

DANISH VERSUS RUSSIAN  
A SHORT CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE VERB

CHRISTIAN HOUGAARD  
*University of Copenhagen*

*Introduction*

This treatise contrasts the Danish and Russian languages with a primary emphasis on the verb and an occasional reference to other parts of speech.

The Russian verb in a context (not when detached from a context) is determined by aspect and diathesis; here diathesis is understood as the relationship of active and passive voice. These categories will be discussed more closely. The category of person occupies us less; the verb has characteristic conjugational endings. The category of tense can be viewed in the same way; a remarkable aspect here is the inflection for grammatical gender in the past tense forms: (*ona*) *govorila*, 'she spoke' compared with the masculine verb form *govoril*, 'he spoke'; plural is marked as *govorili*, 'they spoke'.

With regard to the future tense both languages allow the use of present tense for future; Danish expresses future by means of *vil*; Russian forms the future tense by means of *budu* + infinitive for imperfective verbs and uses "present tense" for perfective verbs. The perfective verb can roughly be characterized as follows: it expresses a "delimited" action; you cannot experience such an action in the present tense, and the present form has adopted the sense of future. The two types of future are not identical.

As for the category of mode, both languages express the subjunctive mood through periphrase, not intraverbally: Russian by means of the particle *by*, Danish employing *skulle*, *måtte* etc.

Defining the perfective aspect of Russian is a problem of considerable complexity. Traditionally, perfective has been interpreted as expressing that the action was accomplished (or is seen as an action that was accomplished), cf. the explanation given by the Russian dictionary of linguistic terms: perfective (completive, telic) aspect.

Modern conceptions attach importance to the action being "closed" (delimited, not to be understood as finished) and being an entity. The consequence of the discovery of aspect was that grammarians for a long time were convinced that a verb necessarily must have a counterpart in the opposite aspect (the pair-conception), which is a view totally foreign to the Danish language. According to that view, a prefix could function solely as an indicator of perfectivity (das "leere Präfix", the "empty preverb", "pustaja pristavka"), most often illustrated by *pisat'/napisat'* 'write'. The current rejection of this view is of great importance to the contrastive analysis — the aspect is no longer an impediment to our investigation: simplex is a verb of one aspect (with few exceptions it is an imperfective verb), a verb without a counterpart.

The pair-relationship is a reality when the prefixed verb develops a secondary imperfective (abbr. sec. ip) as *perepisat'/perepisyvat'*. This is a specific Russian (and Slavic) feature, an innovation on Slavic soil. It does not hamper the investigation; this feature should just be recorded once and for all.

The change of aspect thus becomes a minor matter; a prefix makes the verb perfective, and the *prefixale* (a term sometimes used for the prefixed verb) that appears can develop an imperfective side-form, the secondary imperfective (this has the same meaning as the perfective prefixed form, a lexeme is created in the same way as in Danish when the verb is prefixed), or it can omit doing so; in the latter case the prefix (grossomodo) indicates Aktionsart (abbr. AA). The essential matter is that a verb differing from the simplex has been created.

Danish does not show any aspect, but sometimes an iterative and an inchoative conception can be expressed. And numerous adverbs and other indications of time can signal aspect. The difference is that the Russian verb *must* specify aspect, which it does intraverbally. Danish expresses aspect occasionally, by means of a periphrase or the surrounding text, not the intraverbal way of Russian (*han skrev bøger* 'he wrote books'; *mens han skrev bogen* 'while he was writing the book'; *inden han fik skrevet bogen* 'before he had finished the book' illustrate this). The prefix in Russian can, as previously mentioned, indicate AA (*plakat'* 'weep', *zaplakat'* 'burst into tears', ingressive notion; *pokašlivat'* 'cough (to a small degree) with interruptions', the action being interrupted and attenuative; this example gives just two of a multitude of types). Information on the phase, the quantity, etc. of the action is given by intraverbal means. Danish, too, has possibilities of indicating the nature of the action (Aktionsart). This is done by numerous modulations. For example, in a clause like *han skulde hellere ta'og holde bätte* 'he had better shut his mouth' the verb of AA has a different shape than in Russian.

A common feature is that the AA-verb (mostly) belongs to the so-called popular language. In the opinion of the author of this article a phenomenon corresponding to the Russian one may occur in a verb form like *overforenkle*

'over-simplify', in which intraverbal information tells us something about the nature of the action (the usual meaning + 'excessively').

Danish utilizes the principle of prefixation to a great extent but has no secondary imperfective or anything corresponding to that. The prefixed verb in Russian is a verb of one aspect (pf without ip counterpart, or ip without pf counterpart), or it is a full-aspect verb (*perepisat'/perepisyvat'*). To the Dane the full-aspect verb occurs as "foreign", although it most properly corresponds to Danish. The prefix has delivered us a verb with a new meaning. But it is, in fact, the first relationship (the Aktionsart) that is inconceivable to us. Apparently we ought to say that the "innermost secrecy" of the Russian verb is precisely attached to the AA. An example is Russian *on pozaper okna* compared to Danish 'han fik lukket vinduerne et efter et', 'he shut the windows one by one'. Danish employs a multitude of modulations, but such modulations in these situations (in addition to the AA-method) are not foreign to Russian.

The intraverbal technique, it seems, reduces the text-volume of Russian; the fact that this language has no definite and indefinite article by the noun (unlike Danish) apparently also contributes to that.

## 2. Diathesis

With good reason Karcevski (1927) says that diathesis is the most intricate problem in Russian. The Russian Academical grammar places the relationship active/passive voice under the notion of *zalóg* as well as the relationships of transitivity and reflexivity.

By diathesis, we have in mind here the relationship of active/passive. Russian, too, operates with this relationship, perhaps denoting it by the relationship of passive/not-passive. Earlier three genera were set up, with a "medium" also being taken into consideration.

By passive, we mean the structure in which the subject is the object of an action, and what was subject in the active phrase, before the phrase was "turned", now becomes part of a prepositional phrase (in Danish containing *af* or *ved*, perhaps *gennem*), whereas in Russian it is put into the case called instrumentalis; the transformed agents, however, does not necessarily appear.



The Danish verb, it seems, can without serious restrictions be made passive by adding *-s* (another method will be mentioned below), but you cannot "turn" every Russian phrase. It must be remembered that the means of making a verb passive in Danish is *-s* and in Russian is *-sja* (another method see below). While Danish *-s* is, largely, interpretable in one way (serving to form the passive voice and, to a modest extent, reciprocal verbs), the Russian *-sja* has functions beyond these two (also building reflexive verbs — a small number of true reflexive

verbs — and, what is decisive, serving word formation). Thus, the phrase *Han elsker fædrelandet* 'he loves his country' cannot be "turned": *ljubit* (*elske*) 'love' is not given any passive meaning by the addition of *-sja*, and *ljubit'sja*, in the 3. person *ljubitsja*, proves to mean *der er lyst, evne, tilstede til elskov* 'desire, ability, of making love, is present'.

The passive voice is expressed in two ways in Russian: by means of *-sja* and by means of *byt'* plus part. pret. pass. (abbr. ppp), Danish has likewise two methods: *-s* and *være, blive* plus ppp.

But for the passive formed through the addition of *-sja* Russian has strict rules, which we shall not explain and motivate here: the verb must be imperfective, it must be in the 3. person, the subject must be inanimatum. As a result, an ip verb in *-sja* outside the 3. person is an active verb (this does not imply that it is passive if 3. person occurs), and, what is often overlooked, the perfective prefixed verb with *-sja* is an active verb.

In a strange way, active and passive meaning can be united in one verb (in the same way as reciprocal and passive meaning can be found in one and the same verb in Danish, cf. *de favnes i elskov, børnene favnes af et par stærke moderarme*, in English 'they embrace each other in love, two strong mother arms embrace the children').

We can depict the prefixed verb by means of an oval ; if now a sec. ip is formed (this applies to Russian), a natural picture is  i.e. a perfective prefixale and its imperfective counterpart, the sec. ip; in this situation it can be practical and useful to talk about "left" and "right" member. The secondary imperfective cannot be passive, since passivity is not tolerated in the left member, which can be only active; but nothing prevents the right member from expressing passive (the drawing is then cancelled): passive appears from *-sja* being added to an ip prefixed verb. The remarkable thing is, then, that an active ip prefixale with *-sja* can have a quite normal pair relationship to a pf prefixale in *-sja* (which is likewise active), and, in addition, it can be the passive form of the verb appearing when *-sja* is cut off (these forms can properly be spoken of as homonyms). An example is *perepisyvat'sja*. In the first place, it is paired with the verb *perepizat'sja* 'indskrive sig et nyt sted, fx ved et nyt regiment', 'enter one's name, register, at a new place, for instance a new military regiment' (active); in the second place it is the passive form of *perepisyvat'*, which is paired with the verb *perepizat'* with broad semantics, including 'omskrive, renskrive korrigerende, indføre (alle/mange) på liste', 'rewrite, correcting, make a fair copy of, enter (all/many) in a list', (passive).

The detached verb *perepisyvat'sja* presents a chaotic picture, and just in the case of this verb an extra complication arises since the verb (active)

is also used in the sense 'udveksle korrespondance', 'exchange correspondance with', or in popular Danish 'skrive sammen med, skrive med', 'correspond with somebody'. We can briefly note that *pizat'* has at its side *pizat'sja* as passive (but not passive solely). Among the prefixed verbs we find e.g. *vypizat'*, but *vypizat'sja* is not passive.

These facts will be important in certain parts of the discussion that follows. There is no doubt that here we face great discrepancies between Danish and Russian; simultaneously we ascertain the similarity between the two languages in principle. The passive voice is formed in two ways; the difference depends as it were on the particle *-sja*, but we shall later on find a striking similarity here (Danish *sig*/Russian *-sja*).

As far as the formation of passive by means of *byt'* + ppp is concerned, a marked similarity to Nordic languages can be seen. The suffix *-n-* and *-t-* is used for ppp. Russian ppp is formed (preferably) from a pf verb (the sec. ip does not form any ppp), hence the adjectivized ppp frequently adopts a prefixal word beginning as in *poddelannyj* 'forfalsket', 'falsified'; a surprising similarity with Danish will be pointed out later.

Transitivity means that the action is "transferred" to the object, but recent conceptions claim that in the place of the accusative object may stand an indirect object or a prepositional phrase. In Russian, considering the simplex, there is an equal distribution of transitive and intransitive verbs, but in prefixed verbs transitivity is prevalent. Transitivity is a pronounced feature of prefixation in both languages, as will be explained later. At the same time, in Danish, as in Russian, intransitive verbs are less inclined to take prefixes. The apparent grammatical impoverishment due to intransitivity is, with respect to verbs in *-sja* and Danish *sig*, compensated for through the acquisition of a new sočetaemost' (combinability). Both languages exhibit partial transitivity, cf. *vejret skifter, jeg skifter skjorte* 'the weather changes, I change my shirt', but *jeg udskifter (bil)* 'I exchange (my car)' with full transitivity (this feature proves to be extremely important). Both languages can "forcibly" use an intransitive verb as a transitive, cf. Russian *ušli ministra*, literally 'de "gik" ministeren', and Danish *Regeringen blev gået*, literally 'the government has "been gone"'.

### 3. Simplex

By *simplex verb* or *simplex* (plural simplicia or simplexes) we mean a verb without a prefix, e.g. *pizat'* (but not the verb that results from an imaginary cutting off of the prefix of a sec. ip; *perepisyvat'* belongs to *perepizat'* and is created through suffixation); nor do we have in mind the primary verb in relation to the derived verb.

The number of simplicia is high. At first, their semantics (if all simplicia

could be added) appear to be so comprehensive that any semantic need would be covered, but, as is well known, this does not prove to be the case. The semantics of a simplex move in all directions, cf. Danish *holde*, *holde noget i sin hånd* 'keep something in one's hand', *holde til store prøvelser* 'stand heavy trials', *holde avis*, *holde sit ord*, *holde kærster* 'a newspaper, one's word, sweet-hearts' etc., some of the different meanings of *holde* (English 'keep, hold' and other verbs, German *halten*). The semantics of a simplex are "ungovernable", and our endeavours to group them most often fail. The characteristic quality of a simplex is its *diffuseness* — this quality is eliminated by prefixation.

Derivation of verb forms may be denominal as in Danish *huse*, *mæde* 'to give shelter to somebody, to feed somebody' from *hus*, *mad*, and as Russian *mýlit'* from *mýlo* 'soap', or it may be non-denominal as, presumably, *tale*, *sige* 'speak, say', and Russian *znat'*; but in both languages the distinction between the source and the derived form frequently is uncertain.

An interesting parallel is seen in the type *stivne*, *mørkne* 'stiffen, harden, get dark' vs Russian *sóxnut'* '(get) dry'. The number of verbs of this type is relatively small. Some of them have an old-fashioned character in Danish, and the Russian type is dying as far as certain of these verbs are concerned. They are being liquidated, and verbs from the productive classes are becoming the preferred forms.

The paradigm can be defective (something not confined to simplex). In Danish we have *ikke til at lide på* 'not to be trusted', but *lide på* (infinitive) can only with difficulty be used as a finite verb. In some cases the Russian dictionary states that with respect to the verb in question certain grammatical persons (most often 2. and 3. person) are "unfit for use", and some simplicia know only one tense, thus *sížival* 'han plejede at sidde' 'he used to sit' is hardly ever found in the present tense.

With regard to the structure, the Russian simplex most often contains two syllables (a handful of monosyllabic verbs occur), but since prefixed verbs dominate, three syllables will be characteristic (in the infinitive). Prefixation asserts itself less strongly in Danish, and two syllables are presumably the typical length of the verb.

A common feature is the capacity of the simplex to take prefixes, and, as far as Russian is concerned, only a few verbs reject prefixes. In both languages the prefixation serves the expansion of the stock of words through the formation of lexemes. However, in Russian the prefixation furthermore serves to create verbs of Aktionsart (AA); they express a modification with regard to phase and quantity of the action.

Simplex and prefixale, seen by the scholar, stand on one line, but in reality simplex is, naturally, "forgotten" when a prefixed verb is used. This verb carries a new meaning, and as a rule we had better push the simplex into

the background. In fact, in numerous cases simplex is "absent", cf. *obnovit'* 'forny', 'renew' without any <sup>x</sup>*novit'*, and looking at Danish *forny* we find no <sup>x</sup>*ny* (no verb <sup>x</sup>*ny*). A characteristic case is *orogovét'* 'blive hornagtig, forhorne', 'to get horned, acquire the quality of being horned', without any <sup>x</sup>*rogovet'*, but derived from the adjective *rogovój* 'horn-'. In such cases, however, it will be possible for a secondarily derived simplex (*rogovet'*) to emerge. In certain cases a nucleus is non-existent; this is obviously the case in *úcredit'* 'found, establish, institute', and in Danish you have *forbavse* 'astonish' without any <sup>\*</sup>*bavse*, and a <sup>\*</sup>*bavs* seems to be doubtful.

A verb without a simplex form and a verb derived in the natural way through prefixation stand on an equal footing in the language, in Russian as in Danish (from *forny* a noun *fornyelse* 'renewal' is derived etc.; in Russian a secondary imperfective will be formed in accordance with normal rules).

Prefixation implies radical changes, which obey the same laws in both languages.

#### 4. Prefixation


For the contrastive analysis being undertaken it is important to notice that the principle of prefixation occurs in both languages, thus Russian *perepisat'* and Danish *omskrive*. It should, of course, be remembered that a verb beginning with a prefix can depend on circumfixation as in *uglubit'*, based on *glub(ok)* 'deep' and the suffix *-i-* followed by the mark of the infinitive, or as in Danish *uddybe* 'go deeply into (a question)' without any <sup>\*</sup>*dybe* but based on the adjective *dyb*, to which is added *ud-* and *-e*. Verbal prefixation is not a feature common to all languages — in English and French this phenomenon occurs rarely. Moreover, if we pursue, for instance, the English verbs with *out-*, a peculiarity appears not known from Danish and Russian. The *out-*verbs are apparently characterized by one semantic concept (doing what is said in the simplex longer, in a higher degree). English *he came in* is the normal sequence; there is no <sup>\*</sup>*in-came*.

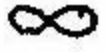



Prefixation creates a new verb. But in Russian the verb follows two paths. It remains close in meaning to the simplex in a AA-relationship, or a new meaning appears (new in the proper meaning of the word) marked by the development of a secondary imperfective, thus *perepisat'*/*perepisyvat'*, but *napisat'* without any sec.ip.


Simplicia are very numerous, and since simplex is usually combined with prefixes, fluctuating from one or a few up to twenty, the number of prefixed verbs is in all texts very high. This is especially characteristic of Russian (see remarks above on the specific phenomenon of AA-verbs); in Danish the heterosyntagmatic position seems to have a balancing effect on that difference (*afdrage*, but *drage af* 'pay by installments' and 'take off (one's boots)'; *efter-*



*stræbe*, but *stræbe efter* 'persecute, plot against somebody's life' vs 'strive for, aim at, endeavour to'. Considering the expansion of the word stock, one should remember the circumfixation utilized by both languages. Furthermore, the expansion is promoted by the particle *-sja* in Russian and in Danish *sig*.

The word *prefixale* is often used for the combination of prefix and simplex. This usage appears somewhat illogical, since in many cases nothing has been placed "in front of" the simplex. A possible solution would be to refer to such a form as a prefix-carrying verb. Bearing in mind this reservation, the use of the word *prefixale* can be defended.

In an earlier section we depicted the prefixale by means of an oval  after which a double oval is applicable for the pf prefixale developing a sec.ip

. This figure can then be cut into two parts and used to express one-  
aspectedness:  and  (and it would be possible to use the  
symbol  for the principle (the principle in itself) of one-aspectedness).

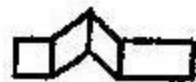
For the sake of clarity we grossomodo ignore the latter of the two-part pair, i.e. . It has already been pointed out that the full-aspect verb, the figure of two ovals, occurs to the Dane as incomprehensible, although it is the comprehensible one, because the figures resulting from the intersection

 and  have no counterpart in Danish.

The composition of prefix and verb can be depicted in two ways (square and rectangle being used):



(the prefix is "wedged"  
into simplex)



(the prefix is "hooked"  
onto simplex)

By way of illustration, we can cite *indgå* (*cægteskab*) 'marry', or Russian *otstoját* 'defend (against the enemy)'. The notion of *gå* 'go, walk' in the Danish word is not retained and neither is *stoját* 'stand' in the Russian verb. The prefix in both cases is "wedged" into the simplex. But the figure on the right concerns only Russian. In this situation the prefix is "hooked" onto the simplex (and as a rule it might be removed without complete loss of meaning), and the prefix serves to add something about phase or quantity of action (this presentation is simplified); *ona posidela* 'she sat for a while', but *ona*

*obsidela divan* 'sitting on the chair she made it comfortable' contains an indispensable prefix *ob-*.

Simplex verbs typically represent diffuse concepts. The most characteristic effect of prefixation is one of specialization; a narrowing of the concept occurs with the prefix extracting a *segment* of the simplex (not to be taken, literally), cf. Danish *holde* 'keep, hold', but *anholde* 'arrest', *udholde* 'bear, endure, stand'. Russian examples have just been given: *sidet* 'sit', but *obsidet* transitive, is 'make a piece of furniture comfortable by sitting on it'. This segment proves to be capable, even though a semantic narrowing has taken place, of holding a compressed semantics, cf. Danish *tage*, in many cases covered by English 'take', *antage*, where the latter means 'acceptere, tage i sin tjeneste, formode' or 'accept, take in one's service, suppose etc.'. We use the word "semantic fan" for the meaning and sub-significations of the verb. The subsequent effects of prefixation will be described more closely in the pages to follow. As we look at Russian *obsidet* (see above), *obmerit* 'cheat in measuring, give false measure', and Danish *underholde*, *underrette*, *undervise*, roughly translated 'entertain, inform, teach', we see that the investigation of the so-called "meaning" of the prefix concerns homogeneous problems (see section about Semantics).

##### 5. Past participle passive

We can separately discuss the use of ppp (part. pret. pass.) together with *byt* for forming passive voice. A Danish example is *gjort*, *blev gjort* 'made, was made'. In Russian the rule is as follows: ppp is formed (preferably) from *perfective* verbs (it should be remembered that in the case of imperfective verbs *-sja* forms the passive). Let us look at this matter from the point of view of prefixation: why must the verb be perfective? (It should perhaps be repeated here that the secondary imperfective (in Russian) does not form a ppp; 'repeated' (adj.) is *povtorënnij* when we look at the adjectivised form; while the sec.ip *povtorjät* is excluded, a present participle occurs: *povtorjaemyj* 'which is repeated').

The simplex *pisat* forms, admittedly, a ppp *pisannyj* 'written' (cf. Danish *brevet er skrevet, et skrevet brev* 'the letter is written', 'a "written" letter'), but the natural ppp of *pisat* is *napisannyj*. Here we shall only briefly hint at the fact that Russian contains both *pisannyj* 'written' and furthermore, spelled differently, *pisannyj*, which is often translated 'written in hand, ornament with a pattern, sometimes understood as beautiful like a painting'; the Russian-English dictionary gives the example *pisanaja krasavica* 'picture of beauty'. We acquiesce on the short remark that in some cases we do meet ppp formed from simplex like *xvalënnij* from *xvalit* 'praise', but more frequently pairs of the type of *plesti* and *zapletënnij* occur: 'braid, plait, weave'.

In Danish we say without hesitation *drengen blev rost, den roste dreng*

'the boy was praised, the "praised" boy', but this principle (ppp is adjectivized) is not practiced consistently. This makes a Danish/Russian similarity appear as explained below.

Use of the passive construction usually means that the verb is active and transitive. *Zaplakannyj* and *forgrædt* (which happen to mean the same: 'tear-stained') do not derive from any finite verb (there is no *han havde \*forgrædt; zaplakat* 'burst into tears', and the verb is intransitive). In this case, we shall talk about a quasi-ppp. *En forstyrret person* ('a crazy person') and *en forstyrret middagstur* ('an afterdinner nap that was disturbed, interrupted') show quasi-ppp and true-ppp in the same word. (Such a phenomenon is hardly known in English where *they discussed the problem* occurs, but not *the \*discussed problem*).

In Russian and in Danish we meet, evidently 1) a ppp which is not adjectivized, 2) a ppp which is an adjective too, 3) a quasi-ppp, not a ppp.

*Forbandet* 'damned' illustrates point (2) from the above list: *Bedstefar havde forbandet sønnen* 'grandfather had cursed his son', *en forbandet søn* 'a cursed son'; in *et forbandet spørgsmål* 'an accursed or damned question' the semantics change. The word is used adverbially in *forbandet uheldigt* 'damned unlucky'. The Russian *prokljátyj* 'forbandet' by and large illustrates the same thing.

What we notice is that Russian requires a perfective verb, but now, considering that this largely means a *prefixed* verb, new light is cast upon the matter. Occasionally Danish requires a *prefixed* verb. *De delte gaver* (i.e. gifts that had been shared) is not a fully clear sequence (and a phrase like *delte meninger om sagen* corresponding to 'different opinions on the matter' interferes in a disturbing way). We confine ourselves to referring to Aage Hansen's words (1967:135) to the effect that the language (Danish) avoids the sequence *de røgede cigatter*, literally 'the \*smoked cigarettes', but does not hesitate to accept *en tilrage pipe* with a prefixed verb (from *tilryge* or *ryge til* 'smoking a pipe, thereby making it fit for smoking, or to season a pipe').

In *De brugte metoder var ufine* 'the methods applied were unfair' and *De brugte møbler indbragte hundrede kroner* 'the second hand furniture gave me a profit of one hundred Crowns', the two uses of *brugte* are not identical. In the second case it is understood as 'old, worn out'. In the view of the author of this treatise a parallel may be drawn: *brugt/brugt* (two meanings) and Russian *pisannyj/pisanyj* (two meanings, orthographically separated). Both languages exploit the double use of the ppp, which serves to expand the word stock. A case like Danish *saltede/nedsaltede* (which has to do with pickling, corning...hering, cucumber) probably belongs to that group.

As hinted at in the preceding lines (with reference to Aage Hansens book on modern Danish) Danish avoids *den \*budte vin* for 'the wine that was offered', and *de skrevne bogstaver* assumes a special meaning — not 'the letters that

have been written", but "the letters as they appear when written in hand" in contrast to printed letters. But if composed (prefixed), the ppp is not a problem. Among Aage Hansen's examples is *oppebåren gage* for "wages which you receive". In *den bårne modgang*, presuming that this sequence is accepted and recognised as genuine Danish, *bårne* indicates *more* than the ppp as such. It would involve a notion of an adversity which you have endured bravely.

An adjective derived from the participle (the ppp being under discussion) favours a *prefixal* word beginning in both languages. *De bårne kasser* which would be literally "the \*carried boxes" is semantically less precise (and perhaps not absolutely acceptable) than *de nedbårne kasser* 'the boxes that had been carried down' (which is an irreproachable Danish sequence), whereas *de bårne kasser* might suggest a contrast to those transported by car.

The reason for the requirement of a *prefix* is, in the author's view, the *specialization*. The contents of the diffuse simplex are too comprehensive to indicate precisely what the speaker wants to express by the ppp. A *noun* has been added, a noun which carries its own significance and possesses its own grammatical "rights", and the adjective whose function is to define the noun cannot allow the full range of the meaning of the simplex to apply. A semantic contraction is necessary, which is the main function of the prefixation.

Danish *En studeret mand* ('a man who has studied some subject' or 'a learned man') has hardly any Russian counterpart. Russian has an active participle in past time.

#### 6. Potency of prefixation

The capacity to take prefixes in both languages varies from verb to verb. Let us call it *potency of prefixation*. A total absence of prefixale is rare (this is true of Russian); some few or relatively many or a high number of prefixations may occur with various verbs, with a maximum of about twenty.

This potency of prefixation should be separated from the stock of meanings (sub-meanings) of the individual prefixale, "the semantic fan".

In Danish, the potency of prefixation is generally lower, because prefixes with a grammatical effect do not occur (unlike the Russian AA-verbs; it is in dispute whether a grammatical effect can be maintained, and it is safer to speak about an intermediate state between lexical and grammatical effect). Factors that to a certain degree can be attributed with a balancing effect will be discussed in the section on heterosyntagmatic position in Danish, e.g. *afdrage/drage af*.

Potency is unpredictable. It can be seen immediately that phonetic principles are not relevant. And the "meaning" does not lead to homogeneous or comparable potency in the two languages (danske *rådne* 'rotten' with few, Russian *gnit* with many compositions; a look at *elske* 'love', Russian *ljubit*, shows the same state of affairs.

*Low potency* in Russian can be illustrated by a verb chosen at random, *toržestvovat'* 'celebrate', with one prefixation *vostoržestvovat'*. It is worth noting that certain classes of verbs are largely intransitive, hence the poverty with respect to prefixation. With regard to *low potency* in Danish, it should be noted that numerous verbs obviously reject prefixation. Few prefixes are added, for example, to *håbe, briste, ske, miste* 'hope, burst, happen, lose'. Intransitivity does not fully explain this.

*High potency* in Russian is illustrated by *xodit'* which takes almost all prefixes. An explanation that "elementary" conceptions should somehow be the basis for many prefixations is not reliable, and it is in any case difficult to define the notion "elementary". Certain verbs are "apt" to express AA (Aktionsart); in other words they are accessible to several modifications (but the single AA-verb will show poor semantics). The causes of high potency have not been clarified. It would be reasonable to presume that verbs expressing a notion of "moving" must demonstrate numerous prefixations, and experience shows that verbs of speech and sound are connected with many prefixes.

To illustrate *high potency* in Danish we mention *stå* 'stand': *tilstå* 'confess', *afstå* 'give up (one's seat to somebody)', *forstå* 'understand', *udstå* 'endure, go through', *overstå* 'get over, pass an examination' etc., and *føre*: *anføre* 'command, lead, state', *afføre* 'divest oneself of', *forføre* 'seduce', *indføre* 'introduce', *udføre* 'carry out, export', *overføre* 'transfer', as well as *vise, lægge, sætte, rette, gøre* and so on, roughly translated 'show, put, direct or correct, do or make'.

A treatment of potency should also consider verbs that depend on *-sja* and Danish *sig*, when prefix+that particle create new words, thus *obkrojt'sja* 'make an error when tailoring, cut...in the wrong way', Danish *understå sig i* 'dare' (as in "don't you dare to touch me") without any \**understå*.

*High potency* as Russian *pit'* 'drink' with numerous prefixations does not mean that the derived forms necessarily have a broad semantic fan — certainly great nominal richness, but not automatically any great semantic abundance.

The reasons for low and high potency are not discovered in any simple way. A main reason of low potency is apparently absence of simplex (derivation accounting for the phenomenon). It might seem that only one prefixale could arise here, but in fact this is not the case: *osvoit'* 'master, assimilate, cope with; open up or develop new lands' and *prisvoit'* 'appropriate; confer an award, confer the rank of' without any \**svoit* (the motivating word being *svoj*), Danish *uddybe, fordybe sig* 'go deeper into' without any \**dybe*.

Simplex from a noun (again derivation used by way of explanation), as Danish *made* from *mad* 'food' might seem to indicate a weak capacity of prefixation. Yet Russian *mylit'* from *mylo* 'soap' indicates the opposite with an abundant prefixation possible for *mylit'*.

A manifest cause of low potency is intransitivity. Simplex as it were

"opposes" prefixation since prefixation conveys a pronounced capacity for transitivization, cf. *blednët'* 'turn pale', Danish *suse* 'whistle, sing, rush', *svømme* 'swim', *klirre* 'rattle, clank'. The notion "intransitive by nature" suggests itself with verbs for possession of some quality of character. It is difficult for such verbs to take a prefix. And yet we can find Russian *poljubopýtstvoval* 'he revealed curiosity (for a while)'. Verbs denoting a deeply rooted quality (sometimes called "verbs of tendency") are for natural reasons excluded from prefixation. Examples include *sobaka kusáetsja* 'the dog bites', i.e. 'is snappish', and Danish *brændenælden brænder* 'the stinging nettle stings'.

One could ask whether the simplex can be "self-sufficient", in other words make prefixation superfluous or impossible. The opposition then would be a "pale, insipid, futile" simplex (but simplex has precisely the characteristic property of diffusivity). However, the expectation of an insipid simplex conveying any high potency proves to be a failure. "Precise" or "unprecise" meaning does not settle the matter.

The fact that simplex is rare (of low frequency) does not presage low potency. Danish *lokke* 'lure, entice, tempt' is connected with six prefixes, and Russian *manit'*, meaning the same, occurs with some ten prefixations. Something from the territory of semantics may, of course, limit the possibilities of prefixation. Danish *synke* and *sænke*, 'sink' and 'sink, let down, lower', will exclude *op-*, *ud-* and *frem-* (denoting a direction up, out and forward), yet we notice here the contradictory *nedstige* ('rise, mount, ascend downwards', cf. English 'descend' for Danish *nedstige*). It seems worth considering whether verbs with some "outsider" appearance (which cannot be clearly defined) might be less inclined to undergo prefixation. An example may be Danish *sjanghaje* (*en sømand* 'a sailor') 'press, force a sailor to join the crew'. Words of foreign origin often prove to be less open to prefixation, yet Danish has *udkommandere* 'call out (a force of police)' etc., in Russian often recognizable by the ending *-ovat'*.

Danish so-called *s*-verbs like *længes, synes, takkes* 'long for, think, please somebody' and a small number of others of that type hardly take any prefix.

A Russian prefixed verb expressing Aktionsart is not augmented by a new prefix. And if the prefixed verb forms a lexeme (that is to say not any AA) a restriction is seen. It is usually supposed that only *po-*, *na-* and *pere-* may function here (see section on polyprefixation).

## 7. The prefixes

Prefixes are in our language — Russian or Danish — from our first steps. The child uses, within its sphere, prefixed verbs like adults. It is not a verb that enters the language at a certain stage of development. However, a difference is seen when we talk about using the prefix with virtuosity, in the mouth

of the simplest peasant and in the refined art of writing — this is true of Russian, but hardly found in Danish. But it goes without saying that we meet no arbitrary juggling with the prefix. The flexibility appears in the AA-verbs. The prefix can say "to a small degree", "for a limited time", an ingressive conception and several other things.

The prefix is predominantly monosyllabic, and some twenty prefixes enter into the stock. We are talking here about productive prefixes, not about those which are no longer used, not about "false" prefixes or such as form composita. In Russian they are *v-*, *vy-*, *vz-*, *do-*, *za-*, *iz-*, *na-*, *nad-*, *o-*, *ob-*, *ot-*, *pere-*, *po-*, *pod-*, *pri-*, *pro-*, *raz-*, *s-*, and *u-*. In some cases a so-called vocalization is observed as *izo-* for *iz-* and so on, depending on the beginning of the simplex.

As far as Danish prefixes are concerned, a request for exact information should be directed to the philologists of Danish, and the following enumeration is only approximate: *af-*, *efter-*, *fra-*, *forud-*, *frem-*, *gennem-*, *hen-*, *ind-*, *med-*, *mod-*, *ned-*, *om-*, *op-*, *over-*, *på-*, *til-*, *ud-*, *under-*, *ved-*, and a few others. The number is evidently higher than in Russian. Several prefixes occur as prepositions. In Russian *vz-*, *vy-*, *pere-*, and *raz-* do not serve in that function. In Danish *ned*, *frem*, *hen*, *ind* (but *ind i*, *inde i*, are different), *op*, *ud*, *sam*, are not prepositions. Some of the prefixes are, in Danish, inseparable from the verb, such as *er-*, *gen-*, *und-* and others. An adverbial function seemingly appears in *sammen*, *tilbage* and others.

The Russian prefixes are stable. For centuries they preserve their appearance as *raz-*, *za-*, *vy-* and so on. We have not in mind changes of meaning, addition of new prefixes or their departure from the language, nor questions of their frequency. English prefixes are not stable, cf. *answer* from *and* 'against' and *swerian* 'speak'; *answer* is disintegrated only on the basis of etymology. From prepositional meaning no conclusion can be drawn with respect to prefixal meaning, cf. Danish *undersøge en sag* 'investigate a matter' without connection to *under* (preposition) taken in its spatial meaning. Prefix vs. preposition will be discussed later.

### 8. Polyprefixation

Double prefixation is often the name given to the phenomenon in which Russian verbs show 2, perhaps 3, prefixes, and sometimes this has been regarded as a feature peculiar to Russian. Investigations of such cases, however, demonstrate in a rather convincing way that the prefixes have not been added in one operation. A simultaneous augmentation must necessarily create a conflict. Illustrative is *razvleč'* 'amuse, divert somebody', and *porazvleč'* 'amuse etc. a little'. The applicability of prefixes for polyprefixation is subject to severe restrictions. Let us call the prefix nearest to the verb "inner prefix", and the prefix that was added "outer prefix" (in rare cases you will find a prefix

"between" them). Here it seems that only three prefixes are able to stand as an outer-prefix. An AA-verb (Aktionsart) with a prefix is not augmented by a new prefix. A verb with a prefix, forming a lexeme, can add a prefix with severe restrictions, and the result normally is an AA-verb.

The Russian *obez-* (which is evaluated in various ways by Russian grammarians) is kept outside our problematics. The best explanation of *obez-* is the following: *o-* is added to an adjective beginning with *bez-* (it is true that an adjective of that kind sometimes is not documented by texts and has to be constructed theoretically) and a verbalization takes place. A double prefixation cannot be proposed.

Danish *forud-* is viewed as one prefix (the *for-* has not been placed before a verb beginning with *ud-*). In *overanstrengelse* 'overwork', *overbebyrde* 'overburden', *overfortolke* 'interpret (something more than permissible)' and some others, the *over-* has been put before a prefixed verb, and this *over-* shows a "stiff", "rigid" semantics. The action has been performed in an above standard way. Here we also find *genfrembringe*, *genopdage* (action performed the second time, action repeated) 'reproduce' and 're-discover'.

A structural similarity between Russian and Danish can be claimed to exist, with caution: the prefix added has a "rigid" semantics, and restrictions are attached to its role as an outer-prefix. (In Danish obviously only certain prefixes can be placed in that position, and as far as we can judge *over-*, *gen-* and *om-* are the essential prefixes here.)

### 9. Heterosyntagmatic position (of Danish verbs)

For various reasons (the role of the AA-verbs), prefixation has larger proportions in Russian than in Danish, but a kind of balancing is achieved by the specifically Danish phenomenon of heterosyntagmatic position. We refer here to forms of the type *afdrage* with *drage af* beside it (as in *afdrage sin gæld/drage sine sko af* 'pay one's debts by installments/take off one's shoes (a biblical expression)'). A further refinement is that Danish can create new words by moving the stress, cf. *medgå* differing from *gå med* 'join' together with *gå med* 'accompany a girl regularly'. Russian *nasmotret'*, a verb that is seldom used and may be translated 'discern, discover, catch sight of', is not equal to *smotret' na*, which is simply 'look at'. Russian has, indeed, *brat' pod zaščitu* 'take under one's protection', but it has nothing to do with *podobrat'*.

Not every Danish verb can be "separated" (as described). The verb has not necessarily those two shapes, and verbs in *er-*, *be-*, *sam-*, *und-* and others are beforehand outside the group, since these prefixes are not separable. (English continually "separates" the verb, or, to put it properly, seldom uses the verb "unseparated", so that *he came in* occurs, but there is no *when he \*in-came*.) In German composed and separated verbs are normally placed side by side



according to the rules of this language, the principle being only outlined by these words, cf. *vorschlagen*, *ich schlage vor* etc.

We can mark the normal prefixation PX (a signal which is merely meant to signal the process) and thereupon introduce an ad hoc terminus XP saying: the "prefix" is separated from the verb (again this is simply a symbol since no prefixation or dissolved prefixation is present). By means of the symbol PXXP we can then indicate that both configurations are present (PX and XP within a given verb). Various cases could be symbolized then as follows:

PX//XP: both are present, but they have no semantic features in common,

PXP: both are present, they are semantically identical (supposing that this occurs in reality)

PX/XP: both are present, they have certain features in common.

The differences can be semantic, grammatical or both. Type 1 is illustrated by *han ombragte aviskenen* 'he killed the woman who distributed newspapers, the paper woman' / *aviskenen bragte aviser om* 'the paper woman distributed newspapers'. Type 2: *ophøre/høre op*, both meaning 'cease, stop' (identity being proposed, of course, with certain reservations). Type 3: *anlægge/lægge an* 'build, construct', but *lægge an på* is 'start a flirt'. However, it is easily seen that determination of the type is not without problems.

In the same way as we have characterized the AA-verb (verbs for Aktionsart) as the "innermost secret" of the Russian verb, this author finds that the heterosyntagmatic position of the verb could be called the innermost secret of Danish. We have in mind the verb in both languages.

## 10. The prefixal column

The paradigm of verbs beginning with a prefix will be called a prefixal column, or simply "the column". It may have two shapes:

Prefix with 1. simplex	simplex with 1. prefix
— — 2. —	— — 2. —
— — 3. —	— — 3. —
etc.	etc.

The left column will be very large (the entity of verbs with the given prefix), whereas the right column amounts to a maximum of some twenty verbs.

It is peculiar that in both languages we do not know beforehand anything about the column other than its members begin with a prefix. It is characteristic of the column that it is not homogeneous.

Examples of columns (space compels us to set them up as a continuous line): *overholde* 'observe (rules)', *overfalde* 'assault', *overgå* 'exceed or surpass

etc., and the right column: *anholde* 'arrest', *udholde* 'endure, stand', *overholde* 'observe (rules)', *afholde* 'arrange, pay, hold (a meeting)', *afholde sig* 'abstain from' etc. In Russian such columns would contain, on the left, *očistit* 'clean', *okol'cevát* 'mark (a bird, a tree) with a ring', *obkosit* 'mow', *obkurit* 'season a pipe' etc., and in the right column, *opit* 'cause somebody expenses by one's drinking', *raspit* 'drink, split a bottle with somebody', *pripit* 'drink everything, empty a bottle', and several others.

It seems permissible to unite the two columns into one. The lack of homogeneity asserts itself in a uniform way in the two languages (a statement made, again, with certain reservations). To put it briefly: there will be the question of whether or not a simplex is present; this applies thereupon to derivational relations and prefixal potency, and, as far as Russian is concerned, to the position of the secondary imperfective. Further, mood and the transitive/intransitive relations must be considered; a question that suggests itself is whether a transitivization has taken place. Furthermore, the stress must be taken into account (Danish *forlokke* 'enveigle, lure, seduce', but *aflokke* 'elicit from, wheedle out of'), and the relations to *-sja* (Danish *sig*). As for syntax, it will be a question of whether the verb is used absolutely; here changes of government must be considered and the requirement of an object, in this connection also the nature of the object. The lack of homogeneity asserts itself with regard to stylistics and frequency, too, as well as the whole question of semantics (the semantic fan). A separate question must be posed as well for the Danish column only: does the verb occur as a "divided" verb? In both languages, the formation of nouns differs from member to member.

## 11. Specialization

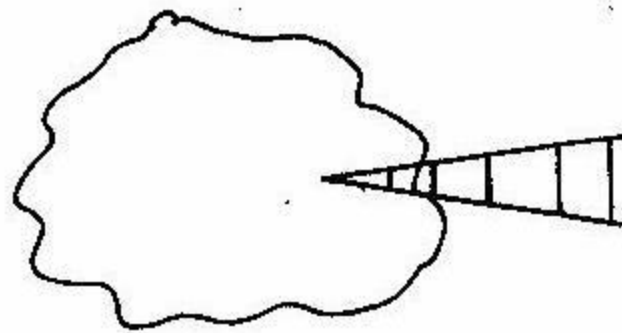
On the basis of the specialization which, in the author's opinion, is the decisive and most radical feature of prefixation, you realize the other successive effects: transitivization, changes of government, obligatory object. Each of these effects will be described below in separate sections.

Specialization, briefly presented in the preceding text, manifests itself by a "segment" being extracted from the diffuse simplex (the word "segment" not to be taken literally always).



and it is easily seen that absence of simplex causes difficulties. *U-glub-it'* and Danish *for-dyb-e sig* must be understood as segments of non-verbal units (*glubokij, glub-* and Danish *dyb*).

The segment is "less" than the simplex. Although we may find solo-meaning in the prefixed verb, as in *opit'* 'cause somebody expenses by one's drinking' (complete explanation), the prefixed verb will normally (or at least most frequently) fall into several "sub-significations". Characteristic of the segment is precisely that it is „compressed" (though we feel convinced that the segment covers less semantic area than the simplex)



The sub-significations (the semantic fan) should be distinguished from homonymy.

The current conception that the verbal aspect is changed by magic when a prefix is added must be rejected. The limitation described is the basis of perfectivity, but great difficulties are caused by a distinction between the semantic limitation of the segment and the limitation that is characteristic of perfectivity. The Danish prefixed verb likewise depends on a diffuse simplex, and a straitening or contraction takes place in connection with such prefixation (Danish *tage: optage*), but no perfective aspect is created.

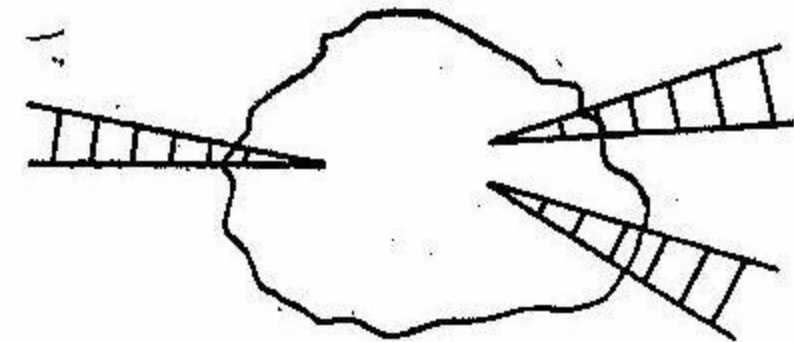
A relationship of equality does not exist between the laying down of the segment and the rise of perfectivity. Russian *vypisat'* does not possess a segmental character in a higher degree than *vypisyvat'*, which is imperfective. While the secondary imperfective annuls the element of limitation, it does not annul the segmental element.

The change of aspect should be considered a subordinate factor (thus, for instance, J. S. Maslov (1961)). And, as explained earlier, the thought is rejected, largely, nowadays that a prefix may serve solely as an indicator of perfectivity. According to traditional conceptions such an "empty prefix" can convey a "perfectivization", but here it is more relevant to talk, as Isačenko does, about a "technical perfectivization", implying that something more happens via the prefixation — a specialization in some sense or other (1960:168).

Danish *udsætte* may illustrate such a specialization, since the verb is, with regard to semantic area, less than *sætte* and specializes the latter. The segment *udsætte* proves to be strongly compressed. It is divided into several sub-signifi-

cations, including *udsætte et uønsket barn* 'get rid of an undesired child', *udsætte en vagtpost* 'station a sentry', *udsætte et møde* 'discontinue, postpone a meeting', *udsætte nogen for fare* (with an indispensable *for*) 'expose somebody to danger', *udsætte for orkester* 'transcribe for orchestra'. A Russian example is *zavesti*. *Vesti* is roughly translated into 'lead', but *zavesti* specializes the meaning and shows a ramified semantics with its main lines being (according to the Russian-English dictionary) I. 'bring/lead somebody to a place (and leave there)', (combined with *v tupik* 'lead somebody up a blind alley'). II. 'acquire, buy'; acquire a habit, establish/introduce (a rule); (sem'ju) acquire a home and family; settle down in life etc., (delo) start a business. Also, combined with *znakomstvo* 'set/strike up an acquaintance', with *razgovor* 'start a conversation', with *sscru* 'raise a quarrel'. III. wind up, start with the object *grammofón, budil'nik, motor*.

In depicting Danish *antage, optage, nedtage*



we can analyse the meanings of *antage* in sequences like *antage et tilbud/antagetre nye elever/antage en religion* 'accept an offer, engage three new pupils or apprentices, adopt a religion', and we might here speak about a second kind of specialization. In cases of a given signification being at the same time specialist language and non-specialist language, we might speak about a third kind of specialization. Here we will briefly note that *antage, optage, indtage* are combined each with its own objects, cf. *indtage en fæstning, indtage den udkårnes hjerte, indtage en engelsk bøj* 'capture a fortress', 'conquer the heart of the beloved girl', 'partake of a meal'. The objects are (most often, but not necessarily) foreign to the remaining members of the column.

## 12. Transitivity

The specialization makes the transitivity comprehensible. Transitivity is among the most characteristic features of prefixation in Danish as in Russian, cf. Danish *bølge* 'wave', but *ombølge nogen* 'surround by flattery and applause', Russian *sidet'*, but *zasidet'* 'make (the windows etc.) dirty (with excrements)'

An intransitive simplex denotes the process (or state) generally as something going on (or being, existing), without information about the originator

and without connection to any object (thing). The prefix, via specialization, confines the process, which is now brought in contact with a limited domain of objects; for example, *stige* 'rise, ascend', but *overstige* 'exceed, surpass' (expectations, power, income); Russian *rabotat* 'intrans. 'work', but *obrabotat* '1. work (up), treat, process, machine, 2. cultivate, 3. dress, polish, 4. colloq. influence, persuade'. Whereas an intransitive simplex may be depicted as a figure with indistinct contours and a chaos of threads symbolizing the numerous possibilities for combinations, we imagine the prefixed verb (in so far as we are talking about a transitive prefixed verb) as an oval (demonstrated earlier), with threads extending out from it that are to be fastened to an object



Transitivization deeply interferes in the language. As for the Russian simplex, Karcevski (1927) supposes a numerical balance between transitive and intransitive verbs. The intransitive verb 'resists' prefixation whereas the transitive simplex has a greater capacity of prefixation with the result that transitive verbs are predominant in a corpus. From a Danish point of view we find *flamme* (intrans.) with few prefixations and *tage* (trans.) with many. Transitivization is inconsistent, however; *falde* is intransitive, *frafalde* 'give up, abandon one's claims' and *overfalde* 'assault, attack', are transitive, while *forfalde* 'decay; fall due' and *forefalde* 'happen, occur' are intransitive.

A transitive simplex largely remains transitive. A partially transitive verb, it seems, must become transitive. *Kalde*, in *pligten kalder*, literally 'duty is calling', is intransitive, but *indkalde* 'call in, call up', *nedkalde* 'call down, invoke', *opkalde* 'call or name after', *udkalde* 'call out' are transitive. As for Russian we find *šagat* 'walk (slowly)', but *iššagat* trans. 'go through, pass by, through (many places)'; *sidet* and *zasidet* have just been mentioned. A prefixed verb may show partial transitivity, cf. *perespat* 'oversleep' as well as 'spend the night'.

(It seems that a considerable role must be assigned to transitivization in English, cf. *outsit* (sit longer than), *outsleep* (sleep longer than) and several others of that type). Russian may use *-sja* for intentional *intransitivization* as in *stiraju* 'I wash (the washing)', *stirajus'* is approximately covered by 'it is my turn to wash'; further comments on this follow.

### 13. Changes of government

Prefixation causes a shift in the syntagmatic perspective. A series of changes of government are observed, and the combinability (*sočetaemost'*) of the verb changes completely. Transitivization has been treated separately.

Considerable changes occur with regard to prepositional members depending on the prefixed verb. The prefixed verb produces prepositional members although they are not obligatory, and they are not necessarily distinct prepositions, since various ones are used according to the sense.

When we look at the corpus we seem to find a verb with an arbitrary prefix combined with an arbitrary prepositional member with no apparent patterning, but a closer analysis uncovers lawfulness. Both languages evidently operate with 1) a rigid relationship in which a given prefix in the individual verb must activate a fixed preposition, and perhaps a tautologic correspondance is present, as in Danish *udbytte afhænger normalt af indsats*, 'profit normally depends on your efforts', and 2) a free relationship, which may be lawful or completely capricious.

For certain syntactically defining members, the prefixed verb can 'resist' members containing temporal-determinations. A phrase centering about *ja napisal* 'I wrote' (the object is indispensable) cannot be expanded with, e.g., *dva časa*.

In Danish, the verb *føre* 'lead' is combined with several prepositional members (*til noget, fra noget, over noget* etc. 'to, from, over something'), and *underføre en tunnel* will imply a preposition *under*. *Underrette om, undervise i* ('inform, teach') show natural prepositional members (the speaker will use precisely that preposition), but *undersøge* 'examine' is different, because it is not combined mechanically with any fixed prefix. We should briefly note, too, *stå* 'stand' with prefixes: *tilstod* 'confessed', *udstod* 'endured', but *afstod fra* 'renounced', *indestod for* 'answered (vouch), guaranteed for (correctness)' (we have used past tense in these examples).

Russian *pisat* is connected with *čto, komu, čem, o kom-čëm*, but *opisat', zapisat'* and *perepisat'* and others do not have the same government. Danish *rette*, roughly translated 'direct, correct', *indrette* 'arrange, organize', *oprette* 'establish, found, draw up', *udrette* 'effect, perform, achieve', *afrette* 'train (a dog)' illustrate the same relationship.

### 14. Obligatory object

Transitivization makes the obligatory object comprehensible. In Russian the rule apparently is formulated as follows: If it is transitive, a perfective prefixed verb must have an object. And if we look at the Danish forms *han udsendte, han afsendte, han indsendte, han fremsendte* ('he sent out, he sent off etc.'), we also encounter the necessity of an object. (At this time, it is of less interest to us under which circumstances simplex involves the same requirement. It is common in Danish to say *Radioen sender ikke i øjeblikket* 'does not send for the moment', although the verb *sende* normally requires an object. In the same way, the position of the Russian secondary imperfective is not

examined here since the rule of obligatory object concerns the perfective verb).


We are less occupied by the fact that the given prefixale is combined with several objects, and that these will be within fixed semantic circles (the circle may be very wide — you can *indlevere* 'hand in, deliver, deposit' everything in the world, but not human beings and not abstract notions).

For example

udtrække	{	obligationer, gevinster ('bonds, a prize, winnings')
		stoffer af planter ('substances from plants')
		en tand ('tooth')
		spisebordets plade ('top of dining-table')
		tiden ('time')

illustrates the semantic wealth of the verb *udtrække* 'draw out, pull out, extract'.

What concerns us is that the place of the object is occupied (it is not left empty), and the question arises as to how we might depict this mechanism. We have expressed transitivization by means of an oval with dangling threads

 and we can now say that the threads not only have a capacity but, also, a "duty", as it were, to be fastened to an object. The explanation can only be found in the specialization viewed together with the polysemia (the "semantic fan"). Without an object, the utterance is meaningless. The Danish forms *han overfaldt* 'he attacked', and *vi opspiste* 'we ate up' require an object, and the same holds true for *on provéril* in Russian 'he controlled' (his comrades, an instrument, a composition at school etc.). It is questionable whether there is a contents plan in *proveril* (or other Russian or Danish prefixed verbs). And from another point of view, not concerning the obligatory object, one could ask if a prefixed verb in *-sja* has a "meaning". *On provalilsja* is among other things 'he fell (into the water etc.)' and 'he was plucked at the examination'.

Does this hold good in the opposite way:  $\longleftarrow$ ? That is to say, does the given object presuppose precisely the given prefixed verb? An example would be *Han forvandt aldrig tabet* 'he never recovered from the loss'. This idea is advanced with great caution, since a natural objection would be that the phrase could just as well run *Han glemte aldrig...* 'he never forgot...'

The semantics require an object in the situation described, for it is only the object that secures the message. But what is demanded for producing the message may be something else. For example, a prepositional member in the sequence *understå dig i at vække mig* 'don't dare to wake me', and a sentence beginning with *that* (an explicative sentence) may replace the object as in *han bestred, at* 'he contested that' (*han bestred udtalelsen* 'he contested the statement'; Danish has no *han bestred* in itself finis, since *bestred* requires an object.) It should be added that the object (of course) does not convey

full information about the meaning. A sequence *han indsatte* makes several demands. This is past time of Danish *indsætte* which is translated 'put in, insert in, deposit, establish, install, substitute' etc. and in our case 'make somebody one's heir'. And an addition of *byens katte* 'the cats of the town' does not give sufficient information. If we add *til universal-arving* 'heir general' the message is complete. The same situation is illustrated by Russian *on ostávil* 'he left'. The Russian phrase *on ostávil čemodan* acquires its meaning only through the continuation, which can be *v vagóne* 'on the train' or *détjam* 'to his children'.

These elements (object and perhaps other members) do not necessarily occur *after* the prefixed verb, cf. *Mødet udsatte formanden på grund af sygdom*, etc., literally, 'The meeting postponed the president owing to illness', etc.

Violations of the rule of obligatory object demand our attention. An example is perhaps *tykerne angreb* 'the Germans attacked', where the context (the preceding context) seems to illuminate the goal. We can also note *Han udtaler smukt* 'pronounces beautifully', where there is no doubt that it is a matter of articulating sounds of a language. Imperatives like Russian *izvinite!* and Danish *Undskyld!* 'I'm sorry' may dispense with an object (and in most cases they do). The object must be implied in the preceding text.

Some difficult problems are connected with the confinement to *perfective* verbs (in Russian). Here we observe the commandment *Ne ubivaj!* 'without object, but *ne ubej!* 'don't kill, don't murder!' seems to require an object. If the rule of the confinement to *perfective* prefixed verbs is true (the restrictedness described according to which only *perfective* prefixed verbs are affected by the rule), this might lead to a revolutionary change of the conception of pair.

### 15. Preposition vs prefix

Problems associated with prepositions are numerous, but most important for us is that Russian uses prepositions as Danish does. In both languages their number is relatively small, but defining what a preposition is presents certain difficulties. That Russian prepositions may occur in a "vocalized" shape (*izo* for *iz* etc.) has already been mentioned. It is superfluous to point out that a Danish preposition does not automatically correspond to a Russian preposition.

The Russian preposition governs a case and Danish has relic forms like *til søs, til vejrs, til bunds* 'on the sea, up in the air, to the bottom' and others. A remarkable feature is that Danish can disengage a preposition from its government, cf. *den mand jeg talte med* 'the man to whom I spoke', while Russian cannot (but English allows for "the man I spoke to").

The meaning of the prepositions is complicated; simple cases like *i vognen, på vognen, bag vognen, efter vognen* 'in the car, on the car etc.' do not give

us much information about the complex semantics. In this regard, sequences like *på gulvet*, *på mandag*, *erklæring på tro og love*, *på trods af* 'on the floor, on Monday, a solemn declaration, in spite of' with no automatic correspondence to Russian (or English) are illustrative. Treating the Russian preposition *za* (or some other preposition), we find meanings scattered to the same degree. Our preposition does not necessarily have a direct counterpart in the other language; Russian has, for instance, instrumentalis.

It is not immediately clear when we do face a prepositional member in Danish. If we oppose the two sentences

han stillede på knappen  
han stillede på mødepladsen

(meaning 'he regulated the button', 'he arrived at the place of appointment'), we might, according to the author's view, consider classifying *stillede på* as a verbal unit with *knappen* as object, while *på mødepladsen* is a usual prepositional member. Only detailed investigations will show whether Russian involves cases that lead to similar ideas.

If we collect the many meanings of a given preposition in one semantic sum, the latter will not coincide with the sum we imagine as a product of an addition of the meanings of the prefix. ("Meanings of the prefix" exist only for the purpose of discussion. We have solid grounds on which to maintain that the prefix is de-individualized when connected with simplex.) The Russian preposition *o/ob* predominately occurs in connection with verbs of uttering (speak about, write about etc.). The prefix *o-/ob-* is quite different. The verbs express for instance that the action has the shape of a circle or a half-circle, indicates a direction downward, or the verb contains the element of hurting, damaging someone, pejorativity, deterioration, or the action is characterized as done above the norm or standard, surpassing others etc.

In Danish the preposition *om* has varied uses, cf. *skrive om*, 'write about', *tale om* 'speak about', *vædde om* 'have a bet on it', *om hjørnet* 'round the corner', *om mandagen* 'on Mondays', *om halsen* 'round the neck', *ubekymret om faren* 'reckless of the danger', *tvivl om* 'doubt about', *håb om* 'hope of', *om et år* 'in a year'. But the prefix *om* differs. It may, for instance, characterize the action as repetitive (and correcting), as having the shape of a ring or a circle (*omslutte* 'encompass, surround, environ, encircle, embrace'), or as expressing a notion of turning over something (*omstyrte* 'overthrow, subvert') etc.

The meaning of the preposition does not account for the meaning of the prefixed verb, but this principle, though to a great extent universally valid, is usually overlooked. Operating with the precarious notion of spatial meaning as in *underføre en tunnel under vejen* 'plan to "lead" a tunnel under the road', one could, of course, maintain that one and the same "under" occurs. We would have, then, ignored sequences like *under krigen* 'during the war' and

*under store afsavn* 'during a time of heavy wants or in spite of...'. In Russian, *pod*, when taken in a spatial sense, is Danish 'under', but that notion is not contained in *poddelat* 'falsify', *podstrelit* 'wound (not seriously) by a shot' etc. For the present we can summarize these observations saying that prefix is foreign to preposition in both languages.

Russian *nasmotret* and *smotret na* are two different things. The heterosyntagmatic position described earlier for Danish is foreign to Russian. The first form (*nasmotret*) may be translated 'discern, discover, catch sight of', and *smotret na* is 'look upon'. If we now tentatively maintain that the *na* attached to *smotret* specializes the simplex, we are approaching the observation made about the process of prefixation. However, the inappropriateness of such a comparison can be seen immediately. The semantics of *smotret* are, indeed, untouched, and the aspect is as well untouched. (*Smotret* has a wider degree of combinability than shown (*smotret na*) — *v temnotu* 'look into the dark', *iz okná* 'from the window', *pod stol* 'under the table'; and *smotret* may in contemporary Russian be used as a transitive verb).

For the most part, we can say that, as far as the present state of language is concerned, prefixes display one kind of semantics, prepositions another. It would, however, be unreasonable to assume that such a division were original. At the base of prefix and preposition (other investigators, too, have adopted this way of thinking) must lie an adverbial notion, a common joint, and an ensuing differentiation must be presumed. Reminiscences of such a remote state of language can possibly be found in a form of the type *otstoját* 'stand at some distance from something', where the verb is imperfective! One could say that the language (Russian as Danish) has exploited the materials maximally when prefix and preposition leave each other. It could be said, too, that we are bringing together things that go by themselves. When the speaker leaves the spatial sphere, a differentiation must take place, as in *under hungersnøden* 'during the famine' etc. which is foreign to *undersøge* 'examine' etc.

#### 16. Semantics. Stock, constituent parts, organization

The semantics of the simplex are far-reaching and complex, Danish *tage* with several meanings (English 'take') illustrates this. If we imagine thousands of simplicia attached to, say, from 5 to 20 prefixes, roughly fifty thousand verbs appear. (Among them, there is in Russian a great number of cases in which the prefixale "repeats" the simplex modifying it. Apart from them are verbs with what Isačenko (1960:222) calls a "qualifier-prefix" which creates new lexemes. Those problems cannot be treated here.) To that colossal expansion we can add in the verbs in *-sja* (Danish *sig*), and what Danish loses in consequence of the lesser proportions of the prefixation, it gains by the specifically Danish phenomenon of heterosyntagmatic position.

The semantics of verbs carrying a prefix in both languages are more accessible for a semantic analysis, and the only reliable method, to be sure, is by going through the prefixes one by one.

The verbs in *o-/ob-* have earlier been mentioned briefly. The complete analysis has involved an investigation of the entire stock of verbs with that prefix. Only an inquiry of this sort makes it possible to find out *circles of signification* characteristic of these prefixales. That a prefixed verb belongs to a particular signification sphere means that it contains that *semantic element* (SE), but evaluation of SE inevitably depends on a subjective judgment.

Listing the entire column of verbs in *o-/ob-* would be prohibitive, so we will confine ourselves to a fragment of that list. For the prefixed verb, we identify one SE, though we know beforehand that most frequently several SE are placed side by side. The demonstration is realized as follows. We set up, for instance, 25 verbs in *o-/ob-* one under another, and to the right of them we indicate the signification spheres which we have established on the basis of an investigation of the entity of *o-/ob-* verbs. Typical SE are "surround/encircle", "a surface is treated", "direction downward", "all/many/multitude", "provide with", "adapt, make apt", "control/revise/check", "re-establish", "pejorative", "deterioration", "cheat", "erroneous action", "ignore/skip/omit/leave out", "excess/exorbitancy", "surpass". If, at this point, lines are drawn from each verb to a signification sphere, chaos results, and from a single signification sphere threads go out to several or many verbs. Space has only allowed us to indicate some few characteristic signification circles within the verbs in *o-/ob-*. We have omitted SE "action of ring-shape", "pass by (avoiding something)", "spreading to the whole object", "lean/support", "mutative", "factitive", "hurt/damage", and some vague or indefinite SE as, for example, "to acquiesce with/cause to stop or rest", cf. *ostanovt'* 'to stop'. We must be satisfied with this rough division for the present. A fine division would lead to numerous sub-divisions, and, ultimately, could perhaps show the single prefixale as an autonomous unit.

*O-/ob* has not monopolized the SE's observed, cf. to this point Danish *over-* and *for+sig* in *overdrive* 'exaggerate' and *for-spise sig* 'to overeat', both expressing too high a degree.

In Danish we can analyze the verbs in *om-* in a comparable way, but in this case the signification spheres are identified according to intuitive judgments (since no description is available of that group of verbs). They prove to be, for example, "notion of circle" (*omsvæve* 'drift, sail, around something'), "half circle", into which may enter the element "avoiding", (*omgå* 'evade, by-pass (regulations)'), "move something", "overturn, upset" (*omstyrte* 'overthrow, subvert'), "spoil" (*omkomme* 'perish'), "repetitive (and correcting) action" (*omsy* 'remake (a dress)').

In these two columns (incomplete in our presentation) we have apparently

determined the semantics, but it is immediately seen that this is an illusion. The sub-significations of the verb have not been taken into consideration; in other words, from the single verb in both languages lines should be drawn to more than one signification sphere. The result is a complex net of connecting threads.

Danish verbs in *over-* might have been chosen, but they would have given the same result. We can attempt to evaluate the SEs. *Overse*, which contains several meanings, including 'survey, have a full view of; fail to notice, pass over, overlook, miss, fail to see or detect, connive at; look down upon, treat superciliously', seems to involve the SEs "a surface is treated", "pass by", "go round something", "ignore (consciously or not)", and perhaps SE "damage", "deterioration", "erroneous action". *Overføre* seems to contain the SE "carry across something", but such a spatial conception is less distinct when talking about *overføre penge, sine tanker*, etc., 'transfer money, one's thoughts, ideas'. *Overkomme* 'manage to do', *overstå* 'get over, get through', *overvinde* 'defeat, overcome' possibly show SE "oust, defeat competitor" or "destroy".

The choice of the prefix, and this is valid in our time, too, is one of the most puzzling riddles. The only answer apparently available to us is that the mechanism behind the selection of precisely *over-* (see above) is Sprachgefühl, linguistic instinct. Referring to prepositional meaning proves most often to be a failure. Danish *overskride* 'cross, exceed, overrun, transgress or overstep; act ultra vires' is not understood as a combination of *skride* 'stalk, stride' and *over-*, and similarly Russian *poddelat'* 'falsify, forge' is not based on *delat'* and *pod-*.

The question of what the appearance of semantics depends on is twofold (in the author's opinion): first the nature of the prefixation itself (something of adverbial character is presupposed), and secondly the question of how the recipient knows what sub-signification the speaker has in mind.


With respect to the latter problem we can take *obkosit'* as a starting point. The verb is explained (according to MAS): '1. mow round about something, 2. mow (without that addition), 3. surpass somebody in mowing, 4. to make (a scythe) serviceable mowing with it'. The disconnected unit *obkosit'* (or the disconnected *obkosil*, past tense) in itself contains no information about the meaning. The meaning (in terms of the verb) presupposes certain information about the object (the nature of the object). This information involves a distinction, person or thing as well as more detailed sub-divisions. In Danish *han underholdt* (*finis*, the word *finis* is used for no continuation, stop) has no meaning, or it has perhaps just an acceptable meaning. A meaning may, with difficulty, be acknowledged as 'he was an entertainer, he did the job of an entertainer' ("silent prefixed verb"). A context is required, and in several cases the whole "situation" must be illuminated.


We have emphasized the object giving the prefixed verb a voice, adding that in place of the object a sentence, beginning with *that* (an explicative sentence) may be used, but the role of the subject should not be forgotten. It is noteworthy that Danish *han overså* finis has no meaning, whereas *han oversås* is meaningful. (*Oversås* is passive and presupposes a *de overså ham* 'they ignored him', which provides the meaning.)


In Danish and in Russian the prefix is "wedged into" simplex creating




an inviolable fixed unit. (One of the Russian investigators uses an appropriate term, "a conglomerate".) Here we pass by the prefix that is "hooked on" the simplex by Russian verbs of Aktionsart. The relation described leads our thought to the "indholdsfigurer" (literally "figures of contents") of Louis Hjelmslev 1963:101: the Danish word *ko* 'cow' in the expression plan is divided into a consonant and a vowel, while the contents plan is dissolved in 'ox' and 'femininum', but not in such a way that one constituent part belongs to the consonant, the other to the vowel. *Ko* is an entity in the same way as our prefixed verb.

The signification sphere observed on the single verb we call SE, it is tentatively depicted as a rectangle with the short side on the writing line: 

But in the majority of cases the prefixale contains several SEs, which may be depicted , or typographically *SE&SE*. Often a SE, however, might be interpreted in another way (showing a "Janus-face"), which can be depicted

with a stroke through the rectangle and by tapering the short sides , in

print *SE/SE*. (Russian *očinit'* 'sharpen (a pencil)' may be claimed here to involve SE "adapt" and SE "ring-shaped action"; in Danish *omstyrte* one may recognize SE "overturn-action" as well as SE "destroy", 'overthrow, subvert'.) But the real stumbling block for the student of semantics is rather the situation where a SE does not allow for isolation, where two SE's are inextricably connected. We will then talk about a "faected SE", depicted as

, in print *SESE*. Thus *otmētīl'* 'provide (trees, washing) with a mark'

includes both SE "provide with" and SE "many/all", two concepts that cannot be disengaged from each other, and in Danish *omgå loven* 'evade, by-pass (regulations)' and *omgå fjendens stillinger* 'outflank, by-pass (an enemy stronghold)', showing SE "cheat" and SE "passage around something". The latter situation might possibly be associated with deceitful manoeuvres.

The object of *obkosit'* (described above) tells the recipient which part of the verb is meant. The object may be a field, a scythe, a person. (In *obkašival' sja* the subject gives the information.)

The chain (the linguistic utterance) may be depicted as a long band, in which we insert a SE:



the SE might also have been a tapered SE.) According to current conceptions the SE is 1) recognized immediately, and 2) only one SE is actual. Point 2) cannot be doubted, but we have just observed that point 1) is wrong. The disconnected *obkosil* has no meaning; with SE present "as a matter of fact". — "Delayed SE" must be considered normal, a "simultaneous SE" is sensational.

SE and its resolution probably most often appear in this order, but there is no impediment for an object (or other member) to be presented before the verb, thus solving the semantic "riddle" in advance.

We have had Russian *obkosit'* in mind, but Danish displays the same situation. *Han udleverede* finis 'delivered, surrendered, restored' gives no meaning; other examples are *han antog* 'he accepted or engaged', *han nedlagde* 'closed down, abolished, dismantled', *han opgav* 'he stated or he resigned'. Looking at Danish *han indtelefonerede* the understanding is obviously simultaneous (although the object may have different shapes: a message, an advertisement; the object is no person, it is no abstract notion).

The sequence of the words — in Danish as in Russian — is not deeply rooted in the linguistic structure. Nothing prevents *Nøglen udleverede han først på opfordring*, literally 'The key he handed back only when requested'.

(German displays a different picture. We confine ourselves to citing a sequence like *er führte...auf*. We are acquainted with the object before the constituent *auf* of the verb.)

Above, the "delayed SE" was considered normal. Extra delay may occur: after *obkosil* in our example an adverbial member might no doubt appear; cases in point in Danish are *man indlagde efter nogen tids venten patienten* and *man indlagde efter nogen tids venten elektricitet* 'having waited some time they sent the patient to a hospital' vs 'installed electricity'. With some delay, we are informed what was meant by "indlagde".

Danish with its heterosyntagmatic principle has possibilities of ambiguity (intentional or not), cf. *de spillede i årenes løb en formue ind*. *de spillede i årenes løb en formue op* 'playing they brought in a fortune' vs 'gambled away a fortune'.

The tolerated delay must be restricted in both languages, and if necessary, the verb must be "brushed up". An imaginable example is *hun udlagde fol-*

lowed by a long inserted sequence and ultimately the object *et belob* or *Jens som barnets fader* (The verb *udlægge* alludes to 'lay out money' and 'alleged father').

The peculiar features of the verb in *-sja* as far as semantics are concerned, and the problems connected with Danish *-s* and *sig* must be put off for the next section. The semantic structure exhibits considerable accordance of Danish and Russian.

### 17 Reflexivity, reciprocity, etc. and word formation. Resuming problems of *-sja*, *sig* and *-s*

A. Considerable difficulties are encountered when we look at the use of the "particles" *-sja*, *sig* and *-s* (*-sja* is called a postfix by Roman Jakobson). Russian investigators as well as others have searched for one distinction to account for *-sja*. Isačenko's (1968:453 - 463) distinction between reflexive forms and reflexive verbs is useful here: passive (in *-sja*) and impersonal verbs with *-sja* are transferred to grammar, whereas everything else is considered as belonging to lexicography. Russian *-sja* is firmly attached to the verb, whereas Danish *sig* is free in that respect. Placing the *sig* in front of a clause is rare and obsolete, thus *Sig månen langsomt hæver* 'the moon is rising slowly'. Danish *-s* ends the word, and *drengene har slå-s-et* is a rare and curious phenomenon ('the boys have been fighting', *slås* is 'to fight').

In Danish, passive is used in a fully natural way in *Drengen roses* 'the boy is praised', whereas Russian does not typically allow living beings to occur with passive in *-sja* (although infringements of that rule do occur): *okno móetsja* is 'the window is washed', and *mal'čik móetsja* is 'the boy washes himself'.

The following scheme can be established:

-s	passive	reciprocal		
sig			reflexive	word formation
-sja	passive	reciprocal	reflexive	word formation

(We will then ignore the Danish "s-verb", since it is beyond the scope of the problem under discussion, e.g. *jeg længes* etc. 'I am longing for' etc. However, a duplicity can be pointed out in the case of *mindes*: *afdøde mindes* 'the deceased person is commemorated', and *vi vil mindes afdøde* 'we shall remember...'). The scheme can be compressed into

-sja	-s
	sig

although we do not mean to imply that a Danish verb in *-s* or *sig* corresponds to a given verb in *-sja*, nor that *-s* and *sig* are of equal weight.

*-Sja* is close to Danish with regard to reflexivity and word formation as well as in the question of passive and reciprocity. Hesitation is felt in Danish with *nette sig/nettes* 'tidy oneself up'; *jeg skal lige nettes* is a natural utterance 'just tidy myself up'.

There are two types of possible collisions (see above scheme) in Danish, one in Russian, but the latter is fourfold. Danish resolves these difficulties by pushing reciprocal and reflexive (true reflexive) meaning into the background. In Russian, the language is compelled to introduce strong distinctions, as well as eliminating reciprocal and reflexive meanings (*-sja*). The difficulties in Russian are more properly understood when we realize that *-sja* performs four functions and that the postpositive *-sja*, colourless in itself, may be said to colour the preceding element in four ways. (The subject has, of course, given considerable information for the semantics, this has been explained earlier and will be resumed later. With prefixed verbs, we saw that it was particularly the object that cleared up the semantics.)

With *carápat'* 'scratch' as a starting point we can make the following statement:

1. carapat'	2. carapat'sja
3. ocarapat'	4. ocarapat'sja.

The relationship of 1:2:3:4 is not familiar to us a priori, and with an arbitrary verb we cannot, of course, be sure that the four places are covered. As a parallel in Danish we note

1. føre	2. føre sig
3. opføre	4. opføre sig,

roughly translated: *føre* 'carry, take, transport, convey, guide, conduct, lead', but *føre sig* 'carry oneself'. *Opføre* is 'build, erect', and *opføre sig* 'behave'. Only an analysis clears up the relationship of 1:2:3:4.

An artificial word *SJG* is introduced for *-sja* and *sig* viewed simultaneously as one entity. And by the artificial word *ANTE* (or *Ante*) we mean here the verb with the *SJG* cut away. *-Sja* occurs frequently in Russian, and verbs in *sig* are abundantly represented in Danish as well.

Three situations occur: 1) the verb can both occur with and without *sig*, 2) the verb cannot occur with *sig* (only *Ante* appearing), and 3) the verb must occur with *sig* (no *Ante* appearing). (Applicable working terms, not to be used in printed works, might be Danish "tilbud", "forbud" and "påbud", literally "offer", "prohibition" and "order", which in English probably correspond to compatibility, exclusion and presupposition.) The same three situations are familiar in Russian.

Relations of presupposition are not identical with derivation. The Russian simplex may rest on a verb without *-sja*, or a simplex may occur only with



-*sja* (like *bojat'sja*). With prefixed verbs (verbs carrying a prefix), we encounter a division between prefixation (*ponravil'sja*), postfixation (*-sja* is added, as in *obnjal'sja* 'embrace (each other)'), and circumfixation (*opisat'sja* 'make an error when writing' from *o+sja*). But the derivation is only recognized through a semantic analysis.

Considering Danish *danne*, *danne sig*, *uddanne sig* ('form, make, mould, constitute', but *danne sig* 'be in process of formation', and *uddanne sig* 'study, learn, qualify as'), the latter (*uddanne sig*) cannot be classed with *danne sig*, but it fits more naturally with *uddanne* 'educate' (and the role of *sig* becomes a problem).

An example of ambiguous derivation is found in a comedy by Chr. Richardt. The phrase *man kan så nemt forlove sig* may be interpreted in two ways, *forlove sig* being either 'be engaged (to), become engaged (to)' or 'promise too much'.

B. If the rules of passive (described earlier for Russian) are valid as assumed here, the consequences are considerable. *-Sja* with a perfective verb, then, signalizes active, with *-sja* serving word formation, not formation of form. An example is *opisat'sja* 'make an error when writing, typing' in contradistinction to *opisybat'sja*, which is solely 'be described', and this is a case which is not unique.

Nothing corresponding to the rules of passive exists in Danish. Our *-s* is a rather reliable signal of passive, and only rarely does employment of reciprocal *-s* disturb the speaker (for example *kysses*, meaning 'be kissed' or 'kiss each other', although the second meaning is becoming obsolete).

Passive (with *-sja*) is in numerous cases (perhaps more precisely: in many cases) used in an active sense as well. *Obnimat'sja* is certainly passive ('a tree, a sculpture, is embraced'), but it has also the reciprocal meaning of 'embrace each other'. A parallel can perhaps, in part, be found in Danish *De to lande deles om broudgiften*, *Landet deles efter krigens afslutning* 'the two countries share the expenses of the bridge', and 'the country is divided after the end of the war'.

C. Reciprocity is considered a reality in both languages, subject and object are said to direct the same action towards each other, and the formal means are *-s* and *-sja*. A Danish example is *kysses*, *de kysses* 'kiss each other'. But the same form in certain cases (and more frequently) expresses passive as well, as in *børnene kysses til farvel* 'the children are kissed good-bye'. And Aage Hansen (1967: 56) says that it is "most simple to consider this application (reciprocity) as falling under the active-passive-system".

The same holds true for Russian. *Obnimajutsja* is reciprocal 'they embrace each other', while at the same time being passive 'they are embraced', but Russian has in the rules of passive an effective means of distinction. If *obnimajutsja* is passive, the subject is a non-person (it may be trees, columns etc.). A threatening collision is thus avoided. As explained above, the danger is by far greater in Russian than in Danish.

The parallel development is remarkable. Reciprocal verbs are poorly represented in both languages; in Russian they give way to a *drug-druga*-construction ('each other'), and in Danish they follow a similar path (a "hinanden"-construction: each other, one another).

D. When the verbs in *sig* and *-sja* are bracketed together, in the group of reflexive verbs, the riddle of the concept of reflexivity is veiled. We here prefer to call the verbs *sig*-verbs and *sja*-verbs, taking the word reflexive in a narrow sense (truly reflexive, properly reflexive). We use the artificial word *SJG* tentatively for *-sja* and *sig* viewed as one entity, and the artificial word *ANTE* for a verb from which *SJG* has been cut away.

The current conception is that reflexive verbs are recognized by the action "going back" upon the subject itself. In the author's opinion, the characteristic feature is that the action of the subject remains "within the circle of the subject". Usual examples are Danish *vaske sig* and Russian *myt'sja* with the same meaning.

Not every *SJG* creates reflexive meaning, as has been underlined in the preceding text. In Russian, the passive verbs are sorted out immediately. If we consider Danish *udgive (en bog)* 'publish (a book)', *udgive sig (for greve)* 'try to pass oneself off as (a count), impersonate', the point of view "reflexive" with *udgive sig* is dropped, when we stick to the meaning "publish" (*udgive*). The existence of separate *udgive* and *udgive sig* must be recognized.

What we are searching for is the true reflexive meaning. A condition on this meaning holds that we have "the-same-person-relationship" (which goes by itself); *Ante* must be active and transitive; probably the subject must be a person: *bordpladen har slået sig* 'the table top has warped' does not show reflexive meaning.

We oppose two cases to each other: *jeg vasker mig*, *jeg vasker dig* 'I wash myself, I wash you' with the same "wash-action", but *jeg morer mig*, *jeg morer dig* 'I amuse myself, I amuse you' with two "amuse-actions". This shows the involvement of a new-person-relation, which sheds light upon the problem of reflexivity. *Jeg vasker mig* may be considered reflexive; *jeg morer mig*, on the contrary, may not.

Parallel to that, Russian has *ogorčit' /ogorčat'* 'annoy somebody', *ogorčit'sja /ogorčat'sja* 'be annoyed, feel annoyance, disappointment'. *Myt'sja* 'wash oneself' and *rádovat'sja* 'be glad, feel joy, pleasure' cover the same idea as our opposition *jeg vasker mig / jeg morer mig*.

Reflexive meaning may be excluded in advance. The *SJG*-verb may occur 1) side by side with *Ante*, 2) be unknown as only the *Ante* occurs, 3) be obligatory (there is no *Ante*). Only the first case gives a theoretical possibility of reflexivity (real reflexivity is rare).

Analyzing the *SJG*, the investigator must unceasingly reject reflexive

meaning. *En storm rejste sig* 'a storm sprang up', *han rettede sig* 'he improved (morally), he went straight (after having been a criminal)', *jeg orienterer mig*, etc., do not show reflexive meaning, and neither does *Lyset bevæger sig med en hastighed af* etc. 'light moves at a speed of...'

Obligatoriness-of-person is, tentatively, our name for the situation where the verb is connected only with the same person (and the same numerus), thus *forregne sig* 'miscalculate' (*jeg forregner mig*, *du forregner dig*, but no *jeg forregner \*dig*).

If *sig* is obligatory, no movement of person can take place. There is no *\*jeg undstår dig*, only *jeg undstår mig* 'I decline, refuse, excuse myself'. Some cases shun obligatoriness of person: *jeg fortænkter dig ikke i* 'I cannot blame you for' occurs, but there is no *jeg fortænkter \*mig* etc. The opposite is the two-person-principle: *jeg vasker mig*, *jeg vasker dig*. Another type is *jeg forhører mig (om prisen)* 'I inquire (what the price is)', but *jeg forhører dig (om din færden)* 'I examine, interrogate, you (with regard to your activities, movements)'. The latter case shows a normal object (to *forhøre*). In Russian we find *on oslušal menja* 'examined my inner organs, made an auscultation', but *on oslušalsja* 'omitted to obey, disobeyed'.

In *jeg foragter dig*, *du foragter mig* ('despise, disdain') the pronoun functions in the same way, but *jeg foragter \*mig* is not acceptable in Danish. Only *jeg foragter mig selv* shows true reflexive meaning. This meaning is due to *selv* (and in Russian *sebja* plays the same role). For the sake of explicitness: *jeg foragter dig selv* does not have reflexive meaning, which is self-evident, since the word *selv* is not connected with the object, but with the subject.

It is assumed in this treatise that verbs for "tidying up oneself" do express reflexivity (like *vaske sig*), and if a *selv* were added, we would end up with something without meaning or at any rate not what we are searching for. *Jeg vasker mig selv* is not reflexive (contrary to English). The author is inclined to confine the circle of true reflexive verbs in Russian to the verbs for "tidying up oneself"; verbs for suicide will be discussed below. (And the situation *jeg skal vaskes* will be treated under item E.).

A distinction is attempted between two qualities of the SJG: *abso* and *contin*, our abbreviations for absolute position and continuation, the latter saying rather primitively that a continuation is required as in Danish *afholde sig* 'abstain from, refrain from' (a preposition *fra* must follow). *Abso* means that the verb is sufficient in itself, not requiring any explanation, but it does not necessarily forbid a continuation. This is a common Danish/Russian feature, which can hardly be viewed as a matter of course. We can mention some scattered examples, even if it is not clear what we elucidate. Perhaps some lawfulness could be found. *Udsætte sig* 'lay oneself open to, expose oneself to', *modstå sig* 'resist, oppose', *opholde sig* 'stay, live, reside', go to the type "contin". *More sig* 'amuse oneself, enjoy oneself, be amused' may be "abso", but is it

not necessarily. *Han undslog sig* 'he declined, refused, he excused himself' may be "abso". Russian *ostat'sja* 'remain' is "abso" and "non-abso". *On pritvorjaetsja* 'pretends to be, simulates...' seems to be "contin" (it is connected with a member in instrumentalis or with a sentence with *budto by* 'as if', but "abso" cannot be excluded). *Otvázit'sja* 'make so bold as to' demands *na čto* or an infinitive (it is "contin"). The continuation required may be a prepositional member (not an arbitrary one) or an instrumentalis, etc.; with *priteorjaetsja*, for instance, *bol'nym*.

A schematic outline:

<i>more</i>	<i>more sig</i>	<i>more sig selv</i>
<i>čuvstvovat'</i>	<i>čuvstvovat'sja</i>	<i>čuvstvovat' sebja</i>
etc.		

shows a homogeneous interplay between the columns.

The author concludes that true reflexivity with SJG is doubtful, yet it seems incontestable with the type *vaske sig* and *hænge sig* 'wash oneself' and 'hang oneself' (verbs of tidying up oneself and verbs for suicide). The pre-supposition is perhaps that a person directs an action towards his own body. True reflexivity is obviously expressed by *sig selv* and Russian *sebja*.

Great Danish/Russian similarity can thus be seen. (What makes this matter indistinct is that Russian *-sja* also serves to express passive, as will be explained later. This element does not interfere in Danish.)

*-Sja* and *sebja* expressing reflexive may in some cases overlap each other, but *sebja* is victorious. In Danish *sig selv*, in the author's opinion, is the victorious construction. The disharmony ANTE: SJG, disharmony SJG: *sig selv* and *sebja*, and the harmony *sig selv* and *sebja*: ANTE, are, to be sure, essential for the contrastive analysis.

E. Russian may use *-sja* to make a verb intransitive. What is surprising is not that an intransitive verb appears, since verbs in *-sja* are intransitive, but that the language intentionally creates an intransitive verb which is active like the verb it already had, while remaining semantically unchanged. Karcevski (1927) here uses the designation *la neutralisation*. (Perhaps we could profit by a shortened term "neutral" for this special purpose.). An example is *š'jus'* 'I am sewing (something)', or *stirájus'* 'I am washing (something)', or perhaps 'it is my wash-day to-day'. The speaker reports what he or she is doing, but does not mention the object. This is perhaps superfluous, or the speaker conceals it. Possibly we have in Danish a parallel in *hun venter sig* 'she is expecting'. Perhaps "*holde sig*" in children's language (for *holde vandet* 'omit, postpone, urination') belongs to that group as well. Possibly Danish *jeg skal lige redes* (pronounced *re's*), *jeg skal lige friseres* and similar instances ('I must comb my hair') should be explained in a similar way.

It appears to the linguist that this phenomenon is exceptional, but it might prove to be commonplace. Do we have a concealed object in Danish *jeg øver mig* 'I am practising, preparing the lesson (music etc.)'? Or is it simply stated that I am occupied by practicing, exercising, preparations? Danish may also "forcibly" make the verb intransitive, cf. *jeg øver finis, man må lære* 'one must learn' (without object). A large number of Russian verbs are perhaps explained in this way, cf. *ja uču slova* 'I am learning words', but *ja učus* (with no question of object). No reflexive meaning can be pointed out here, and the meaning may quite simply be: I am displaying diligence, taking pains.

F. The utilization of *-sja* in *sobaka kusáetsja* 'the dog is snappish' is strange. The Danish translation 'hunden bider' in every particular agrees with the Russian expression. In Danish we do not mean that the dog is biting now, as it were, but that the instinct of a dog, or perhaps this dog, is to bite, and under the circumstances it may be a fierce, snappish dog. In Russian a *-sja* indicates this phenomenon, while the Danish solution is intransitivity forced upon the verb. The usage (in Russian) has been designated in various ways, among them *verbs of tendency*; the author uses tentatively the name "særprægsverber", verbs denoting a distinctive mark, a *karakteristikon*.

It is surprising that Danish has a parallel, described by Aage Hansen (1967:62) as "tilbøjelighedens lidart", literally "passive of inclination", illustrated by *hunden bids* 'the dog bites', *nælden bænds* 'the stinging nettle stings' (it is a dialectic phenomenon).

These verbs should probably be classed with word formation. There are natural restrictions as to tense — the deep-rooted quality blocks the use of a preterit, and prefixation seems to be excluded.

G. SJG — Russian *-sja* and Danish *sig* considered jointly — is now under discussion (and we have attributed little importance to reflexive use, etc.). SJG is made use of in impersonal expressions: *det sømmer sig* (be becoming, be proper), but there is no *\*han sømmer sig*; Russian *xóčetsja* 'feel like something, want' etc. Isačenko (1968) certainly here speaks about formation of forms. In Danish this relationship is not easily seen through. The use of *sig* appears here to belong predominantly to the simplex and to occur chiefly with present tense.

In the preceding text, the semantic "fan" was supposed to be less with SJG than with Ante. The prefix conveys a semantic limitation; the same is obviously true of the SJG. But the SJG-verb is not necessarily impoverished with regard to meanings, cf. *indstille sig* 'enter for an examination' as well as 'prepare one's mind for new, changed conditions, an unsafe future etc.' and Russian *otbit'sja* 'fight and get rid of one's attackers' as well as 'get away from (one's military detachment), be lost in this way'. The lexeme-forming activity of SJG grows to become the predominant feature. *-Sja* produces (with a simplex) one verb,

and a prefix produces up to some twenty verbs. In combination they make a considerable expansion possible.

Though we view SJG as the remedy serving word formation, we do not say that the particles have been added. SJG may occur accompanied by a prefix, cf. *opisat'sja* 'make an error when writing', from *pisat* with *o+sja* added, and Danish *forgribe sig* 'lay violent hands on'.

ANTE and SJG are *semantically* different. The distance may be great, comparatively great, small, perhaps hardly perceptible, but a *new* word appears. Talk about a difference from something (a semantic cleft) is not always justified — there is not necessarily an ANTE, cf. *forgribe sig* without any *\*forgribe*. Theoretically one can establish a system of equidistant lines and depict the "distance" on them, but it is seen immediately that this is only a subjective statement. An objective measurement is out of the question.

Some examples are: *plesti* 'plait, braid', but *plestis* 'shuffle, shamle', *nesti* 'carry', but *nestis* 'move quickly, also lay eggs', *obložít* 'surround with; tax', *obložít'sja* 'mislay, put in a wrong place'. All prefixes obviously give the same evidence: *vstupít* 'enter, join (a club, a political party)', *vstupít'sja* 'go in for, advocate somebody', *výbrat* 'choose, elect', *výbrat'sja* 'find one's way out', *zadržat* 'keep back, detain, withhold', *zadržat'sja* 'be delayed', *razučít* 'practise, rehearse', *razučít'sja* 'forget (what you have learned)'.

This tremendously important semantic jump has often been considered a characteristic of Russian. Danish, however, behaves in the same way. Some few examples include: *vise* 'show, demonstrate', but *vise sig* 'appear, show off', *skabe* 'create', but *skabe sig* 'be affected, attitudinize', *komme* 'come', but *komme sig* 'improve, recover from', *svare* 'answer', but *svare sig* 'pay, balance, be worth the trouble, be profitable', *holde* 'hold, keep etc.', but *holde sig* 'wear, hold; postpone urination'. Some examples of prefixed verbs include: *afholde* 'hold, arrange, pay', but *afholde sig* 'abstain from'; *forlade* 'leave', but *forlade sig* 'rely on, trust'; *forløbe* 'pass away, pass off', but *forløbe sig* 'forget oneself, let oneself be carried away'.

There are perhaps obvious reasons for this semantic jump. If we contrast *afholde* (ball, meeting, expenses) and *afholde sig* (from commentaries, from intervention), the rich semantics of *afholde* seem to be totally wiped out in *afholde sig*, and the semantic jump, then, contains no riddle. — What is puzzling lies more in the variation.

In practice, one should make clear that the two languages operate with differences of vocabulary in a banal sense. No coherence can be found in *zasidet* and *zasidet'sja*, 'soil with excrements' and 'sit (too) long in the same place', with both verbs derived from *sidet*.

H. Considering *-sja, sig* and *-s* we find great structural harmony between the two languages. Reciprocity and reflexivity seem to be declining in both

languages, and the peculiar phenomena described in sections E and F are supposed to show common features. A corresponding similarity in principle is seen with word formation. For certain reasons Russian passive with *-sja* demonstrates separate features.

Only now we can gather the threads. An investigation of *obmanút'sja*, which does not mean "cheat oneself", but 'be disappointed, be mistaken (with regard to friends e.g.)', and *obmanyvat'sja*, which has the same meaning (in addition to being passive, but requiring an inanimatum for its subject), is instructive. In order to express a concept like "cheat one self (in connection with trade e.g.)" the language would probably resort to *sebja*. Russian secures itself against collisions of meaning by effective precautions, as demonstrated earlier. Danish does not face the same pressure. *-sja* draws a heavy load, while in Danish the burden is distributed between *sig* and *-s*, making the risk of collision moderate or trifling in Danish.

#### *Retrospect and conclusion*

Glancing at what has been elaborated about the verb in Danish and Russian, we hit upon the decisive difference: in a context the Russian verb *must* express aspect, whereas the Danish verb only occasionally displays a relationship of aspective nature, and then not intraverbally as Russian.

Aspect, however, does not hamper the contrastive analysis. If, in accordance with the reasoning nowadays, we reject the "empty prefix" in Russian in favour of the explanation by means of Aktionsart, a simplex becomes a verb of one aspect (it is imperfective), on equal terms with the Danish simplex.

Formation of Aktionsart by means of a prefix is a specifically Russian phenomenon (only in isolated cases a Danish parallel can, possibly, be drawn). Aktionsart in Danish is expressed by other means.

Further, the prefix in Russian, and more frequently, serves the formation of lexemes as in Danish. Russian solely, then, develops a secondary imperfective (an imperfective counterpart with the same meaning). Still this function of the prefix (formation of lexemes) is, in contrast to formation of Aktionsart, perceivable from a Danish point of view. A common feature, then, is that prefixation creates a verb that is different from the simplex.

With regard to diathesis, a similarity in principle is seen in the utilization of two methods for the formation of the passive voice (English is different), but the choice (of method) is in Russian governed by the aspect, and strict rules apply to passive in *-sja*. However, this obvious difference is explainable on the basis of the fourfold use of the particle *-sja*. (In Danish these uses are distributed to *-s* and *sig*, which in a decisive way diminishes the danger of collision in this language.). Part.praet.pass. ("ppp") is in Russian formed from *perfective* verbs. Danish, having no aspect, takes an indifferent stand. A peculiar similarity, however, appears in quite a number of cases when the

adjectivized ppp is considered, since a prefix is required. (The language rejects *de \*rogede cigarer*, literally 'the \*smoked cigars', whereas *en tilroget pibe* 'a seasoned pipe' is accepted.)

Both languages distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs, and partial transitivity is a common feature.

A specifically Danish phenomenon is the heterosyntagmatic position of the verb (*afdrage/drage af* 'pay by installments/ take off (one's boots)') (which is also familiar to English and German).

A simplex is diffuse with respect to semantics. It may be absent in both languages (seen from the prefixed verb), a situation which does not restrain the prefixed verb from occurring. A common feature is that simplex is rarely in the mind of the speaker when he uses a prefixed verb. The contrastive analysis must attach a special weight to the enormous role of prefixation in the service of word expansion (English being different). This colours the formation of nouns in the two language as well.

The stock of prefixes has about the same size in Danish and Russian. In the process of polyprefixation a strong limitation is met, and with regard to its use there seems to exist a uniform principle. In both languages some of the prefixes appear as prepositions, but there is no semantic identity. Specifically, Danish has the detached preposition, placed after the government, a postpositive, which is also familiar to English.

Derivation shows further similarities between the two languages on a large scale. A simplex may be derived both nondeverbally and deverbally. A prefixed verb is created (chiefly) by putting a prefix in front of a simplex or by circumfixation as in Danish *ud-dyb-e* or Russian *u-glub-it'*. Suffixation in connection with the formation of a secondary imperfective is solely a Russian phenomenon. A great number of verbs are derived by Russian *-sja* and Danish *sig* following the same pattern. Thus, the expansion of the word stock follows uniform lines.

The fluctuating capacity of a simplex to be united with a prefix (potency of prefixation) is a common feature. And in both languages the prefix is "wedged" into the simplex when we consider the prefixed verb. The prefix is dis-individualized, and the simplex moves into the background or is completely "forgotten", cf. Danish *undersøge* 'examine' without coherence with *søge* 'search for'.

If we establish a "prefixed column" (a column of verbs carrying a prefix, simplicia with one prefix, simplicia with different prefixes), the column in both languages proves to be non-homogeneous, and this quality spreads in a uniform way. However, the heterosyntagmatic utilization (*tilstå/stå til* 'confess/ go well with, match') is peculiar to Danish, and the possible formation of the secondary imperfective is solely a Russian feature.

The effects of prefixation are the same in Danish and in Russian. The decisive mark is the "specialization": the prefixed verb takes out a "segment" of

simplex (segment should not be taken literally), and a semantic straitening is achieved. The segment may in both languages be "compressed" (normally the verb falls into several sub-significations).

A characteristic consequence of prefixation is transitivization: an intransitive simplex is changed into a transitive prefixed verb, although naturally not consistently. Thus, transitive verbs dominate a corpus. This is especially true of Russian. Changes of government after prefixation are also characteristic: the syntactic perspective is shifted, and the verb acquires new combinability.

The obligatory object is also conspicuous, since without an object, or another member, the prefixed verb has generally no "meaning".

The organization of semantics is based on the same principles in the two languages. The semantics of the simplex spread in all directions. As a rule, it resists a well-arranged grouping, and the prefixed verb is, due to the semantic straitening, open to a division according to meaning. If we consider the totality of verbs with a given prefix (this treatise has used the Russian verbs in *o-/ob-*, and for Danish, to a certain degree, verbs beginning with *om-* and *over-*), we realize a distinct number of "circles of signification". Examples include "action performed to an exaggerated degree, above the norm" and "repetitive action". A semantic element (SE) of that type may be assigned to a single verb, but one and the same verb most often contain several SE's side by side (a case of polysemia which in the present treatise is called a "semantic fan"). It is possible to establish categories of meaning, but the individual verb, of course, is not interpreted semantically with completeness, and the evaluation of SE is inevitably based upon a subjective estimate. A common feature is that a SE is not necessarily unambiguous. With similar justification, the observer might in several cases maintain a different SE (the observed element shows a "Janus-face"), or it may be impossible to isolate a SE, because it is inextricably tied up to another SE ("faceted SE").

In both languages, the prefixed verb, if detached, normally has no "meaning". Only the context determines the contents. With a transitive verb, the nature of the object is decisive above all (*han udleverede nøglen*, *han udleverede konens privatliv*, 'he gave up, handed over the key, he compromised his wife disclosing her private life'), and there is no *han udleverede finis* (*finis* indicating full stop). The subject and prepositional member also determine the meaning. In this way the SE will generally be "delayed" since the verb can not be interpreted the moment it is heard or seen.

The above-mentioned verbs in *-sja* and *-s* as well as *sig* have naturally been treated on equal terms with verbs without these particles, but in both languages they require a separate discussion under one common point of view. Russian *-sja*, as it were, "corresponds to" Danish *-s* and *sig*. A decisive factor in the contrastive analysis is that Russian *-sja* performs 4 functions

(1. formation of passive voice, 2. reciprocity, 3. reflexivity, 4. word formation); in Danish those functions are distributed to *-s* (numbers 1. and 2.) and *sig* (numbers 3. and 4.). Russian averts the danger of collision by strict rules for passive (in *-sja*), the consequence being strict rules for word formation. In both cases, definite conditions must be fulfilled by the aspect. It is a feature common to both languages that reciprocal and reflexive (genuine reflexive) meanings move into the background. The "*himanden*"—construction and Russian *drug-druga*-construction are victorious, and true reflexivity is marked by *sebja* and Danish *sig selv*. It seems that Danish parallels can be drawn to the so-called neutralization and verbs of tendency (in *-sja*) in Russian. The decisive element is that *-sja* (we are here ignoring passive forms) and Danish *sig* serve word formation. Minor importance may be attached to the remaining use of *-sja* and *sig*.

The contrastive Russian/Danish analysis as far as the verb is concerned has unveiled few cases of pronounced structural discord. In certain cases they can be "explained". But structural similarity is much more often prevalent, and in several cases we are entitled to characterize the accordance as astonishing.

It is impossible to consider the verb in isolation. The prepositions necessarily enter into the analysis, and a peculiar feature of Danish is the use of a disconnected preposition (postpositive). The problem of prefix vs. preposition has the same shape in both languages, and a casual glance at the formation of nouns demonstrates great structural similarity.

The boundary we have established between differences and similarities is nearly always radical and solid, not a distinction that is confirmed now and then.

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