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# A COMPARISON OF BI-ASPECTUAL VERBS BORROWED FROM LATIN INTO DUTCH, CZECH AND POLISH

West Germanic languages such as Dutch have a temporal system, but a typical feature of the Slavonic verb system is aspectuality. Most Slavonic borrowed or newly-formed verbs in the technical sphere are based on Latin, however, a language with a rather strict temporal system. Typically, such verbs are mostly borrowed as imperfective (durative) verbs. This paper examines several such verbs and compares their integration into Dutch, Czech and Polish. Dutch has no morphological forms showing aspectuality. However, aspectuality is present, the difference is there a semantic one, between a dynamic or a static character. In this article, ten potentially bi-aspectual verbs borrowed from Latin are discussed, all of them having in Dutch a dynamic character. In Czech and Polish, such verbs will have after borrowing initially a bi-aspectual character. Depending on frequency of use, the verbs will become integrated by adding aspectual prefixes. This integration is illustrated for both Slavonic languages by sentences from recent press articles. Where in the Czech dictionaries, the majority of the analysed verbs are still described as bi-aspectual, it seems that Polish is much faster at changing Latin borrowed verbs into aspectual pairs. One should be, however, cautious as it is often dependent on which dictionary one consults whether a verb is marked as bi-aspectual or as *imperfectivum tantum*. Nevertheless, the general tendencies are clear.
**Keywords:** bi-aspectual verbs, Latin, Dutch, Czech, Polish, comparison.

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*No time is all at once present: and all time past, is driven on by time to come, and all to come followeth upon the past; and all past to come is created, and flows out of that which is ever present.*

St. Augustine, *Confessions*, XI, 15

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Every speaker of another language group coming into contact with Slavonic languages has to deal with aspect. In short, most Slavonic verbs come in two main forms, one that accentuates the event (the imperfective form) and one stressing the completion (the perfective form). Conversely, most Germanic languages have a temporal system, in which not the verbs themselves, but rather the tenses, appear in pairs indicating an unfinished (incomplete) or finished (complete) form. It is generally assumed that Proto-Indo-European had aspect, although this theory is not uncontroversial [Lehmann, 1993, p. 176–181; Comrie, 1981, p. 88–89] against [Szemerényi, 1990, s. 332–341]. The presence of aspect in Gothic [Streitberg, 1891, s. 177–178) seems to support this, although, for example, the important Czech Anglicist-Netherlandist Bohumil Trnka [Trnka, 1982, p. 205) stated explicitly:

> It is very hard for a Slavonic philologist to endorse the theory of the eminent scholar [Streitberg, 1891]. No period of transition in the system of the Germanic verbal system caused by a supposed loss of verbal aspects has been detected either by Streitberg himself, or by any of his followers, in the history of the Germanic languages, and in modern languages of the Germanic stock (even in English which has developed since the 15th and 16th centuries some periphrastic forms comparable, from the semasiological point of view, to the Slavonic imperfective aspect).

In contrast, the latest edition of the *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst,* hereafter *ANS* [Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst, 2021] assumes that Dutch has aspectuality as well, stating in § 30.1:[1]

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[1] Aspectualiteit zegt iets over de manier waarop de situatie in de tijd begrensd is en de manier waarop het verloop, de interne temporele geleding ervan, begrepen moet worden. Deze structurering is niet in de situatie zelf aanwezig, maar wordt er door ons aan toegekend door de keuze van de elementen in de zin die de betreffende situatie weergeeft. De aspectualiteit van een zin geeft dus aan hoe het concept dat wij van een

Aspectuality says something about the way in which the situation is delimited in time and the way in which its course, its internal temporal articulation, is to be understood. This structuring is not present in the situation itself, but is assigned to it by us through the choice of the elements in the sentence that represents the situation in question. The aspectuality of a sentence thus indicates how the concept we have of a given situation is structured.

Dutch strong verbs have a present root and a preterit root, which is often seen as a remnant of the aspectual situation of Proto-Germanic. Note that the circa 250 most-used verbs are almost all strong verbs belonging to the primal lexicon of Dutch [Van Loey, 1970, p. 157]. Dutch has, however, no pairing of semantically corresponding verbs that complement each other in aspect. After all, *schrijven* 'write' and *opschrijven* 'write down' do not form an aspectual pair, unlike their equivalents *psát* and *napsat* 'write' and *pisać* and *napisać* 'write' in Czech and Polish, respectively.

An interesting problem is formed by the so-called bi-aspectual verbs, which in Czech and Polish often originate from Latin, whether or not adopted through other languages. Since Latin has been the model for the current temporal system in Dutch, in this paper we subject a selection of these verbs to an investigation, examining in which aspectual class they are included in both Slavonic languages, which means are used to let them function in the aspectual system, and how they behave in the Dutch verb system.

## 2. ASPECTUALITY

The term *aspect* in Slavonic languages was first termed *видъ* (vid'), i.e. 'point of view', by the Russian grammarian Melety G. Smotričkyj (±1578–1633). For him, this means the morphological relationship between the base form of the verb and its derived forms that can be either inchoate or iterative [Hrbatsch, 1974, p. 116]. The terms *aspekt* and *vid* are both used for aspectuality in Slavonic languages, depending on the language. Czech speaks of *dokonavý vid* (perfect aspect) and *nedokonavý vid* (imperfect aspect). We give here the definition from the *Příručný mluvnice češtiny* (Manual of Czech Grammar) [Karlík, Nekula, Rusínová, 2003, p. 318][2]:

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bepaalde situatie hebben, gestructureerd is. (All translations in this paper are made by the authors.)

[2] Slovesným videm (aspektem) rozumíme ten fakt, že české sloveso existuje ve dvou (až třech) podobách, které mají stejný lexikální význam, ale odlišují se od sebe **vztahem**

By the verbal aspect we understand the fact that the Czech verb exists in two (up to three) forms, which have the same lexical meaning, but differ from each **other in relation to the completion of the action**. **The completive verbs** (perfective) express the fact that the action has either been completed or that it will be completed (*napsal jsem dopis* — 'I wrote a letter', *napíšu dopis* — 'I will write a letter'). **Incomplete verbs** (imperfective) do not express the fact of the completion of the action: *psal jsem dopis* — 'I wrote a letter' (it is not clear whether the letter was finished); *píšu dopis* — 'I am writing a letter'; *budu psát dopis* — 'I will write a letter'. It follows from the foregoing that completeness is excluded from the present. Therefore, perfective verbs exist only in the preterit and future.

Polish grammar speaks of *aspect dokonany* (perfect aspect) and *aspect niedokonany* (imperfect aspect). Aspect is described in the main grammar *Gramatyka Współczesnego Języka Polskiego* (Grammar of the Modern Polish Language, hereafter GWJP) thus [Grzegorczykowa, Laskowski, Wróbel, 1999, p. 157][3]:

Aspect is a non-deictive category used to signal differences in the perspective from which the speaker takes the phrase he is describing. Let us note that in certain contexts the same extra-linguistic situation can be described by means of the forms of the accomplished or the imperfect aspect (…). Although the situations described by the above parallel sentence expressions with perfective and imperfective verbs may be identical, this does not mean that the speaker is giving the same information about the situation in both cases. Depending on the use of the imperfective or the perfective aspect, the speaker's point of view of the described situation changes the way it is presented to the listener.

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**k završenosti (ukončenosti) děje. Slovesa dokonavá** (perfektivní) vyjadřují, že děj buď byl ukončen, nebo že bude završen (napsal jsem dopis, napíšu dopis). **Slovesa nedokonavá** (imperfektivní) se k faktu ukončení děje nevyjadřují: psal jsem dopis (není jasno, zda byl dopis dopsán); píšu dopis; budu psát dopis. Z řečeného plyne, že se dokonavost vylučuje s přítomností. Perfektiva (dokonavá slovesa) proto existují jen v préteritu a futuru. (stressing of the original text). Compare as well [Short, 2002: 481–482] or the detailed explanation concerning aspect in the online dictionary *Czech Ency — Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*, available at: https://www.czechency.org/slovnik/VID.

[3] Aspekt jest kategorią niedeiktyczną, służącą sygnalizowaniu różnic perspektywy, w jakiej mówiący ujmuje opisywane przez siebie zdarzenie. Zauważmy, że w pewnych kontekstach ta sama sytuacja pozajęzykowa może być opisana za pomocą form aspektu dokonanego lub niedokonanego (…). Sytuacje opisywane przez powyższe paralelne wyrażenia zdaniowe z czasownikami dokonanymi i niedokonanymi mogą być wprawdzie identyczne, co nie znaczy, że mówiący w obu wypadkach podaje tę samą informację o sytuacji. W zależności od użycia aspektu niedokonanego lub dokonanego zmienia się punkt widzenia mówiącego na opisywaną sytuację, ujęcie, w jakim jest ona prezentowana słuchaczowi.

Considering the morphological composition of verbs, the most characteristic exponent of *niedokonaność* (imperfectiveness) in Polish is the prefix and in the case of *dokonaność* (perfectiveness) the suffix. The most common purely aspectual prefix in all West Slavonic languages is the unified prefix *z-/s-* [Łaziński, 2020, p. 78]. In order to identify a purely aspectual prefix, one has to make sure that no secondary, non-accomplished suffixal derivative is formed from the accomplished prefixal derivative. A similar approach to Czech prefixes is presented, for example, by Poldauf [Poldauf, 1954]. It is traditionally considered that imperfective verbs are formed via a suffix from the accomplished verbs, e.g. *wskazywać* from *wskazać* 'indicate'. Aspectual counterparts can also be suppletive, e.g. *brać –wziąć* 'take', and there are a few bi-aspectual verbs such as *potrafić* 'be able' which can be treated as homonyms and combined in 'pairs' like *potrafić* (imperfective) — *potrafić* (perfective). Sometimes, aspect is determined by a combination of the two ways mentioned above, e.g. suppletive derivation and prefixation, as in *kłaść — położyć* 'lay', the accomplished suffix *-ną-* and stem replacement as in *zamykać — zamknąć* 'close', or the suffix *-ną-* and a sequence of perfective suffixes: *nadszarpywać — nadszarpnąć* 'jerk'.

An important shift in the understanding of the term aspect is the definition given by the linguist Bernard Comrie (born 1947) in his study *Aspect* [Comrie, 1981, p. 3]: "Aspect are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." This view is essential to the use of the term in the *ANS*. In this paper, the term "aspect" is used in its traditional Slavonic sense — verbs in derivationally linked pairs of which the perfective typically specifies completion of an act and the imperfective expresses the verbal action in general terms [cf. Short, 2002, p. 481; Grzegorczykowa, Laskowski, Wróbel, 1999, p. 161].

### 3. TEMPORALITY

Comrie [Comrie, 2004, p. 9] defines tense as the "grammaticalised expression of location in time." The *ANS* (2021, § 2.3.2.1) defines the term *werkwoordstijd* (verb tense) thus[4]:

> One of the tasks of the verb tenses is to express whether the action mentioned by the verb is to be situated before, during or after the moment of speech.

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[4] De werkwoordstijden hebben onder andere tot taak om uit te drukken of de door het werkwoord genoemde werking voor, tijdens of na het spreekmoment te situeren is.

The grammar explains this more concretely in § 2.4.8.1[5]:

The "tenses" can be systematised under different points of view. (…) 1) First of all, in principle, the opposition of "near" versus "far" plays a role. With regard to the verb tenses, this is the opposition "PRESENT" (close to the moment of speech) — "PAST" (not close to, further away from the moment of speech). This opposition is reflected in two tenses: *presens* (present tense) and *imperfectum* (imperfect tense). (…) 2) Next, there is the opposition of "finished" versus "unfinished" with respect to the action expressed by the verb. This opposition is expressed by the terms "COMPLETED" and "UNCOMPLETED". Completed means that the speaker has a certain point in mind while the event of which he speaks as a whole took place or is taking place before that point. Uncompleted means that the event took place or takes place overlapping with that point. (…) 3) The third opposition is between "forward" and "not forward", i.e. that the action expressed by the verb is projected into the future or that it is not. This opposition is expressed by the term "FUTURE", although the opposite concept ("not in the future") is not indicated by a separate term.

The *ANS* then gives in § 2.6 a scheme in which the described grammaticalised oppositions have been visualised for all eight verb tenses of the Dutch indicative (Table 1).

A little bit confusing is the fact that most Dutch school grammars mention just the same six tenses that Latin has, leaving out the past-future tenses that were incorporated into the indicative tenses by the linguist Lammert A. te Winkel (1809–1868). These two "extra" tenses are rather used in situations where other Germanic languages express

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[5] De 'werkwoordstijden' kunnen onder verschillende gezichtspunten gesystematiseerd worden. (…) 1) Allereerst speelt in beginsel de tegenstelling 'dichtbij' versus 'veraf' een rol. Met betrekking tot de werkwoordstijden gaat het om de tegenstelling 'TEGENWOORDIG' (dicht bij het spreekmoment) — 'VERLEDEN' (niet dicht bij, verder verwijderd van het spreekmoment). Deze tegenstelling is terug te vinden in twee tempora: presens en imperfectum. (…) 2) Vervolgens is er de tegenstelling 'afgesloten' versus 'niet afgesloten' ten aanzien van de werking of handeling die door het werkwoord wordt uitgedrukt. Deze tegenstelling is verwoord door de termen 'VOLTOOID' en 'ONVOLTOOID'. Voltooid wil zeggen dat de spreker een bepaald punt in gedachten heeft terwijl het gebeuren waarover hij spreekt in zijn geheel plaatsvond of -vindt vóór dat punt. Onvoltooid betekent dat het gebeuren plaatsvond of -vindt overlappend met dat punt. (…) 3) De derde tegenstelling is die tussen 'naar voren toe' en 'niet naar voren toe', dat wil zeggen dat de door het werkwoord uitgedrukte werking of handeling in de toekomst geprojecteerd is of dat zulks niet het geval is. Deze tegenstelling wordt door de term 'TOEKOMEND' uitgedrukt, waarbij het tegengestelde begrip ('niet in de toekomst') evenwel niet door een aparte term wordt aangegeven.

*Table 1.* **The eight verb tenses of the Dutch indicative**

| The features of verb tenses | English translation | Completed | Past | Future |
|---|---|:---:|:---:|:---:|
| *presens* (o.t.t.) | present | – | – | – |
| *imperfectum* (o.v.t.) | imperfect | – | + | – |
| *perfectum* (v.t.t.) | perfect | + | – | – |
| *plusquamperfectum* (v.v.t.) | pluperfect | + | + | – |
| *futurum* (o.t.t.t.) | future | – | – | + |
| *futurum exactum* (v.t.t.t.) | future perfect | + | – | + |
| *futurum praeteriti* (o.v.t.t.) | future in the past | – | + | + |
| *futurum exactum praeteriti* (v.v.t.t.) | future perfect in the past | + | + | + |

a conjunctive mode. The Dutch temporal system may be described as, generally, an absolute tense system, taking the present moment as the deictic centre [cf. Comrie, 2004, p. 36]. That the past-future tenses do not fit into this system is clear by trying to visualise the Dutch tenses in relation to the present moment (Figure)[6].
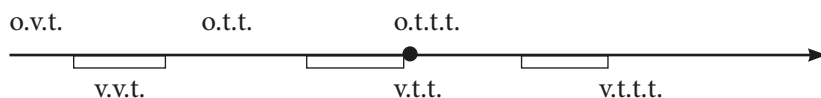


*Figure.* Dutch tenses and time

Traditionally, the uncompleted tenses (*onvoltooide tijden*) refer to a reference moment in the past (o.v.t.), present (o.t.t.) or future (o.t.t.t.) in relation to the moment of speaking, while the completed tenses (*voltooide tijden*) refer to an action that was completed at a reference moment in the past (v.v.t.), present (v.t.t.) or future (v.t.t.t.) in relation to the moment of speaking. In the case of the future in the past, the tense refers to a reference moment in the past for which the action had to take place in the (then) fu-

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[6] We are using here the traditional Dutch abbreviations of the tenses, cf. the schema above. The black dot is the deictic centre.

ture.[7] In the case of the future perfect in the past, one needs two past reference points: one moment $R^1$, when the speaker (then) expected something to happen and that should be finished by moment $R^2$ which would be later, but before the moment of speaking (*ANS* § 2.4.2.8.i example 7).

On the contrary, both Czech and Polish have just three tenses, past tense in both aspects, present tense, and a periphrastic future tense in the imperfective aspect, and the future tense in the perfect aspect expressed by present-time forms of the perfective verb [Short, 2002, p. 481; Rothstein, 2002, p. 710–711].

## 4. THE CASE OF BI-ASPECTUAL VERBS

All of the languages mentioned have borrowed many words over time, including verbs from other languages. Most borrowed verbs are in the technical, medical and legal spheres, often originating from Latin or Greek. Foreign verbs with a Latin or Greek base are relatively frequent in Dutch; the most recent edition of the official orthographic list [*Het Groene Boekje. Woordenlijst Nederlandse Taal*, 2015] has some 850 verbs of this type. All of them are weak verbs with the ending *-eren*.

From the Czech and the Polish point of view, bi-aspectual verbs are often — but not exclusively — of foreign origin. According to the Czech view, they can signalise both aspects in their original form. Luboš Veselý [Veselý, 2010, p. 112] gives the example of the form *analyzujeme* that may signify *provedeme analýzu* 'we will analyse' as well as *provádíme analýzu* 'we analyse/are analysing'. Verbs which are frequently used have a tendency to become integrated into the customary aspectual system by adding an aspectual prefix that forms the lacking aspectual counterpart, in our case the perfective one. Veselý [Veselý, 2010, p. 121] and Janečka and Návratová [Janečka, Návratová, 2020, p. 232] give the example of *realizovat* that forms the counterpart *zrealizovat* with the aspectual prefix *z-*. As François Esvan [Esvan, 2007, p. 35] shows, this is the usual process in all Slavonic languages, but it takes time before such verbs are so integrated that they receive a clear aspectual counterpart. Such an aspectual counterpart is formed in the same way as in the case of other verbs, e.g. in Polish *zainteresować* is formed from *interesować*.

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[7] Note that this "past future" can be past, as well as future seen from the moment of speaking (*ANS* § 2.4.2.8.i example 5).

**Percentage appearance of aspectual verbs in Polish according to Łaziński**

| Pairs | Prefixed | Imperfective without prefix 2509 — 8 % | Perfective with prefix 2509 — 8 % |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Suffixed | Imperfective with a paradigmatic and suppletive formant 6582 — 22 % | Perfective with a paradigmatic and suppletive formant 6582 — 22 % |
| | | Imperfective without suffix paired with perfective verb with suffix-*ną*-930 — 3 % | Perfective with suffix-*ną*-930 — 3 % |
| Paired verbs (totals) | 20,042 — 66 % | | |
| | Imperfective paired 10,021 — 33 % | | Perfective paired 10,021 — 33 % |
| Bi-aspectual verbs | 179 — 0.5 % (included with perfective and imperfective verbs) | | |
| Non-paired verbs | Imperfectiva tantum 4180 — 13.5 % | | Perfectiva tantum 6459 — 21.5 % |
| Total of non-paired verbs | 10639 — 35 % | | |
| Total of all verbs | 30186 — 100 % | | |
| | Imperfective 10,431 — 47 % | | Perfective 16,480 — 53 % |

In Czech and Polish, such borrowed verbs generally lack the typical aspectual pair and are, at least initially, bi-aspectual, as is the case mostly in Czech and for many Polish borrowings. Interestingly, such verbs are often automatically classified as imperfective. In Polish, such verbs may end up even as *imperfectivum tantum*. Marek Łaziński [Łaziński, 2020, p. 44, table 2, p. 45], in his recent study on the aspect of Polish verbs *Wykłady o Aspekcie Polskiego Czasownika* (Lectures on Polish Verbal Aspect), classified just 179 verbs as bi-aspectual, i.e. some half a percent out of the total of some 30,860 verbs in the *Słownik Gramatyczny Języka Polskiego* (Grammatical Dictionary of the Polish Verb, hereafter *SGJP*). Łaziński [Łaziński, 2020, p. 80] remarks that the Czech *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (Dictionary of the Written Czech Language, 1960–1971, hereafter *SSJČ*) has some 800 bi-aspectual verbs. Of the 138 bi-aspectual verbs mentioned by Wacław Cockiewicz [Cockiewicz, 2007, p. 17], just 12 (8.7 %) are originally Polish, all of the others are originally Latin — whether im-

mediately borrowed or through other languages. All Polish verbs that we analyse here have the suffix *-ować*, corresponding to the Dutch ending *-eren*. Zygmunt Saloni [Saloni, 2007, p. 105] remarks that they are conjugated according to the paradigm generally used for Polish verbs borrowed from foreign languages or newly formed (some 25 % of all verbs), such as*logować*, *kserować* or *monitorować*. In their *Strukturalny Słownik Aspektowy Czasowników Polskich* [Cockiewicz, Matlak, 1995], Cockiewicz and Matlak identified, of the total number of some 12,000 Polish verbs, 205 *imperfectiva tantum* and 241 *perfectiva tantum*, altogether 3.7 % of all the verbs. Łaziński structures them thus (Table 2):

From the list of the verbs in Cockiewicz [Cockiewicz, 2007] and the list we made up according to *Het Groene Boekje*, we chose ten verbs of this type, considering mainly the examples mentioned by Cockiewicz in his paper. The verbs of foreign origin analysed here are: *argumenteren* 'to argument', *censureren* 'to censor', *exporteren* 'to export', *integreren* 'to integrate', *motiveren* 'to motivate', *normaliseren* 'to normalise', *promoveren* 'to promote', *rapporteren* 'to report', *respecteren* 'to respect' and *simuleren* 'to simulate'. We will characterise these Dutch borrowed verbs from the point of aspectuality and look at whether their Czech and Polish equivalents are bi-aspectual or not, as well as how they have been (or are on the way to being) integrated into the Czech and Polish aspectual system.

## 5. CZECH AND POLISH EQUIVALENTS OF THE SELECTED VERBS

The Czech and Polish equivalents of the selected potentially bi-aspectual verbs are:

- Czech[8]: *argumentovat, cenzurovat, exportovat, integrovat, motivovat, normalizovat, promovat, raportovat,*[9] *respektovat* and *simulovat*;
- Polish: *argumentować, cenzurować, eksportować, integrować, motywować, normalizować, promować, raportować, respektować* and *symulować* [Cockiewicz, 2007, p. 17].

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[8] We used the online accessible dictionaries *Akademický slovník cizích slov* (Academic Dictionary of Foreign Words, hereafter ASCS), *Slovník spisovné češtiny* (Dictionary of Written Czech, hereafter SSČ), available at: https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz, and *SSJČ*.

[9] In Czech, the verb *raportovat* is considered to be archaic — see the explanation in the dictionaries *ASCS* and *SSJČ*, available at: https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=raportovat.

## 6. THE SELECTED GROUP IN DUTCH

According to the *ANS* (§ 30.3.2.1), for the aspectuality of Dutch verbs it is important whether they have a dynamic or a static character, i.e. whether the verb represents an activity or process in which there is a certain development in time, or that eventual objects and adverbial clauses have no influence on the aspectual information. In the first case, for static verbs, it depends on circumstances such as objects and adverbials whether the verb has a terminative or a durative (the equivalent of Slavonic imperfective) aspect, and in the second case the aspect is considered to be terminative — the equivalent of the Slavonic perfective [cf. Flor-Górecka, 2016, p. 10–15].

None of the selected verbs in our group has a real static character, as all represent activities. They can be mostly used as terminative as well, if the verb can have a direct object. Here we give some examples based on *Delpher*.[10]

- *Kinderen leren **argumenteren** en hun mening aanscherpen*. (*NRC* 11–10–2003; durative) (Children learn to **argue** and to sharpen their opinion).
- *Een probleem is als auteurs hun eigen boeken zijn gaan **censureren*** (*Het Parool*, 14–04–1995, terminative) (A problem is when authors started to **censor** their own books).
- *In de eerste elf maanden van 1994 **exporteerden** Nederlandse bedrijven volgens het CBS voor 7 miljard gulden naar Japan* (*De Volkskrant*, 22–03–1995, durative) (In the first eleven months of 1994, according to CBS, Dutch enterprises **exported** 7 billion guilders worth of goods to Japan).
- *De landelijke overheid vond het tijd dat Molukkers **integreerden** met Nederlanders* (*Trouw*, 09–10–1995, durative) (The national authorities believed that it was time to **integrate** the Moluccans with the Dutch).
- *Het zal werkelozen niet snel **motiveren** om voor minder dan het minimumloon te werken* (*Algemeen Dagblad*, 28–02–1995, durative) (This wouldn't **motivate** unemployed persons to work for less than the minimumwage).
- *Baars wil die concurrentieverhoudingen weer **normaliseren** door het leerlingwezen goedkoper te maken* (*De Volkskrant*, 25–03–1995, ter-

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[10] Available at: www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/.

minative) (Baars would like to **normalise** the competitive situation by making apprenticeships cheaper).

- *… waarna Lankohr de terug gelegde bal van Simons met een gave voetbeweging tot doelpunt **promoveerde*** (*Trouw*, 25–11–1995, terminative) (… where upon Lankohr **converted** Simon's returned ball into a goal with a cool footmovement).

- *Nu **rapporteren** de vier krijgsmachtdelen alle vier direct aan de minister, op onderscheiden niveaus* (*Algemeen Dagblad*, 29–08–1995, durative) (Now, all four branches of the armed forces **report** directly to the minister, at different levels).

- *Zo'n publiek bestel **respecteert** de geschiedenis* (*Trouw*, 28–12–1995, durative) (Such a public system **respects** history).

- We hebben een calamiteit in Italië **gesimuleerd** (*De Volkskrant*, 06–05–1995, terminative) (We **simulated** a disaster in Italy).

- Just one verb from this selection seems to have only a durative aspect, *argumenteren*. Its perfective counterpart can be formed by adding the prefix *be-*: *Iedere student zal zijn voorkeur achteraf met overtuiging **beargumenteren*** (*De Volkskrant*, 11–01–1995 — Each student will **argue** their preference afterwards with conviction). This prefix has, in Dutch, a similar function to *z-/s-* in the Slavonic languages, with the difference that it slightly changes the meaning of the verb.

## 7. THE SELECTED GROUP IN CZECH

Of the selected group, the verbs *cenzurovat* 'to censor', *exportovat* 'to export', *integrovat* 'to integrate', *motivovat* 'to motivate', *normalizovat* 'to normalise' and *promovat* 'to promote' are, in Czech, bi-aspectual according to the standard dictionaries. The remaining four verbs *argumentovat* 'to argument', *raportovat* 'to report', *respektovat* 'to respect' and *simulovat* 'to simulate' are considered to be *imperfective tantum*.[11]

The Czech synchronic written corpus SYN version 8[12] shows a tendency concerning all of the aforementioned bi-aspectual verbs to inte-

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[11] In the forthcoming *Academic Dictionary of Contemporary Czech*, however, the verb *cenzurovat* is characterised only as imperfective — see: https://slovnikcestiny.cz/heslo/cenzurovat/0/10501

[12] SYN version 8 is the most extensive synchronic written corpus of contemporary Czech, with a word count of 4.5 billion words. The dominant component is journalism; for more details see: https://wiki.korpus.cz/doku.php/en:cnk:syn:verze8

grate themselves into the Czech aspectual system by adding a perfective prefix — see Table 3. For perfect forms, in addition to the typically perfect prefix *z-*,[13] the prefixes *vy-, za-, na-, od-* are documented as well. It should be mentioned, however, that the relative frequency of prefixed verbs functioning as perfective forms was significantly lower than the relative frequency of the base forms in the SYN corpus version 8 (see Table 3).

*Table 3.* **Frequency of aspectual forms of borrowed verbs in Czech**

| Verb | Relative frequency in SYN version 8 (ipm[14]) | Perfective aspectual counterpart | Relative frequency in SYN version 8 (ipm) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *cenzurovat* | 0.65 | **z**cenzurovat | 0.07 |
| *exportovat* | 2.71 | **vy**exportovat | 0.05 |
| *integrovat* | 4.16 | **za**integrovat | 0.03 |
| | | **z**integrovat | 0.01 |
| *motivovat* | 17.33 | **na**motivovat | 0.58 |
| | | **z**motivovat | 0.01 |
| *normalizovat* | 0.5 | **z**normalizovat | 0.08 |
| *promovat* | 0.96 | **od**promovat | 0.1 |

With regard to the imperfective verbs *argumentovat* and *simulovat*, the use of perfect forms created by prefixation was recorded (Table 4):

*Table 4.* **Frequency of argumentovat and simulovat and their aspectual counterparts**

| Verb | Relative frequency in SYN version 8 (ipm) | Perfective aspectual counterpart | Relative frequency in SYN version 8 (ipm) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *argumentovat* | 15.5 | **vy**argumentovat | 0.1 |
| | | **z**argumentovat | 0.01 |
| *simulovat* | 3.13 | **na**simulovat | 0.32 |

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[13] Cf. Kolářová, 2013, p. 271.
[14] The abbreviation *ipm* stands for "instances per million".

For only two of the imperfective verbs of the verbs analysed — *raportovat* and *respektovat* — has the existence of perfect forms not been demonstrated. These two imperfective verbs do not form an aspectual pair with another verb in contemporary Czech, and may be considered to be *imperfectiva tantum*.

## 8. THE SELECTED GROUP IN POLISH

In Polish, all of the verbs selected are noted in Cockiewicz' dictionary as bi-aspectual. Saloni, however, notes only *promować* and *eksportować* as bi-aspectual. The *WSJPWD* confirms Saloni's interpretation, but notes *promować* as imperfective. The rather unclear situation of these verbs in Polish may be illustrated by the following sentences:

- *Ale jednego nam nie zabrano — naszych umysłów i zdolności,* **argumentowali** *na przykład sygnatariusze wspomnianej wcześniej deklaracji.* 'But one thing was not taken away from us — our minds and abilities, the signatories of the aforementioned declaration **argued**, for example' [Bendyk Edwin, *Zatruta Studnia: Rzecz o Władzy i Wolności,* 2002 — imperfective]. Saloni has no perfective counterpart.

- *Władze kościelne badały i* **cenzurowały** *„Dzienniczek".* 'The Church authorities investigated and **censored** "Dzienniczek"' [*Polityka* no. 2243, 29–04–2000 — imperfective]. Saloni mentions *ocenzurować* as the perfective counterpart.

- *Kiedyś Walim* **eksportował** *wyroby z lnu nawet do Australii i Japonii.* 'Walim **exported** linen products even to Australia and Japan' [*Gazeta Wyborcza,* 03–11–1993 — imperfective]. Saloni gives *wyeksportować* as the perfective counterpart.

- *Mały Antoś* **integrował** *się z góralami, biegał za owcami, tygodniami nie mył się i nie czytał, posługiwał się wyłącznie gwarą, tak że po powrocie na Mazowsze musiał na nowo uczyć się języka literackiego.* 'Little Antoś **integrated** himself with the highlanders, ran after sheep, did not wash or read for weeks, and spoke only the local dialect, so that after his return to Mazovia he had to learn the literary language anew' [*Tygodnik Podhalański* no. 3, 2000 — imperfective]. Saloni gives *zintegrować* as the perfective counterpart.

- *Do wszystkiego muszę się — może nie zmuszać — ale bardzo silnie* **motywować**. 'I have to **motivate** myself to do everything — maybe

not force myself — but very strongly' [*CKM* no. 11, 2000 — imperfective]. Saloni gives *umotywować* as the perfective counterpart, but, depending on the context, *zmotywować* may be used as a perfective counterpart as well.

- *Nie można bowiem standaryzować i **normalizować** jakiegoś testu na próbie studentów, a potem stosować go nie tylko do studentów, czy przede wszystkim do nie-studentów.* 'It is not possible to standardise and **normalise** a test based on a sample of students and then apply it not only to students, or especially to non-students' [Jerzy Brzeziński, *Metodologia badań psychologicznych*, 1996 — imperfective]. Saloni gives *znormalizować* as the perfective counterpart.

- *Nie **promował** swoich poglądów, nie przekonywał nas, że to on ma rację, a nie my — dodaje Jerzy* (…). 'He did not **promote** his views, he did not convince us that he was right and not us," adds Jerzy' [Urbanek Mariusz, *Kisielewscy: Jan August, Zygmunt, Stefan, Wacek*, 2006 — noted as imperfective]. Saloni has no perfective counterpart.

- *Co więcej, wszyscy ci ubezpieczyciele **raportowali**, że ich przypis składki zwiększył się w porównaniu z minionym rokiem.* 'Moreover, all of these insurers **reported** that their written premiums had increased, compared to the previous year' [Artur Makowiecki, *Gazeta Ubezpieczeniowa*, 17–03–2009 — imperfective]. Saloni gives *zaraportować* as the perfective counterpart.

- *Kodyfikacja Chlodwiga **respektowała** tę zasadę z jednym, znamiennym wyjątkiem.* 'Chlodwig's codification **respected** this principle, with one notable exception' [Karol Modzelewski, *Barbarzyńska Europa,* 2004]. Saloni has no perfective counterpart.

- *Rzeczywiście wyglądała nie najlepiej. Oczywiście **symulowała**.* 'She really did not look good. She **was** obviously **pretending** [= simulating]' [Piotr Krawczyk, *Plamka światła,* 1997 — imperfective]. Saloni mentions its perfective counterpart as *zasymulować*.

The approximation of the meaning of the prefix and the lexical meaning of the stem is the most important criterion for the choice of the prefix for the correct accomplished equivalent: **na**pisać for *pisać* 'write', **o**golićsię for *golićsię* 'shave' and **prze**czytać for *czytać* 'read'. The emergence of such a prefixal aspectual pair is usually preceded by the stage of an aspectual triad functioning with secondary imperfectives, such as **na**pisywać, **prze**czytywać or **o**galać. This stage may be omit-

ted, as is visible especially in recent borrowings such as *referować*, *faksować*, *mailować*, *forwardować*, *backupować*. In Polish, such verbs usually take a prefix which matches the meaning of the stem, often the most frequent and semantically least-loaded prefix: *z-/s-/ś-*: ***za****mailować* as in ***za****telefonować*, ***prze****forwardować* as in ***prze****słać*, *zbackupować* as in ***s****kopiować* [Łaziński, 2020, p. 73]. This prefix gives rise to the corresponding perfective verbs, such as *zinterpretować* or *zorganizować* [Łaziński, 2020, p. 79].

## 9. CONCLUSIONS

In the Czech dictionaries, the majority of the analysed verbs are described as bi-aspectual, a smaller part of them are imperfective. In both languages, the interpretation of a verb as bi-aspectual or as an *imperfectivum tantum* is often dependent on which dictionary one consults [cf. Łaziński, 2020, p. 78], who remarks that the group has no clear outline). Thus, e.g. *integrovat* is bi-aspectual according to the *Akademický slovník cizích slov* (Academic Dictionary of Foreign Words) and the *Slovník spisovné češtiny* (Dictionary of Written Czech), but *imperfectivum tantum* in the *SSJČ*. Similarly, *motywować* is seen as bi-aspectual by Cockiewicz [Cockiewicz, 2007, p. 17], but the *Wielki Słownik Języka Polskiego* (The Great Dictionary of the Polish Language) edited by Witold Doroszewski[15] marks it only as *ndk* (imperfective), whilst its counterpart *umotywować* is perfective.

The discussion above shows that derivations from Latin (whether or not via other languages) in Czech and Polish are primarily considered to be imperfective. This corresponds with the basically durative aspect in Dutch for the selected group, as most of them are verbs representing an activity. In Polish, such verbs usually stay bi-aspectual for just a short while. In a later phase, they are interpreted as imperfective and, mostly with the prefix *z-* or *s-*, a perfective counterpart is formed. Thus, the bi-aspectuality, being an irregularity in the Polish system, is changed into a regular aspectual pair. In Czech, a similar tendency is visible, but the integration of foreign verbs through bi-aspectuality via their interpretation as imperfective only, and the final formation of aspectual pairs by adding a standard aspectual prefix, seems to be slower. Moreover, this tendency does not apply equally and without exception to all verbs.

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[15] Available at: http://doroszewski.pwn.pl/haslo/motywować/

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## СРАВНЕНИЕ ДВУХАСПЕКТНЫХ ГЛАГОЛОВ, ЗАИМСТВОВАННЫХ ИЗ ЛАТИНСКОГО ЯЗЫКА В ГОЛЛАНДСКИЙ, ЧЕШСКИЙ И ПОЛЬСКИЙ ЯЗЫКИ

Западногерманские языки, такие как нидерландский, имеют темпоральную систему, но типичной чертой славянской глагольной системы является аспектуальность. Большинство славянских заимствованных или новообразованных глаголов в технической сфере основаны на латыни — языке с довольно строгой временной системой. Как правило, такие глаголы заимствуются в основном в имперфективной (длительной) форме. В данной работе рассматриваются несколько таких глаголов и сравнивается их интеграция в голландский, чешский и польский языки. В голландском языке нет морфологических форм, демонстрирующих аспектуальность. Тем не менее аспектуальность присутствует, но разли-

чие выражается семантически и имеет динамический или статический характер. В данной статье рассматриваются десять потенциально двухаспектных глаголов, заимствованных из латинского языка, все они имеют в голландском языке динамический характер. В чешском и польском языках такие глаголы после заимствования изначально будут иметь двухаспектный характер. В зависимости от частоты употребления, глаголы интегрируются при помощи добавления аспектуальных префиксов. Эта интеграция для обоих славянских языков иллюстрируется предложениями из недавних статей в прессе. Если в чешских словарях большинство анализируемых глаголов все еще описываются как двухаспектные, то польский язык, похоже, гораздо быстрее превращает латинские заимствованные глаголы в аспектуальные пары. Однако следует проявлять осторожность, так как часто от словаря зависит, будет ли глагол помечен как двухаспектный или как *imperfectivum tantum*. Тем не менее общие тенденции очевидны.

**Ключевые слова:** двухаспектные глаголы, латинский язык, голландский язык, чешский язык, польский язык, сравнение.

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