pair	--	-	--	+	B
	завоевать - t	завоёвывал сердце / страну	pair	+	+	+	--	A

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	затронуть - t	затрагивал старую тему	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	заработать - t	зарабатывал деньги	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	закончить - t	заканчивал работу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	забыть - t	забывал правило	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	задержать - t	задерживал человека	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	запомнить - t	запоминал правило	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	затаить - t	затаивал обиду	triplet	--	--	--	+	B
из/с (6)	измучить - t	измучивал жертву	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	измерить - t	измерял дом	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	избавить - t	избавлял ее от наказания	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	избежать - int	избегал ответа	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	исполнить - t	исполнял просьбу	pair	+	+	+	--	A

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	<u>исправить</u> - t	исправлял ошибку	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
на (18)	наклеить - t	наклеивал лист	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	надеть - t	надевал пальто на себя	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	нагнуть – t	нагибал голову вниз	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	наказать - t	наказывал сына	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	<u>накопить</u> - t	накапливал тысячу	triplet	--	+	--	+	C
	напасть - int	нападал на соседа	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	напомнить - int	напоминал о себе	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	нагреть - t	нагревал воду	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	назвать - t	называл её душой	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	накупить – t	накупал уйму вещей	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	насчитать - t	насчитывал тысячу	pair	--	+	--	+	C

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	<u>нацарапать</u> - t	нацарапывал что-то на льду	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	напиться - int	напивался водки	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	найти - t	находил деньги	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	наехать – int	наезжал на газон	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	накормить - t	накармливал всех	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	набрать - t	набирал людей	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	назначить - t	назначал кого-то на пост	pair	--	+	--	+	C
о/об (11)	окончить - t	оканчивал школу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	опустить - t	опускал ведро в колодец	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	<u>овладеть</u> - int	овладевал навыком	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	оповестить - t	оповещал жильцов	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	<u>остудить</u> - t	остужал молоко	triplet	+	+	+	--	A

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	объявить - t	объявлял новость	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	обслужить - t	обслуживал гостя	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	объехать - t	объезжал город	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	оставить - t	оставлял дочь одну	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	оценить - t	оценивал ситуацию	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	обрушить - t	обрушивал крышу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
от (12)	отослать - t	отсылаал письмо	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	отказать - int	отказывал в помощи	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	отменить - t	отменял урок	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	отметить - t	отмечал праздник	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	отнять - t	отнимал вещь	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	отразить - t	отражал противника	pair	+	+	+	--	A

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	отвыкнуть - int	отвыкал от привычки	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	отстать - int	отставал от отца	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	отдать - t	отдавал вещь	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	отложить - t	откладывал покупку	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	отпустить - t	отпускать студента	pair	--	+	--	+	C
пере (13)	пережить - t	переживал горе	pair	+	--	+	--	D
	перевести - t	переводил текст	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	перестать - int	переставал работать	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	переставить - t	переставлял стол	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	перевезти - t	перевозил багаж	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	перейти - t	переходил улицу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	передать - t	передавал новость/и	pair	+	+	+	--	A

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	перенести - t	переносил стол / боль	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	передумать - t	передумывал план	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	перебить - t	перебивал рассказчика	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	перебить - t	перебивал всех живых	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	перезвонить – int	перезванивал другу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	перегрызть - t	перегрызал веревку	pair	+	+	+	--	A
по (27)	поправить - t	поправлял одежду	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	победить - t	побеждал противника	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	попасть - int	попадал в цель	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	посвятить - t	посвящал жизнь семье	pair	+	--	+	--	D
	покинуть - t	покидал дом	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	послать – t	посылал письмо	pair	+	+	+	--	A

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	<u>посмотреть</u> - int	посматривал на него	triplet	--	--	--	+	B
	поразить - t	поражал слушателя	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	<u>погибнуть</u> - int	погибал в бою	triplet	--	+	--	+	B
	поздравить - t	поздравлял друга	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	посетить - t	посещал друга	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	<u>погладить</u> - t	поглаживал собаку	triplet	--	--	--	+	B
	появиться - int	появлялся в доме	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	<u>поглядеть</u> - int	поглядывал на друга	triplet	--	--	--	+	B
	<u>погулять</u> - int	погуливал в парке	triplet	--	--	--	+	B
	<u>погасить</u> - t	погашал огонь	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	порвать - t	порывал контакт	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	поташить - t	потаскивал хлеб	pair	--	--	--	+	B

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	посмеяться - int	посмеивался над ним	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	потянуться - int	потягивался	triplet	--	--	--	+	B
	полежать - int	полёживал на диване	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	покурить - t	покуривал сигару	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	помешать - t	помешивал кашу	triplet	--	--	--	+	B
	полетать - int	полётывал в небе	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	показать – t	показывал дорогу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	показаться – int	показывался на люди	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	постоять – int	постаивал на месте	pair	--	--	--	+	B
под (6)	подготовить - t	подготавливал сына к школе	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	подкрасить – t	подкрашивала брови	pair	+	+	+	--	A

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	подкрасться - int	подкрадывался к дому	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	подсказать - t	подсказывал ответ(ы)	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	подговорить - t	подговаривал брата на шалости	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	подтвердить - t	подтверждал факт	pair	+	+	+	--	A
пре (6)	преклонить - t	преклонял колени	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	прекратить - t	прекращал работу	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	предать - t	предавал родину	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	предать - t	предавал что-то огню	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	превозвысить - t	превозвышал себя над всеми	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	превратить - t	превращал дело в забаву	pair	--	+	--	+	C
пред (7)	предложить - t	предлагал помощь	pair	--	--	--	+	B

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	представить - t	представлял жену ангелом	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	предназначить - t	предназначал это для дела	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	предоставить - t	предоставлял жильё	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	предусмотреть - t	предусматривал возможность	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	предпринять - t	предпринимал меры	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	предупредить - t	предупреждал соседа	pair	--	+	--	+	C
при (19)	придумать - t	придумывал историю	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	припарковать - t	припарковывал машину	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	признаться - int	признавался в любви	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	прибавить - t	прибавлял рубль	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	приобрести - t	приобретал вещь	pair	--	+	--	+	C

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	призвать - t	призывал людей к порядку	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	принять - t	принимал пищу	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	привлечь - t	привлекал внимание	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	привыкнуть - int	привыкал к месту	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	прислать - t	присылал весть	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	приблизиться - int	приближался к дому	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	приехать - int	приезжал домой	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	прийти - int	приходил домой	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	прибежать - int	прибегал домой	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	прилететь - int	прилетал в город	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	прибыть - int	прибывал на место работы	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	принести - t	приносил подарок	pair	--	--	--	+	B

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	привезти - t	привозил подарок	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	привести - t	приводил гостя	pair	--	--	--	+	B
про (14)	проехать – int	проезжал по улице	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	пройти – int	проходил по улице	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	провести – t	проводил собрание	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	проводить - t	проводил друга	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	пропустить - t	пропускал человека	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	произвести - t	производил деталь	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	пробить - t	пробивал стену	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	продать - t	продавал вещь	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	<u>прочитать</u> - t	прочитывал книгу	triplet	--	+	--	+	C
	проявить t	проявлял интерес	pair	--	--	--	+	B

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	прокиснуть – int	прокисало (молоко)	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	простыть - int	простывал на морозе	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	провалиться – int	проваливался на дно	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	простудиться - int	простуживался на ветру	pair	--	+	--	+	C
раз (9)	разделить - t	разделял имущество	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	раз бить - t	разбивал чашку	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	разобрать – t	разбирал сумку	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	разоблачить - t	разоблачал шпиона	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	рас колоть - t	раскалывал орех	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	разменять - t	разменивал валюту	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	различить - t	различал предмет	pair	+	+	+	--	A

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	раздумать - int	раздумывал о решении	pair	+	--	+	--	D
	рассказать - t	рассказывал шутку	pair	+	+	+	--	A
с (13)	сшить - t	сшивал части	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	съесть - t	съедал кашу	triplet	--	+	--	+	C
	свить - t	свивал гнездо	triplet	--	+	--	+	C
	согнуть - t	сгибал руку	triplet	--	+	--	+	C
	смять - t	сминал вещь	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	склеить - t	склеивал чашу	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	смолоть - t	смалывал кофе	triplet	--	+	--	+	C
	сберечь - t	сберегал деньги	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	согреть - t	согревал руки	triplet	+	+	+	--	A
	сгореть - int	сгорал от стыда	triplet	+	--	+	--	D

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	сойти - int	сходил с поезда	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	съехать - int	съезжал с горы	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	свести - t	сводил баланс	pair	+	+	+	--	A
у (10)	увлечься - int	увлекался музыкой	pair	+	--	+	--	D
	убедить - t	убеждал ребенка	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	уволить - t	увольнял несогласного	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	упрекнуть - t	упрекал ее за ошибки	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	умолкнуть - int	умолкал внезапно	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	устать - int	уставал от работы	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	успеть - int	успевал на работу	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	уйти - int	уходил домой	pair	--	+	-	+	C
	уехать - int	уезжал домой	pair	--	+	--	+	C

Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
	упустить - t	упускал поезд	pair	--	+	--	+	C
No pref. (30)	дать - t	давал сдачу / помощь	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	внедрить - t	внедрял новый метод	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	догадаться – int	догадывался о сути	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	заснуть - int	засыпал от усталости	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	застрять - int	застревал в болоте	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	надоесть - int	надоедал всем /ему	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	исчезнуть -int	исчезал из дома	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	купить - t	покупал вещь	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	начать - t	начинал урок	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	пренебречь – int	пренебрегал советом	pair	+	--	+	--	D
	пустить - t	пускал чужого в дом	pair	--	+	--	+	C

On Semantic Peculiarities of Secondary Imperfective Verbs in Russian

Valentina S. Soboleva

Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
	проснуться - int	просыпался от шума	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	основать - t	основывал компанию	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	родить - t	рожала ребёнка	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	быть - int	бывал там	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	двинуть - int	двигал рукой	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	лечь - int	ложился в постель	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	случиться - int	случалось со мной	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	стать - int	становился в ряд	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	ошибиться - int	ошибался в игре	pair	--	--	--	+	B
	уничтожить - t	уничтожал жилье	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	удаться - int	удавалось всё (ему)	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	упасть - int	падал на пол	pair	--	--	--	+	B

Prefix	Perfective verb Transitive - t Intransitive - int	Secondary Imperfective Verb / Minimal Context	Pair / Triplet	Indicator of Duration: 'неделю' / 'минуту'	Indicator of Completion: 'за неделю' / 'за минуту'	Indicator of Progressive Present 'сейчас'	Iteration: Embedded in verb semantics	Patterns in Combinations of Aspectual Notions
	явиться - int	являлся в дом	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	оказать - t	оказывал помощь	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	остаться - int	оставался дома	pair	+	--	+	--	D
	остановить - t	останавливал машину	pair	+	+	+	--	A
	оказаться - int	оказывался в ситуации	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	обратиться - int	обращался за помощью	pair	--	+	--	+	C
	обновить - t	обновлял инструкцию	pair	+	+	+	--	A

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