

# Slavic Verbal Aspect an Introduction

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rené genis



UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM



AMSTERDAM CENTER  
FOR LANGUAGE AND  
COMMUNICATION

ACL C

■ Comparative Slavic Verbal Aspect (and Related Issues)

# RG CSVA(RI)

## Comparative Slavic Verbal Aspect (and Related Issues)

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### Currant research topics:

- 'open' ('unbounded') repetition
- 'closed' ('bounded') repetition

### ASPAC

Amsterdam Slavic Parallel  
Aligned Corpus

# Slavic Verbal Aspect

- Linguistic history
- Issues
- Approach CSVA(RI)
- Example

# Linguistic History

## Modern dictionaries: Dunaj 1996

**pisać** I cz. *ndk* *IIa*, *piszę*, *pisze*, *~any* – **napisać** *dk* *IIa* 1. 'kreślić na czymś litery, cyfry itp. ręcznie lub za pomocą maszyny, komputera, w celu wyrażenia czegoś słowami': Dzieci uczą się pisać. Pisać piórem, kredą na

dokonany = perfective

niedokonany = imperfective

1. Aspect in dictionary
2. Binary opposition
3. Aspectual pairs

# Linguistic History

## Earlier dictionaries: Linde 1807 - 1815

NAPUSZCZAĆ, *cz.* **niedok.** Napuścić, *f.* napuści **dok.** *Boh.* napauštjm, - ěti, napustiti; *Sorab.* 1. napuschežu, napuschežim; *Kag.* napûstiti; *Vind.* napustiti; *Ross.* напу-

dokonany = *actionis perfectae*

niedokonany = *actionis imperfectae*

# Linguistic History

## Earlier dictionaries: Linde 1807 - 1815

MACHAĆ, ał, a, *act. contin.* MACHNAĆ *jedntl.* 1) mach  
czyli szerm czynić czym na powietrzu, szermować na po-  
wietrzu, kiwać czym, powiewać czym; (cf. *Boh. machati* s

Jednotliwe *instantaneum*

*continuativum*

# Linguistic History

## Earlier dictionaries: Linde 1807 - 1815

MAWIAĆ, ał, a, act. *niedok.*, *frequ.* verbi mówić, Boh. mluwivati; Rag. govorûkati; oft sagen, zu sagen pflegen. Mawiali starzy Polacy, gdzie wiele ceremonij, tam szcze-

niedokonany *actionis imperfectae*  
częstotliwe *frequentativum*

# Linguistic History

## Earlier dictionaries: Linde 1807 - 1815

PISAĆ, pisał, pisze, cz. *contin.*, napisać *dok.*; Boh. psat, psàti, psal, piši; Slov. písat; Sorab. 2. pizsch, ja pizsu, pischu; Sorab. 1. pischu, pizacz; (pizanu, moluyu

*dokonany actionis perfectae*

*continuativum*

# Linguistic History

## Earlier dictionaries: Linde 1807 - 1815

- No discussion, the word 'aspekt' is lacking
- Aspectual pairs?
- Labels:
  - częstotliwe *frequentativum*
  - jednotliwe *instantaneum*
  - *contuniativum*
  - dokonane *actionis perfectae*
  - niedokonane *actionis imperfectae*

# Linguistic History

## 19th century linguists: esp. Greek

- Present, preterite and aorist

# Linguistic History

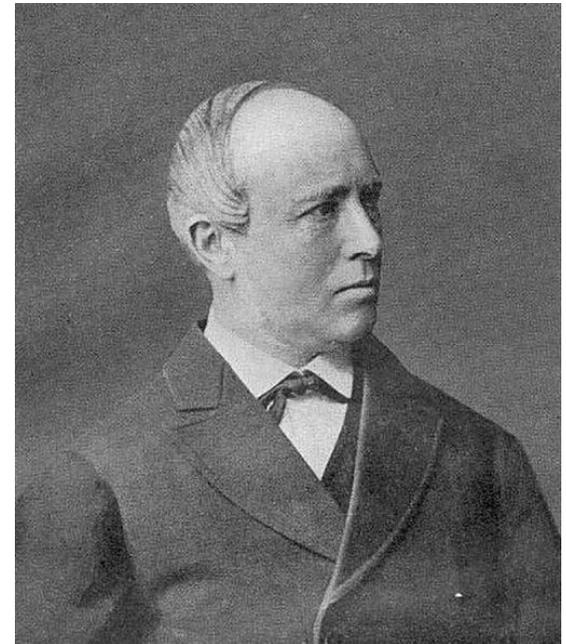
## 19th century linguists: esp. Greek

- **Georg Curtius** 1820 – 1885

*Zeitstufe*

*Zeitart*

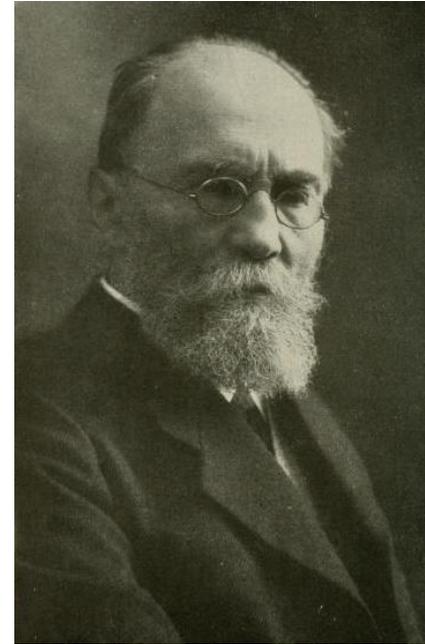
- Präsensstamm – ‘dauernde’
- Perfekstamm – ‘vollendete’
- Aorist - ?? ‘momentan, eintretend’



# Linguistic History

## 19th century linguists

- **Karl Brugmann 1849 – 1919**  
*Actionsart* (ca. 1880)



# Linguistic History

## 19th century linguists: mostly Germanic

- **Wilhelm Streitberg** 1860 – 1925

*Actionsarten* (1889)

- imperfective *durative, continuative*
- perfective *resultative*
  - a. *momentan*
  - b. *durativ-perfective*
- iterative
  - a. *Imperfectiv-iterative*
  - b. *Perfectiv-iterative*



# Linguistic History

## 19th century linguists: mostly Germanic

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### *Actionsarten* (1889)

- imperfective *durative, continuative*
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  - a. *momentan*
  - b. *durativ-perfective*
- iterative
  - a. *Imperfectiv-iterative*
  - b. *Perfectiv-iterative*

*aigan* 'have' *frijon* 'love'

*finpan* 'find (out)'

*fulljan* 'fill'

*auhjon* 'make noises'

*afdailjan* 'divide (up)'

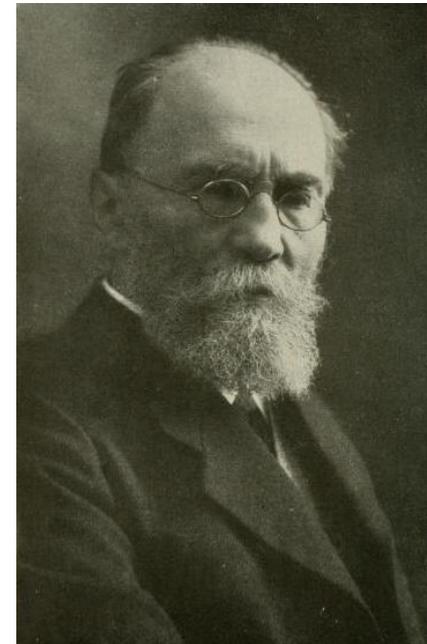
# Linguistic History

## 19th century linguists

- Karl Brugmann 1849 – 1919

### *Actionsarten* (ca. 1902-4)

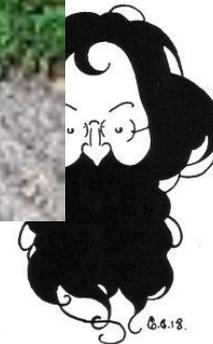
- **punktuelle** „gleich vollendet“
- **kursive** „verlaufend vorgestellt“
- **perfektische** „Zustand des Subjekts“
- **iterative** „aus wiederholten Gleichen“
- **terminative** „vor sich gehend..., Terminus als Ausgang oder Endpunkt“



# Linguistic History

## 20th century linguists: Slavic (Germanic)

- (P)



# Linguistic History

## 20th century linguists: Slavic (Germanic)

- (Per) Sigurd Agrell 1908

*Aspektänderung und  
Aktionsartbildung – beim polnische  
Zeitworte.*

→ separation Aspect and Aktionsart!



# Linguistic History

## 20th century linguists: Slavic (Germanic)

- (Per) Sigurd Agrell 1908: 78

Aspect:

unvollendet : vollendet

→ **That** an action is fulfilled

Aktionsart:

→ **How** an action is fulfilled

...

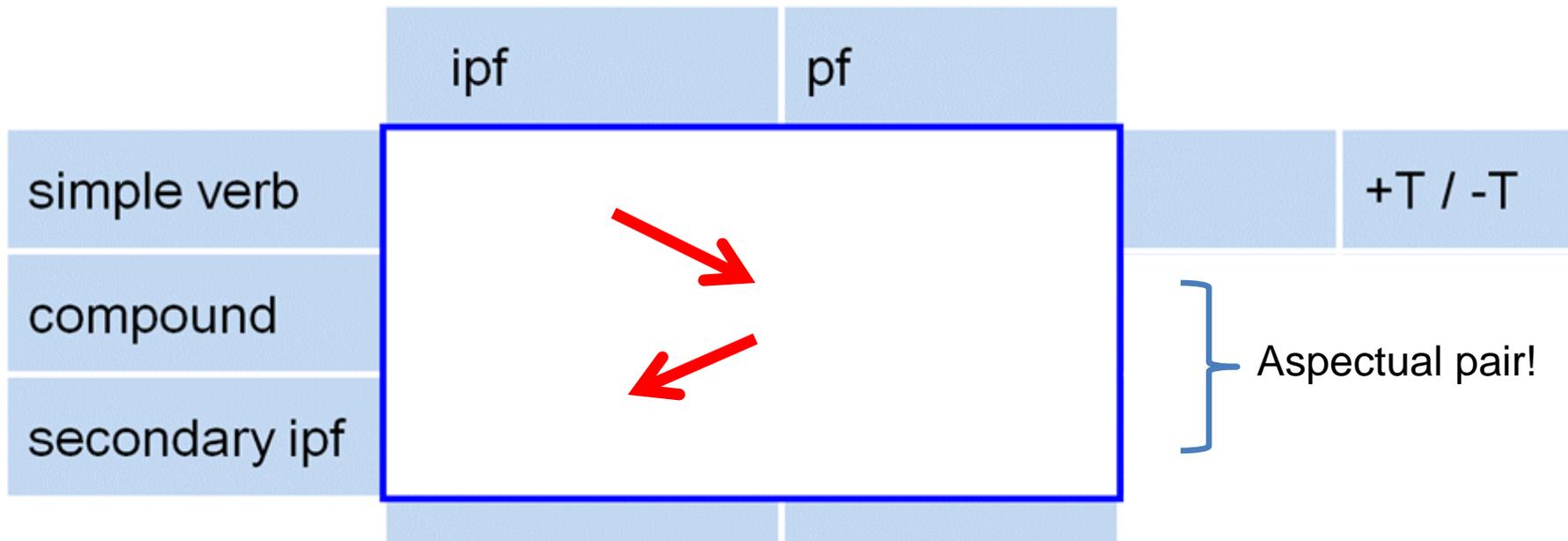


Aktionsart.	Schema	Typverbum.
1) resultativ .....		<i>zemrzeć (ev. skończyć)</i>
2) effektiv .....		<i>wykończyć</i>
3) momentan .....	!	<i>ukłuć (ev. skończyć)</i>
4) durativ .....	—————	<i>ukończyć</i>
5) distributiv.....	— ] — ] — ] — ]	<i>pokończyć</i>
6) final .....	— — ]	<i>dokończyć</i>
7) akkurativ .....	—	<i>odróżnić (odegrać)</i>
8) augmentativ...	—         ]	<i>rozróżnić (rozdrażnić)</i>
9) majorativ .....	. — ]	<i>podrożyć</i>
10) perdurativ.....	— — — — —	<i>przenocować</i>
11) präteritiv .....	—	<i>poszukać</i>
12) konsekutiv ...	— ] — ]	<i>pochwalić</i>
13) definitiv.....	— — — — — →	<i>zakończyć</i>
14) eff.-definitiv	— — — — — →	<i>przebudzić</i>
15) dur.-definitiv	— — — — — →	<i>nakierować</i>
16) aug.-definitiv	—         — — — — — →	<i>wzbudzić</i>
17) terminativ.....	— — — — — ●	<i>przyjść</i>
18) perkursiv .....	● — — — — —	<i>zajść</i>
19) kursiv .....	● — — — — — →	<i>pójść</i>
20) inchoativ .....	! — — — — — →	<i>zagrać</i>

nic)

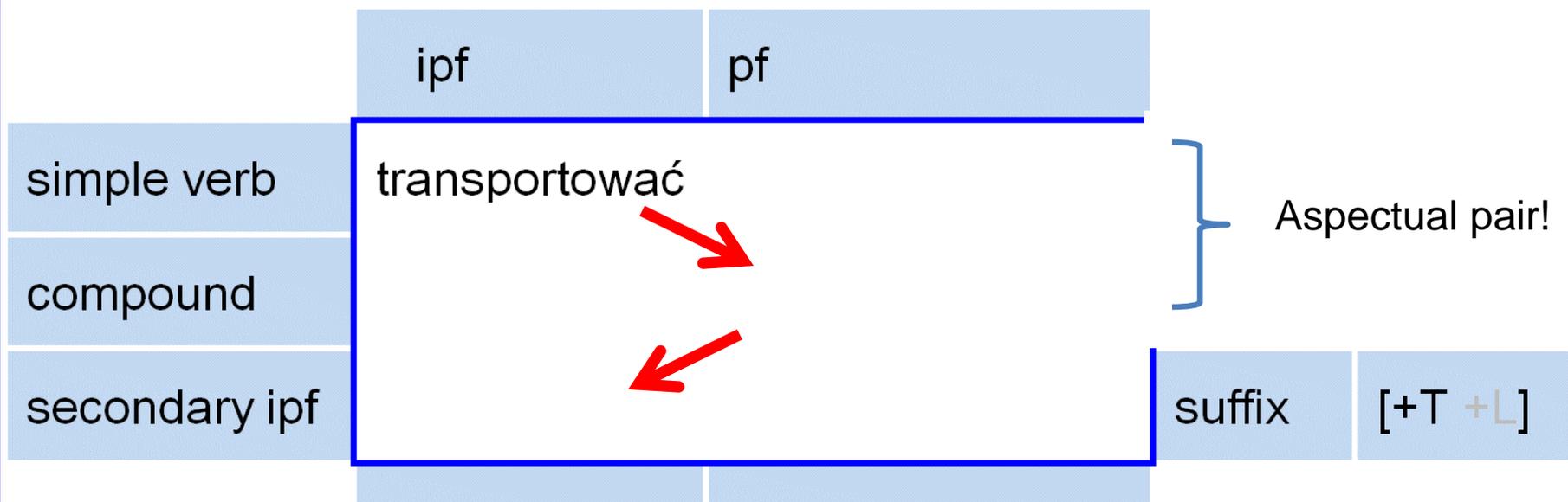


# Issue: prefixes



'write'<sub>i</sub> → {through-write =} 'copy'<sub>p</sub> → 'copy'<sub>i</sub>

# Issue: 'empty' prefixes



'transport',<sub>i</sub> → 'through-transport'



Aktionsart.	Schema	Typverbum.	
1) resultativ .....		zemiść (ev. skońc.	Die
2) effektiv .....		wykończyć	Exhaust
3) momentan .....	!	ukłuć (ev. skończy	Pierce/sting
4) durativ .....	—————	ukończyć	Lead to an end
5) distributiv.....	— ] — ] — ] — ]	pokończyć	End several items
6) final .....	— — ]	dokończyć	Bring to an end
7) akkurativ .....	—	odróżnić (odegrać)	Distinguish
8) augmentativ...	—         ]	rozróżnić (rozdraż	Distinguish and order
9) majorativ			expensive
10) perdurativ			ht
11) präteritiv			ile
12) konsekuti			ate
13) definitiv..			aken
14) eff.-definitiv		przeważać	
15) dur.-definitiv	————— →	nakierować	Lead with direction upon direction
16) aug.-definitiv	—         ] →	wzbudzić	Awaken (sth in sb)
17) terminativ.....	— ●	przyjść	Arrive
18) perkursiv .....	● — ●	zajść	Go further than ...
19) kursiv .....	● — →	pójść	Set out on one's way
20) inchoativ .....	! — →	zagrać	Begin to play

**Aktionsart:**  
 → **How** an action is fulfilled  
 Mostly expressed by prefixes ...

# Linguistic History

## 20th century linguists

- 1920s As-Ak distinction picked up by other scholars:  
a.o:



Eduard Hermann

*Eduard Hermann*



Hermann Jacobsohn

*H. Jacobsohn*



Nicolaas van Wijk

*Nicolaas van Wijk*



Walter Porzig



Erwin Koschmieder

# Issue: aspect vs. Aktionsart

## 20th century linguists

- 1920s As-Ak distinction picked up by other scholars

**Aktionsart** involves **how** the action actually occurs; reflects the **external, objective** facts of the occurrence; focuses on something **outside the speaker**. This is usually expressed **lexically**, either in the inherent meaning of the lexical form or in the derivational morphology (i.e. By means of prefixes or suffixes which affect the meaning of the verb).

**Aspect** involves a way of **viewing** the action; reflects the **subjective** conception or portrayal **by the speaker**; focuses on the speaker's representation of the action. This is usually expressed **grammatically**, by contrasting verb-pairs as in Slavic languages or by tense-inflexion and tense-stems as in Greek.

# Issue: aspect vs. Aktionsart

## 20th century linguists

- 1920s As-Ak distinction picked up by other scholars

**Aktionsart** involves **how** the action actually occurs: reflects the

**external, objective**

occurrence;

**outside the**

usually expressed

in the inherent

lexical form

morphology

prefixes or suffixes which affect

the meaning of the verb).

**Aspect** involves a way of **viewing** the action: reflects the **subjective**

**viewpoint** by the

the

realization of the

verbally expressed

contrasting

Aspectual languages

and tense-

systems as in Greek.

Carlotta Smith (a.o. 1983, 1991)

‘situational aspect’ (Aktionsart)

‘viewpoint aspect’ (Aspect)

# Issue: aspect vs. Aktionsart

## 20th century linguists

- **Yurij S. Maslov 1914 – 1990**

The highly systemic nature of the Aktionsarten (in Slavic languages) put them „on the threshold of grammar.”  
(1958)



# Issue: morphology SVA

class	morphological type	Polish (modern Slavic)		
		if	pf	
1a	sufixal	<i>przepisywać</i>	<i>przepisać</i>	'copy'
1b		<i>rzucać</i>	<i>rzucić</i>	'throw (away)'
2	-a- : -ną-	<i>machać</i>	<i>machnąć</i>	'wave'
3	suppletive	<i>brać</i>	<i>wziąć</i>	'take'
4	bi-aspectual	<i>kazać</i>		'order'
5a	pf tantum	-	<i>rzec, lec</i>	'say'. 'lie down'
5b		-	<i>popisać</i>	'write (a while)'
6a	prefixal	<i>pisać</i> (T) <i>badać</i> (T)	<i>napisać</i> <i>zbadać</i>	'write (down)' 'research'
6b	ipf tantum	<i>pisać</i> (aT) <i>żyć</i>	∅	'write' 'live'

# Issue: grammaticalisation

## I. Pre-aspect

Verbal prefixes have their 'original' lexical meaning, which includes predicational terminativity.

## II. Proto-aspect

On the basis of the intensified use of prefixes, Aktionsarten develop and the prefixes slowly begin to displace the grammatical means of expressing terminativity (i.e. the aorist).

## III. Developing aspect

Iterative / intraterminal forms for clearly T predicates develop through the application of Indo-European inherited suffix  $-\bar{a}$ .

## IV. Expanding aspect

Other verbs comply with the new grammatical system: most simple verbs 'take on' imperfectivity, prefixed verbs consequently oppose simple ones aspectually and are pf. In most languages a particular prefix 'specialises' in the expression of pf aspect per se.

## V. Fully-fledged aspect

# Linguistic History

## 20th century linguists

- **Yurij S. Maslov 1914 – 1990**  
→ 1948 **predel'nost'**

later version:

В противопоставлении предельность / неопредельность основанием деления служит наличие или отсутствие предела в протекании действия, направленность или ненаправленность действия на достижение этого предела.

Maslov (1961: 175).

(As the basis of the division in the opposition terminativity / aterminativity functions the presence or absence of a boundary in the progress of the event, [that is to say] the event is oriented or not oriented to reach such a boundary.)



# Issue: terminativity

aspect

terminativity

perfective

terminative

'get up', 'sit down', 'open a door', 'finish an essay' ....

imperfective

terminative

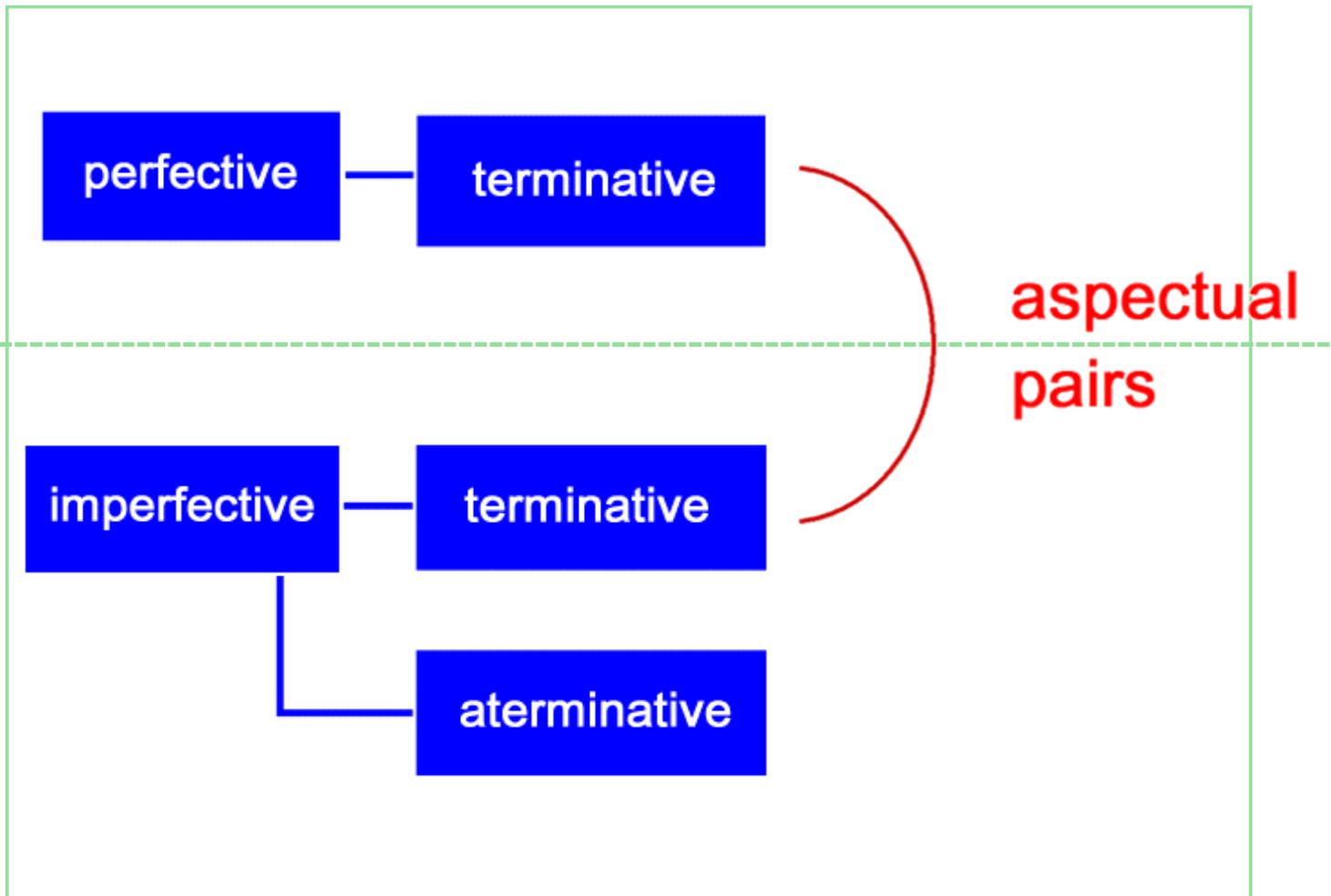
aterminative

'lie', 'sit', 'work', 'surf' ....

# Issue: aspectual pairs

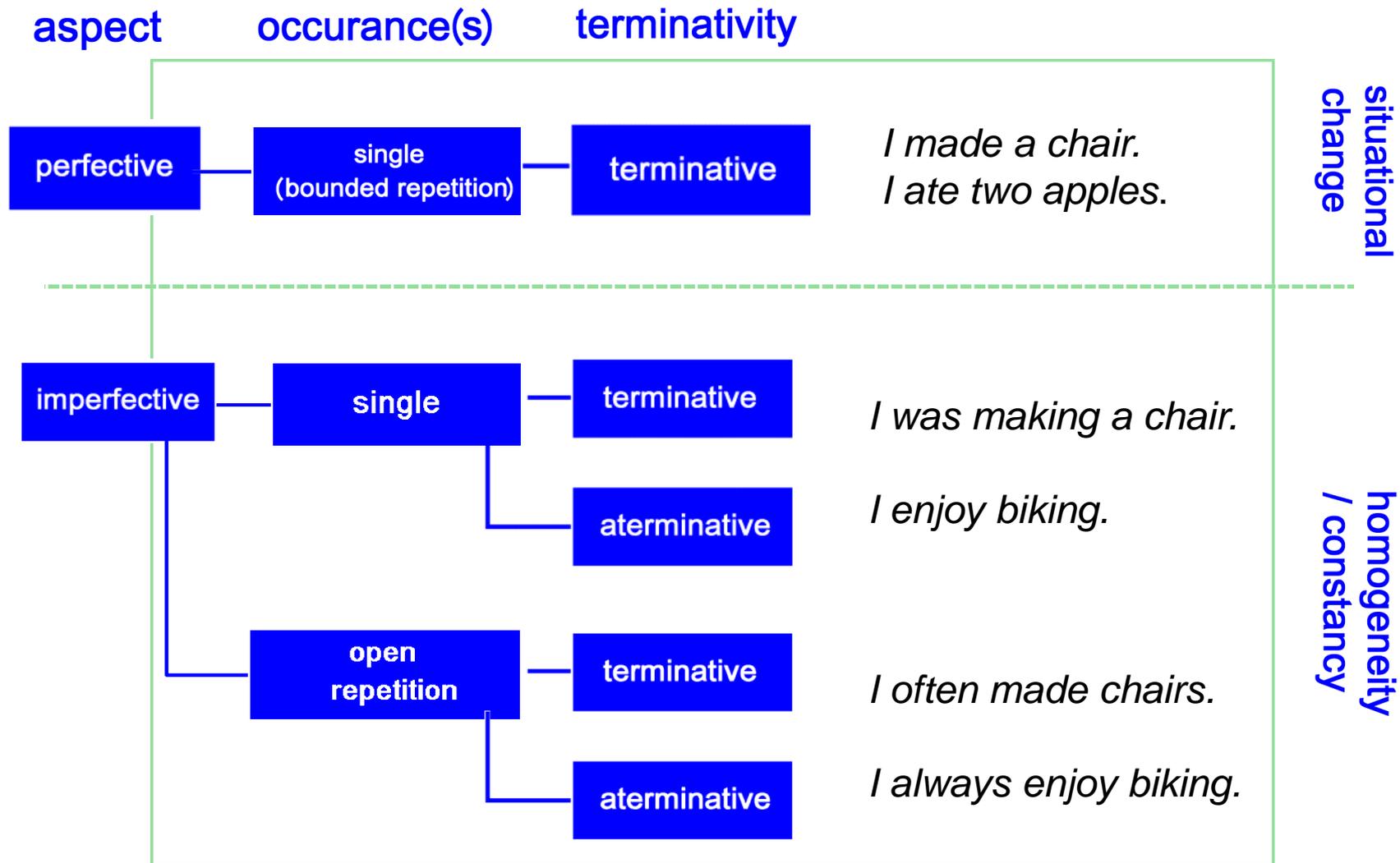
aspect

terminativity



# Issue: aspectual meaning &c

xx  
x



# Linguistic History

## Modern linguists

- Aleksandr V. Bondarko



# Linguistic History

## Modern linguists

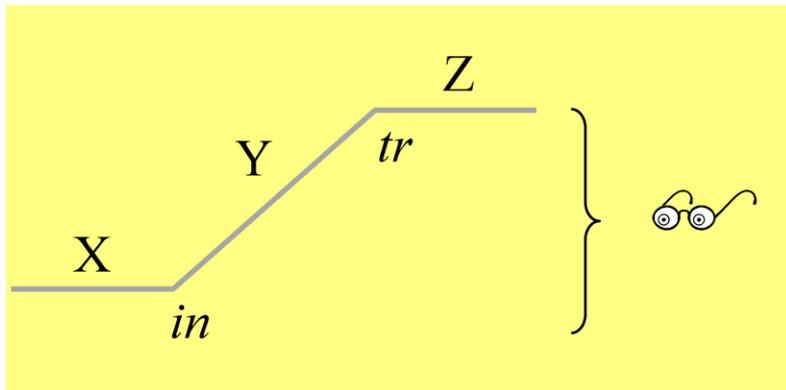
- **Adrie Barentsen (1973, 1995)**
  - Three step terminativity
  - Terminativity in the wider sense
  - Types of terminativity



# Issue: 3-step terminativity

## Processual transformative T

### Perfective



*in* = initium

*tr* = terminus/transitus

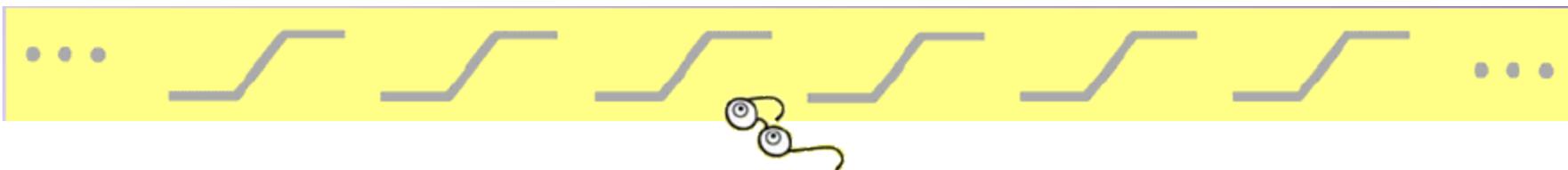
← Viewpoint: totality

r	открыть <sub>p</sub> окно
p	otworzyć <sub>p</sub> okno
t	otevřít <sub>p</sub> okno
k	otvoriti <sub>p</sub> prozor
	open (the) window

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

## Processual transformative T

### Imperfective (open repetition)



*tr + in* 'out of view, backgrounded'



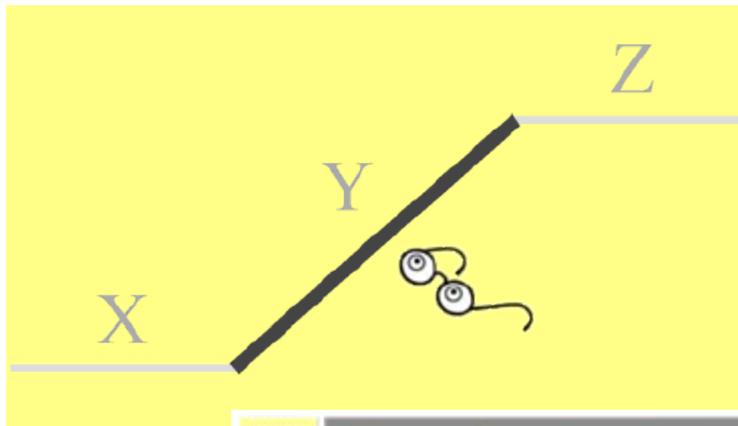
constancy / homogeneity

r	Он всегда составлял <sub>i</sub> расписания.
p	On zawsze robił <sub>i</sub> plan zajęć.
t	Vždycky sestavoval <sub>i</sub> {seznam ...}.
k	Uvijek je sastavljao <sub>i</sub> rasporede.
	he always composed the time tables.

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

## Processual transformative T

Imperfective (single = process meaning)



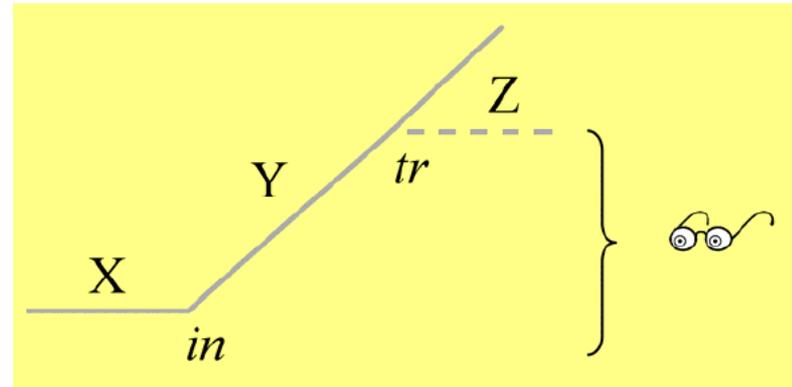
*tr + in* 'backgrounded' (focus on action itself: Y) → constancy / homogeneity

г	Когда я вошёл <sub>p</sub> к нему, Иван как раз составлял <sub>i</sub> расписание.
p	Kiedy wszedłem <sub>i</sub> do jego pokoju Jan akurat robił <sub>i</sub> plan zajęć.
t	Když jsem k němu vešel <sub>p</sub> , Ivan právě sestavoval <sub>i</sub> {seznam ...}.
k	Kad sam ušao <sub>p</sub> u sobu, Ivan je baš sastavljaio <sub>i</sub> raspored.
	<b>As I came in, Ivan was busy making the time table.</b>

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

## Relative terminus T

### Perfective



**r** Температу́ра по́высилась<sub>p</sub> на пять гра́дусов.

**p** temperatura wzrosła<sub>p</sub> (o) pięć stopni.

**t** Teplota se zvýšila<sub>p</sub> o pět stupňů.

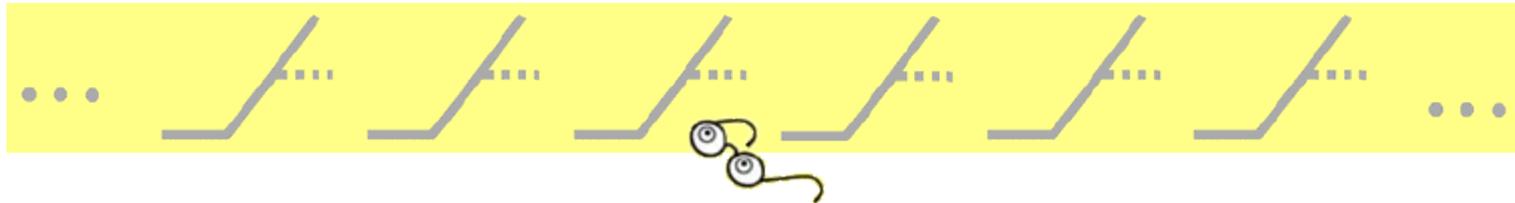
**k** Temperatura je narasla<sub>p</sub> za pet stupnjeva.

The temperature rose five degrees.

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

## Relative terminus T

### Imperfective (open repetition)



r При ка́ждом о́пыте температу́ра в су́дне повыша́лась; на пять гра́дусов.

p Przy kaźdej próbie temperatura w basenie wzrastała; o pięć stopni.

t Při kaźdém pokusu se zvyšovala; v sudě teplota o 5 stupňů.

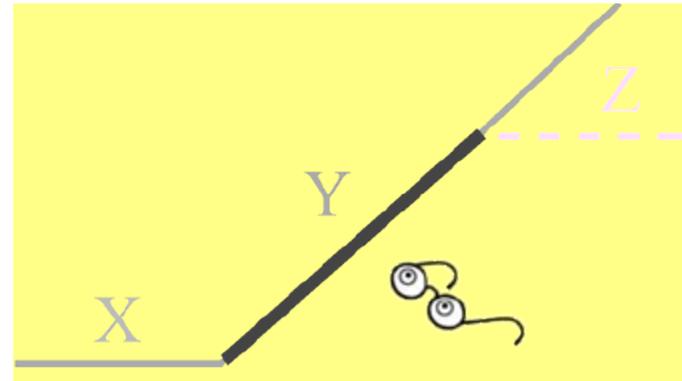
k Pri svakom pokusu temperatura u bačvi je rasla; za pet stupnjeva.

With each test, the temperature in the vessel rose five degrees.

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

## Relative terminus T

Imperfective (single)

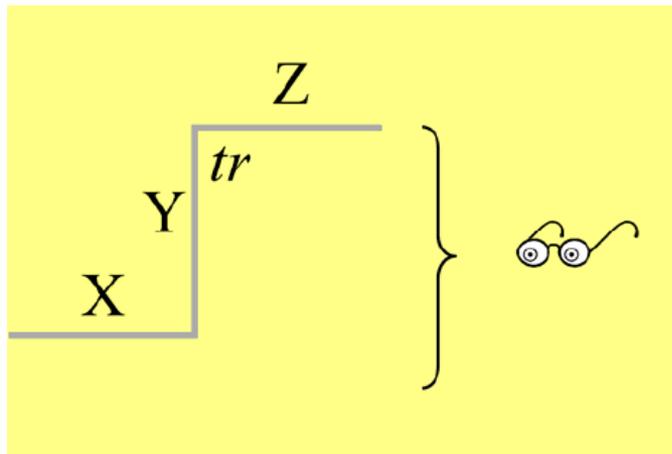


r	Температу́ра всё повыша́ется <sub>i</sub> .
p	temperatura wzrasta <sub>i</sub> cały czas.
t	Teplota se stále zvyšuje <sub>i</sub> .
k	Temperatura raste <sub>i</sub> .
	The temperature is rising continuously.

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

## Non-processual transformative T

### Perfective

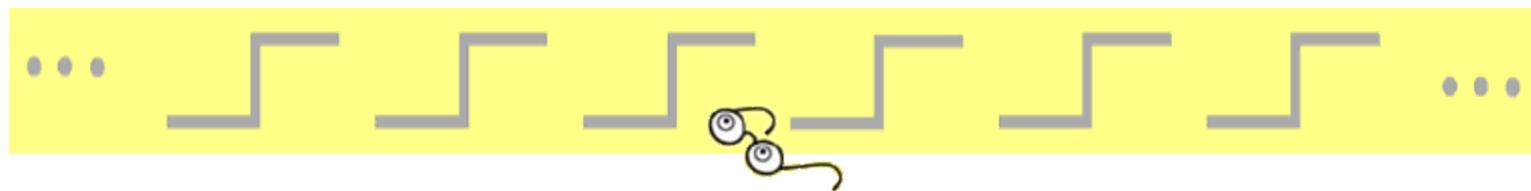


r	потеря́ть <sub>p</sub> ключ
p	zgubić <sub>p</sub> klucz
t	ztratit <sub>p</sub> klíč
k	izgubiti <sub>p</sub> ključ
	Loose a/the key.

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

## Non-processual transformative T

### Imperfective (open repetition)

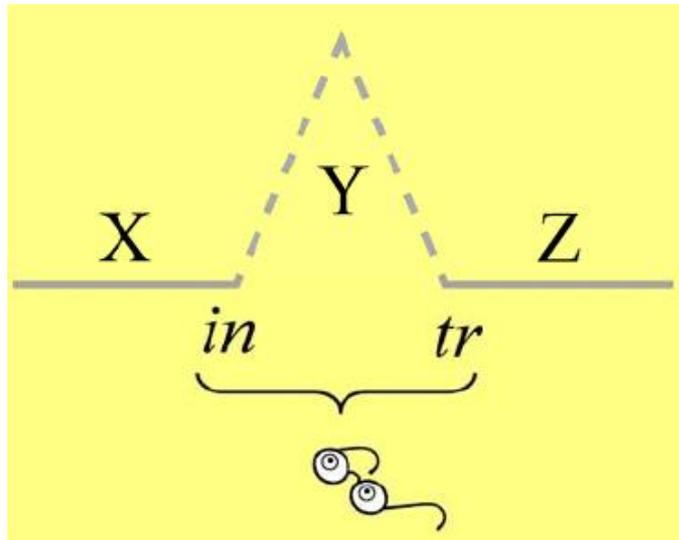


r	Аня теряет <sub>i</sub> всё время свой ключ.
p	Ania ciągle gubi <sub>i</sub> swój klucz.
t	Aňa ten klíč pořád ztrácí <sub>i</sub> .
k	Ana stalno gubi <sub>i</sub> svoj ključ.
	Anna constantly loses her key.

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

**Semelfactive : (Multiplicative)**

**Perfective**

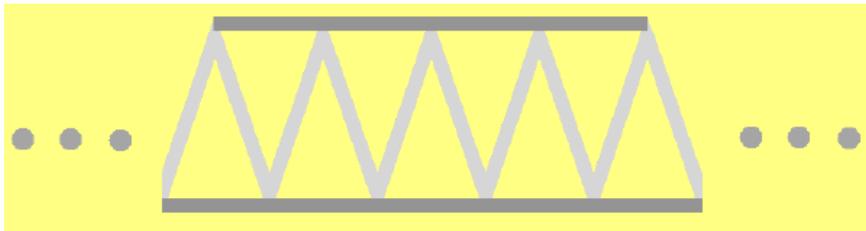


r	махnúть <sub>p</sub>
p	machnać <sub>p</sub>
t	mávnout <sub>p</sub>
k	mahnuti <sub>p</sub>
	give a single wave

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

(Semelfactive) : Multiplicative

Imperfective

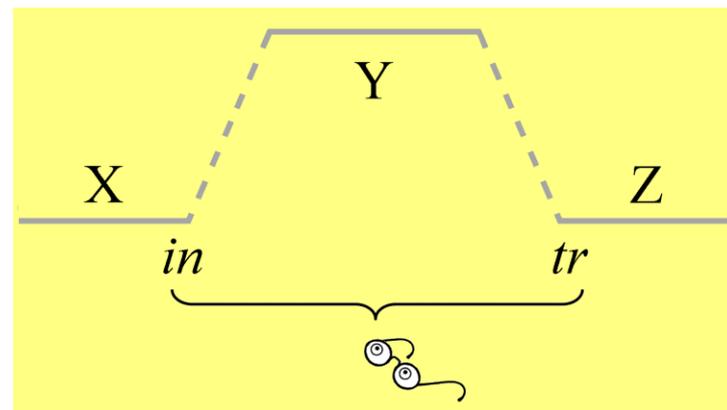


r	махáТЬ <sub>i</sub>
p	machać <sub>i</sub>
t	mávat <sub>i</sub>
k	mahati <sub>i</sub>
	wave

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

## Delimitative

Perfective (only)

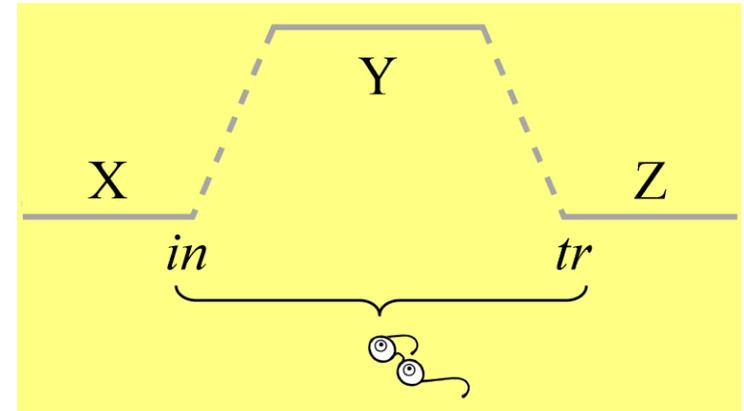


г	погулять <sub>р</sub>	
р	pospacerować <sub>р</sub>	
т	pochodit <sub>р</sub>	dubious
к	{pos(j)editi 'een tijdje zitten'}	rare
	walk for a while	

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

Perdurative

Perfective

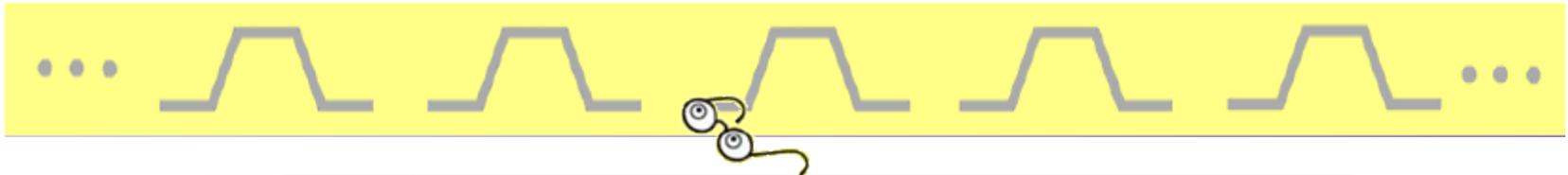


r	прогулять <sub>p</sub> два часа	
p	przespacerować <sub>p</sub> (sobie) dwie godziny	
t	prochodit <sub>p</sub> (si) dvě hodinky	dubious
k	--	???
	Walk (for) two hours.	

# Issue: 3-step terminativity

## Perdurative

### Imperfective (open repetition only)



r	{Ежедневно мы ездим; по два часа на этой маленькой машине, просто ради удовольствия.}
p	Przejeżdżamy; tym autkiem dwie godziny dziennie, tylko dla przyjemności.
t	Projíždíme; se tím autem dvě hodiny denně, jen tak pro legraci.
k	{Svakoga dana se provozamo <sub>p</sub> /vozimo; tim autom dva sata, tek tako (radi zabave).}
	Every day we drive around in that little car, just for fun.

# Issue: 3-step terminativity



	perfectief	imperfectief	
	eenmaligheid	eenmalige procesbetekenis	open herhaling
▪ processueel-transformatief			
▪ relatieve terminus			
▪ niet-processueel-transform.		×	
▪ semelfactief ~ multiplic.			
▪ delimitatief		×	×
▪ perduraatief		×	

# Linguistic history

- Anna Stunova-De Jong
- Adrie Barentsen
- Stephen M. Dickey

# Issue: Comparative SVA

West

Sorbian

Czech

Slovak

Slovene

Croatian / Serbian

Polish

East

Russian

White-Russian

Ukrainian

Bulgarian

# Conclusion

Thank you!