

Slavic Verbal Aspect an Introduction

May 2011

rené genis



UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM



AMSTERDAM CENTER
FOR LANGUAGE AND
COMMUNICATION



■ 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* *lla*, *piszę*, *pisze*, *~any* – **napisać** *dk* *lla* 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; *Rag.* 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* :

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, pizacž; (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

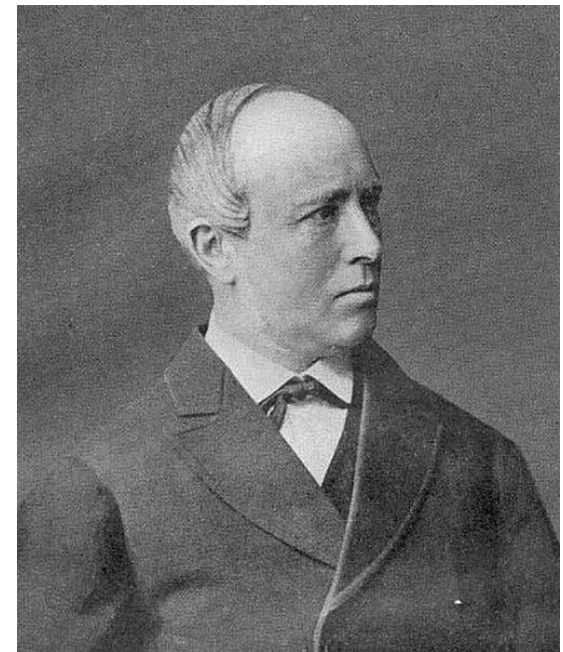
19th century linguists: esp. Greek

- **Georg Curtius** 1820 – 1885

Zeitstufe

Zeitart

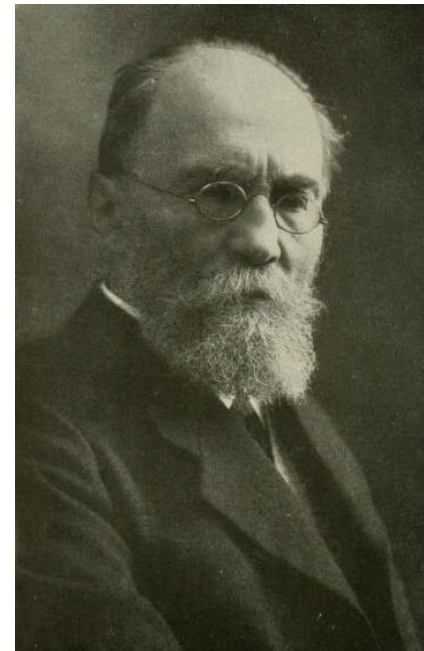
- Präsensstamm – ‘dauernde’
- Perfekstamm – ‘vollendete’
- Aorist - ?? ‘momentan, eintretend’



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

- **Wilhelm Streitberg** 1860 – 1925



Actionsarten (1889)

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

aigan 'have' *frijon* 'love'

finpan 'find (out)'

fulljan 'fill'

auhjon 'make noises'

afdailyan 'divide (up)'

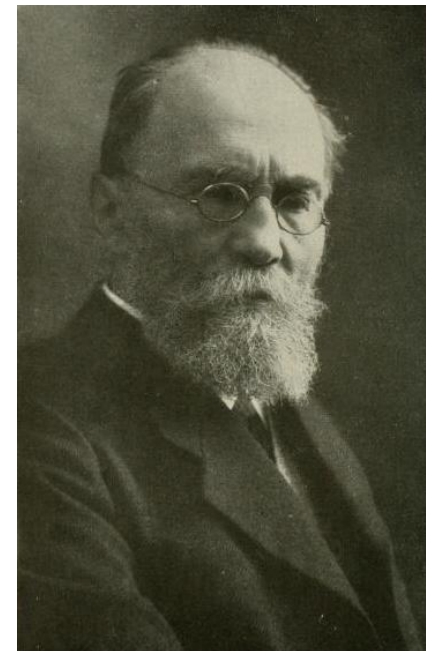
Linguistic History

19th century linguists

- Karl Brugmann 1849 – 1919

Actionsarten (ca. 1902-4)

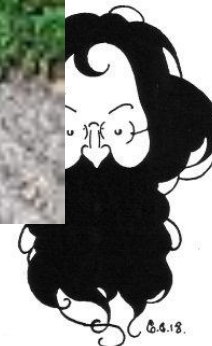
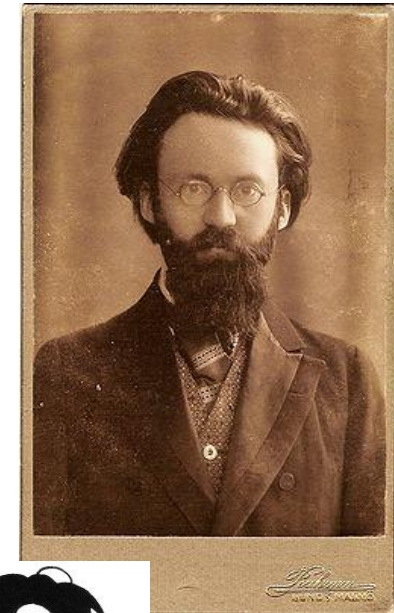
- **punktuelle** „gleich vollendet“
- **kursive** „verlaufend vorgestellt“
- **perfektische** „Zustand des Subjekts“
- **iterative** „aus wiederholten Gleichen“
- **terminative** „vor sich gehend..., Terminus als Ausgang oder Endpunkt“



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:

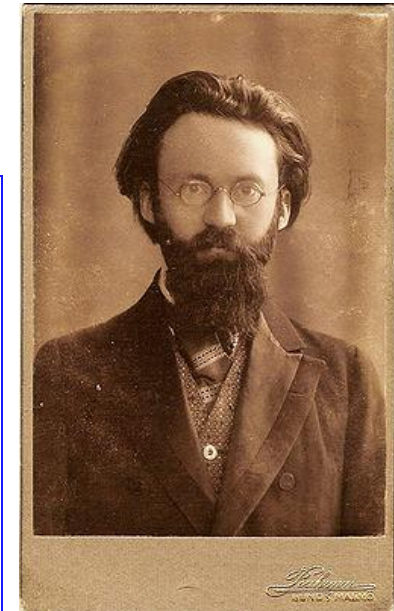
unvollendet : vollendet

→ **That** an action is fulfilled

Aktionsart:

→ **How** an action is fulfilled

...

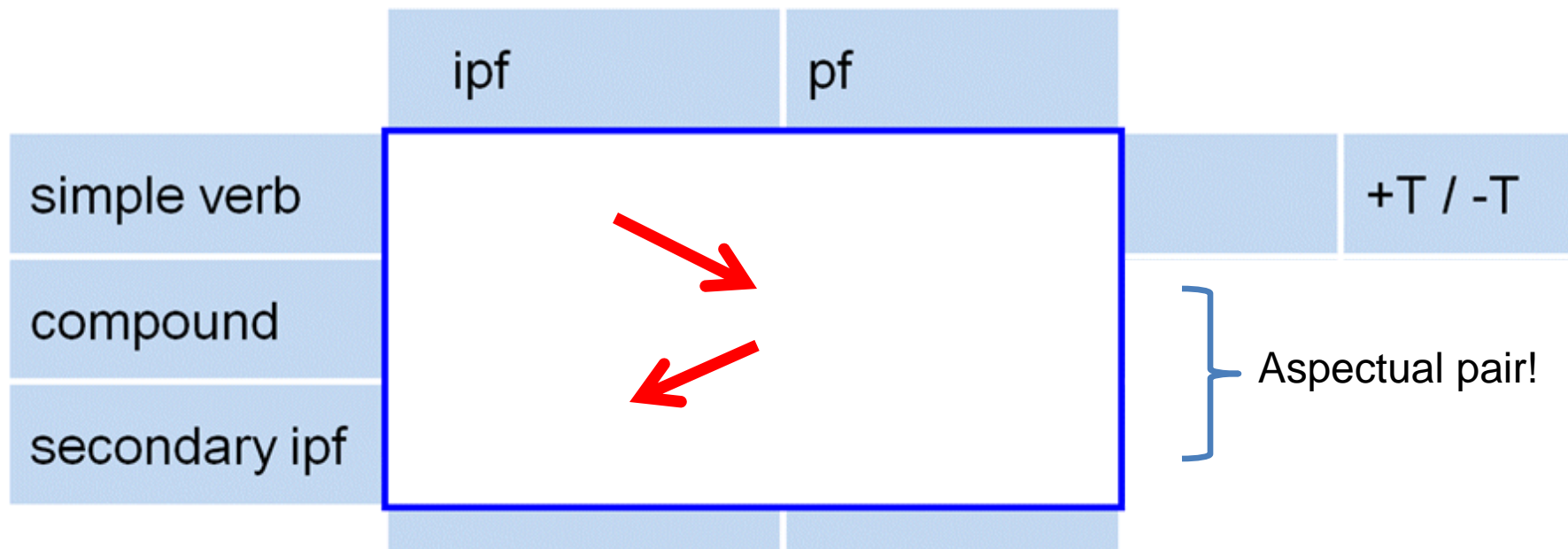


Aktionsart.	Schema	Typverbum.
1) resultativ		<i>zemiść (ev. skończyć)</i>
2) effektiv		<i>wykończyć</i>
3) momentan	!	<i>ukłuć (ev. skończyć)</i>
4) durativ	_____	<i>ukończyć</i>
5) distributiv.....	— — — —	<i>pokończyć</i>
6) final	— —	<i>dokończyć</i>
7) akkurativ		<i>odróżnić (odegrać)</i>
8) augmentativ...	— — — —	<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)

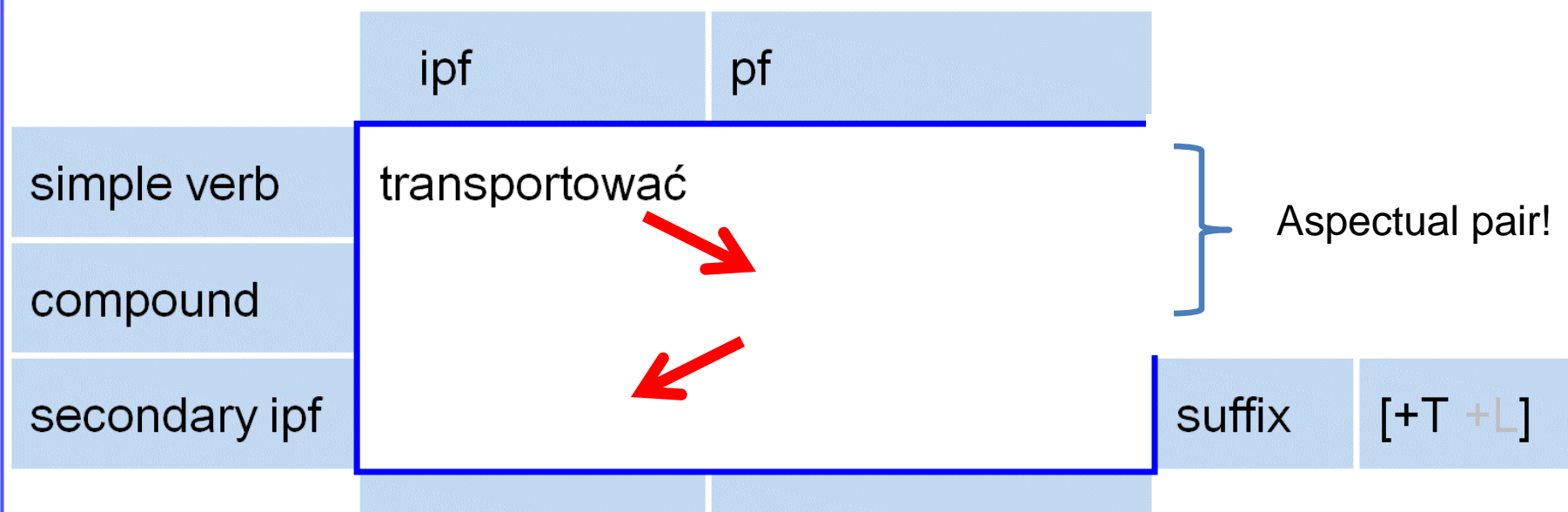


Issue: prefixes



'write'_i → {through-write =} 'copy'_p → 'copy'_i

Issue: 'empty' prefixes



'transport', → 'through-transport'

Aktionsart.	Schema	Typverbum.	
1) resultativ		zembrzeć (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 —	podrożec	Become more expensive
10) perdurativ.....	— — — —	przenocować	Spend the night
11) präteritiv	—	poszukać	Seek for a while
12) konsekutiv ...	— — — —	pochwalić	Praise
13) definitiv.....	— — — —	zakończyć	End as new state
14) eff.-definitiv	— — — —	przebudzić	Thoroughly waken
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.	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

usually expressed

contrasting

in many 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 *-ā-*.

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

perfective

terminative

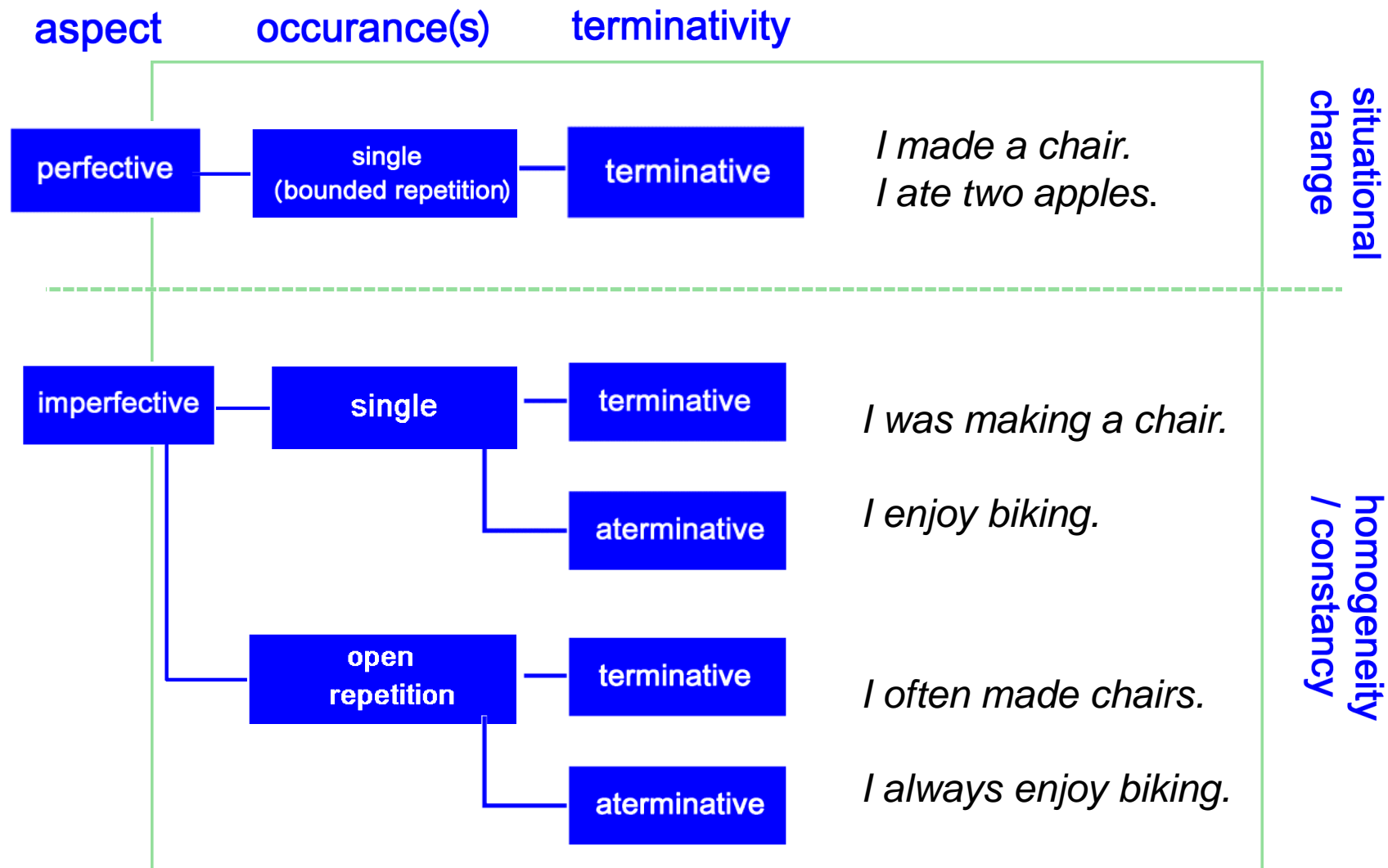
imperfective

terminative

aterminative

aspectual
pairs

Issue: aspectual meaning &c



Linguistic History

Modern linguists

- Aleksandr V. Bondarko



Linguistic History

Modern linguists

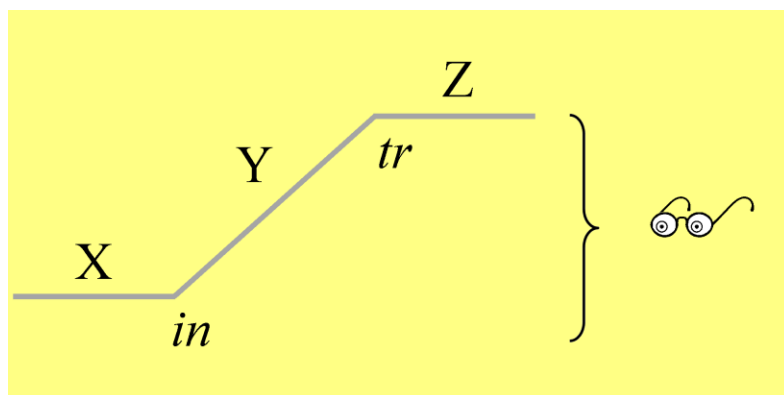
- **Adrie Barentsen (1973, 1995)**
 - ➔ Three step terminativity
 - ➔ Terminativity in the wider sense
 - ➔ Types of terminativity



Issue: 3-step terminativity

Processual transformative T

Perfective



in = initium

tr = terminus/transitus

← Viewpoint: totality

r	открыть _p окнó
p	otworzyć _p okno
t	otevřít _p okno
k	otvoriti _p prozor
	open (the) window

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Processual transformative T

Imperfective (open repetition)



tr + in 'out of view, backgrounded'



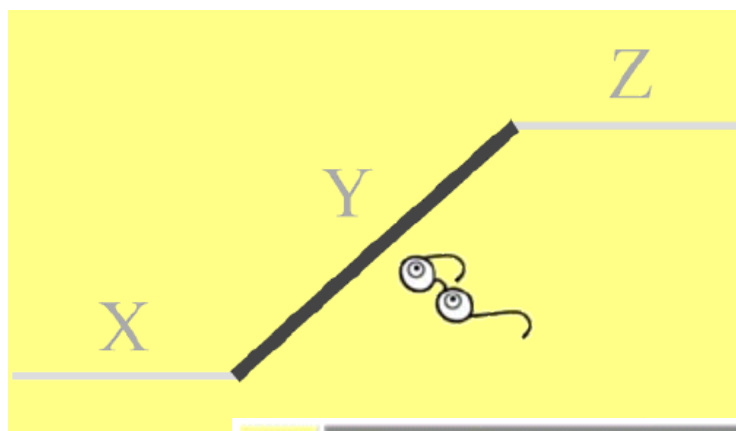
constancy / homogeneity

r	Он всегда́ составля́л; расписа́ния.
p	On zawsze robił; plan zajęć.
t	Vždycky sestavoval; {seznam ...}.
k	Uvijek je sastavljao; rasporede.
	he always composed the time tables.

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Processual transformative T

Imperfective (single = process meaning)



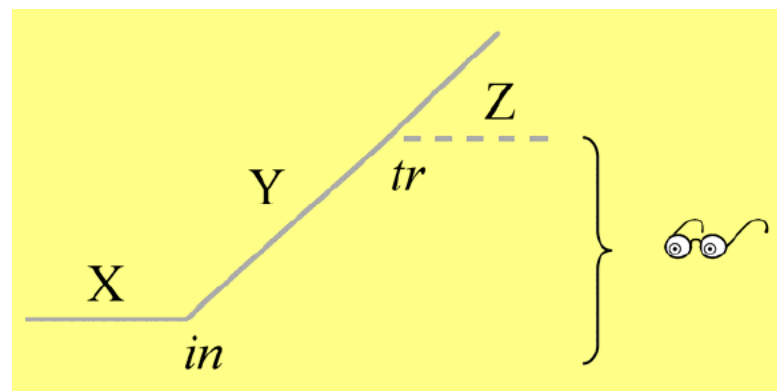
tr + in 'backgrounded' (focus on action itself: Y) → constancy / homogeneity

r	Когда я вошёл _p к нему, Иван как раз составлял _i расписа́ние.
p	Kiedy wszedłem _i do jego pokoju Jan akurat robił _i plan zajęć.
t	Když jsem k němu vešel _p , Ivan právě sestavoval _i {seznam ...}.
k	Kad sam ušao _p u sobu, Ivan je baš sastavljaol _i raspored.
	As I came in, Ivan was busy making the time table.

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Relative terminus T

Perfective



r Температу́ра пови́силась_p на пять гра́дусов.

p temperatura wzrosła_p (o) pięć stopni.

t Teplota se zvýšila_p o pět stupňů.

k Temperatura je narasla_p za pet stupnjeva.

The temperature rose five degrees.

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Relative terminus T

Imperfective (open repetition)

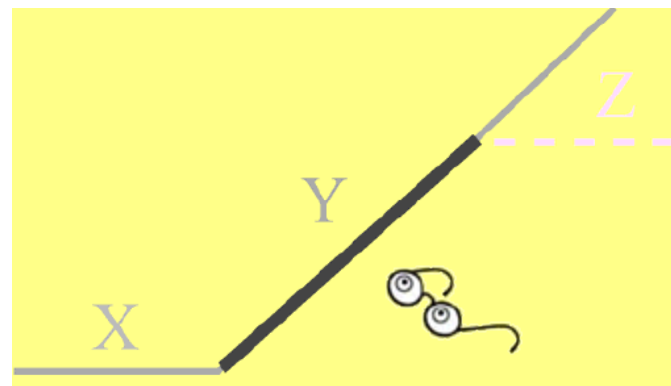


r	При ка́ждом о́пыте температу́ра в су́дне повыша́лась; на пять гра́дусов.
p	Przy kaźdej próbie temperatura w basenie wzrastała; o pięć stopni.
t	Při každém pokusu se zvyšovala; v sudě teplota o 5 stupňů.
k	Pri svakom pokusu temperatura u bačvi je rasla; za pet stupnjeva.
	With each test, the temperature in the vessel rose five degrees.

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Relative terminus T

Imperfective (single)

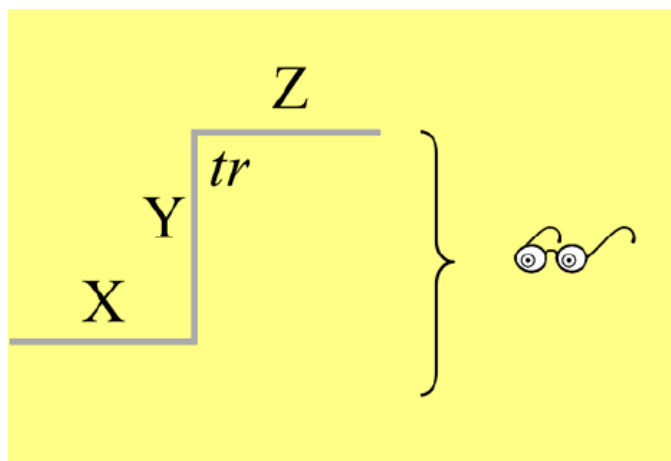


r	Температу́ра всё повыша́ется _i .
p	temperatura wzrasta _i cały czas.
t	Teplota se stále zvyšuje _i .
k	Temperatura raste _i .
	The temperature is rising continuously.

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Non-processual transformative T

Perfective



r	потерять _p ключ
p	zgubić _p klucz
t	ztratit _p klíč
k	izgubiti _p ključ
	Loose a/the key.

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Non-processual transformative T

Imperfective (open repetition)

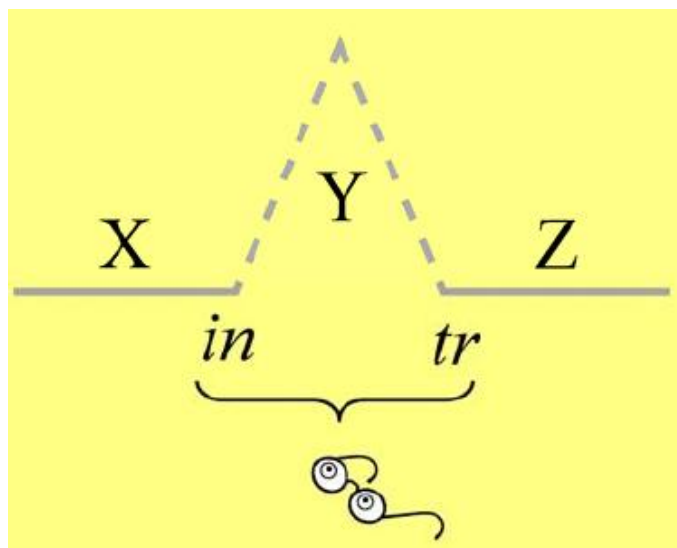


r	Аня теряет _i всё время свой ключ.
p	Ania ciągle gubi _i swój klucz.
t	Aňa ten klíč pořád ztrácí _i .
k	Ana stalno gubi _i svoj ključ.
	Anna constantly looses her key.

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Semelfactive : (Multiplicative)

Perfective

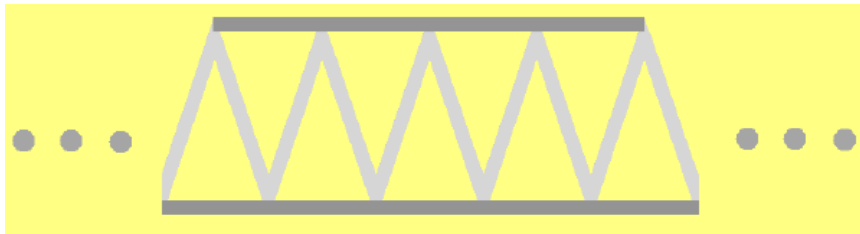


r	махnúть _p
p	machnać _p
t	mávnout _p
k	mahnuti _p
	give a single wave

Issue: 3-step terminativity

(Semelfactive) : Multiplicative

Imperfective

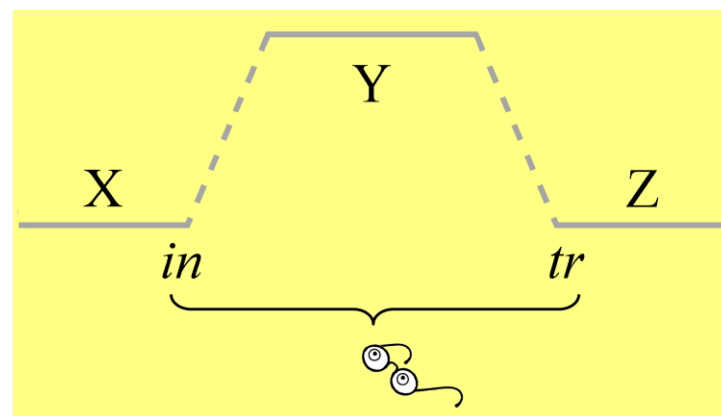


r	махáтъ _i
p	machać _i
t	mávat _i
k	mahat _i
	wave

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Delimitative

Perfective (only)

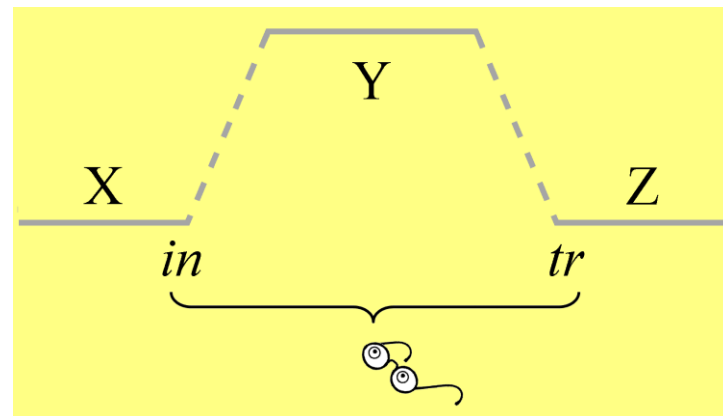


г	погулять _p	
р	pospacerować _p	
т	pochodit _p	dubious
к	{pos(j)editi 'een tijdje zitten'}	rare
	walk for a while	

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Perdurative

Perfective

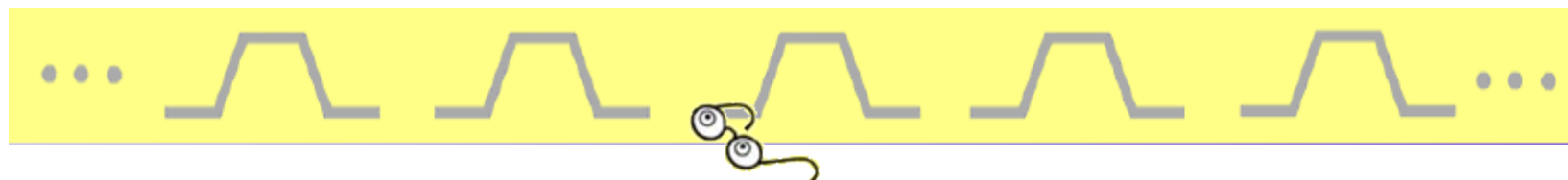


r	прогуля́тъ _p два часа́	
p	przespacerować _p (sobie) dwie godziny	
t	prochodit _p (si) dvě hodinky	dubious
k	--	???
	Walk (for) two hours.	

Issue: 3-step terminativity

Perdurative

Imperfective (open repetition only)



r	{Ежедневно мы ездим _i по два часа на этой маленькой машине, просто ради удовольствия.}
p	Przejeżdżamy _i tym autkiem dwie godziny dziennie, tylko dla przyjemności.
t	Projíždíme _i se tím autem dvě hodiny denně, jen tak pro legraci.
k	{Svakoga dana se provozamo _p /vozimo _i 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

East

Sorbian

Polish

Russian

Czech

White-Russian

Slovak

Ukrainian

Slovene

Bulgarian

Croatian / Serbian

Conclusion

Thank you!