The Classification of Event Structures in Russian

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Overview

PART ONE
PERFECTIVE IS A SOLID OBJECT
IMPERFECTIVE IS A FLUID SUBSTANCE

PART TWO
Typology of Russian Perfective and Imperfective Events

PART THREE
Russian Prefixes as Verb Classifiers
PART ONE

PERFECTIVE IS A SOLID OBJECT
IMPERFECTIVE IS A FLUID SUBSTANCE
Temporal Metaphors from General to Specific:

- TIME IS SPACE (well-documented, cf. Haspelmath 1997)

- A SITUATION IS A MATERIAL ENTITY (cf. comparisons of perfective vs. imperfective to count vs. mass)

- PERFECTIVE IS A DISCRETE SOLID OBJECT vs. IMPERFECTIVE IS A FLUID SUBSTANCE
The Two Types of Matter

- **Discrete Solid Object:**
  - Nut
  - Apple
  - Chair
  - Pail
  - Truck

- **Fluid substance:**
  - Sand
  - Water
  - Air
  - Smoke
The Two Types of Matter

- **Discrete Solid Object:**
- **Fluid substance:**
Properties inherent to types of matter

A. Edges
B. Shape
C. Integrity
D. Countability
E. Streamability
F. Penetrability

- **Perfective** events, like solid objects, have Edges, Shape, Integrity, Countability

- **Imperfective** events, like fluid substances, lack those properties, but have Streamability and Penetrability
A. Edges

Perfective events have Edges

- Они нашли его мертвым
- ‘They found him dead’

Imperfective events don’t

- На кровати лежали вещи
- ‘Things were lying on the bed’
B. Shape

**Perfective events have Shape, long or short**

- Вот я написал роман
- ‘Here I’ve written a novel’
- Ее муж умер от разрыва сердца
- ‘Her husband died of a heart attack’

**Imperfective events don’t**

- Он носил галстук
- ‘He was wearing a tie’
- Телевидение делает мир плоским и примитивным
- ‘Television makes the world flat and simplistic’
C. Integrity

Perfectives have Integrity as unique events

- Он нашел позвонок мамонта
- ‘He found the vertebra of a mammoth’

Imperfectives don’t

- Она готовилась к экзаменам
- ‘She studied for the exams’
D. Countability

Perfective events are completed in a countable period of time

- Борис прочитал эту книгу за два часа
- ‘Boris read the book in two hours’

Imperfective events aren’t

- Елена поджидала мужа ночами
- ‘Elena waited up for her husband at night’
E. Streamability

- Perfective events can’t

- Он увлекся выращиванием грибов
- ‘He became mad about cultivating mushrooms’

Imperfective events can stream

- Во мне накапливался протест против их “правды”
- ‘A feeling of protest against their “truth” welled up in me’
- Determined motion verbs: ездить ‘ride’, идти ‘walk’, лететь ‘fly’, etc.
F. Penetrability

Perfective events can’t

Imperfective events can be easily penetrated for internal descriptions

- Полицейские крепко держали его за плечи
- ‘The policemen held him firmly by the shoulders’
Further parameters in the comparison of matter with aspect in Russian

G. Conversions
H. Compatibility
I. Dynamicity
J. Salience
K. Contiguity
L. Stability
M. Texture
N. Implied conversions
PART TWO

Typology of Russian Perfective and Imperfective Events
Russian Aspectual Types: Croft’s (2012) Typology Revised

• Croft diagrams aspectual types geometrically, with two dimensions:
  \[ t = \text{time (horizontal axis)} \]
  \[ q = \text{qualitative states (vertical axis)} \]

• Croft aims at a universal typology, but it requires revision in order to represent several distinctions that are essential to Russian aspect

• I present my revised version only
Russian Imperfective Event Types

STATES быть ‘be’  Four kinds of ACTIVITIES:

- DIRECTED ACTIVITY

- CYCLIC ACTIVITY
  • прыгать ‘jump’, чихать ‘sneeze’, ходить в школу ‘go to school’, ездить на работу на автобусе ‘commute to work by bus’

- HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY
  • работать ‘work’, играть ‘play’, кокетничать ‘act like a coquette’, плотничать ‘do carpentry’

- ANNULLED ACTIVITY
  • Мы ездили в Москву ‘We went to Moscow (and returned)’, Кто ложился в мою постель? ‘Who lay down in my bed (and left)?’
STATE

q

т

быть ‘be’
прыгать ‘jump’, чихать ‘sneeze’,
ходить в школу ‘go to school’,
eздить на работу на автобусе ‘commute to work by bus’
HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY

работать ‘work’, играть ‘play’, кокетничать ‘act like a coquette’, плотничать ‘do carpentry’
Мы ездили в Москву ‘We went to Moscow (and returned)’, Кто ложился в мою постель? ‘Who lay down in my bed (and left)’?
Imperf ective ambiguities: a given verb can often signal various event types. For example, indeterminate motion verbs (ездить ‘ride’, ходить ‘walk’ etc.) can signal all types except DIRECTED ACTIVITIES, for which determinate motion verbs are used.
Russian Perfective Event Types

• Russian has **Telic**, **Atelic**, and **Phasal** Perfective event types
• **Telic** event types (bounded on both ends, with change of state):
  – Three types of ACCOMPLISHMENTS (based on DIRECTED ACTIVITY, HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY, and CYCLIC ACTIVITY)
  – Three types of ACHIEVEMENTS (one instant, and two RUNUP ACHIEVEMENTS based on HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY and CYCLIC ACTIVITY)
• **Atelic** event types (bounded on both ends, no change of state):
  – SEMELFACTIVE
  – Three types of DELIMITATIVE/PERDURATIVE (based on STATE, HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY and CYCLIC ACTIVITY)
• **Phasal** event types (bounded at one end):
  – INGRESSIVE, TERMINATIVE, PUNCTUAL PERCEPT
Telic Perfective event types: ACCOMPLISHMENTS (bounded on both ends, with change of state)

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

- based on DIRECTED ACTIVITY
  - съесть блин ‘eat a pancake’
- based on HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY
  - выработать новый план ‘work out a new plan’
- based on CYCLIC ACTIVITY
  - вбить гвоздь в стену ‘hammer a nail into the wall’
Telic Perfective event types:
ACHIEVEMENTS
(bounded on both ends, with change of state)

ACHIEVEMENTS

• instant

• RUNUP ACHIEVEMENT based on HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY
  – он починил компьютер ‘he fixed the computer’

• RUNUP ACHIEVEMENT based on CYCLIC ACTIVITY
  – уговаривал, уговаривал, на конец уговорил ‘he tried and tried to convince someone and finally succeeded’
Telic Perfective Event Types: ACCOMPLISHMENTS and ACHIEVEMENTS

ACCOMPLISHMENT (based on DIRECTED ACTIVITY)

ACCOMPLISHMENT (based on CYCLIC ACTIVITY)

ACHIEVEMENT

RUNUP ACHIEVEMENT (based on CYCLIC ACTIVITY)

RUNUP ACHIEVEMENT (based on HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY)
ACCOMPLISHMENT (based on DIRECTED ACTIVITY)

съесть блин ‘eat a pancake’
ACCOMPLISHMENT
(based on HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY)

выработать новый план ‘work out a new plan’
ACCOMPLISHMENT (based on CYCLIC ACTIVITY)

вбить гвоздь в стену ‘hammer a nail into the wall’
дверь открылась ‘the door opened’, окно разбилось ‘the window shattered’, очнуться ‘regain consciousness’, рухнуть ‘collapse’, дать ‘give’, сесть ‘sit down’
RUNUP ACHIEVEMENT
(based on HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY)

он починил компьютер ‘he fixed the computer’
RUNUP ACHIEVEMENT
(based on CYCLIC ACTIVITY)

уговаривал, уговаривал, на конец уговорил
‘he tried and tried to convince someone and finally succeeded’
Atelic Perfective event types
(bounded on both ends, no change of state)

• **SEMELFACTIVE**
  - блеснуть ‘flash (once)’, чихнуть ‘sneeze (once)’, сглупить ‘do one stupid thing’, сходить ‘go someplace and come back once’

• **DELIMITATIVE/PERDURATIVE**
  - based on **STATE**
    - попбыть ‘be someplace for a while’, пожить ‘live for a while’
  - based on **HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY**
    - поработать ‘work for a while’, проработать много лет ‘work for many years’
  - based on **CYCLIC ACTIVITY**
    -почихать ‘sneeze for a while’, прокричать всю ночь ‘yell all through the night’
Atelic Perfective Event Types: SEMELFACTIVES and DELIMITATIVE / PERDURATIVES
блеснуть ‘flash (once)’, чихнуть ‘sneeze (once)’,
сглупить ‘do one stupid thing’,
сходить ‘go someplace and come back once’
побыть ‘be someplace for a while’,
пожить ‘live for a while’
DELIMITATIVE/PERDURATIVE (based on HETEROGENEOUS ACTIVITY)

поработать ‘work for a while’, проработать много лет ‘work for many years’
DELIMITATIVE/PERDURATIVE (based on CYCLIC ACTIVITY)

почихать ‘sneeze for a while’, прокричать всю ночь ‘yell all through the night’
Phasal Perfective event types
(bounded at one end)

- **INGRESSIVE**
  - заиграть ‘start to play’

- **TERMINATIVE**
  - отсидеть срок в тюрьме ‘complete a term in jail [lit. finish sitting]’

- **PUNCTUAL PERCEPT**
  - увидеть ‘see, catch sight of’, услышать ‘hear’
Phasal Perfective Event Types:
INGRESSIVE, TERMINATIVE, PUNCTUAL PERCEPT
INGRESSIVE

заиграть ‘start to play’
отсидеть срок в тюрьме
‘complete a term in jail [lit. finish sitting]’
увидеть ‘see, catch sight of’, услышать ‘hear’
Perfective Ambiguities:
Some verbs can express more than one event type
## Event Types and Perfectivization Patterns

<table>
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<th>Imperfective type</th>
<th>Perfective type</th>
<th>Example of derived perfective verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STATE</td>
<td>DELIMITATIVE/PERDURATIVE</td>
<td>probyt ‘spend some time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INGRESSIVE/TERMINATIVE</td>
<td>otsidet ‘sit out to end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PUNCTUAL PERCEPT</td>
<td>uvidet ‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HETEROGENEOUS</td>
<td>ACCOMP/ACHIEVEMENT</td>
<td>vyrabotat ‘work out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITY</td>
<td>(Specialized Perfectives)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DELIMITATIVE/PERDURATIVE</td>
<td>porabotat ‘work for a while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INGRESSIVE/TERMINATIVE</td>
<td>zaigrat ‘begin to play’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SEMELFACTIVE</td>
<td>maxnut ‘wave once’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYCLIC ACTIVITY</td>
<td>DELIMITATIVE/PERDURATIVE</td>
<td>poprygat ‘jump for a while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INGRESSIVE/TERMINATIVE</td>
<td>začixat ‘start sneezing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANNULLED ACTIVITY</td>
<td>SEMELFACTIVE</td>
<td>sxodit ‘walk someplace and come back once’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECTED ACTIVITY</td>
<td>ACCOMP/ACHIEVEMENT</td>
<td>pobleknut ‘fade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Natural Perfectives and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specialized Perfectives)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
PART THREE

Russian Prefixes as Verb Classifiers
Collaborators, PART THREE

Anna Endresen, Julia Kuznetsova,
Olga Lyashevskaia, Anastasia Makarova,
Tore Nesset, Svetlana Sokolova,
Stephen M. Dickey
Numeral Classifier Systems Worldwide

Verb Classifier Systems

- Linguists have only recently begun to describe verb classifier systems
- Verb classifiers have been identified in Chinese and in several Australian languages (McGregor 2002, Gerner 2009)
- McGregor (2002) on verb classification: “[d]oubtless it is not confined to the relatively few languages in which it has been hitherto described, though the extent of its distribution across the world’s languages remains to be charted.”
The function of sortal numeral classifiers

• Despite the name, numeral classifiers are actually a type of **noun classifiers**
• Numeral classifiers are “unitizers” that construe the referents of mass nouns as countable units, i.e., count nouns.
• **Sortal** numeral classifiers “sort” the nouns of the language into groups according to the units that the substances typically form, usually according to their shape, e.g.,
  – long objects
  – flat objects
  – etc.
Yucatec Maya examples of sortal numeral classifiers (Lucy 2000: 329)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘un-tz’íít kib’</td>
<td>[one long-thin wax]</td>
<td>‘one candle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘un-tz’íít che’</td>
<td>[one long-thin wood]</td>
<td>‘one stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘un-tz’íít nal</td>
<td>[one long-thin corn]</td>
<td>‘one ear of corn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘un-tz’íít há’as</td>
<td>[one long-thin banana]</td>
<td>‘one fruit of the banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘un-wáal há’as</td>
<td>[one flat banana]</td>
<td>‘one banana leaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘un-kúul há’as</td>
<td>[one planted banana]</td>
<td>‘one banana tree’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numeral classifiers are obligatory in contexts where discrete units are referred to, as in constructions with numerals.
Why Prefixes in Russian Natural Perfectives are Sortal Verb Classifiers

- **Russian prefixes** are “unitizers” that designate discrete events
- **Russian prefixes** are associated with quantification by perfective aspect
- **Russian prefixes** “sort” the verbs of the language according to the parameters of actions; **classification by outcome**:
  - **EXPANDING** with раз- as in пухнуть > рас-пухнуть ‘swell’
  - **MOVEMENT AWAY** with у- as in красть > у-красть ‘steal’
  - **ATTACHMENT** with при- as in липнуть > при-липнуть ‘get stuck to’
- **Russian prefixes** fulfill all distributional criteria for classifiers
  - overlapping groups are characteristic of classifier systems
  - the classifiers also “show different behaviours” (McGregor 2002: 17)
How prefixes sort verbs in Russian:
• 1429 simplex verbs
• form 1981 Natural Perfectives
• using 16 prefixes
## Comparison of Numeral Classifiers with Aspectual Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unitizer Type:</strong></td>
<td>Numeral Classifier</td>
<td>Aspectual Prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quantification:</strong></td>
<td>Associated with numerals</td>
<td>Associated with Perfective Aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spatial Profile:</strong></td>
<td>Bounded/shaped region in space</td>
<td>Trajector-Landmark relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Etymological Source:</strong></td>
<td>Stem from nouns</td>
<td>Stem from prepositions/particles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A given classifier can have different functions with different nouns

- If **HIGH** semantic overlap between classifier and noun => default classifier
- If **LOW** semantic overlap between classifier and noun => other classifier

Mandarin Chinese classifier *pian* expresses flatness (Zhang 2013: 42):

a. *san pian shuye* (individual/sortal classifier)
   
   three *CL:*slice leaf
   
   ‘three leaves’

b. *yi pian qiche* (collective/mensural classifier)
   
   one *CL:*slice car
   
   ‘one group of cars’

c. *san pian mutou* (individuating/mensural classifier)
   
   three *CL:*slice wood
   
   ‘three pieces of wood’

d. *she pian luobo* (partitive/mensural classifier)
   
   ten *CL:*slice carrot
   
   ‘ten slices of carrot’

Parallel: prefixes in **Natural Perfectives**

Parallel: prefixes in **Other Perfectives**
A given prefix can have different functions with different verbs: Natural Perfectives and Specialized Perfectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Natural Perfectives</th>
<th>Specialized Perfectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>пухнуть ‘swell’ &gt; рас-пухнуть ‘swell’</td>
<td>дуть ‘blow’ &gt;&gt; раз-дуть ‘inflate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>красть ‘steal’ &gt; у-красть ‘steal’</td>
<td>бежать ‘run’ &gt;&gt; у-бежать ‘run away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>липнуть ‘stick’ &gt; при-липнуть ‘stick’</td>
<td>вязать ‘tie’ &gt;&gt; при-вязать ‘tie onto’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ночевать ‘spend the night’ &gt; пере-ночевать ‘spend the night’</td>
<td>ждать ‘wait’ &gt;&gt; пере-ждать ‘wait through something’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HIGH DEGREE OF OVERLAP:**
- Natural Perfectives only change the aspect
- Specialized Perfectives change the aspect and the meaning
Classifier Variation and Prefix Variation
First: Classifier Variation

Some nouns can have several different classifiers
Burmese *myiʔ* ‘river’ (Becker 1975):

a. *myiʔ* *tǝ*  *myiʔ*
   river one  CL:river
   ‘a river [default case]’

b. *myiʔ* *tǝ*  *yaʔ*
   river one  CL:place
   ‘a river as site [for a picnic, etc.]’

c. *myiʔ* *tǝ*  *tan*
   river one  CL:line
   ‘a river [on a map]’

d. *myiʔ* *tǝ*  *hmwa*
   river one  CL:section
   ‘a river section [for fishing, etc.]’

e. *myiʔ* *tǝ*  ‘sin*
   river one  CL:distant arc
   ‘a river as path to the sea’

f. *myiʔ* *tǝ*  *θwe*
   river one  CL:connection
   ‘a river as a connection [linking villages]’

g. *myiʔ* *tǝ*  ‘pa*
   river one  CL:sacred object
   ‘a river [in mythology]’

h. *myiʔ* *tǝ*  *khu’*
   river one  CL:conceptual unit
   ‘a river [in a discussion of rivers in general]’
Compare: Prefix Variation
Example: грузить

Some base verbs can have several aspectual prefixes
Russian грузить ‘load’ has three different Natural Perfectives (Sokolova, Lyashevskaya and Janda 2012):

a. на-грузить ‘on-load’ focuses on accumulation of loaded objects, e.g., на-грузить сумку арбатским породистым товаром ‘load a bag with fine goods from the Arbat’

b. по-грузить ‘PO-load’ most neutral, can also be used for things that don’t ordinarily get loaded, e.g., по-грузить раненых в фургон ‘load the wounded into a van’.

c. за-грузить ‘behind-load’ focuses on states resulting from loading, e.g. за-грузить пароход провизией ‘load a steamship with provisions’; default in professional contexts.
4. Polysemy and Radial Category Structure for Classifiers and Prefixes
First: Numeral Classifiers

Radial category structure for Thai Classifier *tua* (Deepadung 1997)
Compare: Slavic Prefixes in Natural and Specialized Perfectives

Example: Russian раз-

Prototype:
1. APART раз-бить ‘break apart’
2. CRUSH раз-давить ‘crush’
3. SPREAD раз-ветвиться ‘branch out’
4. SWELL раз-дуть ‘inflate’
5. DISSOLVE рас-таять ‘melt’
6. EXCITEMENT рас-калить ‘make red-hot’
7. UN- раз-грузить ‘unload’

Natural and Specialized Perfectives share
the same radial categories
(Janda et al. 2013)
The Numeral Classifier Construction in Mandarin Chinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier Type</th>
<th>Numeral</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sortal</td>
<td><em>yi</em> ‘one’</td>
<td><em>tiao</em> cl: long-thin</td>
<td><em>shengzi</em> rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mensural</td>
<td><em>yi</em> ‘one’</td>
<td><em>bei</em> cl: glass</td>
<td><em>piju</em> beer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Gao & Malt 2009)

- Morpho-syntactic behavior is identical
- Both types signal units
  - **Sortal**: refer to inherent units
  - **Mensural**: create units, individuate in terms of quantity
- A single classifier can serve both sortal and mensural functions
- General classifiers often serve both functions
## Sortal vs. Mensural Classifiers for Nouns and Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unitizer Type:</th>
<th>NOUNS Numeral Classifier</th>
<th>VERBS Aspectual Prefix</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference to inherent boundaries:</td>
<td>Sortal Classifiers</td>
<td>Lexical + purely perfectivizing prefixes (Natural Perfectives and Specialized Perfectives)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Procedural Prefixes as Mensural Classifiers

(1) a. *yi bei pijiù* (Mandarin Chinese: Gao and Malt 2009: 1129)
one cl:glass beer
‘a glass of beer’

(1) b. *’um-p’iit há’as* (Yucatec Maya; Lucy 1992:
a cl:little-bit/some banana
‘a little bit of/some banana’

(2) a. *по-сидеть* (Russian)
for-a-while- sit
‘sit for a while’
Russian Examples for the Types of Sortal and Mensural Classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Classifier</th>
<th>Russian Perfectivizing Prefixes</th>
<th>Russian Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Individual Classifiers</td>
<td>NATURAL по-, с-, за-, etc.</td>
<td>по-строить, с-варить, за-крепить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Sortal)</td>
<td>SPECIALIZED до-, с-, за-, etc.</td>
<td>до-писать, со-брать, за-писать</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Collective Classifiers</td>
<td>DISTRIBUTIVE пере-, по-CUMULATIVE на-</td>
<td>пере-пробовать, по-бросать на-грешить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mensural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Individuating Classifiers</td>
<td>DELIMITATIVE по-</td>
<td>по-сидеть</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mensural)</td>
<td>PERDURATIVE про-</td>
<td>про-плакать</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ATTENUATIVE при-, под-</td>
<td>при-тормозить, под-сохнуть</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INGRESSIVE за-</td>
<td>за-говорить</td>
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<td></td>
<td>FINITIVE от-</td>
<td>от-служить</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>INTENSIVE-RESULTATIVE до-…-с-</td>
<td>до-плясаться, за-работать</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>с-, за-...-с-, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Partitive Classifiers</td>
<td>SEMELFACTIVE с-, -ну-</td>
<td>с-глупить, чих-нуть</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mensural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>