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### PAIRED VERBS IN SOME EAST URALIC AND OTHER ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

A distinctive type of analytic verbal forms designated paired verbs by the present writer are a characteristic trait of quite a number of languages: Turkic, Mongolic, most Modern Indic, Modern Chinese, Japanese, Korean, as well as Tajik, and of the Uralic — the Cheremis (Mari), the Samoyedic, partly the Votyak (Udmurt) and some other languages of the Soviet and extra-Soviet East.

Although the scholarly study of this verbal category has a relatively short history, paired verbs have, during the period, been given some dozen names in various languages: in Soviet Indology the category is referred to as that of *complex verbal units*; in Sinology — *resultative verbs*; in works on Turkic, Mongolic and other languages the terms used are *complex adverbial participial, combined, paired, incorporated, complex or compound*, or simply *analytical (descriptive) verb forms*.

Such terminological disarray in designating this grammatical phenomenon is due to the paired verbs being a complex and peculiar category that is incapable of being subsumed under the conventional notions of verbal categories, for it stands close to the categories of aspect, modality, compound word, phraseological collocation, etc.

An evaluation is given in the present paper of the category of paired verbs, in particular of their aspectual-temporal characterization; an attempt is also made to ascertain what means are employed in prefixal languages (European and others, with verbal prefixes or preverbs) to render what is expressed by paired verbs in the relevant non-prefixal or non-preverbal languages under study.

The term *paired verbs* or *paired combination of verbs*, as used in the present paper, implies a combination of two verbs, meaningfully united, in which the first verb has an unalterable form of an adverbial participle (in some languages — the form of a participle or of a pure stem), whereas the second verb is conjugated, the actual meaning of a given pair of verbs, taken together, not being as a rule equal to the simple sum of the meanings of the elements involved, as exemplified in the following table.

|       | Pattern of paired combination | Actual meaning | Literal meaning                 |
|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| Cher. | <i>ludən lektaš</i>           | to read        | reading[ly] <sup>1</sup> go out |
| Bash. | <i>ukəp səq-</i>              | do             | do                              |

<sup>1</sup> The rather un-English verbatim renderings are due to the writer's desire maximally to convey both the literal meaning and the grammatical form of each component of the paired whole. The phenomenon of paired verbs is an extremely peculiar one, absent in European languages.

|       |   |                    |             |        |
|-------|---|--------------------|-------------|--------|
| Taj.  | <i>dida baromadan</i>                             | to read            | reading[ly] | go out |
| Mong. | <i>unšiž garax</i>                                | do                 | do          |        |
| Cher. | <i>kuržən puraš</i>                               | to run in          | running[ly] | enter  |
| Chuv. | <i>čupsa kər-</i>                                 | do                 | do          |        |
| Bur.  | <i>güjze oroxo</i>                                | do                 | do          |        |
| Jap.  | <i>kake komu</i> <sup>2</sup>                     | do                 | do          |        |
| Chin. | <i>podī zsiñ</i><br>(dialectal form) <sup>3</sup> | do                 | do          |        |
| Hindi | <i>daurānā &lt; daurnā ānā</i>                    | to come<br>running | running[ly] | arrive |

The morphological appearance of paired verbs is readily seen by comparing, for example, the Cher. *jomən kajaš* 'to become lost (lit.: disappearing[ly] go away)' with the corresponding German combination *verlorengehen* in the following order of its component elements: *verloren geht* (= Cher. *jomən kaja*), *verloren ging* (= Cher. *jomən kajəš*) (*Ich weiß, daß er verloren ging*). The compared items differ only in that in Cheremis the first verb is in the adverbial-participle form (*jomən* 'disappearing[ly]'), whereas in German it is in that of the Partizip II.

Complete constructional overlapping is also found in such word-combinations as

|       |                     |                |             |
|-------|---------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Russ. | <i>смеясь</i>       | <i>говорит</i> | <i>он</i>   |
| Ger.  | <i>lachend</i>      | <i>spricht</i> | <i>er</i>   |
| Eng.  | <i>laughing[ly]</i> | <i>says</i>    | <i>he</i>   |
| Cher. | <i>voštələn</i>     | <i>kalasa</i>  | <i>tudo</i> |

But in these word-combinations one very typical feature of ordinary paired combinations is absent; the decay of lexical meaning in the second verb, as in the following instances: Cher. *soren kudaltəš* '(lit.) angered[ly] threw away' actually means merely 'got angry'; Cher. *voštəl koltəš* '(lit.) laughing[ly] let go' actually means simply 'laughed', and so forth. The verbs "threw", "let go" endow the act with a shade of unexpectedness and dynamism.<sup>4</sup>

From a syntactical viewpoint a typical paired combination of verbs is seen as one member of the sentence — as one compound predicate of a special type, composed of two verbs of different grammatical form: the adverbial participle form of the principal verb plus the finite form of the auxiliary verb.

A usual paired verb combination involves two verbs; but a paired combination may comprise three and more verbs<sup>5</sup> (up to six) in a sequence. Of them it is only the last verb that has a conjugated form, e.g.

|       | Paired combination<br>of five verbs        | Literal translation   | Actual<br>meaning                |
|-------|--|---|----------------------------------|
| Cher. | <i>kuržən tolən puren lektən<br/>kajəš</i> | running[ly] arriving[ly]<br>entering[ly] leaving[ly]<br>went away | ran in<br>(for a short<br>while) |

<sup>2</sup> А. Баранников, Сложновербальные глаголы хиндустани и их смысловые эквиваленты в русском языке. — Язык и литература, т. II, 1927, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> А. А. Драгунов, Исследования по грамматике современного китайского языка I, Москва—Ленинград 1952, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> Н. И. Исанбаев, Составные глаголы в современном марийском языке. — Труды МарНИИ, вып. XIII, Йошкар-Ола 1960, p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> The fact of a paired unit comprising three, four or more components does not render the term *paired* self-contradictory, as one would be inclined to think at first sight, for any "polynomial" of this type is readily reducible to a "binomial" grammatical pattern.

|       |   |   |    |
|-------|---|---|----|
| Chuv. | <i>čupsa kilse kerse tuxsa</i><br><i>kaj-</i>   | do  | do |
| Tat.  | <i>jəgerep kilep kerep čəyəp</i><br><i>kit-</i> | do  | do |
| Bash. | <i>jəgərap kilep kerep</i><br><i>səyəp kit-</i> | do  | do |
| Kaz.  | <i>žügirip kelip kirip</i><br><i>šəyəp ket-</i> | do  | do |
| Hindi | <i>daurte hue ākar</i><br><i>calā jānā</i>      | running[ly] arriving[ly]<br>staying[ly] departing[ly]<br>walk out | do |

The final verb of paired combinations (the second verb in a two-verb combination), referred to by the present writer as modifier, differs from an ordinary auxiliary verb in that, depending on the context, its own lexical meaning weakens, and occasionally decays completely. Loss of the lexical meaning occurs not because it is paired with another (principal) verb, but because the paired combination is placed in an appropriate context enabling perception of the auxiliary verb (the modifier) independently of its lexical meaning; in other contexts it retains its lexical meaning without change.

The decisive role of the context in the loss by the modifier of its lexical meaning will be seen in the following Cheremis examples with the modifier *koltaš* having the meaning of 'send; let go; release'.

**Context One.** *koltaš* in its full lexical meaning and not as a component of a paired combination: *Ej, orade Krgorij, ergəčəm molan tunemaš koltenat, tudo tunem lekteš da təjəm onža, šonet?* 'Say, you foolish Krgorij, why have you sent your son to study? Do you think he will care one bit for you when he graduates?'

**Context Two.** *koltaš* in a paired combination but here, too, its lexical meaning is fully preserved: *Užar tüsan izi konvertəm erdene počtaljon konden. Təge kalasəš: Mündər ver gəč sovet saltak vosen kolten* 'A small green envelope at morn the postman brought. Said he: From afar a Soviet soldier has sent it (lit.: wrote + sent)'

**Context Three.** *koltaš* in a paired combination undergoes a partial change: its semantic centre of gravity shifts to the first verb, which now becomes the principal, notional word, while the modifier becomes half-redundant: *Šomak kisa ogəl, luktən koltet gən — möngeš pətəraš ogeš lij* 'A word is not a linnet, once you let it out (lit.: releasing[ly] you let it go) — you can no more catch it'.

**Context Four.** *koltaš* with a completely decayed lexical meaning; its original meaning contradicts what is expressed in the paired combination of the given context: *Jočan kidšəm ala-kö puškədən nijaltəš. Slavik lüdən koltəš, töršten kənele. Onža: voktenže pərəsige šinža* 'Someone softly stroked the child's hand. Slavik got frightened (lit.: scared[ly] let go), jumped to his feet. Behold: a kitten was sitting beside him'. What is rendered here by two verbs (got frightened) is lexically already expressed in the first verb (*lüdən* meaning as it does 'got frightened'), while the meaning of the modifier *koltaš* 'let go' contradicts the resulting meaning of the paired whole, for here no one 'let go of anyone'. In lieu of the lexical meaning the modifier *koltaš* here acquires the grammatical meaning of speed and dynamism of action, the unexpectedness of the fright<sup>6</sup>, that is to say, it has come to express the category of subjective appraisal of an action.

<sup>6</sup> Н. И. Исанбаев, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

Some inconvenience is caused, especially in the beginning, by the circumstance that — by the present writer's definition — linguistic phenomena of dissimilar grammatical nature come to be subsumed under the same group of paired verbs, such as: (1) a combination of two autonomous verbs that is semantically equal to one compound word expressing a complex action: Mong. *avč očix* 'to take away (lit.: lifting[ly] go away)'; Cher. *pužen əštaš* 'to reshape (lit.: destroying[ly] make)'; Kaz. *kirip šaq-* 'to drop in, to call on (lit.: entering[ly] leave)'; Cher. *puren leктаš* idem; (2) a combination of verbs with partially modal meaning: Tat. *barəp žit-* 'to reach just in time, to get to the place (lit.: going[ly] reach)'; Cher. *mijen šuaš* idem; Cher. *nelən senaš* 'to manage to swallow (lit.: swallowing[ly] overcome)'; or even with full modal meaning (Bur. *düürgeže šadaxab* 'I shall be able to carry (it) out (lit.: performing[ly] I shall be able)'; Cher. *oĵlen mošta* 'can speak (lit.: speaking[ly] is able)'); (3) a combination representing a compound predicate of the ordinary type, equivalent to the well-known compound of the infinitive of the principal verb and the finite form of the auxiliary verb: Bash. *esep batar-* 'to finish drinking (lit.: drinking[ly] finish)'; Chuv. *kalasa pater-* 'to finish speaking'; Uzb. *jozib bul-* 'to finish writing (lit.: writing[ly] finish)'; Vot. *užasa bydtyny* 'to finish working (lit.: working[ly] finish)'; (4) a combination with an aspectual meaning of continuity of action with the participation of the verb (modifier) 'to stand': Taj. *oš garm šuda istad* 'let the food become heated (lit.: let the food warming[ly] stand)'; Bur. *ugtaža bajba* 'was meeting (lit.: meeting[ly] stood)'; Cher. *kugu verəm nalən šoga* 'a large space (it) occupies (lit.: occupying[ly] stands)'; (5) a combination with a partially lost lexical meaning of the second verb: Chuv. *kalasa par-* 'to tell somebody something (lit.: speaking[ly] give)'; Mong. *xelž əgəx* idem; Cher. *kalasen puaš* idem; (6) a combination in which the modifier has completely lost its lexical meaning: Bash. *jarlap jebərže* 'at once, all of a sudden (he) struck into a song (lit.: singing[ly] let go)'; Cher. *muralten koltəš* idem; Chuv. *šerse kaj-* 'to rot (lit.: rotting[ly] go away)'; Cher. *ošem kajaš* 'to turn pale (lit.: paling[ly] go away)', etc.

However, one must put up with this inconvenience, for, in the first place, the generality of all the phenomena involving this category constitutes a linguistic fact in the languages under study, and this generality cannot be disregarded. For we are here dealing not with a conglomeration of admittedly different grammatical phenomena, but with units that basically developed from a single source and only in their historical development came to be differentiated in respect of the grammatical categories of modality, evaluativeness, aspect, mode of action (Aktionsart), and so forth; and, secondly, through such a generalized study of all the types of paired verbs a better insight is gained into their essential nature and a fuller comparative-typological characterization is rendered possible.

However, this does not rule out, but on the contrary, presupposes separate study of each of the above type of paired verbs.

It has been noted by specialists that paired verbs have primarily to do with the expression of aspect. However the problem has ever been complicated by a number of contradictory circumstances, of which the following three deserve notice.

(1) The aspect in the languages under study does not resemble that in the Slavic languages which is considered the classic form of aspect. On the other hand, however, it is clear that to no other grammatical category do paired verbs stand quite as close as to the category of aspect: for it

is paired verbs that serve to specify in this way or that the course of an action in space and (partially) in time. This special position of paired verbs is responsible for the diverse evaluations found among researchers, some boldly subsuming paired verbs under the category of aspect in the ordinary meaning of the word, others exercising greater caution and seeking clues to the understanding of the specific functions of these combinations.

(2) It has been ascertained, for example, that such an obviously aspectual category as that indicating durativeness of action is expressed in the languages under study by both paired and single, non-paired verbs. It follows that paired verbs are not the only ones on which the expression of aspect devolves, for the language can well do without them.

Aspectual meaning in single non-paired verbs is given lexically in the verb itself, without formal markers. Thus, Cher. *šinžen* 'sat (was sitting)' expresses continuity of action (imperfective aspect) both in this absolute usage and in a paired combination with the verb 'to speak': *kutären šinženot* 'were talking (lit.: talking[ly] sat)'. Thus, the fact of a verb's being paired would not seem to affect its aspect.<sup>7</sup>

(3) It is assumed that a grammatical category should have its own morphological expression, while the category of aspect must have dichotomously opposed forms, such as the forms of the perfective and the imperfective aspect in Slavic languages. Instead of such opposition something different is observable in the languages under study, namely: paired verbs are potentially, with the aid of the same form, capable of expressing both perfective and imperfective action, and in each particular case this is determined by the context. If it is added here that paired verbs are analytical (periphrastic and not synthetic or morphological) forms the validity of doubts expressed by some researchers as to whether paired verbs could be referred to such a morphological category as aspect cannot but be self-evident.

Intensive work done by linguists, particularly during the last decade, has resulted in some clarification of these problems.

It has become well-known that the perfective and the imperfective aspect of the Slavic pattern is decisively lacking in any of the languages in question.

The principal function of paired verbs consists not in expressing aspect but in expressing the means or character of the course of the action conveyed by the principal verb of the paired combination what has been termed *Aktionsart*.<sup>8</sup>

*Aktionsart* of paired verbs conveys details attendant on an action. Thus, for 'eating' the Cheremis language differentiates, with the aid of paired combinations, among *kočkan kollen* 'has eaten'; *kočkan pätären* 'has eaten all, without leaving anything'; *kočkan šänden* 'has eaten his fill, has got properly stuffed', etc. Within these combinations there is no aspectual opposition, but there is opposition in *Aktionsart*.

But apart from this major function paired verbs in most of the languages of the present study have also a subsidiary function of expressing the category of aspect, varying in degree from language to language. It is realized on a different plane from *Aktionsart*.

<sup>7</sup> Н. И. Толстая, Лексико-грамматические значения образующих глаголов в панджабском языке. Автореферат канд. дисс., Ленинград 1956, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Д. Д. Аманголов, Деепричастия в бурят-монгольском языке, Улан-Удэ 1948, p. 35; P. Ravila, Über die Tempusstambildung der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen. — JSFOu 59, 1957, p. 3.

By drawing a very approximate demarcation line between Aktionsart and aspect, it may be said that aspect describes verbal action in time (long-term — short-term; momentary — iterative) whereas Aktionsart describes verbal action in space (two-dimensionally, three-dimensionally, directionally).

Aspect in the languages in question is related not so much to Aktionsart as to the category of terminative — non-terminative nature of action.

Most acceptable to the present writer would seem the definitions of “terminative” and “non-terminative” or (what in his understanding is the same) of “teleological” and “non-teleological” verbs given by J. S. Maslov: “Terminative verbs (Russ. *дать* ‘to give’, *давать* ‘to be giving’, *подписать* ‘to sign’, *подписывать* ‘to be signing’, etc.) designate actions that, as to their nature, presuppose attainment, at least in the distant future, of some limit bringing the action to an end; “non-terminative” (Russ. *стоять* ‘to stand’, *иметь* ‘to have’, *весить* ‘to weigh’, *учительствовать* ‘to practice the teaching profession’) stand for actions or states that inherently do not presuppose any inner limit to action, for they can last indefinitely and do not contain in themselves preconditions for cessation.”<sup>9</sup> J. S. Maslov states that “Opposition of terminative and non-terminative verbs is also noted in languages which lack the category of perfective/imperfective aspect, e. g., in the Germanic languages.”<sup>10</sup> The Germanic philologists also concur in this.<sup>11</sup>

The languages under study belong as a whole precisely to those languages which, lacking as they do a definitively elaborated category of perfective/imperfective aspect, resort to opposition of terminative and non-terminative verbs according to their aspectual meanings.

Paired verbs of these languages involve verbs having auxiliary-verb functions of a special type: they serve either to clarify the lexical meaning of the principal verb or to both clarify and modify it. The former are here referred to as clarifiers and the latter as modifiers. However, the common term covering both will, for brevity, be modifiers. The number of modifiers in individual languages reaches 50.

Table 1 presents in condensed form modifiers and clarifiers taken randomly from nine languages: Cheremis, Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir, Kazakh, Buryat, Mongolian, Tajik, Hindi.

In a class apart is a small number (up to six) of non-terminative verbs which, playing as they do the part of modifiers in paired verb combinations, clearly express continued action. These verbs are: (1) to stand: Cher. *šogaš*, Turk. *tur-*, *tor-*, Mong. *bajxa*, Taj. *istodan*, Punjabi *rahina*, Cent. Asian Arabic *wāḳaḫ*, Vol. *sylyny*; (2) to sit: Cher. *šinžaš*, Vol. *pukyny*, Turk. *otār-*, *ultār-*, Mong. *suux*, Bur. *huuxa*, Taj. *nišastan*, Cent. Asian Arabic *ḳaʿad*, Hindi and Urdu *baiṭhnā*; (3) to walk: Cher. *koštaš*, Turk. *jər-*, *žür-*, *jur-*, Mong. *jabaxa*, Taj. *gaštan*; (4) to live: Cher. *ilaš*, Vol. *ulyny*, Chuv. *purān*; Yakut *sərət*; Hindi and Urdu *rahnā*, Chin. *čžu*, *čže*, and some others.

In studies of the above-named languages the special function is noted of the above non-terminative modifier-verbs as expressing

<sup>9</sup> Ю. С. Маслов, Морфология глагольного вида в современном болгарском языке, Москва—Ленинград 1963, р. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup> К. Г. Крушельницкая, Очерки по сопоставительной грамматике немецкого и русского языков, Москва 1961, р. 96.

Table 1. Chart of modifiers and clarifiers<sup>12</sup>

|                           | Verb meaning           | Cheremis        | Chuvash        | Tatar         | Bashkir        | Kazakh        | Buryat            | Mon-golian   | Tajik                 | Hindi        |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| Non-terminative modifiers | stand sit              | šogaš<br>šinžaš | tər-<br>lar-   | tor-<br>utər- | tor-<br>ultər- | tur-<br>otər- | bajxa<br>huuxa    | bajx<br>suux | istodan<br>nišastan   | baiṭh-<br>nā |
|                           | lie move               | kijaš<br>koštaš | vərt-<br>šüre- | jat-<br>jər-  | jat-<br>jər-   | žat-<br>žür-  | xebtexe<br>jabaxa |              | xo(d)rāftān<br>gaštan |              |
| Terminative modifiers     | send (let go)          | koltaš          | jar-           | žibar-        | jebər-         |               |                   |              | faristodan            |              |
|                           | take                   | nalaš           | il-            | al-           | al-            | al-           | abaxa             | avax         | giriŋtan              | lenā         |
|                           | give                   | puaš            | par-           | bir-          | bir-           | ber-          | ügexe             | əgəx         | dcdan                 | denā         |
|                           | go                     | kajaš           | kaj-           | kit-          | kit-           | ket-          | ošoxo             | očix         | raftan                | jānā         |
|                           | come                   | tolaš           | kil-           | kil-          | kil-           | kel-          | jerexe            | irex         | omadan                | ānā          |
|                           | throw                  | šuaš            | pərax-         |               | tašla-         | tasta-        | orxixo            | xajax        | partoŋtan<br>(tamon)  | dālnā        |
| Clarifiers                | finish                 | pətaraš         | pəter-         | beter-        | bətər-         | bitir-        | duuhaxa           |              | kardan                | cuknā        |
|                           | come to                | pətaš           | pət-           | bet-          | bet-           | bet-          |                   |              |                       | cuknā        |
|                           | look at                | onžaš           |                | kara-         | kara-          | kər-          | üdexe             |              | didan                 |              |
| Clarifiers                | go out                 | lektaš          | tux-           | čək-          | səq-           | šəq-          | garaxa            | garax        | baromadan             |              |
|                           | reach                  | šuaš            | šit-           | žit-          | jet-           | žet-          |                   |              |                       |              |
|                           | complete               | šuktaš          | šiter-         |               |                |               |                   |              |                       |              |
|                           | remain                 | kodaš           | xəvar-         |               | qal-           | qol-          |                   |              | mondan                | rahnā        |
|                           | enter (go in)          | puraš           | kər-           | ker-          | ker-           | ker-          | oroxo             | orox         |                       |              |
| Clarifiers                | take into (bring into) | purtaš          | kərt-          | kert-         | kert-          |               | oruulxa           | oruulax      |                       |              |
|                           | descend (go down)      | volaš           | an-            | təš-          | təš-           | tüs-          | buuxa             |              |                       | paṛnā        |

unfinished, continued, "processual" action in paired complexes.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, however, terminative verbs are quite neutral as regards expression of completed or uncompleted action; paired combinations with terminative modifiers in some cases express completed action and in other cases — uncompleted action, these latter depending exclusively on the context. It is to this that the specificity of aspectual opposition is reducible in the languages under study, by contrast with the clear-cut (to a considerable degree) aspectual opposition in the Slavic languages. When we say in Russian ты пенсию получишь 'you shall get a pension', the implication is that you are not getting it in the present, did not get it in the past, but will get it in the future. This means that in the Russian the forms of the present, the past and the future are morphologically contrasted in the verb to get, thus not only eliminating the interference of the context but admitting of no other context than the one that agrees with this tense form; e.g. with the grammatical form of the perfective aspect построил 'has built' no context containing the word всегда 'always' can be used, for построил is, as to the duration of action in time,

<sup>12</sup> The blanks indicate that information on the existence of corresponding words is lacking (however their existence is not entirely excluded).

<sup>13</sup> А. Баранников, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

a single act, whereas *всегда* is durative. Here the form of the perfective aspect rules out (prohibits) any context with *всегда*. Similarly, with the form *буду* 'shall' a context is not permissible that contains the perfective aspect of the infinitive of the main verb (*буду построить* is inadmissible, but *буду строить* is).

It would thus seem that in the Slavic languages the form imposes constraints on the context and grammatical meaning. As to the terminative paired verbs in the languages under study it is not the form that imposes constraints on the context, but on the contrary, the context imposes constraints on the grammatical meaning independently of the form. Thus, in Cheremis the form of a past tense modifier 'to send', 'to let go' (*kolten* 'let go') is conceived of as both a perfective (non-durative) and (as a durative) imperfective action. And only the context, by constraining the meaning of the action, determines which of the two potentially possible actions (short-term and long-term) we have in a given sentence; if, for example, there is a sentence involving *ere* 'always', then *kolten* will express durative action: *Kečaval kočkəš deč vara tudo ere malen kolten* 'After dinner he always went to sleep (lit.: sleeping[ly] let go)'; if the sentence contains reference to an action of a brief duration or simply to a neutral context, then *kolten* expresses a brief, completed action: *Koriš, šöldra ümbak küzen vozən, malen kolten* 'Koriš, having got onto the berth over the oven, fell asleep (lit.: sleeping[ly] let go)'.

The same phenomenon occurs in the other languages under study.

Thus, in these languages predominance of the context over the form may be stated to be the case. And since, to put it briefly, the context in paired combinations is the word environment of the modifier, the following clarification would seem to be in order: in this environment the major role in changing the context is played by the first member of the paired combination (the adverbial participle); the degree to which the second verb is modified largely depends on the semantics of the first member, determining as it does the resulting type of pairing. Thus, the modifier *koltaš* in combination with the verb *vozen* 'having written' gives a lower type of paired combination: *vozen kolten* 'wrote (and) sent', whereas in combination with *malen* 'having fallen asleep' a higher type of combination is produced: *malen kolten* 'fall asleep', and so forth (for the types of paired verbs, see below).

Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that in determining the aspect in the Cheremis language the factor of tense, too, is to be taken into consideration: in the forms of the present and future tenses aspect in paired verbs is more dependent on the context, whereas in past-tense forms, in combination with non-terminative modifiers, the context does not influence the formation of aspect.

Bearing in mind the significance of the factors of context and tense, an idea can successfully be formed as to the similarity and dissimilarity between the existing aspectual categories in the Cheremis and the Russian language and the results may be generalized and represented in a fairly simple table, adopting some arbitrary signs. The following table is then obtained (see Table 2).

Having considered the above circumstances, the present writer has found it advisable to designate the aspectual opposition in the languages under study by the term "protoaspect" (in contradistinction to the Slavic term "aspect"), bearing in mind the still developing state of aspectual oppositions in the languages in question (its "pre-aspectual" state, as it



Table 2. Cheremis-Russian aspectual correspondences at the level of paired verbs

| Formula of conditions | Formula composition <sup>14</sup> |                 |                  | Proto-aspect in Cheremis?  | Russian equivalents  |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|--|--|
|                       | Type of modifier                  | Type of context | Tense            |  | Corresponding aspect in Russian?   |
| M+C+t±                | M+                                | C+              | t±               | Terminative proto-aspect<br><i>Koriš, šöldra ũmbak küzen vozan, malen kolten</i>   | Perfective aspect<br>Koriš, having got onto the berth over the oven, fell asleep (sleeping[ly] let go)   |
| M+C-t±                | M+                                | C-              | t±               | Terminative proto-aspect<br><i>Kečaval kočkäs deč vara Korišan ozaže ere malen kolten</i>  | Imperfective aspect<br>After dinner Koriš's master always went to sleep (sleeping[ly] let go)  |
| M-C+t±                | M-                                | C+              | t±               | Non-terminative proto-aspect<br>(1) Past tense<br><i>Zap vaštalt šogen</i><br>(2) Present tense<br><i>Zap vaštalt šoga</i>   | Imperfective aspect<br>(1) Past tense<br>Times changed (changing[ly] stood)<br>(2) Present tense<br>Times change (changing[ly] stand)  |
| M-C-t Past t. t Fut.  | M-                                | C-              | t Past t. t Fut. | Non-terminative proto-aspect<br>(1) Past tense<br><i>Jük-jüan ik minutlan vele šergält šogəšat, tunamak təplanəš</i><br>(2) Future tense<br><i>Nuno təge kelšenət: čaŋ jük ik minut vele šergält šoga da tunamak təplana</i> | Perfective aspectual form of continued action<br>(1) Past tense<br>The turmoil continuedly having stood for a moment, ceased forthwith<br>(2) Future tense<br>This is what they agreed upon: the bells would chime (would chiming[ly] stand) for just a moment and would cease forthwith |
| M-C-t Pres.           | M-                                | C-              | t Pres.          | Such context is impermissible  |  |

were) and to refer to them not as "perfective" and "imperfective" but as "terminative" and "non-terminative" protoaspects.<sup>15</sup>

Proto-aspect is not Aktionsart, nor is it a category denoting a terminative/non-terminative state, taken by themselves, but a synthesis of two categories, attended by the development of primary Aktionsart classes, devoid of aspectual (i. e., pure Aktionsart) meaning, into later aspectual classes (according to B. A. Serebrenni-

<sup>14</sup> C+ — permissive, C- — prohibitive, C± — any context, M+ — terminative, M- — non-terminative, t± — any tense, t Fut. — Future in meaning, t Past t. — Past tense, t Pres. — Present in meaning.

<sup>15</sup> The writer does not insist on the term "protoaspect": this category may simply be called "aspect", as it is referred to in his earlier works (cf. М. П. Ч х а и д з е, Сп а р е н н ы е г л а г о л ы в м а р и й с к о м я з ы к е, Йошкар-Ола 1960).

kov<sup>16</sup>), and then into modern, more or less total, dichotomous opposition according to the terminative/non-terminative (teleological/non-teleological) category.

Such treatment of the grammatical role of paired verbs on the plane of aspectual opposition is, in the present writer's view, fully relevant to one group of the languages under study, the Cheremis included; at the same time it does not always appear to be relevant to another group of the languages in question, in particular to Samoyedic. However, the Aktionsart function of paired verbs in all the languages under study is beyond doubt.

As to the question whether these oppositions may be subsumed under the aspectual category (proto-aspect) — when they lack a corresponding morphological expression and are formed analytically (by word-combinations) and when in each particular case this or that aspectual meaning of a verbal combination is largely determined by the context — the present writer's answer would be in the affirmative.

Following V. M. Žirmunskij<sup>17</sup>, the present writer concurs in M. I. Steblin-Kamenskij's treatment of the problem in his Norwegian Grammar: "A combination of an auxiliary word with a notional one, although "syntactical" by form, being as it is a combination of separate words and not of parts of a word . . . may be "morphological" as to meaning. It is natural to refer such "morphological" word-combinations to morphology."<sup>18</sup> The present writer stands for a dynamic, "processual" approach to linguistic phenomena that will establish various degrees of grammaticizing in analytic constructions.

Taking into consideration the degree of modification of lexical, and, to a certain extent, of grammatical meaning, of the members of a paired complex, the multiplicity of paired verbs may be reduced to four basic types, united in their turn into two groups: A and B, group A comprising types I and II, and group B — types III and IV.

Division of paired verbs into groups A and B rests on the circumstance that paired complexes are differentiated into lexically and logically equally-paired and unequally-paired ones, group A comprising equally-paired verbs and group B — unequally-paired ones. Lexically (and logically) equally-paired verbs refer to pairs whose members retain their full lexical meaning, neither member having a grammatical function. In the Cheremis language, for instance, the two verbs in the complex *puren lektāš* are equally-paired ones, since the first component means 'to enter' ('entering'), and the second — 'to go out'; and the whole means 'to call on (lit.: entering[ly] come out)', for example: Cher. *puren lektāš*, Chuv. *kərse tux-*, Vot. *pyrysa potyny*, Tat. *kerep čək-*.

In Type II, while both members are lexically equal, the main semantic weight is shifted to the second verb (with the usual, non-inversional word-order), the first verb expressing a concomitant action. Thus, (1) Cher. *lektān kajaš*, Chuv. *tuxsa kaj-* means 'to go away (lit.: leaving-[ly] go away)'; (2) Cher. *mijen kerāltān* means 'came across (lit.: coming[ly] ran into)', *čajām šolten jü* 'drink the tea (lit.: tea boiling[ly] drink)'.

<sup>16</sup> Б. А. Серебренников, Категория времени и вида в финно-угорских языках пермской и волжской групп, Москва 1960, р. 180.

<sup>17</sup> В. М. Жирмунский, Об аналитических конструкциях. — Аналитические конструкции в языках различных типов, Москва—Ленинград 1965, р. 5—57.

<sup>18</sup> М. И. Стеблин-Каменский, Грамматика норвежского языка, Москва—Ленинград 1957, р. 21.

In type II two subgroups IIa and IIb are distinguishable.

The above examples refer to subgroup IIa and, in contrast to subgroup IIb, are characterized by a fuller syntactical wholeness constituting one compound predicate, while the members of paired verbs of subgroup IIb are independent members of the sentence, the second member being the predicate and the first — adverbial modifier of manner. This subtype is of common occurrence in all European languages, thus

|                              |                          |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ger. <i>hinkend geht</i> ;   | <i>lachend spricht</i>   |
| Cher. <i>okšaklen mija</i> ; | <i>voštəl kalasa</i>     |
| Eng. <i>limpingly goes</i> ; | <i>laughingly speaks</i> |

Obviously, in European languages these combinations (adverbial participle plus finite verb) are not viewed as paired verbs, for in these languages such combinations, standing by themselves as they do, do not constitute a particular system, whereas in the languages under study they form a large entirety comprising the system and the structure of paired verbs.

In the combinations of group A all the second verbs (both potential modifiers and non-modifiers) have their usual lexical meaning, and never in this group do they have the function of modifier or concretizer. As for group B, in all the paired combinations of this group the second verb is always either a complete modifier or a concretizer.

According to the degree of loss of lexical meaning and acquisition of grammatical meaning verbs of group B are divisible into two types — type III and type IV.

To type III belong combinations the second member of which is partly modified, its lexical meaning being partially weakened and instead a new grammatical meaning acquired, equivalent to the meaning of Russian prefixes or German preverbs of the (*hin*)*ein*-, (*her*)*aus*-, Eng. *in*, *out*, Fr. *en*-, *ex*-type e. g.,

Russ. *в + бить*  
 Ger. *ein + schlagen*  
 Eng. *to peg in*  
 Finn. *iskeä sisään*  
 Cher. *kären purtaš*  
 (lit.: beating[ly]  
 put in)

Russ. *в + тащить*  
 Ger. *hinein + schleppen*  
 Eng. *to pull in*  
 Finn. *laahata sisään*  
 Cher. *šüdären purtaš*  
 (lit.: dragging[ly]  
 put in)

Russ. *вы + бить*  
 Ger. *aus + schlagen*  
 Eng. *to beat out*  
 Finn. *iskeä pois*  
 Cher. *kären luktaš*  
 (lit.: beating[ly]  
 take out)

Russ. *вы + тащить*  
 Ger. *heraus + schleppen*  
 Eng. *to pull out*  
 Finn. *laahata pois (ulos)*  
 Cher. *šüdären luktaš*  
 (lit.: dragging[ly]  
 take out)

Russ. *во + влечь*  
 Ger. *hinein + ziehen*  
 Eng. *to draw in*  
 Fr. *en + trainer*  
 Finn. *vetää mukaan*  
 Cher. *šupšən purtaš*  
 (lit.: pulling[ly]  
 put in)

Russ. *из + влечь*  
 Ger. *heraus + ziehen*  
 Eng. *to draw out*  
 Fr. *ex + traire*  
 Finn. *vetää pois (ulos)*  
 Cher. *šupšən luktaš*  
 (lit.: pulling[ly]  
 take out)

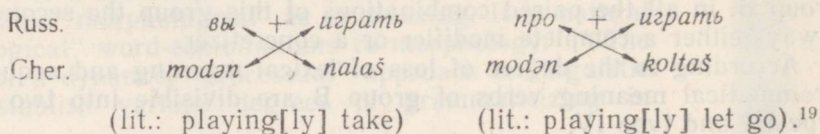
Special interest has always attached to the paired verbs of type IV.

To type IV belong paired verbs the second member of which has in the given combination completely lost its lexical meaning and instead has acquired a grammatical meaning by expressing the category of a sub-

jective assessment of the course of the action expressed by the first verb: swiftness and intensity of action (*koltaš* 'to let', *kəškaš* 'to scatter'), suddenness (*kudaltaš* 'to throw'), disapproval and inertness (*kijaš* 'to be lying'), fullness of coverage (*pətaš*, *pətaraš* 'to end'), smallness of size (*nalaš* 'to take'), and so forth.

Examples of paired verbs of type IV: *Uzkov lotkəkten voštəl koltaš* 'Uzkov burst out laughing (lit.: ... laughing[ly] let go)'; *Izigudo omsam petəren šandəš* 'The door of the back annex closed he (lit.: ... closing[ly] he set it)'; *Sonen tolmem čala oilen kəškem* 'I shall tell (lit.: telling[ly] shall scatter) all about it, with what thought I have come'.

A significant detail is here to be noted on the comparative plane: the arrangement of the members of a paired combination is such that the modifier (or concretizer) corresponding to a prefix of prefixal languages (or preverbs/postverbs) comes after the principal verb, whereas the prefix corresponding to this modifier as is known occupies the position before the stem of the verb, i. e., the prefix and the modifier are arranged in respect of each other in a reversed order ("crosswise"). Thus,



This generalized treatment has revealed, in the languages under study, a specific mode of expressing those lexical and grammatical functions which in prefixal languages devolve on prefixes and preverbs/postverbs. A new, specific way of meeting that "linguistic demand" which at some time in the past arose on the plane of expressing the mode of action (Aktionsart) has been brought to light.

This conclusion has, in the present writer's view, significance not only for the elaboration of some problems of general linguistics, primarily for the typology of languages, but also for the practical task in hand — that of a comparative exposition of linguistic phenomena: Russian-Cheremis, Russian-Tatar, etc.

Paired verbs undoubtedly traversed a long and tortuous road of formation and evolution before reaching the present stage with their adverbial-participial form of the first verb and modifiers of various degrees of lexical decay. One should speak only of a typological coincidence of these phenomena in different languages, as is suggested by a number of specialists-Sinologues (N. Korotkov) and Indologists (V. Černyšev, A. Barannikov). What can so far be avowed reduces to the following: In Turkic-Mongolic and their contiguous languages there can be no question of paired verbs having autochthonously originated in each separate group of languages without a unilateral influence of some one environment on the others; for such an assumption the patterns of paired verbs are too monotypic and equiform.

<sup>19</sup> For the coinciding patterns in the different languages considered see М. П. Ч х а и д з е, О происхождении и функциях марийских и удмуртских спаренных глаголов. — Вопросы финно-угорского языкознания, вып. IV, Ижевск 1967.

## Abbreviations

**Bash.** — Bashkir, **Bur.** — Buryat, **Cher.** — Cheremis, **Chin.** — Chinese, **Chuv.** — Chuvash, **Eng.** — English, **Finn.** — Finnish, **Fr.** — French, **Ger.** — German, **Hindi** — Modern Indic (Hindi), **Jap.** — Japanese, **Kal.** — Kalmuck, **Kaz.** — Kazakh, **Mong.** — Mongolian, **Russ.** — Russian, **Taj.** — Tajik, **Tat.** — Tatar, **Turk.** — Turkish, **Uzb.** — Uzbek, **Vot.** — Votyak.

МИХАИЛ ЧХАИДЗЕ (Тбилиси)

### СПАРЕННЫЕ ГЛАГОЛЫ В НЕКОТОРЫХ УРАЛЬСКИХ И ДРУГИХ ВОСТОЧНЫХ ЯЗЫКАХ

Понятие «спаренные глаголы» введено автором для обозначения грамматического явления, широко распространенного в целом ряде языков советского и зарубежного Востока, в том числе: в тюркских, монгольских, новоиндийских, а из финно-угорских — в марийском, отчасти удмуртском и др. Под спаренными глаголами подразумевается такое сочетание двух глаголов, объединенных смыслом, в котором первый имеет неизменную форму деепричастия (в отдельных языках — форму причастия или чистой основы), а второй спрягается.

Этот особый способ сочетания глаголов, чуждый индоевропейским языкам и большинству финно-угорских языков, делится на четыре типа, отличающиеся друг от друга степенью утраты лексического значения второго (вспомогательного) глагола или модификатора. Утрачивая свое значение, модификатор сообщает главному члену спаренного сочетания (глаголу в деепричастной форме) грамматическое значение психологической оценки действия — стремительности, интенсивности, инертности, маломерности и т. д. Устанавливается также, что глагол-модификатор спаренного сочетания в обследуемых языках, оказавшихся бесприставочными, выполняет ту же грамматическую функцию, какую в индоевропейских и других языках с развитой префиксацией глаголов выполняют глагольные приставки и превербь. В спаренных глаголах намечено и видовое противопоставление, которое развито еще слабо и не может сравниться с видом (аспектом — совершенным и несовершенным) в славянских языках.