

# The Essence of Slavic Verbal Aspect

RG – **C**omparative **S**lavic **V**erbal **A**spect  
(and Related Issues)

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UNIVERSITY OF  
AMSTERDAM



AMSTERDAM CENTER  
FOR LANGUAGE AND  
COMMUNICATION



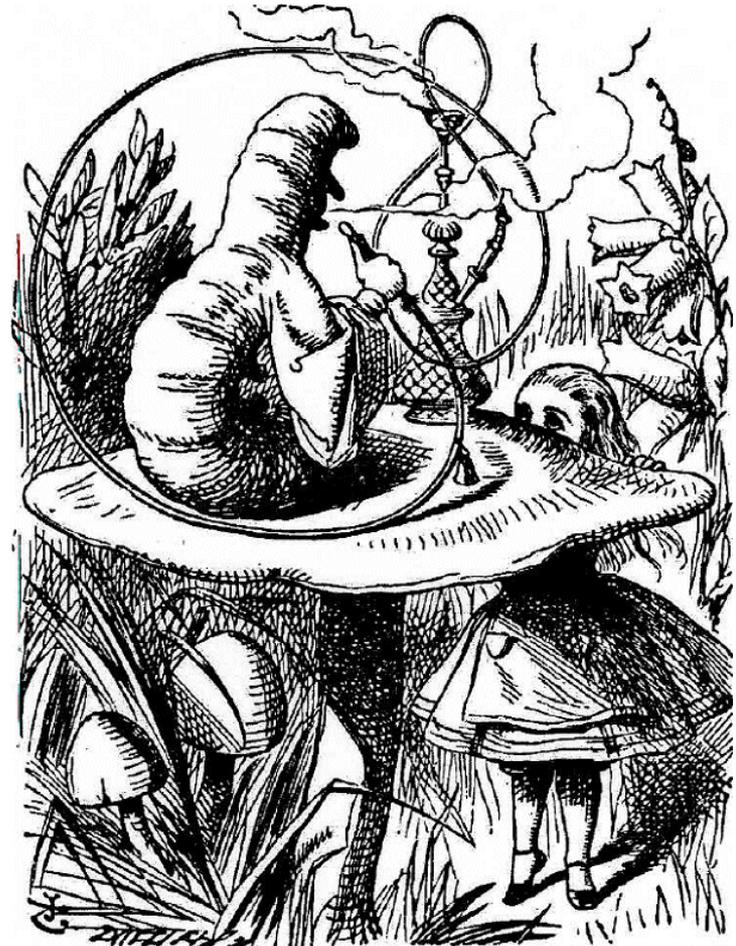
# ACLC - Research Group

## Comparative Slavic Verbal Aspect and Related Issues



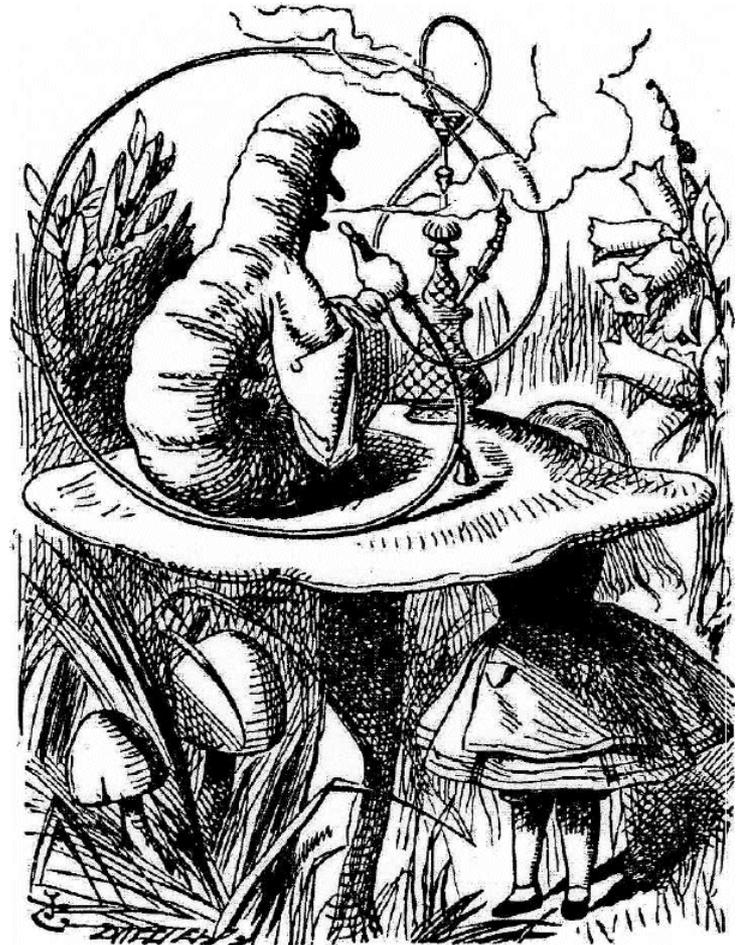
# Alice in Wonderland

She (1) **stretched herself up on tiptoe**, and (2) **peeped over the edge** of the mushroom, and her eyes immediately (3) **met** those of a large blue caterpillar, that (4) **was sitting** on the top, [...] quietly (5) **smoking a long hookah** [...] The Caterpillar and Alice (6) **looked at each other for some time** in silence: at last the Caterpillar (7) **took the hookah out of its mouth**, and (8) **addressed her** in a languid, sleepy voice.



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## Dutch

Ze (1) **ging op haar tenen staan** en (2) **gluurde** over de rand van de paddestoel en (3) **haar ogen troffen** (3) een grote blauwe rups die [...] boven op de paddestoel (4) **zat** en op zijn gemak (5) **een lange Turkse pijp rookte** [...] De rups en Alice (6) **keken elkaar een tijdje** zwijgend **aan**. Tenslotte (7) **nam de rups de waterpijp uit zijn mond** en (8) **richtte zich tot haar** met een verveelde slaperige stem.

(This version is a compilation of three different translations.)

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## Russian

Ona (1) **podnjalas'<sup>p</sup> na cypočki**, (2) **zagljanula<sup>p</sup> naverx** – i (3) **vstretilas'<sup>p</sup> glazami s ogromnoj sinej gusenicej**. Ta (4) **sidela<sup>i</sup>** [...] i tomno (5) **kurila<sup>i</sup> kal'jan** [...] Alisa i Sinjaja Gusenica (6) **dolgo smotreli<sup>i</sup> drug na druga**, ne govorja ni slova. Nakonec, Gusenica (7) **vynula<sup>p</sup> kal'jan izo rta** i medlenno, slovno v polusne, (8) **zagovorila<sup>p</sup>**.

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## Polish

(1) **stanęła<sup>p</sup> na palcach**; (2) **zerknęła<sup>p</sup> nad krawędź**; (3) **spotkały<sup>p</sup> się**; (4) **siedziała<sup>i</sup>**; (5) **pała<sup>i</sup> długie nargile**; (6) **patrzyły<sup>i</sup>** na siebie przez jakiś czas; (7) **wyjęła<sup>p</sup> (P) cybuch z ust**; (8) **zwrócił<sup>p</sup> się (P) do niej**.

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## Czech

(1) **vystoupila<sup>p</sup> na špičky**; (2) **nakoukla<sup>p</sup> přes okraj**; (3) **se střetla<sup>p</sup>**; (4) **seděl<sup>i</sup>**;  
(5) **bafal<sup>i</sup> z dlouhé fajfky**; (6) **na sebe chvíli hleděl<sup>i</sup>**; (7) **vyndal<sup>p</sup> fajku z úst**;  
(8) **promluvil<sup>p</sup>**.

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## Serbian / Croatian

(1) **izdigla<sup>p</sup> se na prste**; (2) **proviri<sup>p</sup> preko ivice**; (3) **njen pogled se susreo<sup>p</sup>**; (4) **je sedila<sup>i</sup> (I)**; (5) **pušila<sup>i</sup> (I) dugački čibuk nargile**; (6) **gledale<sup>i</sup> su se (I) neko vreme**; (7) **izvadi<sup>p</sup> čibuk iz usta**; (8) **upita<sup>p</sup>**.

[(7) and (8) aorist!]

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## Bulgarian

(1) *nadigna<sup>p</sup> se na prăsti*; (2) *pogledna<sup>p</sup> nad răba*; (3) *sreštnaxa<sup>p</sup>*; (4) *sedeše<sup>i</sup>*; (5) *pušeše<sup>i</sup>*; (6) *se gledaxa<sup>i</sup> dosta dălgo*; (7) *izvadi<sup>p</sup> nargileto ot ustata si*; (8) *se obărna<sup>p</sup> kăm Alisa*.

[All perfective forms here are **orist**. The imperfective (4) and (5) are **imperfect**. In (6) orist and imperfect are not formally distinguished.]

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## Latin

(1) **In digitos erecta constitit**, et supra oram boleti (2) **intuita est**. Ibi protinus (3) **conspexit** magnam erucam caeruleam, brachiis compressis, in summo boleto (4) **sedentem**. Fumum tabaci ex tubulo longo placide (5) **exsugebat**; [...] (6) **Diu silentio** Eruca et Alicia inter se **intuebantur**. Eruca tandem (7) *tubulo tabaci de ore extracto* voce languida et semisomna eam (8) **adlocuta est**.

[Most finite forms are **perfect**, but (5) and (6) are **imperfect**, (4) present participle]

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## Modern Romance

	Italian	Spanish	French
(2)	<b>si affacciò</b>	<b>miró</b>	<b>jeta un coup d'œil</b>
(7)	<b>staccò</b>	<b>se sacó</b>	<b>retira</b>
(4)	<b>se ne stava seduto</b>	<b>estaba sentada</b>	<b><i>assise</i></b>
(5)	<b><i>fumando</i></b>	<b><i>fumando</i></b>	<b><i>fumant</i></b>
(6)	<b>si guardarono</b>	<b>se estuvieron mirando</b>	<b>se regardèrent</b>

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## Turkish

practically all forms have simple stem + *di*. E.g. (2) *bir göz attı*, (7) *çıkardı*. This also applies to (6): *bakıştılar*. But (4) and (5) are translated here with present forms: *oturuyor* and *içiyor*. (When combined with *-di-*, the suffix *-iyor-* usually expresses a some kind of *progressive* aspect.)

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## Greek

translations in most cases the aorist is used, e.g. (2) **έριξε μια ματιά**, (7) **έβγαλε**. As expected, in (4) and (5) one finds imperfect: **καθόταν**, **κάπνιζε** (or a present participle, like **καπνίζοντας**). But the translations differ in the choice of form to render (6): **κοίταζαν** η μια την άλλη **για κάμποσην ώρα** (imperfect) and **κοιτάχτηκαν** [...] **άμποση ώρα** (aorist).

# Aspect vs. Aspectuality

- Grammatical
- Functional semantic

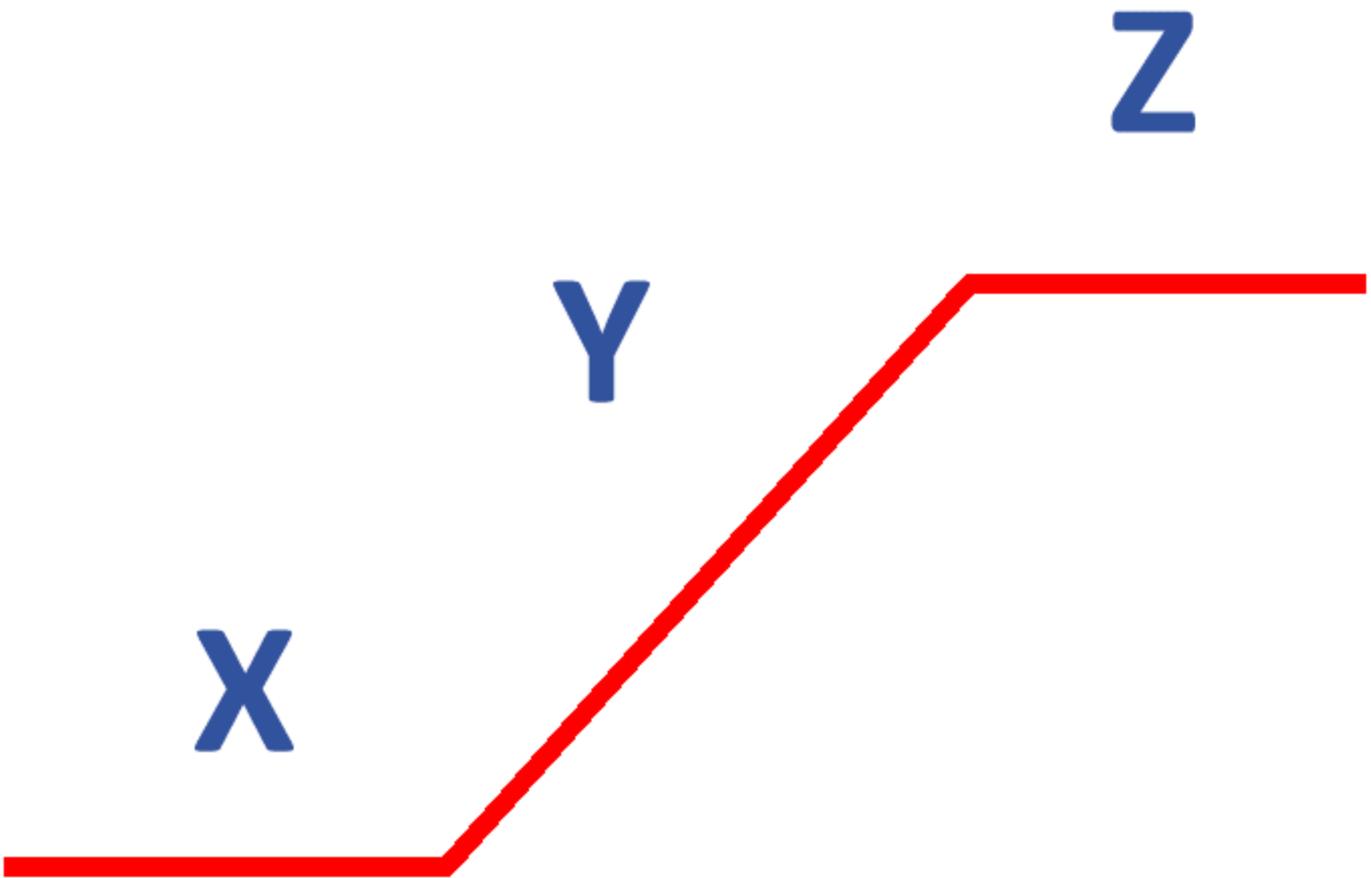
# Aterminativity

x(x)x



# Terminativity

$x(x)$



# Vendler (1957+1967)

- **States**

‘non-dynamic situations without natural conclusions’

*know, hate*

- **Activities**

‘dynamic processes where any part is of the same nature as the whole’

*dance, read*

- **Accomplishments**

‘goal directed situations ... characterised by the presence of an activity before the end point’

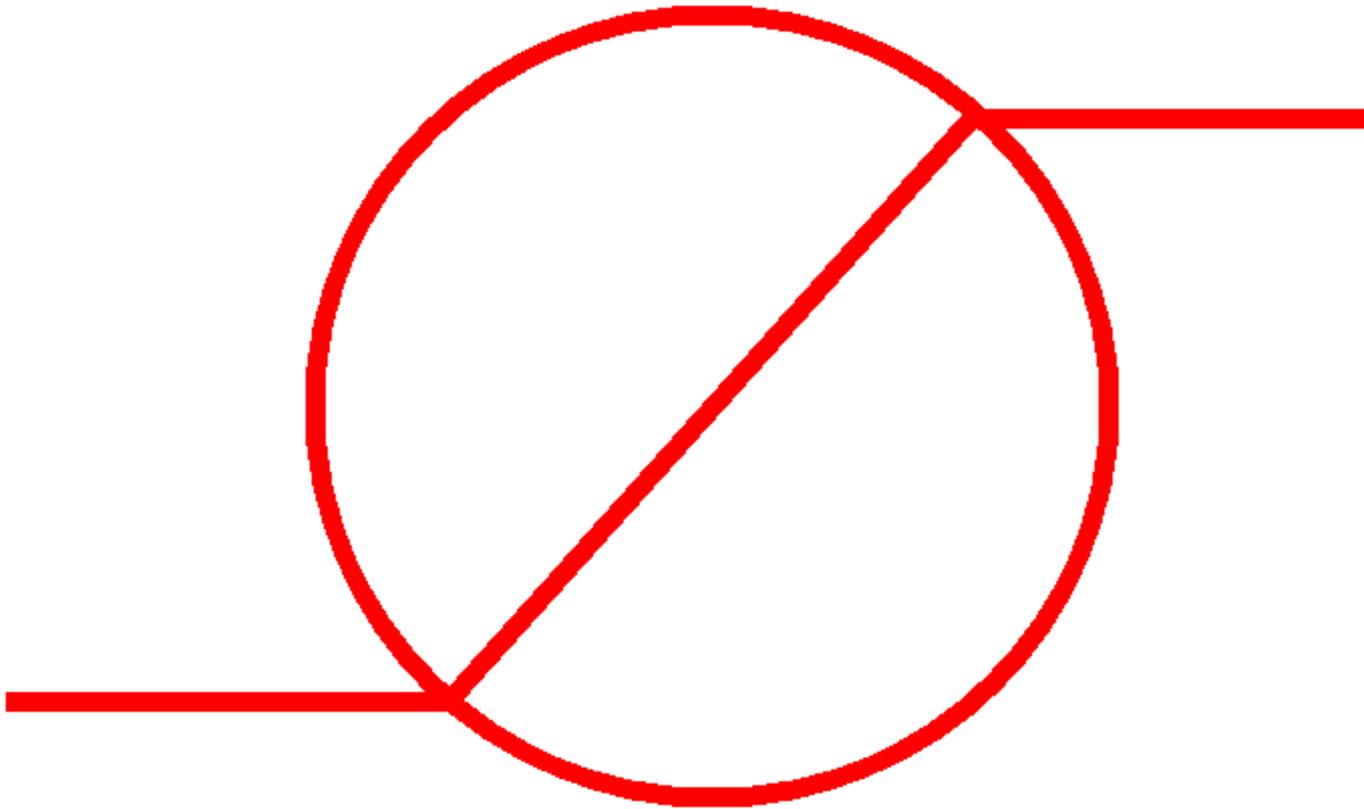
*read a book, walk a mile*

- **Achievements**

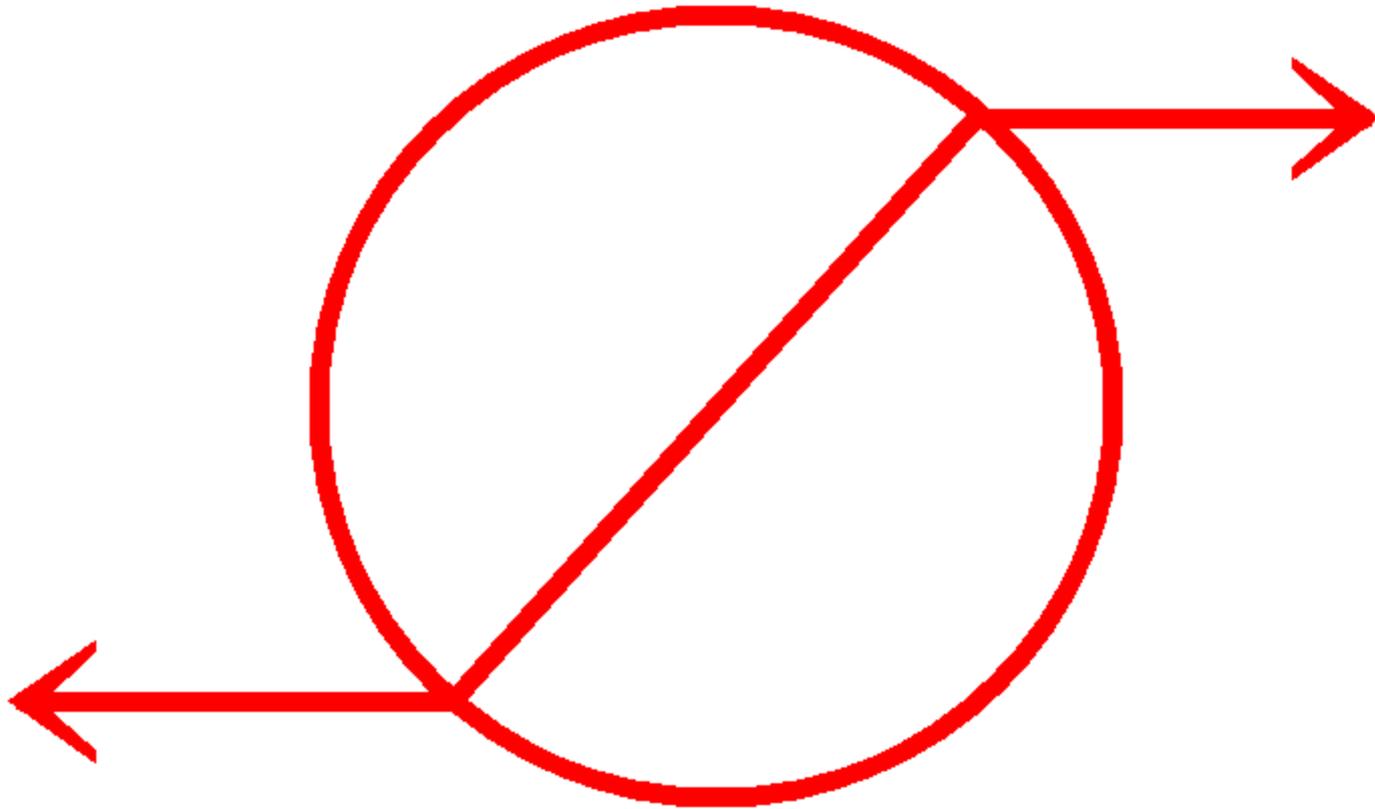
‘instantaneous leaps from one state into another without an accompanying activity’

*notice, begin*

# Totality

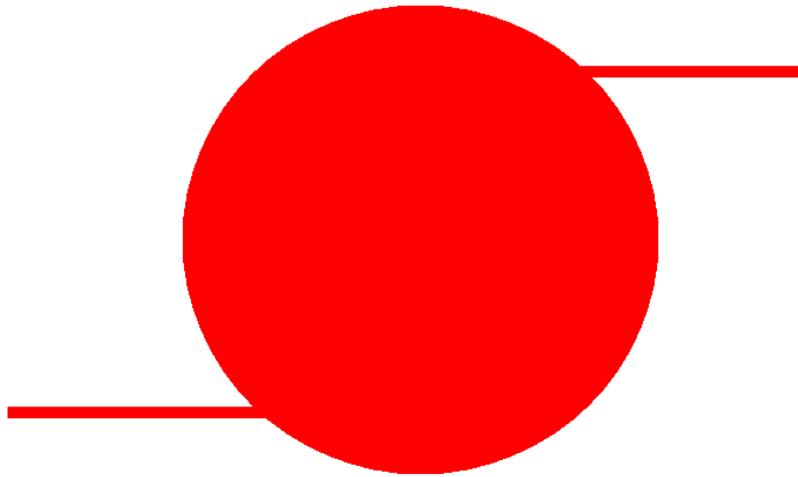


# Sequential connection

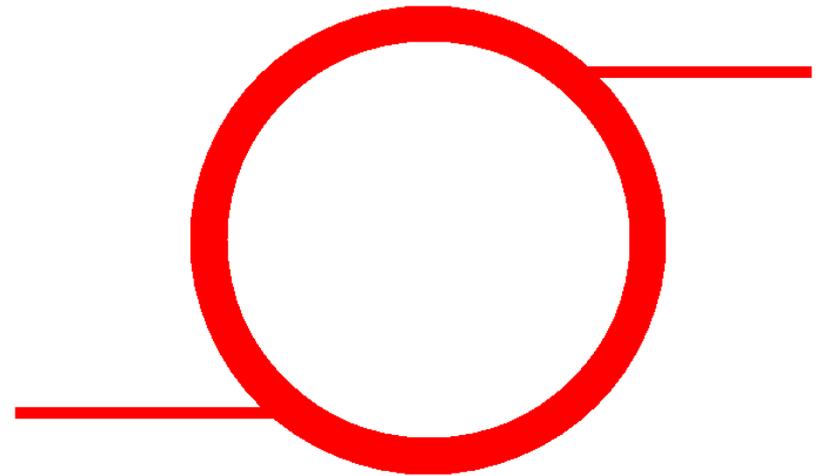


# Aspect opposition

x(x)x



imperfectivity



perfectivity

# Paradigm Russian

	imperfective	perfective
1 infinitive	<i>sostavlj<u>at</u>'</i>	<i>sost<u>av</u>it'</i>
2 imperative (2 singular)	<i>sostavljaj</i>	<i>sost<u>av</u>'</i>
3 presens	<i>sostavlj<u>aju</u></i>	<i>sost<u>av</u>lju</i>
4 future	<i>b<u>udu</u> sostavlj<u>at</u>'</i>	
future II (futurum exactum)		
preterit / present perfect	<i>sostavlj<u>a</u>l</i>	<i>sost<u>av</u>il</i>
5 past perfect		
aorist		
imperfect		
6 conditional	<i>sostavlj<u>a</u>l by</i>	<i>sost<u>av</u>il by</i>
past conditional		
7 present gerund	<i>sostavlj<u>aja</u></i>	
past gerund		<i>sostaviv</i>
present active participle	<i>sostavlj<u>ajušč</u>ij</i>	
present passive participle	<i>sostavlj<u>aemy</u>j</i>	
8 past active participle	<i>sostavlj<u>avš</u>ij</i>	<i>sost<u>av</u>ivšij</i>
past passive participle		<i>sostavlennyj</i>
9 verbal noun*		<i>sostavlenie*</i>

3,4, 5, 6:1 singular, (masculine)

8: nominative singular masculine

\* In Russian normally not differentiated for aspect. (In this case formed from the perfective stem.)

# Paradigm Bulgarian

	imperfectief	perfectief
1 infinitive		
2 imperative	<i>săstāvjaj</i>	<i>săstāvī</i>
3 present	<i>săstāvjam</i>	<i>săstāvja</i>
future	<i>šte săstāvjam</i>	<i>šte săstāvja</i>
4 future II (futurum exactum)	<i>šte sām săstāvjal</i>	<i>šte sām săstāvīl</i>
preterit / present perfect	<i>săstāvjal sām</i>	<i>săstāvīl sām</i>
5 past perfect	<i>bjax săstāvjal</i>	<i>bjax săstāvīl</i>
aorist	<i>săstāvjax</i> (2, 3 sg –∅)	<i>săstāvīh</i> (2, 3 sg –∅)
imperfect	<i>săstāvjax</i> (2, 3 sg –še)	<i>săstāvjax</i> (2, 3 sg –še)
conditional	<i>bix săstāvjal</i>	<i>bix săstāvīl</i>
6 past conditional (preteriti)	<i>štjax da săstāvjam</i> (?) ( <i>štjax da sām săstāvjal</i> ??)	<i>štjax da săstāvja</i> ( <i>štjax da sām săstāvīl</i> ??)
7 present gerund	<i>săstāvjajki</i>	
past gerund		
present active participle	<i>săstāvjašt</i>	
8 present passive participle		
past active participle		
past passive participle	<i>săstāvjan</i>	<i>săstāven</i>
9 verbal noun	<i>săstāvjane</i>	

3,4, 5, 6:1 singular, (masculine)

8: nominative singular masculine

# Ipf-aorist & pf-imperfect in Bulgarian

## IPF AORIST

### A. Emphasis on duration

1. *Doktor Xaralampi igra<sup>i</sup> (aor) do kāsno na karti, pribra<sup>p</sup> se (aor) v dva časa pred nošta i spa<sup>i</sup> (aor) do deset sutrinta*  
'Doctor Kharalampi **played** cards until late, came home at 2 a clock at night and **slept** till 10 o'clock in the morning'
2. *Muratlijski se istegna<sup>p</sup> (aor) cjal na kamāna, sključi<sup>p</sup> (aor) rācete si pod glavata i v tova pokojno položenie dālgo razkazva<sup>i</sup> (aor) istorijata si*  
'Muratlijski stretched out in full length on the stone, put his hands behind his head an in that comfortable position **told** his story for a long time'
3. *Gologlavov otnovo izvadi<sup>p</sup> (aor) starija si časovnik i dālgo i vnimatelno otvarja<sup>i</sup> (aor) kapacite mu*  
'Gologlanov *took* his old watch *out* again and for a long time and with much attention **opened** its covers'

# Ipf-aorist & pf-imperfect in Bulgarian

## IPF AORIST

### B. Emphasis on repetition – cases of bounded repetition

(Ipf is motivated then because one does not want to present a 'summation' of the actions. This is typically the case with 'two-way actions', which are connected with the factor 'annulment of result'.)

1. *Na dva pāti majka ì minava' (aor) kraj neja*  
Two times her mother **passed by** her'
2. *No skoro ošte dva pāti prez sášoto ljato konjat begà' (aor) i se vrášta' (aor) v čiflika. I vse tāj go zavarvaše' (impfct) čičo Mituš*  
'But soon this foal **ran away** and **returned to the estate** two times more during this summer. And all the time uncle Mituš *picked it up and took care of it*

# Ipf-aorist & pf-imperfect in Bulgarian

## IPF AORIST

### B. Emphasis on repetition – cases of bounded repetition

Lem: *Solaris*

Eng	I <b>dropped off</b> <u>several times</u> after that, and each time an anguished start jolted me awake.
Po	<b>Zasypiałem<sup>i</sup></b> potem jeszcze <u>kilka razy</u> i wciąż z drzemki wyrwał mnie skurcz,
Ru	<b>Ja zasypal<sup>i</sup></b> potom ešče <u>neskol'ko raz</u> , i vse vremja menja vyryvali <sup>i</sup> iz dremy sudorogi
Cz	<b>Usnul<sup>p</sup> jsem</b> pak ještě <u>několikrát</u> a z dřímoty mě neustále budila <sup>i</sup> křeč
Hr	<b>Zaspao<sup>p</sup> sam</b> zatim još <u>nekoliko puta</u> i uvijek <u>bi</u> me iz drijemeža trgnuo <sup>p</sup> grč
Bg	Posle <b>zaspivax<sup>i</sup></b> (aor/impfct) <u>njakolko pāti</u> i ot drjamkata vinagi me iztrāgvaše <sup>i</sup> (impfct) njakakva spazma

Sadly: in this form aor and impfct are not distinguished in Bg.

# Ipf-aorist & pf-imperfect in Bulgarian

## IPF AORIST

### C. 'General-factual' use

1. *Kamen: I nikakvo ogāvane?*

*Rabotnikāt: Nikakvo! S mikrometāra merixme<sup>i</sup> (aor)*

'Kamen: And is was not bent at all?

Labourer: Not at all! We **measured** it with a micrometer'

2. **Tārsixa<sup>i</sup>** (aor) li me?

'**Have** they **been looking** for me?'

Cf. the use of impfct of this verb with emphasis on the process:

3. *Radke! Tebe tārsex<sup>i</sup> (impfct)!*

'Radka! I **have been looking** for you!'

# Ipf-aorist & pf-imperfect in Bulgarian

## PF IMPERFECT

A. Main function: 'Open repetition' of a concatenation of events (specifically in a dependent temporal clause)

### Antoine de Saint-Exupéry: *Le petit prince*

Fr	<u>Quand</u> j'en <b>rencontrais</b> une [qui me paraissait un peu lucide], je <i>faisais l'expérience</i> sur elle de mon dessin numéro 1 [que j'ai toujours conservé].
Eng	<u>Whenever</u> I <b>met</b> one of them [...] I <i>tried the experiment of showing</i> him my Drawing Number One
Ru	<u>Kogda</u> ja <b>vstrečal'</b> vzroslogo [...] ja pokazывal' emu svoj risunok No. 1
Po	<u>Gdy</u> <b>spotykałem'</b> dorosłą osobę [...] <i>robitem'</i> na niej doświadczenie z moim rysunkiem numer 1
Cz	Když <b>jsem</b> mezi nimi <b>potkal</b> <sup>P</sup> někoho [...] <i>ověřil</i> <sup>P</sup> <i>jsem si</i> na něm svou zkušenost s kresbou číslo 1 [...]
Hr	<u>Kad</u> <b>bih</b> [cond.] <b>sreo</b> <sup>P</sup> odrasloga [...] <i>okušao</i> <sup>P</sup> <i>bih</i> [cond.] na njemu svoj crtež br. 1 [...] (Kušan).
Sb	<u>Kada</u> <b>bih sreo</b> <sup>P</sup> [cond.] nekog [...] <i>proveravao</i> <sup>i</sup> <i>sam ga</i> svojim crtežom broj 1 [...] (Vukšić).
Mc	<u>Koga</u> <b>k'e</b> [exp.] <b>sretnev</b> <sup>P</sup> [impfct] nekoj [...] <i>se obiduvav</i> <sup>i</sup> [impfct] kaj nego so mojot ctrež broj 1
Bg	<b>Sreštnev</b> <sup>P</sup> [impfct] <u>li</u> vāzrasten [...] go <i>proverjavax</i> <sup>i</sup> [impfct] s mojata risunka nomer 1

# Ipf-aorist & pf-imperfect in Bulgarian

## PF IMPERFECT

### B. Anticipating the terminus of the event from a moment in the past

*Poveče ot mážete viždaxa<sup>i</sup> (impfct) neminuemata si gibel i razbraxa<sup>p</sup>, če dramata šteše da svārši<sup>p</sup> (past future), kogato nemcite **obsipexa<sup>p</sup>** (impfct) pozicija im s ogānja na minoxvārgačkite si*

'Most men saw their inevitable end and *understood* that the drama *would fulfill* itself when the Germans **would cover** their positions with fire from their mortars'

## PF IMPERFECT

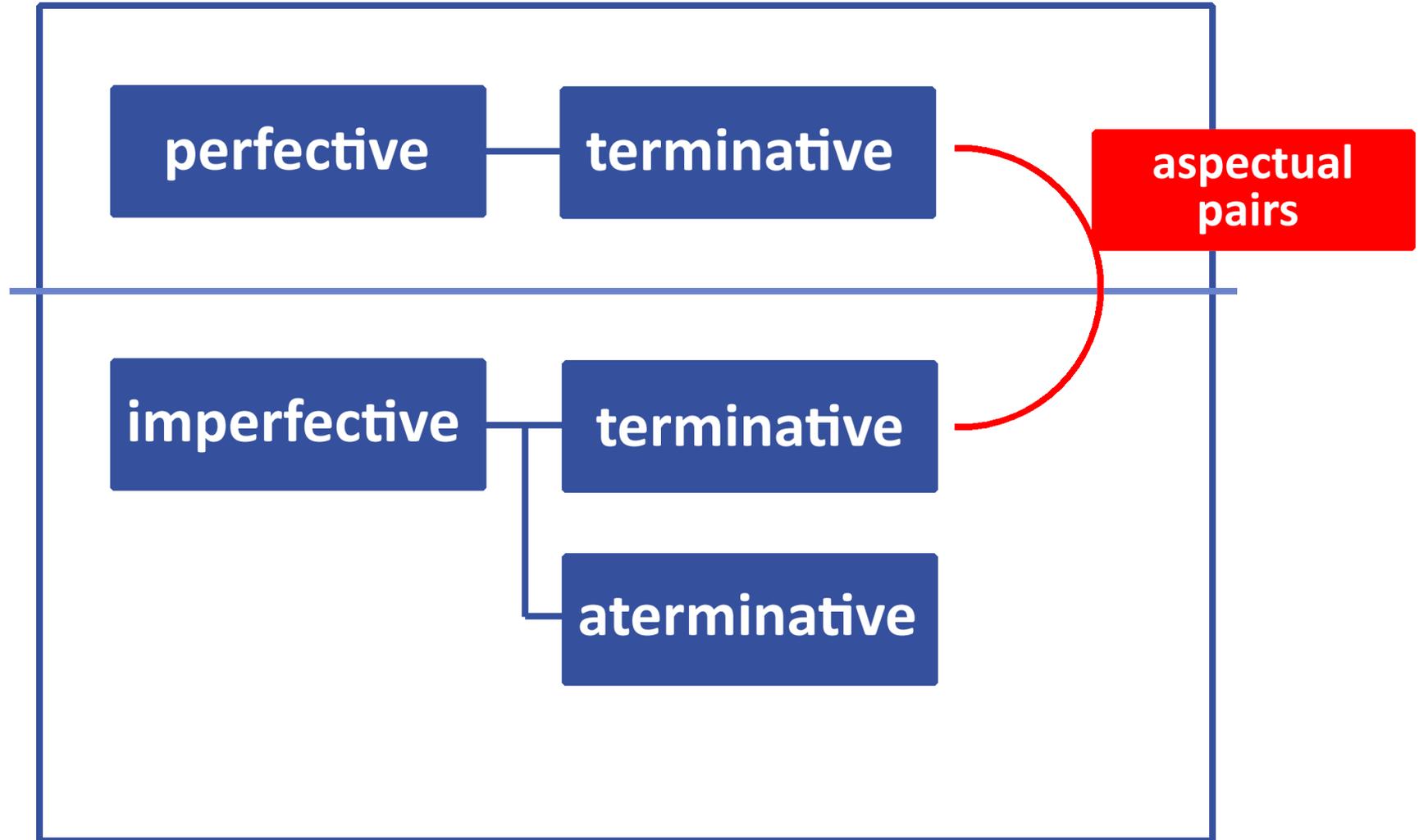
### C. Modal (hypothetical) use

*Dori i da **se otvorexa<sup>p</sup>** (impfct) sega vsičkite vrati po njakakvo čudo pred nego... kāde šteše da vārvi<sup>i</sup> (past future)?*

'Even if by some miracle the doors **would open** now for him... where *would* he go?'

# Aspect & Terminativity

x(x)



# Expression of the aspectual opposition

Regular case:

**Derivation:** prefixed perfective → prefixed imperfective by suffixation: *dopisać* - *dopisywać*

Other:

Type: *napisać* - *pisać*

Type: *machnąć* - *machać*

Type: *wziąć* - *brać* [suppletion]

# Examples of homogenisation - Ipf

'Intraterminal', e.g. background by one of more events ('incident')

E just as the Dormouse **crossed** the court [the Queen] **said** ...

D juist toen de zevenslaper **door** de zaal **liep, zei** [de koningin] ...

R kak raz, kogda Sonja **peresaživalas'**, [koroleva] **skazala<sup>P</sup>** ...

P a gdy Suseł **przechodził<sup>i</sup>** przez salę, **poleciał<sup>P</sup>** ...

Cz když pak **procházel<sup>i</sup>** Plch soudní dvoranou, **poručila<sup>P</sup>** ...

S/K baš kad **je** Puh **prelazio<sup>i</sup>** preko sudske dvorane **reče<sup>P</sup>** (aorist)...

Mc tokmu koga Polskioy Glušex ja **preminuvažē<sup>i</sup>** (imperfect)  
sudnicata, taa mu **reče<sup>P</sup>** (aorist) na eden od sudskite činovnici ...

BG kogato Katericata **minavažē<sup>i</sup>** (imperfect) na drugata strana na  
zalata, tja **kaza<sup>P</sup>** (aorist) na ednoto ot razporeditelite v sąda ...

Compare:

F juste au moment où le Loir **traversait** (imparfait) la salle, elle  
**ordonna** (passé simple) à l'un des huissiers:

NGr τη στιγμή που ο Τυφλοπόντικας **διέσχιζε** (imperfect) την  
αίθουσα, **είπε** (aorist) σε έναν από τους δικαστικούς κλητήρες

# Unbounded repetition

## A. Example with Ipf in all Slavic languages

Alan Alexander Milne: *Winnie-The-Pooh*

	But Eeyore wasn't listening. He <b>was taking</b> the balloon <b>out</b> , and <b>putting</b> it <b>back</b> again, as happy as could be....
Latin	Sed Ior non auscultabat. Quam felicissime folliculum <b>extrahebat</b> et <b>reponebat</b> .
Italian	Ma Isaia non stava ascoltando. <b>Tirava</b> fuori il palloncino, e poi lo <b>rimetteva</b> dentro, felice come non mai...
Russian	No la-la i ne slušal. On <b>opuskal'</b> šarik v goršok i <b>vyimal'</b> ego snova i snova. On byl sčastliv.
Polish	Lecz Kłapouchy nie słuchał. <b>Wkładał'</b> balonik i <b>wyjmował'</b> go z powrotem, szczęśliwy jak jeszcze nigdy w życiu.
Czech	Ale Ijáček je neposlouchal. <b>Vyndával'</b> balónek a zase jej <b>ukládal'</b> , celý šťastný.
Serbian	Ali Iar ih nije slušao. <b>Vadio'</b> je balon i <b>vraćao'</b> ga natrag, sav srećan ...
Bulgarian	No Ijori ne čuvaše ništo. Toj <b>vadeše'</b> [impf.] balona i go <b>spuskaše'</b> [impf.] pak, šťastliv kato nikoga.

[Croatian Ali Njar ih nije slušao. Posvetio se vađenju i spremanju balona u vrčić, tako sretan da sretniji nije mogao biti...]

# Unbounded repetition

## B. Different translations in various groups of Slavic languages

Mixail Bulgakov: *Master i Margarita*

Russian	Da, tak vot-s, gospoža Tofana vxodila <sup>i</sup> v položenie ètix bednyx ženščin i <1> <b>prodavala<sup>i</sup></b> im kakuju-to vodu v puzyr'kax. Žena <2a> <b>vlivala<sup>i</sup></b> ètu vodu v sup supругu, tot ego <2b> <b>s"edal<sup>i</sup></b> , <2c> <b>blagodaril<sup>i</sup></b> за ласку и <2d> <b>čuvstvoval<sup>i</sup></b> <b>sebja</b> prevosходno. Pravda, čerez neskol'ko časov emu <2e> <b>načinalo<sup>i</sup></b> očen' sil'no xotet'sja pit', zatem on <2f> <b>ložilsja<sup>i</sup></b> v postel', i čerez den' prekrasnaja neapolitanka, <u>nakormivšaja<sup>p</sup></u> svoego muža supom, <2g> <b>byla<sup>i</sup></b> <b>svobodna</b> , kak vesennij veter.
English	Well, Signora Toffana sympathised with those poor women and <1> <b>sold</b> them some liquid in a bladder. The woman <2a> <b>poured</b> the liquid into her husband's soup, who <2b> <b>ate</b> it, <2c> <b>thanked</b> her for it and <2d> <b>felt</b> splendid. However, after a few hours he <2e> <b>would begin</b> to feel a terrible thirst, then <2f> <b>lay down</b> on his bed and a day later another beautiful Neapolitan lady <2g> <b>was as free as air</b> .
French	Voilà donc, disais-je, que MmeTofana, se mettant à la place de ces pauvres femmes, leur <1> <b>vendait</b> des fioles de je ne sais quelle eau. Bon. La femme <2a> <b>versait</b> cette eau dans la soupe de son mari, celui-ci la <2b> <b>mangeait</b> , <2c> <b>remerciait</b> sa femme de ses bonnes grâces, et <2d> <b>se sentait</b> le mieux du monde. Il est vrai qu'au bout de quelques heures, il <2e> <b>commençait</b> à éprouver une soif terrible. Puis il <2f> <u>était obligé de se coucher</u> , et le lendemain, notre charmante Napolitaine <2g> <b>se trouvait libre</b> comme une brise de printemps.
Italian	Sicché, dunque, la signora Tofana si metteva nei panni di quelle povere donne e <1> <b>vendeva</b> loro una certa acqua in ampolline. La moglie <2a> <b>versava</b> quest'acqua nella minestra del marito, che la <2b> <b>mangiava</b> , <2c> <b>ringraziava</b> per la gentilezza e <2d> <b>si sentiva</b> benone. Vero è che, dopo qualche ora, <2e> <b>cominciava</b> a venirgli una gran voglia di bere, dopo di che <2f> <b>si metteva</b> a letto e il giorno seguente la bella napoletana <u>che aveva fatto mangiare</u> la minestra a suo marito <2g> <b>era libera</b> come il vento di primavera.

# Unbounded repetition

x(x)x

English	Well, Signora Toffana sympathised with those poor women and <1> <b>sold</b> them some liquid in a bladder. The woman <2a> <b>poured</b> the liquid into her husband's soup, who <2b> <b>ate</b> it, <2c> <b>thanked</b> her for it and <2d> <b>felt</b> splendid. However, after a few hours he <2e> <b>would begin</b> to feel a terrible thirst, then <2f> <b>lay down</b> on his bed and a day later another beautiful Neapolitan lady <2g> <b>was as free as air</b> .
Polish	Tak więc signora Tofana wczuwała <sup>i</sup> się w sytuację tych biednych kobiet i <1> <b>sprzedawała<sup>i</sup></b> im jakąś wodę we flaszczkach. Żona <2a> <b>wlewała<sup>i</sup></b> tę wodę mężowi do zupy, mąż to <2b> <b>spożywał<sup>i</sup></b> , pięknie <2c> <b>dziękował<sup>i</sup></b> i <2d> <b>czuł<sup>i</sup> się</b> znakomicie. Co prawda po paru godzinach <2e> <b>zaczynał<sup>i</sup></b> mieć ogromne pragnienie, potem <2f> <b>kładł<sup>i</sup> się</b> do łóżka i nie mijał dzień, a piękna neapolitanka <u>która podała<sup>p</sup></u> swemu mężowi tak znakomitą zupę, <2g> <b>była<sup>i</sup> już wolna</b> jak wiosenny wiatr.
Czech	Tak tedy signora Toffanová chápalá <sup>i</sup> tyhle ubožáčky a <1> <b>prodá- vala<sup>i</sup></b> jim jakousi záhadnou vodičku. Žena ji <2a> <b>nalila<sup>p</sup></b> manželovi do polévky, ten <2b> <b>zbaštil<sup>p</sup></b> polévku, <2c> <b>poděkoval<sup>p</sup></b> za péči a <2d> <b>cítil<sup>i</sup> se</b> v sedmém nebi. Pravda, za pár hodin ho <2e> <b>po- padla<sup>p</sup></b> hrozná žízeň, <2f> <b>ulehl<sup>p</sup></b> do postele a za dva dny půvabná Neapolitánka, <u>kteřa<sup>p</sup> podala<sup>p</sup></u> muži takovou polévku, <2g> <b>byla<sup>i</sup> volná</b> jako ptáče.

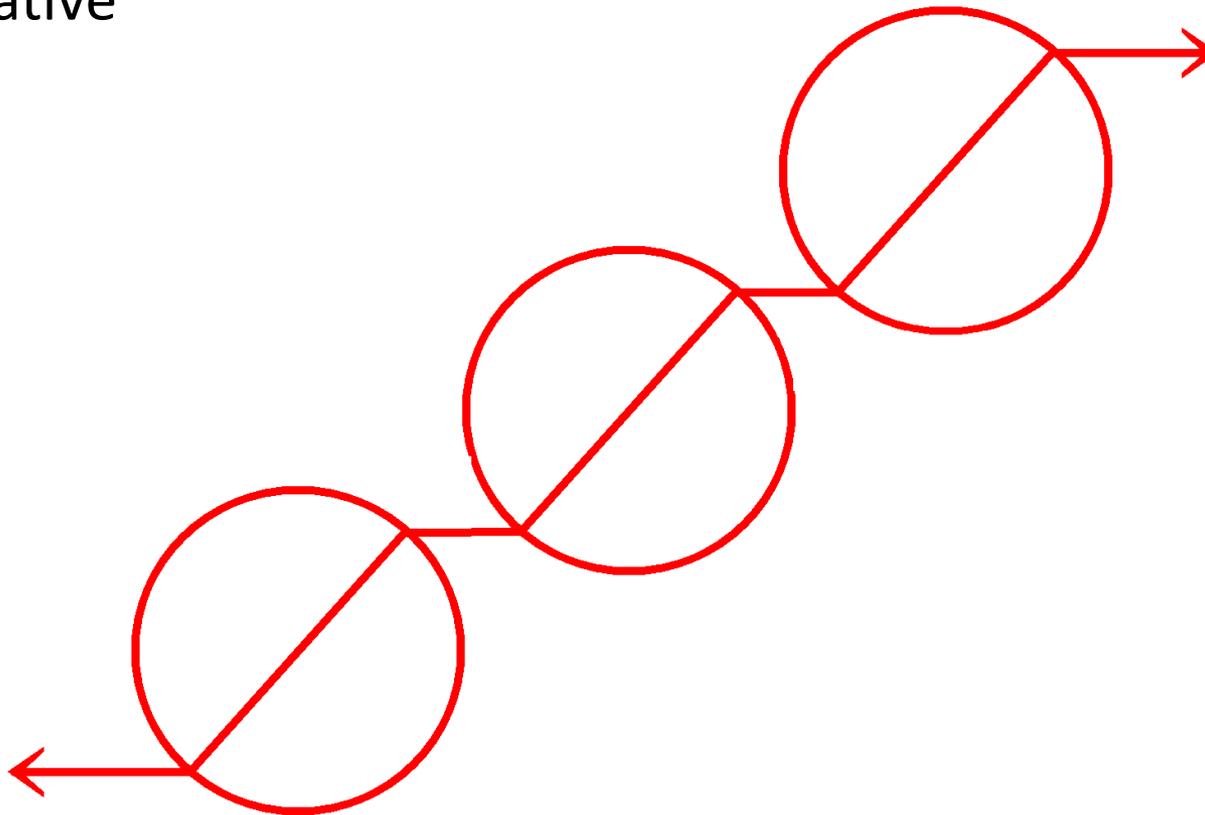
# Unbounded repetition

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Croatian	Da, dakle, gospoda Tofana razumjela <sup>/P</sup> bi [cond.] položaj tih jadnih žena i <1> <b>prodavala</b> <sup>i</sup> im neku vodu u bočicama. Žena <2a> <b>bi</b> [cond.] <b>ulila</b> <sup>P</sup> tu vodu suprugu u juhu, on <2b> <b>bi</b> [cond.] je <b>pojeo</b> <sup>P</sup> , <2c> <b>zahvalio</b> <sup>P</sup> na brižljivosti i divno <2d> <b>se osjećao</b> <sup>i</sup> . Istina, za nekoliko sati on <2e> <b>bi</b> [cond.] <b>bio</b> <sup>i</sup> jako <b>žedan</b> , zatim <2f> <b>bi</b> [cond.] <b>legao</b> <sup>P</sup> u postelju, i za jedan dan prekrasna Napuljka <u>koja je</u> svojeg muža <u>nahrnila</u> <sup>P</sup> juhom, <2g> <b>bila</b> <sup>i</sup> <b>bi</b> [cond.] <b>slobodna</b> kao proljetni vjetar.
Maced.	Da, i taka, taa gospog'a Tofana im sočuvaše <sup>i</sup> [impf.] na tie bedni ženi i im <1> <b>prodavaše</b> <sup>i</sup> [impf.] nekakva vodička vo šišenica. Ženata <2a> <b>k'e</b> [exp.] ja <b>naleeše</b> <sup>P</sup> [impf.] taa vodička vo supata na mažot, toj <2b> <b>k'e</b> [exp.] ja <b>izedeše</b> <sup>P</sup> [impf.], <2c> <b>k'e</b> [exp.] i <b>beše</b> <sup>i</sup> [impf.] <b>blagodaren</b> za vnimanieto i <2d> <b>k'e</b> [exp.] <b>se čuvstvuvaše</b> <sup>i</sup> [impf.] prekrasno. No, za žal, po nekolku časa toj <2e> <b>k'e</b> [exp.] <b>počneše</b> <sup>P</sup> [impf.] da čuvstvuva golema žed, potoa <2f> <b>k'e</b> [exp.] <b>legneše</b> <sup>P</sup> [impf.] v postela, i po ede den ubavata neapolitanka, <u>što</u> mu ja <u>dala</u> <sup>P</sup> supata na svojot maž, <2g> <b>k'e</b> [exp.] <b>beše</b> <sup>i</sup> [impf.] <b>slobodna</b> kako proleten veter.

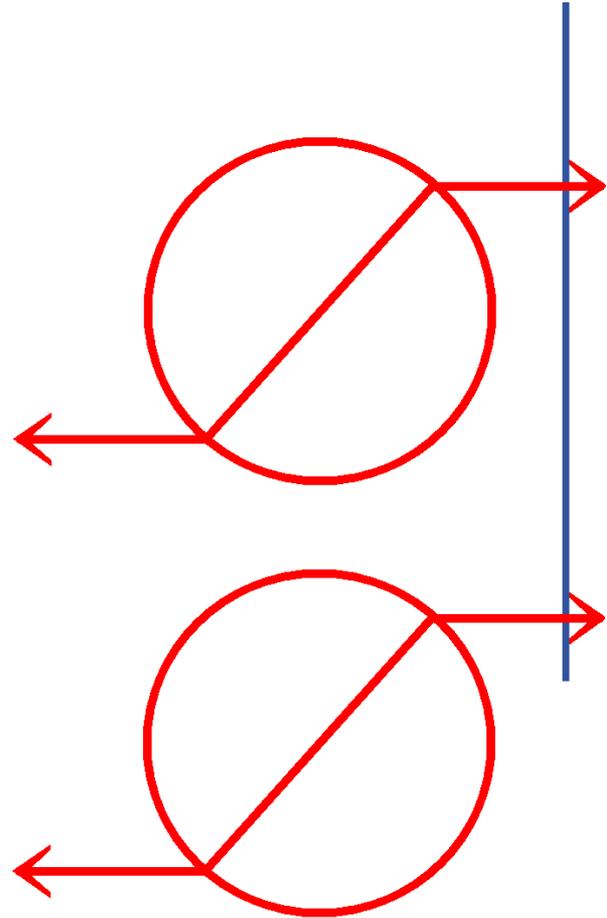
# Narrative vs. Retrospective

narrative



# Narrative vs. Retrospective

retrospective



# Narrative vs. Retrospective

Cf. Ty uže **podnjalsja**<sup>p</sup>?

'Are you **up** already? [Lit. 'Have you **climbed up**?']

vs.

Ja **podnimalsjsa**<sup>i</sup> na čerdak, no tam ničego net. (two-way action)

'I **have been** at the attic [Lit. I **climbed up** to the attic (and went down again)], but there is not anything there.'

Ty kogda-nibud' **podnimalsjsa**<sup>i</sup> po ètoj lestnice?

'Have you ever climbed up by this staircase?'

# Narrative vs. Retrospective

If one is asked to show one's ticket:

Ja ešče **ne vzjal**<sup>p</sup> [**ne uspel**<sup>p</sup> **vzjat**<sup>'p</sup>] ego.

'I **have not taken** it yet [**did not manage to take it**].'

'Kuda že ja ego **položil**<sup>p</sup>? Ja že **bral**<sup>i</sup> ego?'

'Where **have I put** it? I **did take** it, isn't it?'

# Asp. Opposition in non-preterite forms

## INFINITIVE:

V ètu komnatu **nel'zja vojti<sup>p</sup>**.

'You **cannot enter** this room.' (impossible)

V ètu komnatu nel'zja **vxodit'<sup>i</sup>**.

'You **may not enter** this room.' (forbidden)

Podumaj<sup>p</sup> xorošo, prežde čem **skazat'<sup>p</sup>** emu èto!

'Think well, before **saying** him that!'

Podumaj<sup>p</sup> xorošo, prežde čem **govorit'<sup>i</sup>** takie vešči!

Think well, before **saying** such things!

# Asp. Opposition in non-preterite forms

## IMPERATIVE

**Otkrojte<sup>p</sup>** paket požalujsta! Tol'ko **otkryvajte<sup>i</sup>** ostorožno, tam steklo!

'**Open** this packet, please! But **do it** [lit. **open it**] carefully, there is glass inside!'

If someone knocks at the door, one says:

**Vojdite<sup>p</sup>**!

'**Come in!**'

If nothing happens we might open the door ourselves. If we see a friend who hesitates to come in, one says:

A, Ivan! **Vxodi<sup>i</sup>, vxodi<sup>i</sup>**!

'Hey, Ivan! **Do come in!**'

# Asp. Opposition in non-preterite forms

A scene in a courtroom:

Svidetel', **sadites'**!

'Witness, you **may sit down!**'

The witness does not react. The judge raises his voice and says annoyedly:

Svidetel', **sjad'te'**<sup>p</sup>!

'Witness, **sit down!**'

[It even goes further. No reaction again. Then the infinitive of 'to sit' was used (like with commanding a dog):

**Sidet'**!

'Sit!']

# Asp. Opposition in non-preterite forms

## IPF PRESENT vs. PF PRESENT

**Prošu<sup>i</sup>** vas pokinut<sup>p</sup> zal.

'I **want** [lit. **ask**] you to leave the hall.'

**Poprošu<sup>p</sup>** vas pokinut<sup>p</sup> zal.

'I **would like to ask** you to leave the hall.' (performative use)

Ja èto **ne ponimaju<sup>i</sup>**.

'I **don't understand** this.

vs.

Ja èto **ne pojmu<sup>p</sup>**.

'I **can't understand** it.'

The End

Thank you!

