

CONVERBS IN TRANSLATION: THE ROLE OF AKTIONSPORT IN THE INTERPRETATION AND TRANSLATION OF RUSSIAN CONVERB CONSTRUCTIONS INTO ENGLISH AND NORWEGIAN

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ABSTRACT

My ongoing investigation of the role of Aktionsart in the interpretation and translation of Russian sentences with converb constructions (cf. (Krave in progress)) suggests that the lexical aspect of a particular converb construction in the source data (Russian) may trigger a specific interpretation restricting the range of possible translation patterns found in the target data (i.e. English and Norwegian). For example, it was found that coordinate clauses (e.g. VP coordination – by means of the conjunction ‘og’ (‘and’) linking the main event and the event expressed by the converb) occur most frequently in the Norwegian translations of the ‘achievement’ type of converbs (including the semelfactive lexical type). This pattern is contrasted with the preference for the Norwegian construction with ‘etter’ (‘after’) followed by either a DP or a Perfect Infinitive construction – ‘å ha’ (‘to have’) + past participle – found in translations of the delimitative Aktionsart of the converb construction

[1] INTRODUCTION

Corpus research shows a relatively high frequency of converbs in Russian of the semelfactive and the delimitative Aktionsart (compared to other Aktionsarten). This article investigates Norwegian and English translations of all instances of converbs of these two semantically distinct types in our Russian-Norwegian-English corpus (the RuN corpus)¹. First of all, the aim of this detailed analysis is to provide convincing evidence that the differences in the lexical semantics of converbs of these two types do affect the translator’s interpretation of the converb

[1] Examples from the corpus are presented in the following way: on the first line is the original Russian sentence (source text), then the Norwegian or/and the English authorized translation (target text).

sentences in the source text and restrict the choice of the corresponding constructions in the target text. The second aim of this analysis is to compare the Norwegian and English translations of the same Russian constructions. Differences between the target languages can shed new light on language-specific features in English and Norwegian.

The article is structured as follows: after a brief data description in section [2], section [3] compares the Norwegian translations of the semelfactive [3.1] vs. the delimitative [3.2] type of Russian converbs, while section [4] compares the two types based on the English target data. Section [5] discusses similarities and differences between the English and Norwegian translation patterns. In section [6] we discuss the differences in the lexical aspect of delimitative vs. semelfactive converbs that underlie the different translation patterns. Summary and conclusions are presented in section [7].

[2] THE DATA

Following the classification of Russian verbs in (Zaliznjak & Šmelev 2000), the semelfactive lexical type of converbs (expressing a single occurrence of events) is marked in Russian by the suffix *-nu-*. A search for converbs with this formal marking in combination with the converb suffix *-v* (PF form) in the Russian-Norwegian-English parallel corpus (RuN) returned 164 Russian sentences and their corresponding translations in Norwegian and English. Examples of the converbs found are:

- *vzgljanuv* – ‘having glanced’ – 42 occurrences;
- *vzdohnuv* – ‘having sighed’ – 10;
- *vspyhnuv* – ‘having flushed’ – 9;
- *vzdrognu* – ‘having shuddered’ – 5;
- *povernuv* – ‘having turned’ – 4;
- *zagnuv* – ‘having bent / crooked (a finger)’ – 4;
- *kivnuv* – ‘having nodded’ – 3;
- *skinuv* – ‘having thrown down’ – 3;
- *zapahnuv* – ‘having wrapped around’ – 3;
- *mahnuv* (*rukoj*) – ‘having waved (with one’s hand)’ – 3;
- *hlopnuv* – ‘having slammed’ – 2 etc.

Due to the specific semantics of semelfactive converbs, which denote a single occurrence of a momentaneous event, it is often difficult to determine whether the event expressed by the converb construction temporally overlaps with the main clause event or precedes it. It is assumed here that the meaning of the converb suffix *-v* is ‘anteriority’. However, events expressed by converbs of the semelfactive type are often interpreted as partially simultaneous with the main clause event: e.g. in the sentence *Vzdrognuv, on skazal ...* – ‘Shuddering (PF), he said ...’ – the event of shuddering may be interpreted as preceding the event of saying or as simultaneous with it. This vagueness in interpretation is arguably due to the fact that prototypical semelfactives do not have well-defined “target” states.

The delimitative Aktionsart (also known in Russian aspectology as the *po*-fective) is marked by the prefix *po-* and denotes events of limited duration – e.g. events that last ‘for some time’. For example, *poguljat’* means ‘to walk for some time’. Importantly, applied to converb constructions, the meaning of ‘*po*-fectivity’ (or delimitativity) has two components: (i) the precedence relation (coming from the meaning of the converb suffix *-v*): i.e. the converb event is ended before the start of the main clause event; and (ii) the event goes on for some (explicitly specified or contextually implied) time interval (the meaning of *po-*).

Although in general, converbs marked by *po-* are numerous in the data, not all these cases can be attributed to this specific semantic interpretation (e.g. *položiv* – ‘having put’ is clearly not a *po*-fective). 49 sentences with converbs interpreted as a delimitative have been found in the corpus with their corresponding translations into English and Norwegian. Some examples of such converbs are:

- *pomolčav* – ‘having been silent for some time’ – 14 occurrences;
- *podumav* – ‘having thought for some time’ – 9;
- *pogovoriv* – ‘having talked for some time’ – 7;
- *pogljadev* – ‘having looked at something for some time’ – 5;
- *postojav* – ‘having stood for some time’ – 2;
- *pobyvav* – ‘having been (somewhere) for some time’ – 2 etc.

[3] ANALYSIS OF THE NORWEGIAN TRANSLATIONS

[3.1] Norwegian translations of Russian sentences with semelfactive converbs

The Norwegian translation patterns for 164 Russian sentences containing 69 different semelfactive converbs (lexemes) are here listed in the order of decreasing frequency:

- (i) Coordinate Past clauses with ‘og’ (‘and’): converb event + *og* / comma + main event (65 tokens, hence approx. 40 %):

- (1) *Vzgljanuv iz okna, ona uvidala ego koljasku.*
(Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
Hun så ut av vinduet og fikk øye på kalesjen hans.
Glancing out of the window, she saw his carriage.

- (ii) Coordinate Past clauses: main event + *og* / comma + converb event (50 tokens, hence approx. 30%):

- (2) – *Ja ne vovremja, kažetsja, sliškom rano, – skazal on, ogljanuv pustuju gostinuju.* (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
“Jeg er ikke presis, ser det ut til, det er visst altfor tidlig,” sa han *og så seg om* i det tomme rommet.
“It’s not time yet; I think I’m too early,” he said *glancing round* the empty drawing room.

- (iii) Past (main event) + *med* (‘with’) + nominal expression (converb event) / *med* + nominal expression (converb event) + Past (main event) – 9 tokens, approx. 5%:

- (3) ... *govorila v osnovnom Lena, Sergej sidel v uglu, zakinuv nogu na nogu, i kuril ...* (Viktor Pelevin, “Generation P”)
... *hvor det hovedsakelig var Lena som førte ordet, mens Sergej satt med korslagte bein i et hjørne og røykte ...*
... *Lena did most of the talking; Sergej sat in the corner with his legs crossed, smoking ...*

- (iv) Relative clauses in the Past tense: Past (main event) + *som* (relative pronoun) + Past (converb event) – 5 tokens, approx. 3%:

- (4) – *Da, ja pišu vtoruju čast’ “Dvuh načal”, – skazal Goleniščev, vspyhnuv ot udovol’stvija pri etom voprose ...* (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
“Ja, jeg holder på med annen del av “De to prinsipper”,” sa Golenisjtsev *som ble fyr og flamme* i glede over dette spørsmålet ...
“Yes, I’m writing the second part of the Two Elements,” said Golenishtchev, *coloring with pleasure* at the question ...

- (v) Coordinate Past Perfect (converb event) *og* / comma + main event in the Past form (5 tokens, approx. 3%):

- (5) Šurik, *vsporhnuv* k nemu na grud', obnjaj ego za šejju.
(Ljudmila Ulitskaja, "Medea and her children")
Sjurik *hadde hoppet opp* og hang nå om halsen på ham.
Shurik *flew up* to his chest and hugged him around the neck.
- (vi) Temporal adverbial clauses introduced by *da* ('when') in the Past (converb event), following or preceding the matrix clause in the Past tense – 5 tokens, approx. 3%:
- (6) *Vzgljanuv* v ego starčeskie milye glaza, Levin ponjal daže čto-to ješčo novoe v svojom sčastje. (Lev Tolstoj, "Anna Karenina")
Da han så inn i de kjære gammelmannsøynene hans, gikk endog en ny side ved lykken hans opp for Levin.
Looking into his kindly old eyes, Levin realized even something new in his happiness.
- (vii) Temporal adverbial clauses introduced by *da* ('when') with Past Perfect (converb event) preceding or following a simple Past form (main event) – 5 tokens, approx. 3%:
- (7) – Mne žaliko, čto ja rasstroil vaše ženskoe tsarstvo, – skazal on, nedovol'no *ogljjanuv* vseh ... (Lev Tolstoj, "Anna Karenina")
"Så synd at jeg har brakt uro inn i kvinnes verden," sa han *da han hadde sett seg rundt* på alle sammen ...
"I'm sorry I've broken in on your feminine parliament," he said, *looking round* on every one discontentedly ...
- (viii) Temporal adverbial clauses introduced by *mens* ('while') in the Past (converb event) following or preceding the matrix clause in the Past tense – 4 tokens, approx. 3%:
- (8) – A, da! – skazal on na to, čto Vronskij byl u Tverskih, i, *blesnuv* svoimi čornymi glazami, vzjalsja za levyj us ... (Lev Tolstoj, "Anna Karenina")
"Å, ja!" sa han til det at Vronskij hadde vært hos Tverskojs, og *mens det glimtet* i de sorte øynene, grep han fatt i den venstre barten ...
"Ah! yes," he said, to the announcement that Vronsky had been at the Tverskoys'; and *his black eyes shining*, he plucked at his left mustache ...
- (ix) Temporal adverbial clauses introduced by *idet* ('while') in the Past (converb event) following or preceding the matrix clause in the Past tense – 3 tokens,

approx. 2%:

- (9) Mal’čik kak budto pojmal ejo vzgljad i skazal nečto nesuraznoe, *pih-nuv* korzinu nogoj ... (Ljudmila Ulitskaja, “Medea and her children”) Det var akkurat som om gutten la merke til hva hun så på, og han kom med et klosset utsagn *idet han sparket* lett borti kurven med foten ... The boy seemed to catch her gaze and said something that didn’t make sense, *pushing* the basket with his foot ...
- (x) Past (main event) + depictive AdjP (converb event) – 3 tokens, approx. 2%:
- (10) – Net, ja ne zametila, maman, – *vspyhnuv*, skazala Kiti. (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”) “Nei, det har jeg ikke merket, maman”, sa Kitty, *blussende rød*. “No, I’ve not noticed it, maman,” said Kitty, *flushing hotly*.
- (xi) Separate (juxtaposed) sentences: Past (converb event) + full-stop/semicolon/comma + Past (main event) / Past (main event) + full stop + Past (converb event) – 2 tokens, approx. 1%:
- (11) Nezakončennye stročki pojavljalis’ v puzyristom prostranstve, povoračivalis’ bokom i uplyvali, *mel’knuv* nerovnym hvostom ... (Ljudmila Ulitskaja, “Medea and her children”) De uferdige verselinjene hennes dukket opp som bobler foran henne, snudde siden til henne og fløt vekk, *hun så bare glimt* av en *ujevn hale* av ord. Imperfect lines of poetry appeared in the bubble-like space, turned sideways and floated off, *wagging* their awkward tails behind them.
- (xii) Other (marginal) constructions (with only one occurrence each) – 8 tokens, approx. 5%².

The quantitative analysis shows that about 70% of sentences with Russian semelfactive converb constructions are translated into Norwegian by means of coordinate clauses in the Past tense. From the point of view of surface syntax, two types of coordinate sentences are attested in the translations: (a) the main verb follows the verb denoting the converb event (approx. 40%), and (b) the main

[2] These include: (i) Past (converb event) *for* *å* + Infinitive (main event); (ii) Past (main event) + adverb (converb event); (iii) *etter* *å* *ha* + past participle (converb event) + Past (main event); (iv) Past (converb event) + *da* (‘when’) + Past (main event); (v) Past (converb event) + *men* (‘but’) + Past (main event); (vi) DP *som* + Present (converb event) + *før* + Present (main event); (vii) Past Perfect (main event) + past participle (converb event); (viii) *etter* ... *for* *å* + infinitive (converb event) + Past (main event).

verb precedes the verb denoting the converb event (approx. 30%)³ – cf. (1) and (2).

As mentioned in section [2], Russian converbs of the semelfactive type are somewhat vague with respect to the temporal relation between the two events – i.e. both relations of temporal overlap and consequentiality are possible, and it is often difficult to determine precisely whether the event described by the converb temporally overlaps or precedes the main event (as opposed to the delimitative type of converbs which always convey the precedence relation). In (1) repeated below, the event of ‘looking out of the window’ is from a grammatical point of view naturally understood as preceding the event of ‘seeing’.

- (1) *Vzgljanuv iz okna, ona uvidala ego koljasku.*
 (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
Hun så ut av vinduet og fikk øye på kalesjen hans.
Glancing out of the window, she saw his carriage.

However, lexically the converb and the matrix denote events which are clearly related to each other, hence there is also a flavour of overlap in the interpretation. The coordinate construction used in the Norwegian translation seems to reflect this temporal ambiguity.

In (2) repeated below, the converb is in the final position but the event expressed by it is still most naturally interpreted as preceding the main event (the ‘saying’ event). At the same time, it is possible to infer pragmatically that the converb event is co-temporal with the main event (the saying event happens while the event of looking around is taking place).

- (2) – *Ja ne vovremja, kažetsja, sliškom rano, – skazal on, ogljanuv pustuju gostinuju.* (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
 “Jeg er ikke presis, ser det ut til, det er visst altfor tidlig,” sa han og så seg om i det tomme rommet.
 “It’s not time yet; I think I’m too early,” he said *glancing round* the empty drawing room.

The comitative *med* (‘with’) followed by a DP (which is often followed by a PP, or preceded or followed by a past participle form, cf. (3) repeated below⁴) is another alternative construction used in the Norwegian translations of the Russian

[3] Note, however, that the order of events (converb event and main event) with respect to each other in the Norwegian target text does not always match their order in the source text (Russian).

[4] Such “small clauses” often denote sets of states according to (Fabricius-Hansen & Haug forthcoming). Syntactically, clauses such as “med korslagte bein” (with crossed legs), where the comitative preposition is followed by a DP, are distinct from clauses of the type “with his legs crossed”, where “with” is followed by a small clause (SC): a non-finite construction with an overt argument and a predicate (cf. (Fabricius-Hansen & Haug forthcoming)).

semelfactive converbs (5%). The use of the ‘med + DP’ construction suggests that the converb event is interpreted as simultaneous with the matrix event.

- (3) ... govorila v osnovnom Lena, Sergej sidel v uglu, *zakinuv* nogu na nogu, i kuril ... (Viktor Pelevin, “Generation P”)
 ... hvor det hovedsakelig var Lena som førte ordet, mens Sergej satt *med korslagte bein* i et hjørne og røykte ...
 ... Lena did most of the talking; Sergei sat in the corner *with his legs crossed*, smoking ...

In the definition of semelfactives most researchers (cf. (Smith 1991)) assume that these verbs denote events which do not bring about a change, i.e. a semelfactive VP does not have a well-defined *target state*⁵ (contrary to normal accomplishments and achievements). Example (3) seems to go against this pattern. The verb with a semelfactive suffix (-*nu*-) clearly denotes, in this particular construction, events which have a “target state” of the legs’ being crossed. It is precisely this state, and not the preceding event /activity of crossing the legs itself, which is referred to by the construction chosen by the translators. Hence, the complex situation is interpreted as simultaneity although the “semelfactive event” in a narrow sense may still precede the matrix.

Other semelfactive converb VPs translated into Norwegian with the comitative construction (hence implying a “target state”) in our data include: *sognuv svoju dlinnuju spinu* (‘med den lange ryggen bøyet’ – ‘his long back bent’), *sognuv koleno* (‘med bøyet kne’ – ‘with one knee raised’), *povernuv nabok golovu* (‘med hodet på skakke’ – ‘her head on one side’). Note that all these examples involve transitive verbs that denote a change of position of some body parts and are usually attached to matrix verbs that have a stative reading and typically occur in the IPF form in Russian (e.g. *stojal* (IPF) – *stood*, *sidel* (IPF) – *sat*, etc.). Within the group of target state predicates, (Grønn 2004, 232) distinguishes between permanent vs. reversible target states: e.g. the target state of the book being read to shreds is permanent (irreversible), while the target state of the window being open is reversible (i.e. the window can be closed again). Noteworthy, all semelfactive converbs that are interpreted as involving a “target state” are similar to predicates which denote a reversible target state (a change in the position of some body part is usually followed by placing this part back to its initial position) and can be used with temporal adverbial modifiers (‘for some time’): e.g. *sognuv spinu na sekundu* – ‘having bent the back for a second’). However, most semelfactive converbs in our data do not have target states (but only consequent states) and cannot be modi-

[5] The term “target state” is used here as in (Parsons 1990, 235) and (Grønn 2004) and refers to a particular, semantically visible state which is part of the lexical meaning of certain telic VPs. It should not be confused with the term *resultant state* (Parsons 1990, 235) – also called the consequent state (cf. (Grønn 2004, 232)) – i.e. a state that holds for any event *e* after its culmination.

fied by “for X time” adverbials: e.g. *ogljanuv komnatu *na sekundu* – ‘having cast a glance round the room *for a second’; *mahnuv rukoj *na minutu* – ‘having waved one’s hand (once) *for a minute’.

Relative clauses with *som* (‘which’) in the Past tense form are also found in the corpus data (3%) – cf. (4) repeated below. Combined with main clauses in the Past tense, such constructions are underspecified with respect to the temporal relation between the events, but are compatible with the ‘overlap’ relation.

- (4) – Da, ja pišu vtoruju čast’ “Dvuh načal”, – skazal Goleniščev, *vspyhnuv ot udovol’stviya pri etom voprose ...* (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
 “Ja, jeg holder på med annen del av “De to prinsipper”,” sa Golenisjtsjev *som ble fyr og flamme i glede over dette spørsmålet ...*
 “Yes, I’m writing the second part of the Two Elements,” said Golenishtchev, *coloring with pleasure at the question ...*

Further, we find constructions which explicitly encode the ‘anteriority’ reading of the converb event with respect to the main event: e.g. coordinate constructions with the Past Perfect form of the verb denoting the converb event and the simple Past form of the main verb (3%) – cf. (5); and two subordinate constructions with *da* (‘when’) attested in 6% of all translations – i.e. constructions with *da* followed by the simple Past form of the verb denoting the converb event – (6), and constructions with *da* followed by the Past Perfect form of the verb denoting the converb event and the simple Past form of the main verb – cf. (7).

Constructions in the Past tense introduced by *idet* (‘as’) are found in 2% of the data – cf. (9). These are quite similar to subordinate clauses in the Past tense linked by the conjunction *mens* (‘while’), which make the overlap relation between the converb event and the main event explicit (3%) – as in (8). The Russian converb construction in these examples is truly underspecified with respect to the temporal reference and the translator is forced to choose a construction with a more specific temporal relation than in the source text. It is in principle possible to use the ‘etter’ (‘after’) construction (referring to anteriority) in Norwegian, but our data shows such constructions are dispreferred in translations of the semelfactive type of converbs.

Other constructions include depictive adjectives (2%) – (10) and juxtaposed sentences in the Past tense (1%) – (11). Eight other constructions have also been attested in the data, but with only one occurrence and thus will be considered peripheral compared to the patterns described above.

The ‘semelfactivity’ reading in the Norwegian sentences with finite verbs in the Past tense may often be reflected in the use of a DP with an indefinite (singular) article – e.g. *kastet et blick* (‘cast a (one) glance’), through the combination of a verb with a particle – e.g. ‘hadde hoppet *opp*’ (‘had jumped up’) – as in (5).

[3.2] Norwegian translations of Russian sentences with delimitative converbs

In this section, we look at different Norwegian constructions found in translations of 48 Russian sentences containing converbs of the delimitative Aktionsart – the so-called *pofectives*. The following constructions in the Norwegian target text are attested (in decreasing order):

[A.] Four construction types involving the TEMPORAL PREPOSITION ‘etter’ (‘after’) – 18 tokens, hence about 38% of all sentences:

(i) Past (main event) + *etter / efter* + DP – 7 tokens:

- (12) Da, tak o čjom že my govorili? – *pomolčav*, skazal Levin.
(Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
“Ja, hva var det så vi snakket om?” sa Levin *etter et øyeblikks taushet*.
“Yes, what were we talking about?” Levin said, *after a pause*.

(ii) Past (main event) *etter / efter* + *å ha* + past participle (converb event) – 5 tokens:

- (13) – No skažite, požalujsta, ja nikogda ne mogla ponjat’, – skazala Anna, *pomolčav* neskol’ko vremeni ... (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
“Men si meg en gang, er De snill, jeg har aldri kunnet forstå,” sa Anna *etter å ha sittet taus* en stund ...
“But do tell me, please, I never could make it out,” said Anna, *after being silent* for some time ...

(iii) *etter at* + Past Perfect (converb event) + Past (main event) – 4 tokens:

- (14) Levin rasskazal ... i, *pogovoriv* o politike, rasskazal pro svojo znakomstvo s Metrovym i pojezdku v zasedanie.
(Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
Levin fortalte ... og *etter at de hadde pratet* politikk *en stund*, fortalte han om sitt bekjentskap med Metrov og om besøket på møtet.
Levin told him ... and *after talking a little* about politics, he told him of his interview with Metrov, and the learned society’s meeting.

(iv) *etter / efter* + *å ha* + past participle (converb event) + Past (main event) – 2 tokens:

- (15) Aleksej Aleksandrovič tol’ko uspel vernut’ sja k pjati časam ... i, *poobedav* s pravitelem del, priglasil ego s soboj vmeste jehat’ na daču i na

skački. (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)

Aleksej Aleksandrovitsj rakk ikke hjem igjen før klokken fem ... og *etter å ha spist* sammen med forretningsføreren, innbød han ham til å være med ut til landstedet og siden til veddeløpene.

Alexey Alexandrovitch only just managed to be back by five o'clock ... and *after dining* with his secretary, he invited him to drive with him to his country villa and to the races.

[B.] TEMPORAL ADVERBIAL clauses – 11 tokens, hence 23%:

(v) *da / når* (‘when’) + Past (converb event) + Past (main event) / Past (main event) + *da / når* + Past (converb event) – 6 tokens:

(16) Odnako, *podumav*, vsjo-taki napisal bol’simi krasnymi bukvami: “Duš akademika Pavlova” – i povesil.

(Ljudmila Ulitskaja, “Medea and her children”)

Men *da han fikk tenkt seg om*, skrev han likevel med store, røde bokstaver: ”Akademimedlem Pavlovs dusj” – og hengte det opp.

Poor Shimes took offense and left, but *after further thought* he did hang up a notice in large red letters reading, “Academician Pavlov Shower”.

(vi) *da / når* (‘when’) + Past Perfect (converb event) + Past (main event) / Past (main event) + *da* + Past Perfect (converb event) – 4 tokens:

(17) I, *pogovoriv* ješčo o provozglašenii koroljom Milana i ob ogromnyh posledstvijah, kotorye eto možet imet’, oni razošlis’ po svoim vagonam posle vtorogo zvonka. (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)

Og *da de hadde snakket* enda en stund om at Milan hadde utropt seg til konge og om de veldige følger dette kunne få, gikk de hver til sin vogn etter at det hadde ringt for annen gang.

And *after talking* a little more of King Milan’s proclamation, and the immense effect it might have, they parted, going to their carriages on hearing the second bell.

(vii) *da* (‘when’) + Present Perfect (converb event) + Present (main event) – 1 token:

(18) ... mne ego žaliko bylo, no, *pogovoriv* s toboj, ja, kak ženščina, vižu drugoe ... (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)

... jeg syntes synd på ham, men nå *da jeg har snakket med deg*, ser jeg som kvinne hele saken annerledes ...

I felt sorry for him, but *after talking* to you, I see it, as a woman, quite differently.

[C.] COORDINATION with *og* ('and') or comma – 10 tokens, hence approx. 21%:

(viii) Coordinate Past: converb event + *og* / comma + main event – 7 tokens:

- (19) Vronskij poklonilsja, i Aleksej Aleksandrovič, *poževav* rtom, podnjaj ruku k šljape i prošol. (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”) Vronskij bukket, og Aleksej Aleksandrovič *tygget noen tak* med munnen, løftet hånden til hatten og gikk ut. Vronsky bowed, and Alexey Alexandrovitch, *chewing* his lips, lifted his hand to his hat and went on.

(ix) Coordinate Past: main event + *og* / comma + converb event – 3 tokens:

- (20) – Kakoј son nynče! – skazal starik, iskosjas’ *pogljadev* na solntse. (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”) “Søvn nå, nei!” sa gamlingen og *skottet opp* på solen. “What chance of sleep today!” said the old man, *with a sidelong look* at the sun.

[D.] MISCELLANEOUS constructions⁶:

(x) Past (main event) + temporal adverb: *senere* / *til slutt* / *litt efter* – 3 tokens (6%):

- (21) – N’est ce pas immoral – tol’ko skazala ona, *pomolčav*. (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”) “N’est ce pas immoral?” sa hun bare *til slutt*. “N’est-ce pas immoral?” was all she said, *after a brief pause*.

(xi) Past (main event) + *som* + Past Perfect (converb event) – 2 tokens:

- (22) – Kak že novye uslovija mogt byt’ najdeny? – skazal Svijažskij, *pojev* prostokvaši, zakuriv papirosu i opjat’ podojdja k sporjaščim. (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”) “Men hvordan skal man finne nye forhold?” sa Svijazjskij, *som hadde*

[6] In addition, constructions that occur once in our data include: (i) Past Perfect (converb event) + *men* + Past (main event); (ii) Past (converb event) + full stop + Past (main event); (iii) Present Perfect (converb event) + semicolon / full stop + Present (main event); (iv) *med* + DP (converb event) + Past (main event): e.g. *med et rådvilt blikk* ‘with an absent look’.

drukket tykkmelk og røkt en sigarett og nå kom tilbake til diskusjonen.

“How can new conditions be found?” said Sviazhsky. *Having eaten some junket and lighted a cigarette, he came back to the discussion.*

The analysis of the data shows that Norwegian translations of delimitative converbs exhibit preference for constructions which explicitly encode the temporal relation of ‘anteriority’ – i.e. the converb event temporally precedes the event expressed by the main predicate. Thus we find constructions with the temporal preposition *etter* (‘after’) in about 38% of all translations. These include the following four types: (i) ‘*etter* + DP’ following the main predicate in the Past tense (where the DP includes information about the temporal span of the event described – e.g. *etter et øyeblikks taushet* – ‘after a moment’s silence’) – cf. (12); (ii) ‘*etter å ha* + past participle’ following the main verb in the Past tense – cf. (13); (iii) ‘*etter at* + Past Perfect’ preceding (both semantically, i.e. temporally preceding, and in the surface structure, i.e. linearly preceding) the main clause in the Past tense – (14); and (iv) ‘*etter å ha* + past participle’ preceding the main verb – (15).

In total, 23% of all the Norwegian constructions involve temporal adverbial clauses with the temporal conjunction ‘*da*’ / ‘*når*’ (‘when’). The following three types of sentences are attested in this group: (i) the ‘*da*’ clause in the Past tense followed or preceded by the main clause in the Past tense – cf. (16); (ii) the ‘*da*’ clause in the Past Perfect tense followed or preceded by the main clause in the simple Past – (17); and (iii) the ‘*da*’ clause in the Present Perfect tense followed by the main clause in the Present tense – cf. (18).

Both the ‘*etter*’ constructions and the ‘*da*’ clauses contribute to the ‘anteriority’ reading of the converb event with respect to the main event, which is an important part of the semantics of delimitative converbs – i.e. the contribution of the suffix *-v* (cf. section [2]).

21% of all translations of pofective converb sentences involve coordinate constructions with ‘*og*’ (‘and’) or a comma (if there are more than two clauses in the sentence) in the simple Past tense. Most typically, the verb denoting the converb event precedes the main verb (19), but the reversed pattern is also attested – cf. (9). Note that a DP expressing repetition/duration is added in the Norwegian translation of sentence (19): e.g. ‘*tygget noen tak*’ (‘chewed a few times’).

In (19), the Norwegian sentence has several clauses in the Past. Such coordinate clauses are usually interpreted in terms of narrative progression – i.e. events temporally follow one after another. In (20), on the other hand, only two verbs are linked by ‘*og*’ (‘and’), which allows for the temporal relation of overlap between the two events (cf. also the English translation with the comitative construction which is also compatible with this temporal interpretation). Note, how-

ever, that in (20), *pogljadev* ‘having looked’ can be interpreted both as a true perfective (e.g. ‘having looked at the sun for some time’), but also as a semelfactive (‘having looked once’). In case of the semelfactive reading of this converb, the relation of overlap seems justified (cf. section [3.1]). Thus the use of coordination in the Norwegian translation can be explained by the translator’s interpretation of the converb event as a semelfactive event.

Other translation patterns are less frequent. *Pofective* converbs translated as temporal adverbs occur in 6% of all sentences but only as a translation pattern of one particular converb – *pomolčav* (‘after being silent for some time’). The temporal adverbs used include: *senere* (‘later’), *til slutt* (‘eventually’), *litt etter* (‘a little later’). In this case, the lexical meaning of the converb (i.e. ‘being silent’) is made implicit – cf. (21). 4% of all translations involve relative clauses introduced by *som* (‘which’) in the Past Perfect form preceded by the main clause in the Past form – as in (22). Such constructions are also compatible with the interpretation of the converb event as temporally preceding the main clause event.

[3.3] *Semelfactive vs. delimitative converbs in the Norwegian translations*

The contrastive analysis presented in [3.1] and [3.2] shows that there is a clear correlation between the semantics of converbs and their translation equivalents in Norwegian. Figure 1 on the facing page shows differences in the percentage distribution of different constructions found in the Norwegian translations of semelfactive vs. delimitative converbs.

Converb constructions with the semelfactive Aktionsart are predominantly translated into Norwegian by means of coordinate clauses linked by *og* (‘and’) or a comma (70% of all translations). Converb constructions with the delimitative Aktionsart, on the other hand, show a preference for constructions with the temporal preposition *etter* (‘after’), in particular, the ‘*etter å ha* + past participle’ construction and the ‘*etter* + (temporal) DP’ construction (38%). Note that this construction is almost completely avoided as a translation of the semelfactive type of converb constructions (only one instance was attested). Another preferred construction in translations of delimitative converbs involves subordinate *da* (‘when’) clauses (23%). Coordinate clauses in the Past tense are only found in 21% of all translations of sentences with delimitative converbs (vs. 70% for semelfactive converbs), and, as argued in [3.2], the use of coordination with *pofective* converbs could sometimes be due to the ‘semelfactive’ interpretation of some of them (e.g. *pogljadev* ‘having glanced’).

The predominant use of coordinate clauses in translations of semelfactive converbs reflects the underspecified temporal relation of the events expressed by such converbs with respect to the matrix clause (both ‘overlap’ and ‘anteriority’ relations are possible). On the other hand, the explicit temporal constructions with *etter* ‘after’ and conjunctions *da* / *når* ‘when’ in translations of delimitative

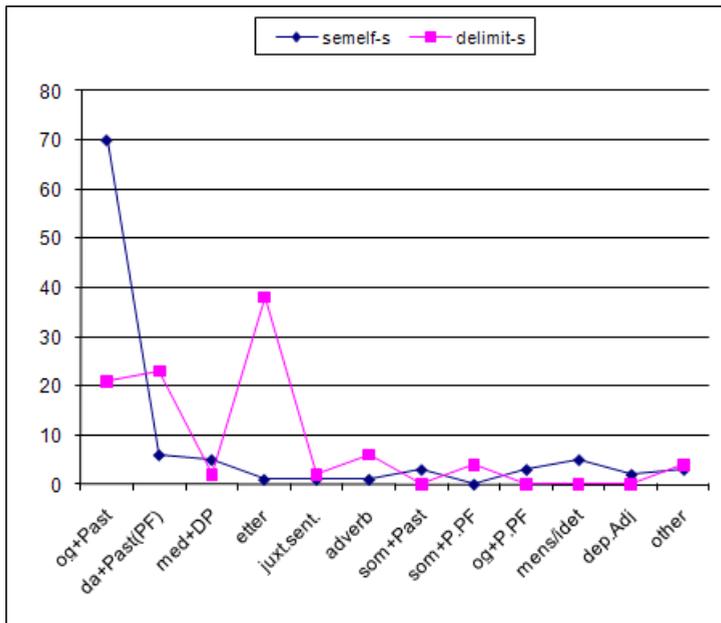


FIGURE 1: Russian semelfactive and delimitative converbs and their translations in Norwegian

converbs convey the ‘anteriority’ relation. This is the expected pattern for converbs due to the anteriority meaning of the morpheme *-v*, and indeed the only possible interpretation of the lexical type of delimitatives. In addition, in translations of semelfactives, we find lexical means of expressing ‘semelfactivity’ (i.e. the use of verbs whose semantics refers to a unique occurrence of a momentaneous event), combinations of verbs with verbal particles etc., whereas in translations of delimitative converbs, we observe explicit reference to the temporal duration of events – e.g. *en stund* ‘a moment’, *etter et øyeblikks taushet* ‘after a moment’s silence’, etc.

In the next section, we will consider English translations of the same lexical types of converbs (semelfactive vs. delimitative) to see if also these data provide evidence for the correlation between the lexical semantics of converbs and their interpretation as converbs.

[4] ANALYSIS OF THE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

[4.1] *English translations of Russian sentences with semelfactive converbs*

164 Russian converb sentences with semelfactive converbs marked by *-nuv* (69 different lexemes) correspond to the following constructions attested in the En-

glish target sentences (in decreasing order of occurrences):

[A.] the English CONVERB (the *-ing* participial adjunct) – 111 tokens, hence approx. 68%:

(i) *-ing* (converb event) + Past (or Past Progressive) main event – 58 tokens:

(23) *Vzgljanuv iz okna, ona uvidala ego koljasku.*
(Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
Glancing out of the window, she saw his carriage.

(24) *Povernuv golovu, on prislušivalsja.* (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
Turning its head, it was listening.

(ii) Past main event + *-ing* (converb event) – 53 tokens:

(25) – *Net, ja ne zametila, maman, – vspyhnuv, skazala Kiti.*
(Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
“No, I’ve not noticed it, maman,” said Kitty, flushing hotly.

[B.] COORDINATION with ‘and’ or comma – 19 tokens, hence about 12%:

(iii) Coordinate Past: converb event (passive) + *and* / comma + main event – 16 tokens:

(26) *Šurik, vsporhnuv k nemu na grud’, obnjaj ego za šuju.*
(Ljudmila Ulitskaja, “Medea and her children”)
Shurik flew up to his chest and hugged him around the neck.

(iv) Coordinate Past: Past main event + *and* / comma + Past converb event – 3 tokens:

(27) ... *ona kak by spotknulas’, dva raza stuknuv nožkoj, i pospešno pokatilas’ proč’ ot nego.* (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
... she made a sort of stumble, twice *struck out*, and hurriedly skated away from him.

[C.] MISCELLANEOUS constructions⁷

- (v) Comitative constructions: Past main event + *with* + DP/SC (converb event) / *with* + DP/SC (converb event) + Past main event – 18 tokens, 11%:

- (28) Ah, čto govorit'! – skazala grafinja, *mahnuv* rukoj.
(Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
“Oh, why talk of it!” said the countess *with a wave of her hand*.
- (29) ... on ... ostanovilsja u rampy s Serpuhovskim, kotoryj, *sognuv* koleno
... podozval k sebe ulybkjoj. (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
... he ... stopped at the footlights with Serpuhovskoy, who, standing
with one knee raised ... beckoned to him, smiling.

- (vi) Temporal adverbial clauses: Past main event + *when/as* + Past converb event) / *when (as soon as)* + Past converb event + Past main event – 4 tokens, approx. 2%:

- (30) Ona užasnulas' svoej blednosti, *vzgljanuv* v zerkalo.
(Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
She was horrified at her paleness, *as she glanced* into the looking-glass.

- (vii) Absolute constructions: Past (Progressive) main event + possessive DP + PP (or past participle or *-ing* (converb event)) – 3 tokens, approx. 2%:

- (31) – A, da! – skazal on na to, čto Vronskij byl u Tverskih, i, *blesnuv* svoimi čornymi glazami, *vzjalsja* za levyj us ...
(Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
“Ah! yes,” he said, to the announcement that Vronsky had been at the Tverskoys'; and *his black eyes shining*, he plucked at his left mustache ...

- (viii) ‘after’ + DP (converb event) + Past main event / ‘after’ + *-ing* + Past main event – 2 tokens (1%):

[7] Peripheral translation patterns which occur only once in our data include: (i) *Having* + past participle (converb event) + Past Perfect main event; (ii) Past converb event + *but* + Past main event; (iii) Past (previous clause) + *-ing* (converb event) + *and -ing* (main event); (iv) subject + *that* + Past converb event + Past main event; (v) Past main event + *who* + Past Perfect converb event; (vi) Past main event + past participle (converb event): ‘*vzdrognuv*’ – *shaken up and down*; (vii) DP *which* (relative clause) + Present converb event + *and* + Present main event; (viii) Past converb event + *-ing* (main event) – reversed pattern compared to the Russian sentence.

- (32) ... ona, *otdohnuv*, opjat' prisojedinilas' k igre ...
 (Lev Tolstoj, "Anna Karenina")
 ... *after a rest* she joined the game again ...

The data above shows that the majority of Russian sentences with semelfactive converb constructions are translated into English by means of the English converb – the *ing*-participial adjunct, which is subordinate to the main clause in the Past tense⁸ (68% of all translations). Both positions of the *-ing* form are attested – following or preceding the main clause – cf. (23)–(24) and (25).

The *-ing* adjunct is vague with respect to the temporal relation between the event expressed by it and the matrix clause event – e.g. (Kortmann 1995, 218) claims that the English converb can express all the three relations, with the “simultaneity” relation being the most frequent, the “anteriority” the next most frequent, and the “posteriority” the least frequent relation. The latter is possible only when the adjunct follows the matrix clause, while the first two relations may be expressed by converbs independently of their position. Moreover, the non-simultaneity relation can be expressed either by means of time adverbials in the adjunct specifying the time intervals preceding or following the time interval of the matrix event, or a set of conditions, such as: (i) telic predicate in the adjunct; (ii) indication of a path or itinerary in the complex sentence; (iii) iconic word-order (cf. (Kortmann 1995, 220–221). The event of ‘glancing out of the window’ in (23) can be understood as either preceding or being simultaneous with the ‘seeing’ event, depending on whether the predicate should be read as telic or as atelic.

12% of all constructions are represented by coordinate clauses in the Past tense linked by *and* or separated by a comma – cf. examples (26)–(27). English coordinate constructions in the Past tense are usually interpreted in terms of temporal succession – i.e. the event mentioned in the first conjunct temporally precedes that in the second conjunct: for example, in (26), the event of ‘flying up to his chest’ logically precedes the event of ‘hugging him around the neck’.

The comitative ‘with + DP’ / ‘with + SC’ (small clause) constructions are also relatively frequent as a translation of semelfactive converbs and are used in 11% of all translations – see example (28) for a comitative ‘with’ followed by a DP (*with a wave of her hand*) and example (29), where the converb construction is translated by means of ‘with’ followed by an SC (*with one knee raised*). Comitative constructions imply a temporal overlap relation between the converb event and the main clause event.

Further, we find temporal adverbial clauses with *as* / *when* / *as soon as* in the Past tense (2%). Absolute constructions (non-finite closed adjuncts) are attested

[8] The predominant use of Past tense in our data reflects the narrative genre of fiction texts in the corpus, a genre which is characterized by the narration of past events.

in 2% of the data – as in (31) with the *-ing* form following the possessive DP. Other examples of absolute constructions include possessive DPs followed by a PP (also known as ‘bare’ small clauses in the terminology of Fabricius-Hansen et al. (forthcoming)), as in (33), or possessive DPs followed by a past participle (34).

- (33) Laska podskočila k nemu ... i opjat’ zamerla, *povernuv nabok golovu i nas-toroživ odno uho.* (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)

Laska flew up to him ... and sank into repose again, *her head on one side,*

and one ear pricked up to listen.
- (34) On, *podnjavšis’, sidel, oblokotivšis’ rukoj, na krovati, sognuv svoju dlin-nuju spinu i nizko opustiv golovu.* (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)

He was sitting raised up with one elbow on the bed, *his long back bent,* and

his head hanging low.

Notably, only 1% of the translations listed above employ constructions with the temporal preposition *after* followed by a DP or the *-ing* form. The remaining 8 constructions occur only one time each.

[4.2] English translations of Russian sentences with delimitative converbs

The following English translation patterns corresponding to 49 Russian sentences with pofective converb constructions (16 different converbs) have been found in our data:

[A.] Constructions with the PREPOSITION *after* – 31 tokens, hence approx. 64%, including:

- (i) *after* + DP (converb event) + Past main event / Past main event + *after* + DP (converb event) – 16 tokens:

- (35) – Net, – *podumav, otvečal Levin ...* (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)

“No,” answered Levin, *after an instant’s thought ...*

- (ii) Past main event + *after* + *-ing* (converb event) / *after* + *-ing* (converb event) + Past (or Past Perfect or Present) main event – 15 tokens:

- (36) I, *pogovoriv ješčo o provozglašenii koroljom Milana i ob ogromnyh posledstvijah, kotorye eto možet imet’, oni razošlis’ po svojim vago-nam posle vtorogo zvonka.* (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”) (repeated from section [3.2].)

And *after talking* a little more of King Milan’s proclamation, and the immense effect it might have, they parted, going to their carriages on hearing the second bell.

- (37) – Odnako kak glupejut ljudi v etom položenii, – skazal on Čirikovu, kogda Levin, rasterjanno *pogljadev* na nego, podvinulsja k neveste. (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
 “How silly men are, though, in this position,” he said to Tchirikov, when Levin, *after looking* absently at him, had moved back to his bride.

[B.] the English CONVERB (-ing) – 11 tokens, approx. 22%:

(iii) Past main event + -ing (converb event) – 7 tokens:

- (38) Net, mogu, – skazala Anna, *podumav* ...
 (Lev Tolstoj, “Anna Karenina”)
 “Yes, I can”, said Anna, *thinking a moment*.

(iv) -ing (converb event) + Past main event – 4 tokens:

- (39) Vnimatel’no *pogljadev* emu v glaza, on ponjal, što Gireev ne v sebe, hotja vrode ne p’jan. (Viktor Pelevin, “Generation P”)
Looking attentively into Gireiev’s eyes, he realised he was not quite himself, although he didn’t seem to be drunk.

(v) *Having* + past participle (converb event) + Past (or Past Perfect) main event – 3 tokens:

- (40) Ona nakonets zaplakala, a *poplakav* nemnogo ... zabormotala ...
 (Ljudmila Ulitskaja, “Medea and her children”)
 She finally began to cry, and, *having cried* a little ...she murmured ...

[C.] MISCELLANEOUS constructions:⁹

(vi) Coordinate Past: converb event + *and* / comma + main event – 2 tokens:

- (41) Čut’ *podumav*, on otvetil: – Byla takaja poema u al’-Gazzavi ...
 (Viktor Pelevin, “Generation P”)
He thought for a moment and answered: “Al-Ghazavi had this poem”

The figures presented above reveal a clear preference for constructions with the preposition *after* as the English translation alternatives for Russian sentences with *pofective* converbs (63%). This large group is represented by the ‘*after* + DP’

[9] In addition to the coordinate past below, we find two more marginal constructions (2 tokens): (i) Past main event + *with* + DP (converb event); (ii) *by* + -ing (converb event) + Past Perfect main event.

construction and the ‘*after* + the *-ing* adjunct’ combination – as shown in (36) and (37). Note that in constructions with DPs, the DP often includes information about the duration of the event – e.g. we find expressions such as: *after a little conversation*, *after an instant’s thought*, *after a short pause*, etc).

The English converb (the *-ing* participial adjunct) is relatively frequent, occurring in 22% of all translations – cf. examples (38) and (39) for converbs in the post-verbal and pre-verbal positions, respectively. Although the *-ing* form by itself does not provide information about the duration of the described event explicitly, there are many instances in the data where the *-ing* form is combined with a DP which provides such information – e.g. *thinking a moment* – as in (38).

Further, we find that the ‘*having* + past participle’ construction (the Perfect counterpart of the *-ing* adjunct) occurs in 6% of all translations of the *perfective* converbs – cf. example (40).

The ‘*having* + past participle’ construction is compatible with the ‘anteriority’ reading of the converb event. Coordination with *and* (or by means of a comma) is less frequent (4%) – as in (41). In addition, we find one occurrence of the comitative ‘*with* + DP’ construction and the instrumental ‘*by* + *-ing*’ construction. Note that absolute constructions are not found in translations of *perfectives* (as opposed to *semelfactives*), as they are not used for the coding of successive events (cf. (Kortmann 1995, 220)).

[4.3] *Semelfactive vs. delimitative converbs in the English translations*

Figure 2 on the next page is an illustration of the different distribution of various constructions attested in the English translations of sentences with *semelfactive* and *delimitative* converbs.

Figure 2 convincingly shows that the *semelfactive* type of converbs is predominantly translated into English by the *-ing* adjunct (68% of all data), while VP coordination (‘*and*’ + Past) and comitative ‘*with*’ constructions are the other two frequent patterns observed in this group. In contrast, the *delimitative* type of converbs in the Russian source data corresponds to constructions involving the preposition *after* (64%). The *-ing* converb is used in 22% of all translations of this type of sentences. Thus the English translation data provides further evidence in favor of our initial hypothesis concerning the role of lexical semantics in the interpretation and translation patterns of converb constructions.

[5] COMPARISON OF THE ENGLISH AND THE NORWEGIAN TRANSLATIONS

The main difference between the English and the Norwegian translations is the wide use of the *-ing* participial adjunct in English (which corresponds to the Russian converb construction) as opposed to Norwegian. Norwegian translations, on the other hand, are represented by a greater variety of constructions (11 main patterns vs. 6-8 in English).

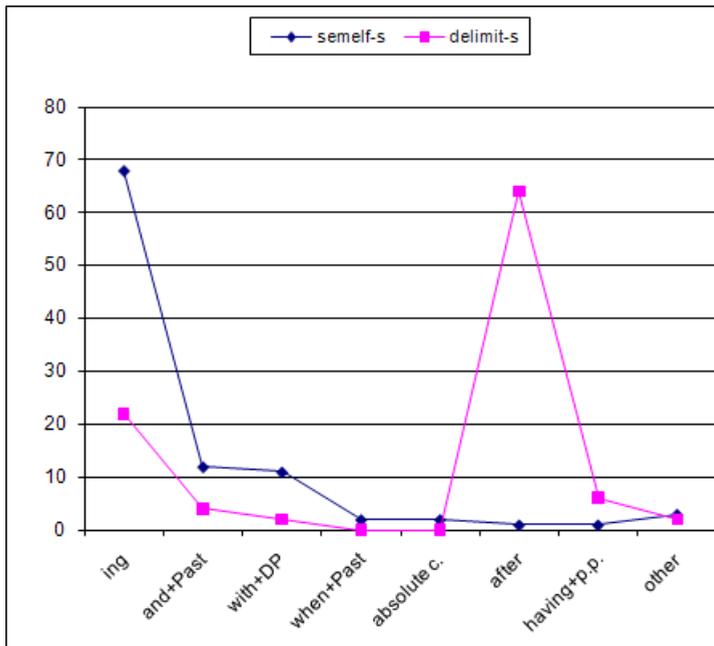


FIGURE 2: Russian semelfactive and delimitative converbs and their translations in English

The majority of semelfactive converbs are translated into Norwegian by ‘og’ coordination in the Past tense (70%) (cf. the predominant use of *-ing* clauses in English – 68%). The Norwegian ‘og’ conjunction allows for a temporal overlap relation between the main event and the event expressed by the converb, which is often a natural interpretation for semelfactive converbs in Russian¹⁰. In English, on the other hand, the ‘overlap’ relation is mostly conveyed by the *-ing* form, while coordination with ‘and’ is employed for temporal succession. Apart from the correlation between the *-ing* form and ‘og’ coordination, there are parallels (in translations of the same semelfactive converbs) in the use of the comitative construction (‘med’ / ‘with’ + DP) in Norwegian (5% of all data) and English (11%) – cf. our example below repeated from section [3.1]:

- (3) ... govorila v osnovnom Lena, Sergej sidel v uglu, *zakinuv nogu na nogu*, i kurul ... (Viktor Pelevin, “Generation P”)
 ... hvor det hovedsakelig var Lena som førte ordet, mens Sergej satt *med korslagte bein* i et hjørne og røykte ...

[10] In general, though, the temporal reference of PF converbs is ‘anteriority’, encoded in the semantics of the suffix *-v*.

... Lena did most of the talking; Sergei sat in the corner *with his legs crossed*, smoking ...

As for the delimitative Aktionsart, parallels in the English and Norwegian target sentences are observed in the use of ‘etter’ / ‘after’ constructions (64% in English vs. 38% in Norwegian) – cf. examples (12) to (15) in section [3.2].

[6] DISCUSSION

We need to explain the nature of the differences in the lexical aspect of delimitatives vs. semelfactives which triggers the different temporal relations between the converb event and the matrix event attested in the translation data. Let us consider the following constructed examples of sentences with (a) an accomplishment converb with a reversible target state, (b) a *poffective* converb, and (c) a semelfactive converb – and their compatibility with temporal adverbial phrases:

- (42) a. Otkryv okno (na 2 minuty), on vyšel.
‘Having opened the window, he went out.’
(in Russian: √ for 2 minutes)
- b. Pomolčav (2 minuty / *na 2 minuty), on vyšel.
‘Having been silent, he went out.’
(in Russian: √ 2 minutes / *for 2 minutes)
- c. Mahnuv rukoju (*2 minuty / *na 2 minuty), on vyšel.
‘Having waved his hand once, he went out.’
(in Russian: *2 minutes / *for 2 minutes)

In all the three examples, the anteriority relation (\prec) between the converb event and the matrix event is due to the semantics of the converb suffix (-v). However, unlike the accomplishment converb in example (42a), semelfactive and delimitative converbs lack the semantically visible target state and cannot be modified by temporal adverbial phrases (“for X time”). Moreover, delimitatives require a specification (overtly, i.e. lexically, or covertly, i.e. contextually) of some temporal span denoting the duration of the event (e.g. “2 minuty”), which is not possible with instantaneous events expressed by semelfactives. These differences can be illustrated in the following way (τ = temporal trace/span of the event, OVL = temporal overlap):

- (a.) Accomplishment converbs (with a target state): $e1$ (window-opening) $\prec e3$ (going out); $s2$ is the target state of the window being open; and $s2$ OVL $e3$.
- (b.) *Pofective* converbs: $e1$ (being silent) $\prec e3$ (going out);
and $s1 = \tau(e1) =$ “two minutes”.
- (c.) Semelfactive converbs: $e1$ (hand-waving) $\prec e3$ (going out);

and $\tau(e1)$ = a minimal interval (i.e. a moment)

Obviously, the minimal duration of semelfactive events does not provide the speaker with an interval or state $s1$, which is salient or relevant enough to be designated by temporal adverbials. However, as pointed out in section [3.1], certain semelfactive converbs (denoting a change in the position of some body part) are interpreted as having a target state $s2$ which overlaps with the matrix event:

- (43) d. Zakinuv nogu na nogu (na 2 minuty), on kuril.
 ‘With his legs crossed, he sat there smoking.’
 (in Russian: \surd for 2 minutes)

Thus, in this case, we get a relation between the events that is similar to that we observed for the accomplishment converbs (cf. point (a.) above):

- (d.) Semelfactive converbs (type 2): $e1$ (crossing the legs) \prec $e3$ (smoking); $s2$ is the target state of the legs being crossed; and $s2$ OVL $e3$.

[7] SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Comparing two semantically distinct converbs from the point of view of their translation alternatives in English and Norwegian, we find that the lexical aspect of converbs affects the interpretation of sentences and the choice of particular translation patterns: e.g. semelfactive converb constructions are mostly translated by coordinate constructions in Norwegian and the *-ing* converb in English, while delimitative converbs correlate with temporal prepositions (*etter* in Norwegian and *after* in English) as well as temporal adverbial clauses in Norwegian and the Past Perfect counterpart of the *-ing* converb (*having* + past participle) in English.

The majority of semelfactive converbs in the source data correspond to constructions which by themselves leave the semantics of semelfactivity implicit: coordination is used in the majority of the Norwegian translations and the *ing*-participial adjunct is employed in most of the English translations. In this case, the ‘semelfactivity’ reading is expressed by other lexical means: e.g. the semantics of the verb itself (e.g. *glance* means to look quickly at something once), certain combinations of verbs and verbal particles producing a semelfactive interpretation (e.g. *hoppet opp* ‘jumped up’), or verb phrases with singular DPs of a certain lexical class (e.g. *kaste et blikk* – ‘throw a glance’), etc.

‘Pofectivity’ (with regard to converbs) encodes two semantic components: (i) that the converb event is ended before the matrix event (the anteriority meaning of *-v*); and (ii) that the event goes on for some time. The first component is clearly realized in the translation data: in the Norwegian data we find 38% of the

constructions with the temporal preposition *etter* ‘after’ and 23% with subordinate *da* (‘when’) clauses; while in English, 64% of all constructions involve combinations with the preposition *after*. As for the second component, it is reflected in the Norwegian construction ‘*etter å ha* + past participle’ which due to the presence of the Perfect Infinitive makes the event’s boundaries more salient, but also in combinations of *etter* with DPs that provide temporal information (e.g. *etter et øyeblikks taushet* ‘after a moment’s silence’). In cases of coordinate verbs, we note the presence of DPs containing information about the duration (or quantity) of the events (e.g. *tygget noen tak* ‘chewed a few times’).

To conclude, the analysis of translation data presented in this article shows that the lexical semantics of converb constructions (semelfactive vs. delimitative) in the source language (Russian) affects their interpretation and the range of possible translation alternatives in the target languages (English and Norwegian). This claim is also supported by the fact that we find similarities in the translation patterns observed in the two target languages.

The study presented in this article thus provides further evidence for the importance of distinguishing carefully between lexical classes of verbs (here: semelfactives and *pofectives*) in the study of grammatical verbal categories (here: converbs and their temporal/aspectual interpretation). The semantic properties of the two lexical groups in question also set them clearly apart from other perfective converbs, both of the achievement and accomplishment type. This last point is neatly confirmed by the translation data.

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