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II IMPERFECTIVE TERMINATIVITY IN POLISH; A CASE STUDY AROUND THE VERBAL PREFIX *PRZE-*.

0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the semantic notion connected with verbal prefixes, which is termed TERMINATIVITY. Our first task is then to determine what we understand by terminativity. A brief discussion of terminativity versus aterminativity, telicity, prefix meaning and verbal aspect will lead us subsequently to establish how terminativity manifests itself in Polish and in what circumstances it crops up. In passing we will touch upon the issue of terminativity and telicity as properties of verbal meaning as opposed to basically extra-lingual situations described by verbal meaning. We will concentrate on questions concerning the terminativity of imperfective verbs as the notion expressed by such verbs is typical to Slavic languages (compare Łaziński / Wiemer 1996a: 105 and Holvoet 1989:49 and 64). We will also spend a few words on aspectual pairs; this is unavoidable as the whole issue of terminativity lies at the basis of the study of Slavic verbal aspect. It is not our main focus here though.

The second section of this chapter consists of a discussion and exploration of a couple of special ‘cases’ with regard to imperfective terminativity, one of these concentrates on the prefix *prze-*.

For a better understanding of the matter at hand and for other reasons that will hopefully become clear in the text of this chapter, we will sometimes have to digress to perfectivity, aterminativity and other related issues. We will mainly base ourselves on publications on other languages, mostly Russian; as this is also a Slavic language we are quite safe adopting matters for Polish.

1 A first outline of the term ‘terminativity’

It was Maslov who first introduced the notion of terminativity to the study of Slavic languages (notably Bulgarian and Russian) in his classic publication of 1948.¹ His Russian term is ПРЕДЕЛЬНОСТЬ / НЕПРЕДЕЛЬНОСТЬ, and this is the definition as provided in a consecutive paper:

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.)

It is generally translated into English as TERMINATIVITY / ATERMINATIVITY and into Polish as TERMINATYWNOŚĆ / ATERMINATYWNOŚĆ. Maslov introduced this concept for his aspectual studies and it is usually employed to show the interaction with this grammatical category in Slavic languages, but it is clearly not a lexical semantic element identical with aspect. As may be clear from the above definition of Maslov the opposition terminative : aterminative is connected to the boundary of a verbally expressed event. The event itself induces as it were a boundary; it is inherent in the internal meaning of the verb. Originally, Maslov’s terminativity criterion was introduced to the study of Slavic languages to shed light on the problem of aspectual defectiveness; the fact that not all verbs exist in aspectual pairs, but quite a few are imperfectiva tantum or perfectiva tantum (1948: 310 a.f.). It would follow then, that terminativity is a lexical semantic criterium that interplays with the grammatical category aspect. In his later paper Maslov describes this interdependency as follows:

[...] предельные глаголы, как правило, могут выступать как в совершенном, так и в несовершенном виде [...] или же в одном совершенном [...] тогда как неопредельные глаголы выступают только

в несовершенном виде [...].
Maslov (1961: 175, 176).

(... basically, terminative verbs can appear in perfective as well as imperfective aspect ... or only in perfective ... whilst aterminative verbs appear only in imperfective aspect...)

Many authors since picked up the term and expanded on its definition. There are also other authors such as Garey (1957) and Comrie (1976) who independently came to a similar, related notion, that of telicity. This separate line of thought initially came about in the study of French, a non-Slavic language. Later on it was also introduced for Russian and other Slavic languages. We will explore this a little further in a separate paragraph, 1.3 below. Here we will briefly discuss some of the authors on terminativity.

We first turn our attention to Nübler (1993: 301) who expresses some reservations to the Maslov model. The first of these was already expressed before Nübler by Thelin (1980: 430-431) and concerns the so called delimitative verbs (in Polish e.g. *poleżeć_p* ‘lie a while’) and perdurative verbs (*przeleżeć_p całą noc* ‘lie throughout the night’), which are always perfective but, whose “course” is static and so do not have an orientation towards an end. According to Nübler (1993: 301) Maslov countered this by the introduction of the concept of an “external” boundary.

[...] течение действия или существование состояния ограничено здесь как бы «извне», отмеренной порцией времени, а внутренний предел либо отсутствует [...] либо заведомо не достигается (попахать в противоположность вспахать и т. п.).
Maslov (1984: 13, 14).

(... the course of an event or the existence of a condition / state [is] limited here as if from “outside” by a measured portion of time, and an internal boundary either is lacking or obviously not reached (‘plough a while’ as opposed to ‘plough’ etc..))

Before we continue with Nübler, let’s have a quick look at what this means. Maslov’s distinction between ‘internal’ and ‘external’ concerns the character of

the act itself. He considers the specific boundary of delimitative verbs to be ‘external’ as it is not induced by the character of actions such as ‘lying’ or ‘ploughing’. He does however state that the boundary as such is “included in the semantics of these verbs”. In a discussion of Barentsen’s 1973 paper, in which the latter posits the view that delimitative and perdurative verbs should be qualified as “telic / terminative”, Maslov speaks of a type of terminativity that is specific for Slavic languages (1977: 26).

Now let’s return to Nübler. This author feels the need to expand on this and says that the consequence of the possibility of verb internal and verb external boundaries should then also allow us to establish that each imperfective verb can be used terminatively as well as aterminatively (1993: 301). Translating his examples to Polish, this means that *pisać* ‘write’ is aterminative whereas *pisać list* ‘write a letter’ is terminative with a verb external boundary, in this example introduced by the object. In similar fashion the otherwise aterminative *leżeć* ‘lie’ can be rendered terminative as in *leży tam dwie godziny* ‘he has been lying there two hours.’ Nübler states that as far as imperfective verbs are concerned, the addition of verb external boundaries to the system by Maslov rendered the notion of terminativity meaningless. He then writes:

Der Begriff „terminativ“ muß [...] auf verbale Geschehen von dynamischer Natur, die sich auf eine bereits im Verbalinhalt angelegte Grenze hin entwickeln oder eine im Verbalinhalt angelegte Grenze erreichen, eingegrenzt werden.
Nübler (1993: 301)

(The term “terminative” must be limited to verbal events with a dynamic nature, which either develop into the direction of the boundary that is already present in the content of the verb or who reach the boundary that is introduced in the verb content.)

He thus introduces the criterion ‘dynamic’ to his list of conditions for verbs to be classed as terminative and by consequence we must assume that in his view non-dynamic verbs are aterminative.

In his model the following verbs are classed as aterminative informers:

1. state verbs such as *лежать* 'lie' etc. which are always imperfective;
2. verbs that are dynamic but lack a verb internal boundary such as *расти* 'grow', *шуметь* 'rustle' etc. which are also imperfective;
3. delimitatives, *полежать* 'lie a while' etc.;
4. perduratives such as in *пролежать целую ночь* 'lie throughout the night' etc.;
5. ingressives such as *разговориться* 'begin a conversation' (although this interpretation is doubtful for Russian and the author may have been thinking of the Czech cognate - rg);
6. verbs whose prefix meaning introduce a external limit such as *налететь* 'to fly against something'.

Classes 3 through 5 consist of perfectives and as a consequence Nübler rejects the Maslov principle that perfectives are always terminative.

Im Gegensatz zur [...] Auffassung Maslovs können [...] sowohl imperfektive als auch perfektive Verben terminativ oder aterminativ sein. Nübler (1993: 302)

(Contrary to Maslovs opinion both perfective as well as imperfective verbs can be terminative or aterminative.)

Schlegel (1999: 25-52), writing about Russian, gives by far the most elaborate and extensive treatment of terminativity perceived as the existence of a boundary to verbally expressed events. He uses somewhat different terminology for this subject, so a quick comparison may be necessary. He follows Bondarko (1971: 64) in recognising an "innere Grenze" 'internal boundary' which is used solely in reference to "ПРЕДЕЛЬНОСТЬ I" 'terminativity I', which concerns the grammatical category of aspect. "ПРЕДЕЛЬНОСТЬ II" 'terminativity II', on the other hand, is used in respect to lexical semantic issues concerning verbs. Let us take a closer look.

He writes in terms of terminativity and its inherently implied "Grenze" 'border' as first introduced by Maslov (1961: 175).² Basing himself primarily on Šeljakin and Koševaja he builds on the idea of the opposition of "innere

Grenze” and “äußere Grenze”: ‘internal boundary’ and ‘external boundary’. The internal boundary type concerns “resultative-terminative” verbs and is subdivided in three basic forms, characterised by:

1) Eine bestimmte (aktualisierte) **räumliche Lage** des subjekts oder Objekts der Handlung”:

вставать, выходить (из комнаты), отвозить (товарища на вокзал), давать ребёнку яблоко.

2) eine bestimmte (aktualisierte) **Quantität** des Subjekts oder Objekts, auf das eine gegebene physische oder geistige Aktivität gerichtet ist:

писать письмо (письмо пишется), строить несколько домов (строится несколько домов), покупать себе перчатки, учить стихотворение

3) ein bestimmter (aktualisierter) **qualitativer Zustand** des Subjekts oder Objekts:

умирать, бледнеть (= становиться бледным), становиться учителем.
(Schlegel 1999: 27)

(1) a certain (actualised) **spatial state** of the subject or the object of the action:
get up, go out (of the room), bring away (a friend, comrade to the station), give a / the boy an / the apple.

2) a certain (actualised) **quantity** of the subject or object on which a specific physical or mental activity is directed:

write a letter (the letter is being written), build several houses (several houses are being built), buy oneself gloves, learn a / the poem

3) a certain (actualised) **qualitative condition** of the subject or object:
die, go pale (become pale), become a teacher.)

The external boundary type concerns “temporal, quantitative or qualitative terminative verbs” and can also be divided in three basic forms, characterised by:

1) Ein bestimmter (aktualisierter) **Zeitpunkt** im Verlauf der Handlung:

заплакать, поехать, отшуметь.

2) eine bestimmte (aktualisierte) **Quantität** (Dauer, Anzahl, Intensität) der Handlung:

поплакать, проплакать всю ночь, крикнуть, съездить

3) eine bestimmte (aktualisierte) **Qualität der Umstände** der Handlung:

нагуляться, замечтаться, добежаться, перестараться, расплакаться.

- (1) a certain **point in time** in the course of the action:
begin to cry, set of, fall silent
- 2) a certain (actualised) **quantity** (duration, number, intensity) of the action:
cry a little, cry throughout the night, emit a cry, go to and fro once
- 3) a certain (actualised) **quality of the circumstances** of the action:
exhaust oneself walking, sink away in dreams, walk until ... , to try too hard, burst out crying.)

The above citations demonstrate that Schlegel, like most authors, develops the concept of terminativity as a boundary that can be set in various ways, although he goes quite a bit farther than most other authors in classifying the conditions. When it comes to verb internal and verb external boundaries, he continues along the same line as we already saw with Nübler above. We shall return to this in 2.2 but first we must proceed with a discussion of the basic model of terminativity by another important author: Adriaan Barentsen.

As most publications dealing with terminativity, Barentsen (1973ab, 1985, 1995 and 2003) also deals primarily with aspect. Considerable parts of his publications are devoted to terminativity as a necessary attribute of perfectivity as well as the basis for 'pure' aspectual opposition. We shall pick out the relevant parts for our present issue. Barentsen (1995: 5) approaches the whole matter from a somewhat different angle than the above mentioned authors have done. This author presents the concept of terminativity as embedded in the event as described by the perfective Russian (Slavic) verb. Terminativity then consists of three consecutive situations, X, Y and Z. The change from X to Y and from Y to Z creates a certain contrast between the outer contours, which may symbolised as *d* ('distantia'). The whole constellation is presented thus:

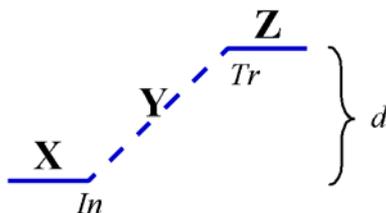


Fig. 1 *the contours of terminativity*

In this schematic representation Y (or rather more precisely, the dotted, tilted line it marks) is the action part of the event as expressed by the verb³, X is the initial, preceding situation and Z is the resulting, following situation. *In* is ‘initium’ the beginning border of Y, whereas *Tr* is ‘terminus’ or ‘transitus’, which stands for the final border of Y. Y is thus clearly fixed between these borders (and so also between X and Z) and is actually the element that connects X and Z. The fact that Y is fixed by its borders Barentsen originally termed *дискретность* ‘discreteness’. This term was introduced in his 1985 publication because the concept was meant to be somewhat broader than terms like ‘telicity’ or ‘terminativity’ and seemed better to reflect the basic semantic notion involved. However, in his 1995 article Barentsen returned to the latter, more generally accepted term (‘terminativity’/‘*предельность*’), emphasising that in the context of his model of Russian aspect it must be understood in a very broad sense. This terminological change was inspired by Bondarko (1991: 198) who distinguishes “terminativity in a wide sense”, present in all Slavic perfective verbs, from “terminativity in a narrow sense”, being more or less the traditional notion. The term was intended to capture a semantic element that is present in all Slavic perfective verbs, although there are rather diverse manifestations of it.

Barentsen goes on to describe various types of terminativity, which we will endeavour to illustrate with Polish examples rather than the Russian provided by Barentsen. The first of these is closest to the more classic cases of terminativity (and telicity, for which see paragraph 1.3) and is characterised by the fact

that there is a clear process-phase Y between situations X and Z, which can in certain cases, as we shall discuss in 1.2 below, be focused on by using imperfective verbs. In Barentsen (1995) the usual Russian terms ‘конкретно-процессное значение’ (‘concrete-process meaning’) or ‘актуально-длительное значение’ (‘actualised-prolonged meaning’) are used for this type of usage of the imperfective aspect. In his later publication (2003: 373) he uses the term “processueel-transformatief”, ‘PROCESSUAL TRANSFORMATIVE’ to typify this kind of terminativity and we will adopt it here.

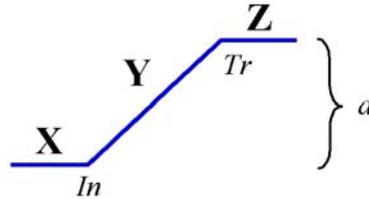


Fig. 2 *processual transformative terminativity*

- (1) *Wczoraj Ania przepisała_p swój artykuł.*
 yesterday Ania_{NOM} through-wrote_p her_article_{ACC}.
 Yesterday, Ania rewrote her article.

Sentence (1), with its perfective verb, points to the completion of the totality (ЦЕЛОСТНОСТЬ, another one of Maslov’s terms, adopted by Barentsen) of copying the article in question. That totality concerns not the whole scheme but only Y. The focus would be clearly on reaching the completion of that (single) event, the terminus, heralded by a new phase in the constellation of the sequence of events as it is marked by the rewritten copy being finalised.

Barentsen’s three situations for this example can be described thus:

X - characterised by the non-existence of the article’s rewritten copy, the old situation;

Y - characterised by the work in progress on the new version, the process; in this type the duration of Y is long enough for it to be focused on, which can be

done by an imperfective verb. More about this kind of usage of the imperfective will follow in 1.2.

Z - characterised by the existence of the article's rewritten copy, the new situation.

The terminus lies where Y "bends" into Z and so is marked by the end of the process and the beginning of the new phase. The terminus then is the natural termination of the event. Just for completeness sake we need to add that for this type of terminativity, Y can be interrupted at any time during the duration of the processual phase Y of the constellation but Z is only reached when the new copy is finished. As we mentioned earlier, the process-phase Y can actually be focused on by means of the imperfective aspect, as we shall discuss below in 1.2, most notably with example (9) and following.

In the above type the terminus is fixed or 'natural'. In the second of Barentsen's types of terminativity it is 'movable' and this is called "relative terminus" 'RELATIVE TERMINUS' in Barentsen (2003: CD). The Russian terms Barentsen employs after Bondarko (1991: 198) and Mehlig (1992: 242) are *абсолютный предел* and *относительный предел*. Compare the following example.

- (2) *Z dziurawego woreczka wyciekło_p już pół litra mleka, a ono ciągle wycieka_i.*

from punctured_bag_{GEN} out-oozed_p already half_{NOM} liter_{GEN} milk_{GEN},
and it_{NOM} still out-oozes_i.

Half a litre of milk has already oozed out of the punctured bag and it is still oozing.

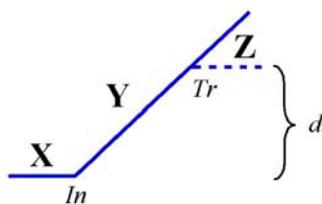


Fig. 3 *relative terminus*

The moveability of the terminus lies in the fact that the event has both an obvious terminal point, ‘when all the milk has oozed from the bag’, as well as one that has been ‘artificially’ installed, i.e. at the point where half a litre has oozed out. The action could continue (and probably would) until all milk would have been spilt.

The next type is characterized by the lack of a clear process phase between X and Z. Barentsen (1995: 9) speaks of “скачкообразный переход” ‘a jumplike passage’.

- (3) *Ania zgubiła_p klucz.*
Ania_{NOM} lost_p key_{ACC}.
Ania (has) lost (her) key.

The situational change is in fact momentary as Ania one moment had her key and the next it was gone. Imperfective counterparts of such verbs will be discussed in 1.2 below, where it will become apparent that such verbs do not generally focus on the process, but rather on the repeat of such an event. In the following we will term these situations NON-PROCESSUAL-TRANSFORMATIVE.⁴ The following scheme is an adaptation of the standard XYZ-scheme above.

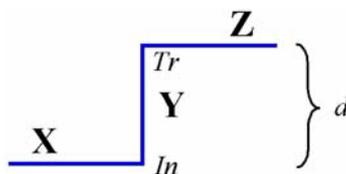


Fig. 4 *non-processual transformative*

INGRESSIVE perfective verbs such as seen in *pojechał_p do pracy* 'he left for work', *zaśpiewał_p arię* 'he began to sing an aria'⁵ and *polubił_p muzykę* 'he began to like music' and *uwierzył_p w Boga* 'he began to believe in God' also belong to this class. The imperfective simplexes of such verbs usually describe situation Z, i.e. the state or activity initiated by the event indicated by the given perfective verb: *jedzie_i / jechał_i do pracy* 'he is / was going to work', *śpiewa_i / śpiewał_i arię* 'he is / was singing a song', *lubi_i muzykę* 'he likes music', *wierzy_i w Boga* 'he believes in God'.

We now come to types of terminativity that are described in this way to show the common semantic base for all perfective verbs. In doing so the author widens the scope of terminativity as it is usually understood. These type of terminativity share a Z, which is a return to the (level) of the (conditions of the) original situation X. The first of these concerns perfective verbs with suffix *-nąć-* that have imperfective partners without this suffix.⁶ Here are a few examples.

<i>krzyknąć_p</i>	<i>krzyzczeć_i</i>	'shout'
<i>kiwnąć_p</i>	<i>kiwać_i</i>	'nod'
<i>liznąć_p</i>	<i>lizać_i</i>	'lick'
<i>sięgnąć_p</i>	<i>sięgać_i</i>	'reach'
<i>szepnąć_p</i>	<i>szeptać_i</i>	'whisper'

These represent a different type of terminativity termed SEMELFACTIVITY. Again using Barentsen's (1995: 10) schematic representation, this could be rendered as follows.

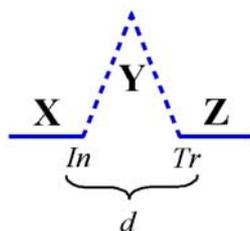


Fig. 5 *semelfactivity*

Perfective verbs of this type refer to “a single basic unit” of the event expressed by the imperfective verb. This ‘basic unit’ can be imagined as a certain development that is almost immediately reversed. As the event is reversed, it can usually be repeated immediately. The imperfective counterpart then is quite naturally interpreted as consisting of a sequence of several units, which may then easily be perceived as a relatively constant event with its own processuality. And so *krzyczeć* typically means ‘shout’, whereas *krzyknąć* means ‘give a (single) shout’. The imperfectives of this type are termed MULTIPLICATIVE.⁷

Reading the literature from the past it would seem that there has been a real problem in how to deal with verbs that express the so-called delimitative Aktionsart in terms of terminativity.⁸ We have already discussed Schlegel (1999: 28) who speaks of an external boundary with an actualised sense of quantity for these verbs. He seems to continue the line of thinking already initialised by Nübler (1993: 300, 301). The latter author also speaks of such borders for this class of verbs but describes these verbs as having an *internal* border with an undynamic event. As such he thinks they cannot be described as terminative; dynamicity of the action is, as we have seen, a prerequisite for terminativity according to him. It then follows that Nübler classifies these verbs as “aterminative perfectives”. This line of thinking goes against our own, based on Barentsen (1973ab, 1985, 1995 and 2003) in which all perfectives are terminative⁹, due to the greatly different definition of terminativity.

And so, to continue, we have to deal with the observation that unlike processual transformative verbs, delimitatives lack a clear process with a development. Holvoet (1991d: 126, 128) speaks in terms of “temporal localisation” and indeed of “temporal quantification” to describe this feature, which is expressed in Polish by compounds with prefix *po-*. Indeed, time is of the essence as we could term such compounds atelic (lack of process *naturally* leading to a conclusion), non-processual but terminative (in the wider sense proposed by Barentsen). The Maslov definition as cited in 1 above does not hold for these verbs as the event has no direction, and trying to superimpose the

Barentsen XYZ-scheme on delimitatives, we need to realise that X is separated from Z merely by a quantified amount of atelic event. Barentsen (1995: 11) himself renders it thus:

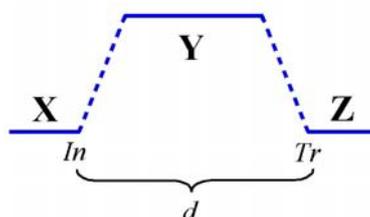


Fig. 6 *delimitativity & perdurativity*.

This is by far the most straightforward way to envisage this. It goes far beyond the scope of this chapter to dive into all the problems concerning prefix *po-* or indeed with all of those concerned with delimitativity.¹⁰ For us, concerning ourselves primarily with prefix *prze-*, this scheme is however also relevant as it is virtually identical to the one which represents the meaning of perdurativity (the perdurative Aktionsart) a meaning type which we discussed earlier in chapter I, paragraph 2.2.¹¹ We already expressed our opinion there, that from the point of view of the prefix itself there is not really a great need to differentiate between this temporal meaning of *prze-* and the other meanings we presented. A simple example like the following...

- (4) *Ania przespacerowała_p dwie godziny.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-walked_p two_hours_{ACC}.
 Ania walked for two hours.

... can be compared to:

- (5) *Ania przejechała_p całą Polskę.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-drove_p whole_Poland_{ACC}.
 Ania drove across the whole of Poland.

in that a domain is crossed. The landmark is of a different nature and temporal

in (4), whilst clearly spatial in (5). Characteristic of perdurative usage of *prze*-compounds is that they usually if not always appear in conjunction with a direct object denoting, what Holvoet (1991a: 89) terms a TEMPORAL QUANTUM. He furthermore characterises it as “an object with temporal dimensions.”¹²

In terms of terminativity there would not seem to be a great deal of difference, though, as both describe similar events of “getting across” the domain of the landmark. The two situations we referred to above, i.e. X and Z, could in the case of both (4) and (5) be described as referring to before respectively after the event. In the case of temporal situations such as in (4) we could simply refer to these as: the situation before walking two hours and the situation after walking for two hours (which share a characteristic ‘level’ in that X does not differ in more than its localisation vis-à-vis Y from Z). The landmark ‘two hours’ separated these situations, and was crossed by the trajector ‘walking’.

The big difference between delimitativity and perdurativity lies in the characteristic that delimitative verbs render the notion of limitation of Y themselves whereas perduratives appear with an object to indicate the length of time spent. Both delimitative and perdurative meanings concern only perfective terminativity and in the remainder of the chapter we will focus as much as possible on imperfective terminativity. We will leave the further matters touched on by Barentsen (1995) for the moment as they do not concern the characteristics of the basic types of terminativity.

The contour models presented by Barentsen are very useful for our purposes and so we will adopt them here and below we will develop further this concept of terminativity setting it off against some other, closely related matters. We see no need to dismiss the principle posited by Maslov and Bondarko and adhered to by Barentsen that all Slavic perfective verbs are terminative and imperfectives can be either terminative or aterminative.

1.1 Aterminativity vs. terminativity

In order to present a clear picture of the parameters involved we need to spend a few words on aterminativity. Barentsen (2003: 372) mentions that aterminative events are characterised by the lack of a terminus and indeed by a lack of the whole XYZ-scheme with its three phases. The following example features a non-prefixed verb, for reasons that will become apparent in 1.2 below.

- (6) *Wczoraj Ania pisała_i.*
 yesterday Ania_{NOM} wrote_i.
 Yesterday Ania was writing.

This clearly is an event that can be presented, as does Barentsen, as follows.

Fig. 7 *aterminativity*

The event may indeed have led to some kind of product or result but that is entirely secondary in the speaker's mind; he is in fact referring simply to the event itself and it may be an answer to the question: *Co Ania robiła_i wczoraj?* What did Ania do yesterday? / What has Ania been doing yesterday?

1.2 Imperfectivity vs. terminativity

Perfective aspect envisages the XYZ-scheme's situational constellation as a totality, which implies that the terminus is perceived as reached.

In examples (1) and (6) above we saw an opposition in terminativity versus aterminativity, but we also saw that the corresponding verbs used were perfective and imperfective respectively. However, it is by no means our intention to suggest that terminativity equals perfectivity and certainly not that aterminativity equals imperfectivity.

We take it as a given, that perfective verbs in Polish are terminative whereas imperfective verbs can be either terminative or aterminative (see also Barentsen 1985: 147 and 2003: 372). Following Barentsen, it is our view that only termi-

native verbs can form aspectual pairs. Maslov (1959a: 200) adheres to the principle that some imperfective verbs are always aterminative, the so-called ABSOLUTE IMPERFECTIVA TANTUM. Others can be terminative or aterminative depending on the context¹³; Proeme (1983: 396-7) points out that these imperfective verbal lexemes are called “ДВОЙСТВЕННЫЕ ГЛАГОЛЫ” in Maslov (1978: 13) and “ОТНОСИТЕЛЬНЫЕ IMPERFECTIVA TANTUM” in Maslov (1959b: 198) and calls them “DUAL VERBAL LEXEMES” himself. Other authors, such as Barentsen (1985), use the term RELATIVE IMPERFECTIVA TANTUM.

To complete this set we have to add that verbs that are always terminative have forms for both aspects or are perfectiva tantum. We shall continue the matter of terminativising contexts in 2.2 below.

Like their Russian counterparts Polish prefixed verbs are terminative (with the possible exception of only very few examples). This is largely due to the lexical meaning of prefixes (see chapter I), which, like perfective meaning points out a constellation of two situations XZ, connected by Y. (We shall explain a little later in this paragraph why perfective verbs present this XYZ-scheme in the most natural way. See also paragraph 2.2 for a more extensive discussion of the correlation of prefix-meaning and the XYZ-scheme.) We do not fully agree with the notion that prefixes ‘provide’ a compound with perfective aspect (perfectivise). We do however acknowledge that prefixes provide such a strong terminative sense to a simplex (that may or may not already be terminative) that it is no surprise that the meaning of a simplex, with this lexico-semantic addition of terminativity is naturally perceived as perfective. This is strengthened by the fact that terminativity is simply a prerequisite for perfectivity. In (1) it is easy to see that perfective terminativity deals with the completion of Y and / or (depending on the nature of the event expressed by the verb) the ushering in of Z, just like it does in actual fact correlate with the meaning of perfectivity. This is no surprise as, as we noted before, all perfective verbs are terminative. To pursue this matter further we need to turn to imperfective terminativity in some more detail. The following sentence counters example (1) above and illustrates

that prefixes occur with imperfective verbs too and so cannot be considered to be markers of perfectivity.¹⁴

- (7) *Ania zawsze przepisywała_i swoje artykuły.*
 Ania_{NOM} always through-wrote_i her_articles_{ACC}.
 Ania always rewrote her articles.

Considering (7), we immediately note that the object is in the plural, whereas it had been in the singular in (1). It is of course by no means a grammatical rule, that imperfective verbs need take objects in the plural, but there is a rather great likelihood that in the case of the present verbs and contexts this would be so. We will return to this matter below but suffice it here to mention that as an object, *swój artykuł* ‘her article’ is limited in scope, and the rewriting thereof naturally and evidently finite. We follow Barentsen (1985: 90) and Holvoet (1991: 9) in terming such naturally limited objects (and ditto predicates) DISCRETE, although other terms have been used and proposed in the past. As (7) presents a situation in which the key notion *zawsze* ‘always’ is juxtaposed with an undefined number of discrete objects, it implies that more than one, probably several of the indicated objects is involved. We could say that there is a repeat of the totality presented by figure 1.



Fig. 8 *repetition 1*

In figure 8 we have represented the objects (articles) by letters ABCD in a random order to indicate that the sequence or order are not relevant, nor is by the way the amount of objects.

As such the two sentences (1) and (7) are not ideal as a “minimal pair”, as two elements differ rather than one, even though these are connected. Another modifying adjunct within the imperfective context comes to mind, this time in a sentence in which the singular object is more evident:

- (8) *Ania ciągle przepisywała swój artykuł.*
 Ania_{NOM} continually through-wrote_I her article_{ACC}.
 Ania continually rewrote her article.

The event described by the verb in this sentence is also terminative and like the usage in (7) it also deals with repetition. The nature of the repetition in (8) is somewhat different though, as the situation is presented as one in which one and the same object or parts of it is modified several times, in fact *ciągle* ‘continually’, and so we do not even know how often exactly. We see again an imperfective prefixed verb used, as is often the case with such verbs, to express a non-quantified, unlimited series of the same or similar complete events performed on a (discrete) object. In (7) and (8) the result of the respective events may differ: in (7) one could think of several articles, whereas in (8) there are several versions of the same article. The fact of the repetition remains in spite of the difference in the (grammatical) number of the object. Continuing along the lines presented above, we could render this with different versions of the same article A as follows.



Fig. 9 *repetition 2*

The usage of imperfective terminativity for repetition is called TERMINAL ITERATIVE VARIANT in Barentsen (1985: 88-92) and REPEAT VARIANT in Barentsen (2003: 374).

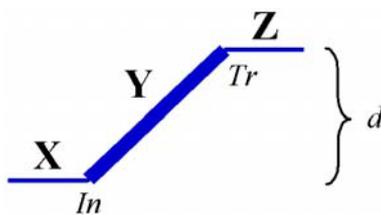
The above examples (7) and (8) involve the verb *przepisywać* ‘rewrite’ (or indeed ‘copy’) which is clearly processual transformative. We think it is very interesting, though, to realise that non-processual transformative secondary imperfectives would only really be used in cases where there is some kind of repetition intended.¹⁵ A repetition that can be presented as follows.

Fig. 10 *non-processual transformative repetition*

Imperfective terminativity of processual transformative verbs on the other hand, is by no means restricted to such a repetitive meaning as can be seen in the following.

- (9) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat przepisywała_i swój artykuł.*
 when up-phoned_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then through-wrote_i her_article_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was rewriting her article.

Here the event of copying takes place just once as far as we can tell. We have a juxtaposition of the perfective *zadzwoniłem_p* ‘I phoned’ which takes place at a specific moment in time, during which the copying by Ania was executed. The rewriting is then as it were the “background” against which the phone-call took place.¹⁶ For us it is important to note that events perceived as being terminative can take place in such more or less standard aspectual constellations. The copying of the article is still presented within an XYZ-framework and thus figure 1 could still apply. We can then establish that not the actual completion / termination of the copying or rewriting is relevant in imperfective aspect, but the fact that the event is perceived and presented as “completable”. This sentence refers to the moment of calling which took place when the process (Y) was ongoing.

Fig. 11 *process phase*

Such PROCESSUAL TRANSFORMATIVE events that are presented as completable

rather than completed are then of course still terminative. In our view terminativity points to events for which completion is presented or thought of as an integral part of the totality of the event. Even when the totality is not the focus of an utterance, it may still be present in the speaker's mind as being relevant. The focus is however in this sentence on the process phase (Y) of the event.¹⁷

The usage of terminative imperfectives to focus on the process of the event (within its development) is termed "INTRATERMINAL" in Barentsen (1985: 88-92) and "PROCESS VARIANT" in Barentsen (2003: 373). There are a number of other instances in which the terminative imperfective applies to single, not necessarily completed, but completable, i.e. terminative events.

(10) *Ania długo przepisywała_i swój artykuł.*

Ania_{NOM} long through-wrote_i her_article_{ACC}.

Ania has been copying / rewriting her article a long time.

Here too the process phase of the event is highlighted, whilst the event is presented as terminative, and so has "contours" with a certain relevance. The notion of duration naturally does not refer to the completion of the event but rather to the action phase Y of the event. Imperfectivity is therefore obvious but the compound meaning is by virtue of the prefix still terminative. And so, derivation from the perfective compound *przepisać_e*, rendered imperfective *przepisywać_i*. As both are terminative we can say that "deperfectivising" is not the same as "determinativising".

All in all, examples (7) through (10) demonstrate that imperfectivity is compatible with terminativity. In cases of imperfective terminativity the XYZ-scheme needs to be treated in a particular way. As we have seen this can either be the repetition of the entire XYZ-scheme such as in (7) and (8) or the actualisation of the process-phase Y, such as in (9) and (10). Either way, this can be interpreted as a 'homogenisation'; not the implied changes of the XYZ-scheme come to the fore, but there is an emphasis on the relatively constant,

unchangeable side of the action. This homogeneity is the quality of terminative imperfectivity and terminative imperfectivity share and which is the reason why both can be termed imperfective in spite of the rather large differences in meaning. Perfectivity on the other hand always presents the changes implied by the XYZ-scheme. This is why perfectivity presents the most 'natural' image of a terminative situation.

Slavic languages like Polish invest a considerable amount of morphological material to provide the possibility to present terminative meaning in the imperfective (compare Galton 1980a: esp. 50 and 55).¹⁸ Imperfective derivatives of prefixed verbs are often termed SECONDARY IMPERFECTIVES. One could actually say that secondary imperfectives are morphologically marked twice: by the prefix and its lexical-semantic terminative meaning as well as by the deperfectivising suffix. We would also like to signal here that this process of imperfectivisation of prefixed perfective verbs takes place surprisingly often. This would point to the fact that terminativity in the imperfective aspect is a significant, indeed a central notion in Slavic languages.

In order to make some inroads we propose to adhere to a model in which the various semantic features discussed briefly above are divided over more or less separate markers:

- As prefixes mark terminativity it is not surprising that, when the concept of terminativity is added to a verb by its undergoing prefixation, that verb "becomes" perfective. Prefixes then are not primarily markers of perfectivity; it is rather the terminative meaning, which in perfective contexts is necessary that works towards this correlation.

- Deperfectivising (thematic) suffixes such as in (7), (8), (9) and (10) *przepisywać* - *przepisuje* - *przepisywała* 'copy, rewrite' etc., are the morphological means by which an otherwise perfective-terminative notion can be "rendered" imperfective whilst maintaining the notion of terminativity.

- (Non-verbal) adjuncts, such as *ciągłe* 'continually', *zawsze* 'always',

dlugo 'a long time' etc. as well as compound sentences as exemplified in (9) in conjunction with imperfective verbs specify, highlight the processual part of the constellation of a terminative notion or effectuate a repeated notion and possibly also other notions which we have not discussed here.

To sum up, terminativity is a precondition for designating an event with a perfective verb. The same event can in principle also be designated by an imperfective verb. The XYZ-scheme is retained here, but somehow "deactualised". As far as aterminative events are concerned, these cannot be described by perfective verbs.

Now we must turn to some further complications surrounding the notion of terminativity, in particular, that of telicity / boundedness.

1.3 Telicity / boundedness vs. terminativity

The aim of the present paragraph is to set off telicity against terminativity; the title already clearly reflects this. In order to do so, we first need to take a look at how telicity was defined by various previous authors. This part of the task turned out to be rather cumbersome and the issue is decidedly convoluted as many authors have had varying concepts, probably emanating from their particular interests and needs or the particular languages they were describing, so, quite a few different terms (Dahl (1981: 80, 81) lists some of these) have been used in the past. Indeed, the latter author himself uses the term (un)boundedness rather than (a)telicity. Next we will place the terms as used by some leading authors within the model of terminativity we have adopted. Before we will proceed, however, there is a matter, which we must address first.

This concerns the use of all the terms involved and, to put it in Dahl's words:

What should the purported properties be regarded as properties of? In the literature, we find the concepts applied to at least the following: sentences, verb phrases, verbs as lexical items, verb forms, situations, and processes. Dahl (1981: 83).

Dahl puts his answer like this...

The most popular alternative at present would probably be to say that they apply primarily to processes (situations) and secondarily to the verb phrases or sentences that express these processes.

Dahl (1981: 83).

... and then goes on to include “[a] linguistic expression, whether it be a sentence, verb phrase or verb...” and he acknowledges that “this formulation is not without its problems, but we shall ignore them for the time being.” Dahl seems effectively to exclude situations.

We choose to leave the matter of whether a verb or a situation is telic or terminative unresolved (as do in fact most authors on the subject). We do not actually need to specify as long as we ascertain in each case that a verb does in fact describe a situation that is perceived in one way or the other.

This is saying as much as that we are in fact putting linguistic matters over extra-lingual truth whilst never forgetting to refer back to it. We will continue to speak, as do quite a few authors, of telic / atelic verbs and terminative / aterminative verbs as well as telic / atelic situations and terminative / aterminative situations.

But we will go a little further in the application of terminology; we will use any term referring to (a)terminativity or (a)telicity to refer to verbs as well as situations. We can now proceed with our discussion of telicity / boundedness vs. terminativity.

The literature on the opposition telic : atelic is vast and originally concerns languages other than Slavic ones. The term is obviously derived from the Greek τέλος ‘end’ and its general meaning takes us very close to that of “terminativity”. For this reason it is useful to discuss, albeit briefly, these clearly related matters and perhaps to point out the distinctions via a discussion of a selection of publications in which telicity is used relating to Slavic languages. But let’s us begin at the beginning.

The term and opposition was introduced by Garey, who describes telic verbs as ...

... verbs expressing an action tending towards a goal envisaged as realized in a perfective tense, but as contingent in an imperfective tense...

whereas atelic verbs are...

... verbs which do not involve any goal nor end point in their semantic structure, but denote actions that are realized as soon as they begin. Garey (1957: 97).

It would seem that according to Garey, telicity as such appertains to the verbs themselves and so to their lexical semantic qualities. Moreover, it would seem that Garey's definition would include verbal situations which, using Vendler's (1957) terminology, are nowadays usually referred to as accomplishments, whilst it does not explicitly include achievements.¹⁹

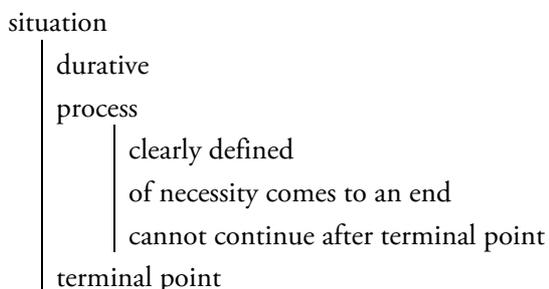
Comrie (1976: 44-48) defines telicity as a quality of a situation rather than of a given verb (and ipso facto the meaning of such a verb) and verbs are said to describe those situations. This author essentially adds some further qualities, restrictions to the Garey concept, by which means Comrie effectively excludes achievements, since a basic condition of his concept of telicity is that the situation must be durative. Furthermore, the author says of telic situations that they involve a process that "of necessity comes to an end." The end is further specified as "a well-defined terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue." He states specifically that telic situations have a process, which leads up to a terminal point and includes that terminal point as well. And so, the English example *John is making a chair* describes a situation that will reach its terminal point once the chair is finished and the whole situation that is in fact described is presented as having its natural termination at that very point. If that terminal point is actually reached, and only when it is reached, we can say *John has made a chair*. If John would be interrupted during the making of the chair, there would be no completed product and we would not be able to say *John has*

made a chair. However, that fact alone does not take away anything from the principle that the natural course would be for the process of the making of the chair to be one that would end in a finished product. Comparison with *John is singing* teaches us that the latter described situation is not one that will reach such a natural terminal point and should therefore be termed atelic. If his singing is interrupted at any point we can still say *John has sung* which would not be so in the case of *John has made a chair* if the making of the chair were interrupted. So, not the stopping of a process, but the perception, that completion is a natural part of a situation described by the verb is relevant; even if the making of the chair were interrupted, it would still be a telic situation as the situation would always include the terminal point in its basic concept.

Now, Comrie signals a problem that has an immediate bearing on Slavic languages and, in our view, warrants a slight digression. It concerns situations such as described by *John is dying*. Here interruption of the process seems to be impossible as the perception of the English speaker is clearly that there is little hope of John's recovery. This is not the case in the earlier example in which John may be stopped from finishing his chair. Comrie thinks in fact that it is odd to say *John was dying, but the discovery of a new medicine led to his recovery*. He seems to suggest then, that in spite of the use of the continuous tense, *John is dying* does not have a clearly defined process leading up to the terminal point and therefore it seems Comrie is hesitant to classify the English situation as clearly telic but writes about it as "a punctual event and the immediate preceding process, in the sense that the process preceding the event is so intimately bound up with the event that once the process is under way the event cannot be prevented from occurring" (Comrie 1976: 47-48). The actual moment of death setting in is then the passing from one state, 'living', to another, 'being dead', which is instantaneous and might not be telic. Of course, in Polish (as in Russian as signalled by Comrie) the sentence *Piotr umierał, ale nie umarł*_p 'Peter was dying but he did not die' is perfectly acceptable and so the concept of what is and what is not telic varies in treatment from one

language to another.

The following table endeavours to sum up the parameters of telicity as described by Comrie, all of which need to be met before we can describe a given situation as telic. We have tried to indicate which qualities belong to which aspect of the whole complex of parameters by introducing a tree-like hierarchy.



All in all, the above complex of parameters, which includes accomplishments and excludes achievements, corresponds surprisingly well to Barentsen's processual transformative terminativity, which we discussed in paragraph 1. We must now continue with yet another author's comments whether accomplishments as well as achievements should be considered telic.

The following revealing comment is from Dahl, who uses the equivalent terms bounded / unbounded for telic / atelic:

Basically, the distinction made here [i.e. between bounded and unbounded - rg] will correspond to Vendler's distinction between 'accomplishments/achievements' on the one hand and 'activities' on the other, and to what some authors call 'telic/atelic'.
Dahl (1985: 191, note 5).

In contrast to this clear-cut note, the next quotation is quite confusing.

A class of situations or a characterization of a situation is bounded if and only if it is an essential condition on the members of the class or an essential part of the characterization that a certain limit or end-stage is attained.
Dahl (1985: 29).

This apparent emphasis on the attainment of the limit or end-stage is then different from terminativity as well as the more usual definition of telicity, which points to an orientation towards a (final) boundary and the perspective of such a boundary without implying that this boundary is always reached. The question is rather how this should be interpreted. In an earlier publication, in which he goes into the matter somewhat more precisely, Dahl makes it very clear that his “T-property” refers to there being a potential border, while his “P-property” would have that border reached (1981: 81 a.f.). In this respect Dahl refers to a publication by Andersson (1972, without page reference) in which the latter also speaks of a clear necessity to distinguish between what he calls “Grenzbezogenheit” ‘boundary-relatedness’ vs. “Erreichung / Nicht-Erreichung der Grenze” ‘attainment / non-attainment of the boundary’. A little further on, in a discussion of problematic cases the statement...

... we must distinguish ‘potential (intended or probable) terminal points’ from ‘actually achieved terminal points.’
Dahl (1981: 84).

... also shows Dahl making this distinction. It is then quite clear where Dahl stands, and his T-property corresponds largely to our terminativity, whilst his P-property is our perfectivity. This seems to be confirmed by Dahl, since in his discussion of telicity and Slavic aspect, he points out in addition, that verbs expressing neither a potentially or factually attained boundary can only be imperfective. Verbs whose lexical semantics include an indication of a boundary on the other hand, can be imperfective when that boundary is potentially attained but are certainly perfective when the boundary is factually attained (1981: 82).

Other authors, notably Holvoet (1991), Krifka (1989) and Schoorlemmer (1997), employ the term telicity, probably in the more or less original sense as defined by Garey, but within the contexts of their respective models dealing with aspect and event semantics. The purpose of their use of this term varies

greatly from that of ours and so, even though their treatments are worth noting, they would not actually add to the present discussion, especially as they do not oppose telicity to terminativity.

At this point we must turn to one of probably very few papers dealing with both terminativity and telicity: Nübler (1993). We will start by stating that this author has a very different approach to the matter of telicity and terminativity. It is in fact so different, that we find it impossible to reconcile it with the more established views or indeed with our own. That said, here is an attempt to render his position.

His title, “Zur Differenzierung der Begriffe Terminativität / Aterminativität und Telizität / Atelizität” ‘Towards a differentiation of the terms terminativity / aterminativity and telicity / atelicity’ already shows that for this author the terms should exist next to each other and in fact, he uses both terms at once to describe his classes of verbs, so that certain verbs can for instance be aterminative and telic. But we will come to that a little later.

Nübler throughout his paper speaks of “Verbalinhalt” ‘verb content’ which can be terminative or aterminative, and he makes a distinction between “Verballexeme” ‘verb lexemes’ with their content and “Verbformen” ‘verb forms’ with their content. Verb lexemes are basic verbs and verb forms are the (‘pure’) aspectual partners, derived from the verb lexemes (so, imperfective suffixal derivations from perfective verbs and perfective prefixal derivations from imperfective simplexes).

Telicity is defined as verb content with a “Grenze” ‘boundary’ and Nübler (1993: 304, 305) specifies that it makes no difference whether this boundary is the terminal point of a factually inherent development or whether it is externally (i.e. external as regards the actual act but still part of the verb meaning) imposed.

This author defines terminativity as a dynamic process leading to a termination, which, confusingly, equals Comrie’s idea of telicity we discussed a little

earlier in this paragraph. Nübler seems quite unique in this position.

Nübler (1993: 302) refers to the rather difficult Dahl (1985: 29) quotation (see above) that seemingly introduces the need for telic situations to *attain* a boundary. Without apparently looking at the other statements this author made and that clarify his position as quite different from this probably inadvertently made and unintended implication, Nübler reasons that ...

Nach der Eingrenzung des Begriffes „Telisch“ können alle slavischen Imperfektiva als atelisch eingestuft werden, da sie das tatsächliche Erreichen einer „inneren“ Grenze nur kontextuell aussagen können. Nübler (1993: 303).

(After this reduction of [Dahl's - rg] definition of "Telic" all Slavic imperfective verbs could be classified as atelic, because they can only express the actual attainment of an internally implied boundary within a specific context.)

So, if indeed we would specify, like Nübler, that we are talking about 'verb content', and if we would also hold strictly to this probably erroneous interpretation of the Dahl statement, imperfective verbs would always be atelic, as they are then never about "attaining" a certain limit or end-stage. Rather, they either do not imply the association with the idea of a specific boundary at all (our aterminativity) or they imply a boundary and the orientation towards that boundary but specifically not the attainment thereof (our process / intraterminal variant of processual transformative terminativity).

Nübler provides the following summarising definitions:

1. perfective verb lexemes:

- always telic, lexical-semantic expression of the boundary;

- verb content can be:

-- terminative (dynamic development) as in *дописать_p* (*письмо*) 'complete (a letter)';

-- aterminative (non dynamic and so solely temporally imposed boundary) as in *подержать_p* 'hold for a while'.

2. perfective verb forms [i.e. 'pure' aspectual partners derived by prefixation of

simplexes - rg]:

- atelic, boundary not expressed by lexical-semantics;

-- terminative: *написать_p* 'write' (the author mentions that this goes with *писать_i*).

3. imperfective verb lexemes [always simplexes - rg]:

- atelic,

-- aterminative: *спать_i* 'sleep';

-- terminative: *писать_i* (*письмо*) 'write a letter'.

4. imperfective verb forms [i.e. secondary imperfectives - rg]:

- atelic

-- terminative

For class 4 verbs Nübler (1993: 305) states that the imperfectivising suffix functions to render the perfective telic partners imperfective and atelic; he says that "... das Erreichen einer im Verbalinhalt angelegten Grenze negiert wird" 'the attainment of a by the verb content implied boundary is negated', as in: *он дописывал, но не дописал_p письмо* 'he was busy completing his letter, but he did not finish completing it.' Alternatively we are dealing with "eine auf Iterierung basierende Atelizität" 'an atelicity based on iteration', such as can be seen in *каждый вечер он дописывал_i письма, которые он начинал_i утром* 'every evening he finalised the letter that he had started the same morning'.

It may be clear from the above discussion of Nübler that he uses the terms in a very different way from us, and in fact, as we pointed out, his terminativity is as narrow as Comries telicity. Moreover, it leaves us with unsolvable problems and we shall discuss one of these briefly. In his system perfective verbs such as *написать_p* 'write' are terminative but atelic. In such cases his telicity apparently does not mean 'attainment of the boundary implied by terminativity' for he cannot deny that *написать_p* indicates that the boundary that is connected with his terminativity in this case is reached.

Although we have our doubts, it is possible that Nübler's model may work independently from just about everyone else that deals with these matters, but

we choose to look for a different way to deal with terminativity and telicity. This brings us to the conclusion of this paragraph.

Our last remaining task in this paragraph is to conclude and sum up the matter, which the title indicates: telicity / boundedness vs. terminativity. We must present our interpretation of these terms and notions. First let's return to Nübler's paper, which is a very rare example of an attempt to use both these terms, telicity and terminativity, independently and complementarily. For us it does not work. We rather think it more useful to stay with the view that actually similar things may be meant by these terms, although a specification of how the various terms are then employed would be helpful. The following table sums up our interpretation of the main authors mentioned in this paragraph. We have however, not included Nübler as his definitions deviate to such an extent that it would be well nigh impossible to fit in. Moreover, as far as we are aware, he does not seem to have been followed by anyone. In the following scheme we have set out the "wider" Barentsen definition of terminativity (and the various types thereof) discussed in the previous paragraphs against the treatment of telicity by Garey, Comrie, and Dahl. The terms from the Vendler classification have been added on the far right.

Terminativity Barentsen	Garey (1957)	Comrie (1976)	Dahl (1981/85)	Vendler (1957)
process.-transf. relative terminus	telic	telic	telic	accomplishments
non-process.-transform. semelfactive delimitative perdurative	?		telic	achievements

And so, certainly when set off against the wider notion of terminativity adhered to here, all telic verbs are terminative, but not all terminative verbs are telic.

2 The manifestations of terminativity

Terminativity is primarily a lexical-semantic category and not a grammatical one. We have already posited our view that, within the lexical semantics of verbs, prefixes mark terminativity as prefixed verbs are by their very nature terminative.²⁰ Apart from this group of verbs, which is then actually morphologically marked, there is the group of unprefixed simplexes – a list will follow in 2.1 – which on account of their lexical semantic meaning are clearly terminative. The next question we must address is whether or not all verbal events are either terminative or aterminative. From the above discussion of the views of Schlegel and Nübler in our paragraph 1, it should be clear that these authors, whilst adhering to the principle that terminativity is indeed a lexical semantic category pertaining to verbs, aterminative verbs can nevertheless be furnished with a verb-external boundary (Nübler 1991: 301, Schlegel 1999: 25 a.f.). Their view would have it that such verbal phrases are then also terminative. In the following paragraphs we address these issues separately.

2.1 Non-prefixed verb internal terminativity

As prefixes mark terminativity it is not surprising that the vast majority of non-prefixed imperfectives in Russian are aterminative (Barentsen 2003: 383) and it is doubtlessly true that this is also the case for Polish.

The following table summarises the interplay of prefixes and aspect that we already discussed above.

aspect	prefix	terminative
pf	+	+
pf	-	+
ipf	+	+
ipf	-	+ / -

Some matters need to be further clarified and this leads us to consider non-prefixed verbs and terminativity. In paragraph 1 we already discussed

aspectual pairs consisting of a multiplicative imperfective and a semelfactive perfective such as *machać_i : machnąć_p* ‘wave’ and, especially as we shall return to these in chapter III paragraph 1, we shall not discuss them here but rather turn our attention to other non-prefixed verbs.²¹

There are probably quite a few imperfective verbs which are terminative on account of their lexical meaning, but there is no way to disclose these in a systematic way, when a prefix is lacking; this task will remain for later. The following lists are then only of those verbs which readily present themselves as imperfective partners to perfective non-prefixed verbs. The following perfectives are mentioned in *Gramatyka* (1984: 214). Where aspectual pairs are indicated, these are on the basis of Dunaj (1996). As these are doubtlessly ‘pure’ aspectual pairs the imperfective members on the list are also terminative, which seems to be confirmed by their lexical meaning.

<i>chwycić_p</i>	<i>chwytac_i</i>	‘grab’
<i>dać_p</i>	<i>dawac_i</i>	‘give’
<i>kupić_p</i>	<i>kupowac_i</i>	‘buy’
<i>lec_p / legnac_p</i>		‘lie down’
<i>paść_p (padnac)</i>	<i>padać_i</i>	‘fall’
<i>puścić_p</i>	<i>puszczac_i</i>	‘let pass’ etc.
<i>rzec_p</i>		‘say’
<i>rzucić_p</i>	<i>rzucac_i</i>	‘throw’
<i>siąść_p</i>	<i>siadać_i</i>	‘sit down’
<i>skoczyć_p</i>	<i>skakac_i</i>	‘jump’
<i>stać się_p</i>	<i>stawac się_i</i>	‘take place’
<i>wrócić_p</i>	<i>wracac_i</i>	‘return’
<i>wziąć_p</i>	<i>brac_i</i>	‘take’
<i>znaleźć_p (się)</i>	<i>znajdowac_i (się)</i>	‘find’

we do not claim that this list is exhaustive but it can be said that such a list would not be very extensive, as there are relatively few of these verbs. In fact,

the verbs *wziąć_p*, *znaleźć_p* (*się*) and *znajdować_i* (*się*) might be termed quasi simplexes, as, although lexicalised without clear reference to the original prefix meaning, they are in fact historically formed compounds. Then there are the bi-aspectual verbs, which of course have no pair, such as:

<i>kazać_{i/p}</i>	‘order’
<i>abdykować_{i/p}</i>	‘abdicate’
<i>aprobować_{i/p}</i>	‘approve’
<i>importować_{i/p}</i>	‘import’
<i>impregnować_{i/p}</i>	‘impregnate’

Most of these are loan words and as such they may still form aspectual pairs by prefixation later, in a process described by Kudlińska (1988: 121-126). As is apparent on the basis of their meaning and the fact that they can be used in perfective contexts, certainly the above may be classed as terminative, whether used perfectly or imperfectly.

2.2 Prefix meaning and terminativity

As we have seen in chapter I (paragraph 0.2 in particular point 3) all or at least most prefix meanings point to a conceptualisation of two situations: the ‘old’ (‘previous’, ‘initial’) and the ‘new’ (‘following’, ‘resulting’, ‘terminal’). For Polish prefix *wy-* this was most clearly demonstrated by Rudzka-Ostyn (1983) and Barentsen explains it thus:

Een prefix geeft namelijk in principe informatie over de onderlinge verhouding tussen de situaties voor en na de handeling (X en Z).
Barentsen (2003: 381)

(In principle a prefix provides information about the mutual relationship between the situation before and after the event (X and Z).)

Returning then to our point of departure, it is the very nature of prefixes, referring as they do to the prototypically spatial notion of subsequent situations, that makes them the instrument par excellence to express terminativity. Of course,

in predicates that deal with spatial notions, the original preposition based meaning(s) of the prefixes come out most clearly. Consider the following example taken from Rudzka-Ostyn (1983: 5).

- (11) *Wykuć_p rzeźbę.*
 out-hew_{VP-INF} sculpture_{ACC.}
 ‘Hew out a sculpture.’

Which Rudzka-Ostyn renders schematically thus.

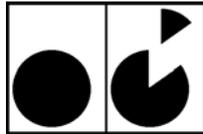


Fig. 12 ‘old’ and ‘new’ *wy-*

The sculpture is cut from the original material and is perceived to come out of that material. The ‘old’ situation’ has the sculpture still unhewn and so within the mass of the original material, whilst ‘new’ shows the (finished) sculpture taken from the material. If we superimpose this scheme onto the Barentsen XYZ-scheme our view is illustrated quite adequately.

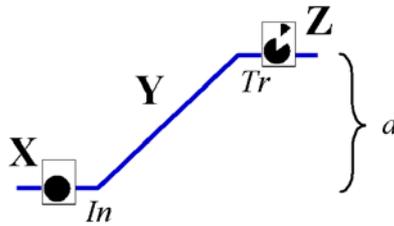


Fig. 13 *wy-* : XYZ-scheme

There is here a clear correlation between situations X and Z for terminativity and ‘old’ and ‘new’ for prefix meaning. The situations of prefix *wy-* are gratifyingly obvious as the ‘old’ and ‘new’ positions are easy to describe. However, we

need to also demonstrate this principle for prefix *prze-* and it will suffice to take two simple examples representing the primary tiers of the variants proposed in chapter I paragraph 3.1. For our first example we will reiterate example (5) from 1 above.

- (5) *Ania przejechała_p całą Polskę.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-drove_p whole_Poland_{ACC}.
 Ania drove across the whole of Poland.

Our drawing for this did not consist of two contrasting situations such as Rudzka-Ostyn provides for *wy-*, and so we need to indicate where these two situations are located.

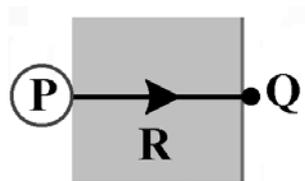


Fig. 14 *prze*₁ 'old'



Fig. 15 *prze*₁ 'new'

And this we can again overlay onto the XYZ-scheme.

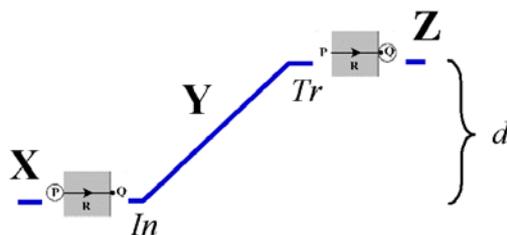


Fig. 16 *prze*₁ : XYZ

In (5) then:

- X is the situation before or upon entering Poland;
- Y is the process of crossing Poland;

Z is the situation when the other side was reached and Ania exited Poland.

The transitus is of course located at the moment that Y “bends” into Z; here: the moment of exit. The description of Y provided by *prze-* in this particular case is in the provision of the notion of a landmark as well as a trajector in the way described in chapter I. As is often the case with *prze-* the trajector with verbs of motion can be described as ‘across’ in English.

Our treatment is similar for our second base meaning for *prze-*.

- (12) *Ania przesadziła_p begonię.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-planted_p Begonia_{ACC}.
 Ania (has) replanted the Begonia.

Please note that the original illustration for chapter I paragraph 3 was changed slightly: the intended phase is the darker of the two squares at either side of landmark R.

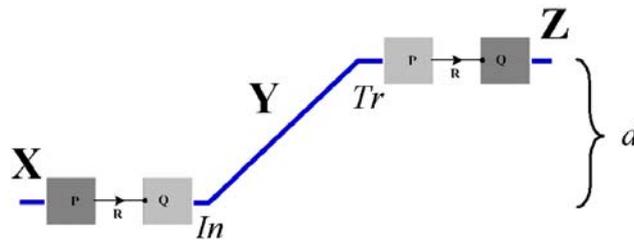


Fig. 17 *prze*₃ : XYZ

In other kinds of predicates things can be less clear but can nevertheless always be explained in this fashion.

In the following we aim to establish with which kind of imperfective terminativity *prze-* can be associated. As we saw in 1.2 above there are basically three types:

1. terminal iterative terminativity of processual transformative verbs;
2. terminal iterative terminativity of non-processual transformative verbs;

3. intraterminal terminativity (processual transformative verbs).²²

In 1.2 we also demonstrated that processual transformative verbs can be used in both terminal iterative and intraterminal ways. Non-processual transformatives can only be used for terminal iterative terminativity. A simple test to ‘dive into’ the processual phase of verbs is needed to expose them as processual transformative. We propose to use the following more or less standard sentence constructions for this purpose, the first two of which are repeats of earlier examples.

- (9) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat przepisywała_i swój artykuł.*

when up-phonew_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then through-wrote_i
her_article_{ACC}.

When I phoned, Ania was just rewriting her article.

- (10) *Ania długo przepisywała_i swój artykuł.*

Ania_{NOM} long through-wrote_i her_article_{ACC}.

Ania took a long time rewriting her article.

- (13) *Ania przepisywała_i, przepisywała_i, a wreszcie przepisała_p swój artykuł.*

Ania_{NOM} through-wrote_i, through-wrote_i and finally through-wrote_p
her article_{ACC}.

Ania rewrote and rewrote and finally she finished rewriting her article.

In (10) we use a simple adverbial adjunct that refers to the relative length of time that was spent on an event. This demands of the event expressed to be one that can indeed be perceived to take time. Non-processual terminative verbs do not allow such usage:

- (14) **Ania długo zjadła_i obiad.*
 Ania_{NOM} long up-eat_i dinner_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time finishing her dinner.

In (9) we have a constellation in which the processual event (*przepisywała_i* ‘she wrote’) forms the background against which the perfective event takes place at a certain (short) moment in time. If there would be no such process that takes time, it would not be able to form a background, as we can see in the next example:

- (15) **Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat zjadła_i obiad.*
 when up-phon_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then up-ate_i dinner_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just finishing her dinner.

The test model presented in (13) may be considered superfluous for this demonstration, but it is interesting in that it hints at the event of the verb to be not only ongoing, but also of it leading up to a final point: a build-up as it were. There is then a suggestion of some kind of structure to the process. This too defies non-processual transformative verbs:

- (16) **Ania zjadła_b, zjadła_i, a wreszcie zjadła_p obiad.*
 Ania_{NOM} up-ate_i, up-ate_i and finally up-ate_p dinner_{ACC}.
 Ania ate (up) and ate (up) and finally she finished eating her dinner.

Performed on compound verbs with prefix *prze-*, this test has not yielded any that would not be possible in sentence structures such as (10), (9) and (13). Even verbs that could be expected to be non-processual transformative on account of their lexical meaning allowed usage in these sentence structures. Compare the following.

- (17) *Ania długo przekraczała_i granicę polsko-rosyjską.*
 Ania_{NOM} long through-crossed_i border_Polish-Russian_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time crossing the Polish-Russian border.
- (18) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat przekraczała_i granicę polsko-rosyjską.*
 when up-phoned_{P-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then through-crossed_i border_Polish-Russian_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just crossing the Polish-Russian border
- (19) *Ania przekraczała_i, przekraczała_i, a wreszcie przekroczyła_p granicę polsko-rosyjską.*
 Ania_{NOM} through-crossed_i, through-crossed_i and finally through-crossed_{IP} dinner_{ACC}.
 Ania crossed and crossed and finally she finished crossing the Polish-Russian border. || It took Ania a long time and / or effort to cross the Polish-Russian border.

The last sentence, to be honest, was a little bit on the edge for some native informers, but others approved it. It is quite difficult to render it in English accurately as it can refer to a rather large amount of time or alternatively, effort spent on crossing the border. A couple of other examples of verbs that might be considered non-processual transformative on account of their lexical meaning are presented in the examples below, which show that these verbs apparently stand the test and should be termed processual transformative.

- (20) *Ania długo przegrywała_i partię szachów.*
 Ania_{NOM} long through-played_i game_{ACC} chess_{GEN}.
 Ania took a long time winning a / the game of chess.

- (21) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat przegrywała_i partię szachów.*
 when up-phon_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then through-play_i game_{ACC}
 chess_{GEN}.

When I phoned, Ania was just winning a game of chess.

- (22) *Ania przegrywała_i, przegrywała_i, a wreszcie przegrała_p partię szachów.*

Ania_{NOM} through-play_i, through-play_i and finally through-play_p game_{ACC} chess_{GEN}.

Ania played and played and finally she won the game of chess. || It took Ania a long time and / or effort to win a / the game of chess.

The last example is again rather hard to translate, but the Polish is very acceptable if not to say totally normal. The last verb we would like to consider is *przełykać* : *przełknąć_p* 'swallow'.

- (23) *Ania długo przełykała_i pigułkę.*

Ania_{NOM} long through-swallow_i pill_{ACC}.

Ania took a long time swallowing a / the tablet.

- (24) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat przełykała_i pigułkę.*

when up-phon_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then through-swallow_i pill_{ACC}.

When I phoned, Ania was just swallowing a tablet.

- (25) *Ania przełykała_i, przełykała_i, a wreszcie przełknęła pigułkę.*

Ania_{NOM} through-swallow_i, through-swallow_i and finally through-swallow_p pill_{ACC}.

Ania tried and tried and finally she managed to swallow the tablet. ||

It took Ania a long time and / or effort to swallow the tablet.

In Chapter I we have also seen that in some compounds *prze-* has a meaning

‘cease to’. As was already demonstrated in chapter I paragraph 2.5 *prze-* expresses a ceasing that is processual transformative and hence involves a temporal process in which an event comes to an end. The members of this series that have a secondary imperfective (*przebrzmiewać_i* ‘cease sounding’, *przedzwaniać_i* ‘cease ringing’, *przegwizdywać_i* ‘cease whistling’, *przekwitać_i* ‘cease flowering’) also stand the test as we will demonstrate on the basis of the same sentences albeit it slightly modified for the sake of realism.

- (26) *Ojca orchidea długo przekwitała_i.*
 Father_{GEN} orchid_{NOM} long through-flowered_i.
 Fathers orchid took a long time to wilt.
- (27) *Jak wpadłem_p do ojca, orchidea przekwitała_i.*
 when in-dropped_{P-1-SG} to father_{GEN}, orchid through-flowered_i.
 When I dropped in on father, his orchid was wilting.
- (28) *Ojca orchidea przekwitała_i, przekwitała_i a wreszcie przekwitła_p.*
 father_{GEN} orchid through-flowered_i, through-flowered_i and finally
 through-flowered_p.
 My fathers orchid wilted and wilted until finally it finished
 blooming || It took my fathers orchid a long time to wilt.

Although it is strictly speaking beyond the scope of this chapter, we would like to present a few examples to show that not all secondary imperfective verbs behave in the same way as those with prefix *prze-*. In (10), (11) and (12) we have seen that *zjadać_i* ‘eat up’ (which is the secondary imperfective to *zjeść_p*) does not stand up to the processuality test introduced above. It would seem that prefix *z-* does form non-processual transformative compounds, although it should be remarked that at this stage it is not possible to say whether that goes for all its meaning-variants.

Another prefix to consider is *od-*. Compare the following examples.

- (29) **Ania długo odnajdowała_i klucz.*
 Ania_{NOM} long back-found_i key_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time finding her key.
- (30) **Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat odnajdowała_i klucz.*
 when up-phon_{P-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then back-found_i key_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just finding her key.
- (31) **Ania odnajdowała_i, odnajdowała_i, a wreszcie odnalazła_p klucz.*
 Ania_{NOM} back-found_i, back-found_i and finally back-found_P key_{ACC}.
 Ania tried and tried and finally she managed to find her key. || It
 took Ania a long time and / or effort to find her key.

Prefix *za-* gives similar results with compound *zaśpiewywać_i piosenkę* '(start to) sing'.²³

- (32) **Ania długo zaśpiewywała piosenkę.*
 Ania_{NOM} long in-sang_i song_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time starting to sing a song.
- (33) **Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat zaśpiewywała piosenkę.*
 when up-phon_{P-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then in-sang_i song_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just starting to sing a song.
- (34) **Ania zaśpiewywała_i, zaśpiewywała_i, a wreszcie zaśpiewała_p piosenkę.*
 Ania_{NOM} in-sang_i, in-sang_i and finally in-sang_P song_{ACC}.
 Ania tried and tried and finally she managed to start to sing a song. ||
 It took Ania a long time and / or effort to start to sing a song.

This does not go to show that prefixes *za-* always forms non-processual transformative compounds as will become clear from the following example.

- (35) *Ania długo zawijała_i cukierek.*
 Ania_{NOM} long in-wrapped_i sweet_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time wrapping the sweet.
- (36) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat zawijała_i cukierek.*
 when up-phonod_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then in-wrapped_i sweet_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just wrapping a sweet.
- (37) *Ania zawijała_i, zawijała_i, a wreszcie zawinęła_p cukierek.*
 Ania_{NOM} in-wrapped_i, in-wrapped_i and finally in-wrapped_p sweet_{ACC}.
 Ania wrapped and wrapped and finally she managed to wrap the sweet.

And so we have demonstrated that some prefixes are more likely to form imperfective non-processual transformative compounds whereas others form only processual transformative ones, and yet others form both. *Prze-* is probably quite clear in marking processual transformative terminativity (as manifested in imperfective verbs). Until more extensive research has been done the following table shows our preliminary findings with all verbal prefixes in secondary imperfectives, and so it does not make any statement about the possibility of their non-processual transformative possibilities in perfective aspect. We provide a single, sometimes two examples for each case for scrutinization.

prefix	PT	examples	nPT	examples
<i>do-</i>	√√	<i>dopiszywać</i>	√	<i>dodzwaniać się,</i> <i>dokompletowywać</i>
<i>na-</i>	√√	<i>napoczynąć, napętnić</i>	√	<i>nadeptywać</i>
<i>nad(e)-</i>	√	<i>nadskakiwać</i>		
<i>o(b)-</i>	√	<i>opisywać</i>		
<i>od(e)-</i>	√√	<i>odnawiać</i>	√	<i>odnajdywać</i>
<i>po-</i>	√	<i>pobielać, podróżowywać</i>		

<i>pod(e)-</i>	√	<i>podsumowywać, podtulać</i>		
<i>prze-</i>	√	<i>przepisywać</i>		
<i>przed(e)-</i>	√	<i>przedstawiać</i>		
<i>przy-</i>	√√	<i>przysuwać</i>	√	<i>przychodzić</i>
<i>roz(e)-</i>	√√	<i>rozbrajać</i>	√	<i>rozchorowywać się</i>
<i>u-</i>	√√	<i>ugrupowywać</i>	?*	<i>ucinać, usylachcać</i>
<i>w(e)-</i>	√	<i>wsluchiwać się</i>		
<i>wy-</i>	√	<i>wyznaczać</i>	√	<i>wyskakiwać</i>
<i>wz-/ws-</i>	√	<i>wzbijać</i>		
<i>z(e)-/s-/ś-</i>	√	<i>zbijać się</i>	√	<i>zjadać</i>
<i>za-</i>	√	<i>zawijać</i>	√	<i>zaśpiewać</i>

PT = processual transformative,

nPT = non processual transformative

√ = occurs

√√ = the majority of cases

* There was some doubt with native informers about the use of these verbs (and some others) in our tests.

We have not been able to establish for all prefixes in perfective aspect whether or not they form non-processual transformative compounds and actually that falls beyond the intended scope of this chapter. However, for perfective *prze-*compounds we can confirm that they are usually processual transformative, with the exception of compounds formed with *prze-* in the variant meaning we ranked *prze*_{1.10} 'start [to]' in chapter I paragraph 2.1.10 and the perduratives, which we ranked under *prze*₂. One could think that on account of their lexical semantic feature, these verbs are ingressive. We rather think they are not true ingressives as strictly speaking their meaning is '(re)gain the ability to see / speak', which is essentially not entirely the same as 'start to see / speak'. This is an isolated unproductive group of verbs consisting of *przemówić*_p 'regain the ability to speak', *przejrzeć*_p and *przewidzieć*_p 'regain the ability to see'. Unlike prefix *pro-* in some South-Slavic languages, Polish verbs with *prze-* are never truly ingressive in Polish.

2.3 Other manifestations of terminativity

The title of this paragraph is chosen for want of a better one; terminativity is a lexical-semantic category and as such morphologically unmarked, except for the marking by verbal prefixes, which is not the only possible terminativity. We cannot speak of marking in other cases where there is nevertheless a case to be made to recognise terminativity. This is then more a 'situational' terminativity, expressed contextually; here we use 'situational' in reference to the kind of usage of this term by Dahl and Comrie, which we presented in 1.3.

In paragraph 1 we already introduced the views vis à vis verb external terminativity of Maslov (1961, 1984), Nübler (1993) and to a lesser extent Schlegel (1999). It is a real question whether or not to consider verb external boundaries as true equivalents of terminativity and we can only do this if we leave the notion that terminativity is a solely lexical semantic category for verbs. We already mentioned Nübler's view on the inclusion of verb external boundaries into the question of terminativity. Here is how he actually puts it.

Wollte man den Begriff „äußeren“ Grenze ebenfalls in die Unterscheidung zwischen terminativen und aterminativen Verben einbeziehen, müßte man davon ausgehen, daß jedes Imperfektivum sowohl terminativ als auch aterminativ gebraucht werden kan. Ebenso wie das russische Verbum *писать* (ip) „schreiben“ terminativ gebraucht werden kann in *он пишет письмо* „er schreibt einen Brief“, kann auch das ein statischen Geschehen ausdrückende Verbum russ. *лежать* (ip) mit einer „äußeren“ Grenze versehen werden: *он там лежит два часа* „er liegt dort zwei Stunden“. Nübler's (1993: 300, 301).

(If one wants to include the term “verb external” boundary into the differentiation between terminative and aterminative verbs, then one would have to recognise that every imperfective verb can be used terminatively as well as aterminatively. Just as the Russian verb ‘write’ can be used terminatively in ‘he is writing a letter’, the verb ‘lie’, which expresses a static event can be furnished with a verb external border as in ‘he has been lying there two hours’.)

Here we will go along with the idea that the presence of an object such as *письмо* ‘a letter’ can have a terminativising effect on the event and consequently,

on the verb *писатъ_i* ‘write’, but the relationship between *лежатъ_i* ‘lie’ and a temporal extension is of a quite different nature. We will then only pursue the matter with regards to direct objects.

At this point it is interesting to compare Nübler’s statement and Comrie, who mentions that verbs can have arguments that render a situation telic.

... However, situations are not described by verbs alone, but rather by the verb together with its arguments (subject and object).²⁴ Thus although *John is singing* describes an atelic situation, the sentence *John is singing a song* describes a telic situation, since this situation has a well-defined terminal point, namely when John comes to the end of the song in question. *John is singing songs* is again atelic, whereas *John is singing five songs* is again telic.

Comrie (1976: 45).

As we had already seen that all telic situations are terminative (1.3 above), this is relevant for our present discussion.

Schlegel presents a discussion about the content facet of terminativity (which should never be confused with the formal part of terminativity). He builds on the kind of differentiation we already saw with Nübler (after Maslov, see 1 above) into „innerverbale” Grenze” ‘verb internal boundary’ and „extraverbale” Grenze” ‘verb external boundary’. In the following examples taken from Schlegel (1999: 30), he points out that the underlined elements mark / set the boundary and at once the terminativity. First the examples of verb internal boundary.

- (38) *Смотри_i, как он краснеет_i / покраснел_p.*
 look_{I-IMP}, how he_{NOM} reddens_I / reddened_P.
 Look how he blushes / has gone red.

- (39) *Мы пришли_р, когда он уже уходил_т. Мы видели_т, как он вставал_т.*
 we_{NOM} by-came_р, when he_{NOM} already away-went_т. we_{NOM} saw_т, how he up-
 got_т.
 We arrived as he was already leaving. We saw how he got up.

In (38) the root of the verb itself forms a qualitative demarcation. Schlegel calls *красн-* the “Zielqualität” ‘target quality’. In (39) it is the spatial notion of the prefixes *у-* and *в-* which introduce the boundary, the “Zielort” ‘target place’.

The following are examples of ‘verb external boundary’.

- (40) *Рабочие строили_т дом_а. Мальчик шёл_т в школу_у, когда ...*
 workers_{NOM} built_т house_{ACC}. boy_{NOM} went_т in school_{ACC}, when ...
 The workers built a house. The boy was going to school when ...

Here it is the object *дом* ‘house’ and the destination *в школу* ‘to school’, which set the boundary, in Schlegel’s terms “Quantität des semantischen Objekts, Zielort” ‘quantity of the semantic object, target place’. Now let’s turn to his next examples.

- (41) *Рабочие достраивали_т дом_а. Он медленно выходил_т из комнаты_ы.*
 workers_{NOM} to-built_т house_{ACC}. he_{NOM} slowly out-went_т out-of room_{GEN}.
 The workers were extending the house. He was slowly leaving the
 room.

In these examples we have combinations of spatial prefix and direct object, *до- ... дом*, and of spatial prefix and destination, *вы- ... из комнаты*. For this the author speaks of “Quantität und Qualität des semantischen Objekt, Zielorts” ‘quantity and quality of the semantic object, destination.’

Earlier (1) we mentioned that Schlegel writes of “Aktualisierte” ‘actualised’ notion for spatial state, quantity (of subject, object, length of time etc), qualitative condition, moment in time and quality of the circumstance. From this point onwards we will concentrate ourselves on what we have termed

discrete objects earlier (1.2) and their ‘terminativising’ properties (of otherwise aterminative predicates) in Polish. For this reason we will limit ourselves to a brief discussion of Schlegel’s actualisations concerning the direct object.²⁵ The author (1999: 32, 33) establishes in *пахать поле* ‘plough a field’ an aterminative situation: the object merely indicates ‘the sphere or domain’ of the action and is as such indefinite (which seems to correlate with the use of an indefinite article in the English translation).²⁶ Schlegel continues to say that for such an object the undefiniteness can either be cancelled by actualisation of quantity through the use of a “Quantor” ‘quantifier’ or ‘by lingual or situational context.’ Context and quantifiers can also actualise number and grammatical number can serve such quantitative actualisation. Schlegel discusses three treatments of the object in this respect.

1. Non quantitatively actualised object

- a. Plural of countables: *хорошо читать стихи* ‘recite verses well’, *обучать учеников* ‘teach pupils’;
- b. Generalised meaning of singular countables: *танцевать танго* ‘dance the tango’, *играть Чайковского* ‘play Tchaikovsky’;
- c. Uncountable materials: *сывать зерно* ‘sow grain’, *продавать молоко* ‘sell milk’.

2. Object quantitatively actualised by lingual or situational context. The quantification can be indicated by demonstrative or possessive pronouns and such like, “which lift the individual from the class”: *читать стихотворение Блока* ‘read a poem by Blok’, *обучать (своих) учеников письму* ‘teach one’s students to write’, *танцевать (этот) танго* ‘dance that tango’.

3. Object quantitatively actualised by quantifiers. The presence of a quantifier usually requires a complementary verb internal boundary, marked by prefixes: *вырастить_р 20 голов скота* ‘raise 20 pieces of cattle’, *отрезать_р 3 метра ткани* ‘cut off 3 meters of material’, *написать_и пять писем* ‘write 5 letters.’

Schlegel (1999: 38 a.f.) goes on to term such terminativity “syntagmatische” ‘syntagmatic’ terminativity and demonstrates how this can crop up even with otherwise aterminative imperfective simplexes.

- (42) *Он писал_i (= был_i писателем).*
 he_{NOM} wrote_i (= was writer_{INSTR}).
 He wrote (= was writer) aterminative
- (43) *Он писал_i стихи.*
 he_{NOM} wrote_i poetry_{ACC} (= was poet_{INSTR}).
 He wrote poetry. aterminative
- (44) *Он писал_i новое стихотворение_i.*
 he_{NOM} wrote_i new_poem_{ACC}.
 He was writing a new poem. terminative

We will leave Schlegel here, as we have presented the essence of his views, which suffices for our purposes. From this point onwards we will concentrate on the object as quantifier and ‘provider of syntagmatic terminativity’ such as indicated by Schlegel. We will continue to evidence these phenomena for Polish and add our own views.

2.3.1 The direct object vs. syntagmatic terminativity

First we must remind the reader of our introductory remark (see 1 and also 1.2) concerning the specific feature of Slavic languages, which have perfective as well as imperfective terminative forms, the latter of which are used to present situations as terminative although not necessarily terminated. Łaziński / Wiemer put it like this:

Terminatywne czasowniki dokonane wyrażają zmianę stanu i implikują proces do niej doprowadzający, a czasowniki niedokonane, na odwrót, wyrażają proces dążący do pewnej implikowanej zmiany.²⁷
 Łaziński / Wiemer (1996a: 105).

(Terminative perfective verbs express a change of state and imply the process leading up to this. Imperfective verbs on the other hand, express a process leading up to a certain, implied change.)

English has no such morphological opposition and so telicity is indeed often expressed by the interaction of verb and object (and to a lesser degree subject). In Slavic languages this can also be the case as Schlegel's treatment demonstrated, and we shall try to show this on the basis of Polish examples, which are in fact translations of Comrie's (1976: 44 a.f.) examples. In 1.2 above we already mentioned the opposition of absolute imperfectiva tantum and relative imperfectiva tantum as discussed by Maslov (1959b: 200) and Barentsen (1985: 147), but which we prefer to call dual verbal lexemes after Proeme (1983: 396). At this point we would like to specify that the verbs under scrutiny are such dual verbal lexemes. This set of examples uses verb *śpiewać* 'sing' in various contexts.

- (45) *Jan śpiewał.*
 John_{NOM} sang_i.
 John was singing <atelic, aterminative>
- (46) *Jan śpiewał piosenkę.*
 Jan_{NOM} sang_i song_{ACC}.
 John sang a/the song. <(a)telic, (a)terminative>
- (47) *Jan śpiewał piosenki.*
 Jan_{NOM} sang_i songs_{ACC}.
 John was singing songs. <atelic, aterminative>
- (48) *Jan śpiewał pięć piosenek.*
 Jan_{NOM} sang_i five_{ACC} songs_{GEN}.
 John sang five songs. <telic, terminative>

Judging from examples (45) through (48) the verb *śpiewać* 'sing' could be classed as such a dual verbal lexeme, capable of being used aterminatively as well

as terminatively. Before we shall discuss these examples in more detail we need to touch upon the matter of the precise nature of (Slavic) terminativity. Concerning perfective terminativity Barentsen (1985: 147-155) discusses the various types that need to be recognised for Slavic languages and finds that the notion of terminativity does not fully coincide with that for other languages. The author expresses the opinion that there is a notion of a border in the meaning of all perfective verbs which allows the event to be perceived as a “discrete unit” and he suggests to term the specifically Slavic manifestations of terminativity “handelingseenheid” ‘unit of event’. One of these is especially interesting to us as it concerns quantification of the event or process expressed by the verb. Delimitative and perdurative verbs are then marked by the lack of a clear telic situation in which the event or process leads up to a transitus, although they do have a process / event. Non-processual terminative verbs do not have such an event at all, but they do have a very clear transitus. There are other problems, which Barentsen deals with, but they have no immediate bearing on our issue, so we will leave it open. In delimitative predicates the quantification is one of time or ‘portion of event’ (the latter is the term used in 2003: 381). In our view it is but a small step to the kind of quantification we see in (46) and (48).

At this point we return to our discussion of the object as quantifier. It functions thus through presenting the scope of the event it implies. It portions of, as it were, the amount of event expressed by the verb. Whether or not there is a telic process underlying this is probably less important if we compare these notions with that of delimitative verbs, which are devoid of telic process but are limited. As the term ‘bounded’ - intuitively a good term to describe a process or event that is limited in scope - is already used by various authors in senses that are to all intents and purposes synonymous with that of ‘telic’ we think it better to use the term DISCRETE which we introduced above and which fits elegantly with the suggestion of Barentsen (1985: 155).

There is a clear connection between discreteness and quantification.

Quantification can be achieved by actual numeric specification of the object (resulting in a totality as a single entity) as seen in (48), which sets as it were the limits, and so also the end limit of the object and by implication the event that is performed on the object.

A different kind of quantifying can be seen in:

- (49) *Jan śpiewa_i całą piosenkę.*
 John_{NOM} sings_I whole_song_{ACC}.
 John is singing the whole song.
 <specific quantum, terminative>
- (50) *Jan śpiewa_i „Poszła Karolinka.”*
 John_{NOM} sings_I “Poszła_Karolinka”.
 John is singing “Poszła Karolinka.”
 <specific quantum, terminative>
- (51) *Jan śpiewa_i piosenkę, którą mu dała nauczycielka.*
 John_{NOM} sings_I song_{ACC}, which_{ACC} him_{DAT} gave_P teacher_{NOM}.
 John is singing the song that was given to him by his teacher.
 <specific quantum, terminative>

The objects of (49), (50) and (51) as well as that of (48) can appear with perfective verbs, which we take as an indication that they are discrete. The usage of *śpiewać* ‘sing’ is not restricted to objects that are discrete or indeed quantified or interpretable as quantifiable and quantified as can be seen in:

- (52) *Jan śpiewa_i muzykę ludową.*
 Jan_{NOM} sings_I music_folk_{ACC}.
 John is singing folk music.
 <unquantified, aterminative>

The objects in (48), (49), (50) and (51) present clear finite (so discrete) objects. In (52) however, this is not the case. It cannot be rendered perfective which we

take as evidence to support our claim that it is unquantified and does not provide the boundary necessary for terminativity.

- (53) **Jan zaśpiewał_p muzykę ludową.*
 Jan_{NOM} in-sang_p music_folk_{ACC}.
 'John has sung (all???) folk music'

Interestingly, of the examples (45) through (48), only (46) and (48) can be rendered perfective to indicate the terminus is achieved, such as can be seen in (54) and (55):

- (54) *Jan zaśpiewał_p piosenkę.*
 John_{NOM} in-sang_p song_{ACC}.
 John sang the / a song.
- (55) *Jan zaśpiewał_p pięć piosenek.*
 Jan_{NOM} in-sang_p five_{ACC} songs_{GEN}.
 John sang five songs.

According to the dictionary of Dunaj (1996) *śpiewać_i : zaśpiewać_p* is in fact an aspectual pair and we would have to conclude that *za-* is an empty prefix. Bańko however, does not mention this aspectual pair for the meaning implied in the examples. The matter of so-called empty prefixes will have to be dealt with elsewhere. For now it suffices simply to establish that the objects under scrutiny can go together with perfective verbs and so “agree” with terminativity.

Actually the situation presented by (46) is somewhat more complex and needs our attention. Please note that the interpretation as telic for (46) is after Comrie and the conclusion that we thus have a terminative situation is in accordance with this and the proposition that all telic verbs are terminative. In this case we could raise the question whether “a song” is actually specific enough for quantification and thus terminativity. According to what we discussed above, Schlegel would have this termed terminative or aterminative

depending on whether the quantification is actualised or not actualised.

Non-actualised usage would render the object as merely positing ‘the sphere or domain’ of the event. Contextual actualisation such as proposed by Schlegel and cited above, would either require a further specification, such as *Jan śpiewał nową piosenkę* ‘John was singing a new song’ or *Jan śpiewał piosenkę, którą lubi od dawna* ‘John was singing the song that he liked for a long time,’ etc. But are such markers truly required?

None other than Wierzbicka writes:

There are several striking interdependences between the aspect of the verb and the semantic structure of its direct object.

Wierzbicka (1967: 2236 a.f.)

Of course Wierzbicka is concerned with aspect whilst our present focus is imperfective terminativity. However, Wierzbicka makes some important remarks on imperfectivity and quantification, relevant for our discussion. She sets out to list three functions of imperfective aspect in Slavic languages on the basis of the following example, which we have numbered, in order to be able to refer to it. We have added our usual markers of aspect in all examples from Wierzbicka.

(56) *Jan malował konie.*
John_{NOM} painted_i horses_{ACC}.

- (a) ‘John was then painting horses’;
- (b) ‘John has (had) painted horses’;
- (c) ‘John painted horses, John was a painter of horses.’

The first of these meanings (a) is termed “contemporaneous meaning” as it places the event in a definite point of time. For (b) the author speaks of an “existential quantifier” as it establishes that there was a point in time when John was painting horses, but it is indefinite. In (c) the event is considered as happening constantly, usually, always and so Wierzbicka describes it as “universal

quantifier”.

Wierzbicka says she limits herself to the discussion of cases of (a): the contemporaneous meaning (which is comparable to our intraterminal terminativity). When she turns to actual quantification of objects, she shows adequately that Polish does not allow sentences such as **on pił w tym momencie szklankę wody* ‘he was then drinking a glass of water,’ and she states: “when combined with certain imperfective verbs, the object does not allow the specification by a modifier of measure (quantity)” (1967: 2239). Correct sentences such as *on jadł wtedy dwie gruszki* must mean ‘he was then eating two pears at the same time.’ The author reckons that when the objects of a set, such as in this last sentence, simultaneously undergo some process they can be comprehended as “some kind of continua”. When combined with imperfective verbs, the object can be in the singular or plural. Wierzbicka states that in the sentences *on je gruszkę* ‘he is eating a pear’ and *on je gruszki* ‘he is eating pears’ “actually, there is here no opposition of number.” Both objects are in fact innumerable and unmeasurable.” When a clearly quantified object appears with an imperfective verb in a sentence like *On je jedną gruszkę dwie godziny* ‘he has been eating one pear for two hours’, we are, according to the author, concerned with an indication of speed and so not with the contemporaneous function of the imperfective verb.

Summing up, Wierzbicka’s examples and her analyses seem to contradict Schlegel entirely. But Wierzbicka is speaking of aspect, not of terminativity and Wierzbicka herself writes: “... our claim, that the objects in the Polish sentences *on zjadł gruszkę - on jadł gruszkę* [‘he ate the/a pear’ - our translation, rg] have a different semantic structure, might seem highly unintuitive.” If we assume that the prefixes in the following sentences are empty, we can illustrate the consequence as to aspectual pairing of Wierzbicka’s thesis.

- (57) **on jadł_i gruszkę : on zjadł_p gruszkę* <+quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i pear_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p pear_{ACC}
 ‘He ate the pear.’
- (58) *on jadł_i gruszkę : *on zjadł_p gruszkę* <-quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i pear_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p pear_{ACC}
 ‘He ate a pear.’
- (59) **on jadł_i gruszki : on zjadł_p gruszki* <+quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i pears_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p pears_{ACC}
 ‘He ate (all) the pears.’
- (60) *on jadł_i gruszki : *on zjadł_p gruszki* <-quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i pears_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p pears_{ACC}
 ‘He ate pears.’
- (61) **on jadł_i dwie gruszki : on zjadł_p dwie gruszki* <+quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i two_pears_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p two_pears_{ACC} <-simultaneous>
 ‘He ate two pears’
- (62) *on jadł_i dwie gruszki : *on zjadł_p dwie gruszki* <-quantified>
 he_{NOM} ate_i two_pears_{ACC} : he_{NOM} ate_p two_pears_{ACC} <+simultaneous>
 ‘He ate (the) two pears.’

The consequence for our discussion of terminativity is considerable, as this is a clear implied denial of the possibility of quantified objects with imperfective verbs (except in cases of simultaneity). And yet, on the basis of our earlier citations from Comrie (1976: 44 a.f.) we could unequivocally claim that he would say *He ate a pear* is telic (and so terminative), whilst Schlegel would add that quantification can only occur with specific markers and the translation would usually then include a definite article.

Of course the problem we are faced with here has its roots in the fact that

terminativity as such is not always marked. We think that it is quite possible to recognise that all four examples *on jadł gruszkę*, *on zjadł gruszkę*, *on jadł gruszki*, *on zjadł gruszki* can be considered correct. Since in the imperfective sentences the objects can be interpreted as quantified or not, we must recognise that the semantic category terminativity is not realised explicitly as such with the imperfective verb in these examples. Interestingly, one of the arguments Wierzbicka postulates in order to demonstrate her thesis, is that sentences such as (58) and (60) necessitate translation into English with an indefinite object. The translations we provided for (49) and (51) do indeed have *the*, whilst (50) can do without as its title is specific enough. In (48) we have a clearly quantified object, but nevertheless the lack of article indicates indefiniteness and the translation could also have included the definite article. Here other mechanisms are at play. In (54) we have a numerically quantified object because of the perfective verb and yet the choice of article in the English translation is undecided: a decisive context is lacking. Obviously these problems have nothing to do with the matter we are dealing with for Polish, but they can indicate here that we cannot rely on the correlation between definiteness and terminativity. All in all we do not invalidate Wierzbicka thesis at all, but in dealing with terminativity it does pose us with some problems and questions.

Please note that in the above quote (1967: 2239) from Wierzbicka, she mentioned in passing that the matters she raises concern “certain verbs” and so might be different for others. (For the objects with verbs meaning ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ for example, it is quite obvious that they eventually cease to exist, which is very different from ‘a song’ with the verb ‘sing’.) In our opinion this would also go for the characteristics of the object involved. We will return to this matter in paragraph 4 during our discussion of some specifics of verb pair *czytać*: *przeczytać* ‘read’.

3 The case of aspectual triplets

Aspectual triplets (o.a. Włodarczyk 1997: 70) or trio’s (o.a. Barentsen 2003:

387) can be described as an aspectual constellation consisting of three rather than two members: two imperfective and two prefixed. The almost standard example is *jeść_i : zjeść_p : zjadać_i* ‘eat’. We could say that it consists of two aspectual pairs.²⁸

1. *jeść_i : zjeść_p* can be likened to a pair such as *śpiewać_i : zaśpiewać_p* ‘sing’, which figured in many of our previous examples. Of this pair we could say that the imperfective is verb internally unmarked for terminativity, whilst the prefix in the perfective member shows explicit terminativity, which anyway is obvious as all perfectives are terminative.

2. *zjeść_p : zjadać_i* on the other hand is more like *przepisać_p : przepisywać_i* ‘copy, rewrite’, which also appeared earlier and about which we noted that both aspectual partners are terminative, evidenced by the prefix.

Interestingly, Dunaj (1996) which is one of the two modern dictionaries that have broken with older traditions and actually does show aspectual prefix pairs such as *pisać_i : napisać_p* ‘write’, does not mention *jeść_i : zjeść_p* as an aspectual pair. *Zjadać_i : zjeść_p* do appear as such. In Bańko (2000), both at *jeść_i* and *zjadać_i* one is referred to *zjeść_p*, but at *zjeść_p* only *zjadać_i* is mentioned. The reasons for this may be lexicologically sound and we do not concern ourselves with that here. In older dictionaries, and this time also in Dunaj, only *zjeść_p : zjadać_i* are considered a ‘pure’ aspectual pair. None of this is surprising but doubts could be raised as to the validity of the claim that *jeść_i : zjeść_p* are in fact an aspectual pair, especially as, on the face of it, both prefixed verbs can easily be translated as ‘eat up’ rather than ‘eat’. This has not prevented almost all authors of course books to introduce *jeść_i : zjeść_p* as one of the first aspectual pairs students should learn, and so indeed it is almost prototypical. We shall assume that the pairing is sound. Other triplets are difficult to find (especially as dictionaries do not mark them for lexicological reasons as we saw already) but we have compiled the following modest list of candidates, of which some members are also rather outdated (marked with <outd.>).²⁹

<i>gor(z)ec_i</i>	<i>zgor(z)ec_p</i> <outd.>	<i>zgorac_i</i> <outd.>	‘burn (up)’
<i>jeść_i</i>	<i>zjeść_p</i>	<i>zjadać_i</i>	‘eat (up)’
<i>mrzeć_i</i> <outd.>	<i>umrzeć_p</i>	<i>umierać_i</i>	‘die’
<i>orać_i</i>	<i>zorać_p</i>	<i>zorywać_i</i>	‘plough’
<i>palić_i</i> (<i>się</i>)	<i>spalić_p</i> (<i>się</i>)	<i>spalać_i</i> (<i>się</i>)	‘burn (up)’
<i>rosnąć_i</i> (<i>rósć_i</i>)	(<i>urósć_p</i>) <i>urosnąć_p</i>	<i>urastać_i</i>	‘grow (up)’
<i>ślabić_i</i> <outd.>	<i>osłabić_p</i>	<i>osłabiać_i</i>	‘weaken’
<i>stygnąć_i</i>	<i>ostygnąć_p</i>	<i>ostygac_i</i>	‘cool’

Triplets such as these present the opportunity to take a closer look at the functioning of the individual terminative and aterminative members and maybe learn some lessons, which could also apply to other verbs. The mere presence of the two imperfective verbs theoretically provides us with the choice whether we want to mark terminativity in an otherwise imperfective context or leave it unmarked. What does the aterminative imperfective do and what the terminative imperfective? Can clearly discrete objects appear with the simplex imperfective or only with the terminative prefixed imperfective?

As we have seen above, unprefixated imperfective verbs can be terminative as well as aterminative. Continuing with the verbs for ‘eating’ as examples, we can say that the existence of two imperfectives pushes the prefixed member into a much clearer terminative role than the unprefixated counterpart. But let us first have a look at the simplex.

The simplex *jeść_i* is used whenever we need to present a given situation as intraterminal.

- (63) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat jadła_i obiad.*
 when up-phon_{p-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then ate_i dinner_{ACC}.
 When I called, Ania was just eating her dinner.

In (15) we already saw that we cannot use *zjadła_i* in this context.

Interestingly, *jeść_i* can also be used as follows....

- (64) *Jem_i obiad codziennie o szóstej.*
 eat_{I-1-SG} dinner_{ACC} daily at six_{LOC}.
 I eat my dinner at 6 o'clock every evening.

... in which the distinction between terminal and intraterminal iterative is unclear.

The following example features a reference to a single terminative past event without focusing on the terminus.

- (65) - *Czy jesteś głodny?*
 - *Nie, dziękuję, już jadłem_i obiad.*
 - QUEST.-PART. are_{I-2-SG} hungry_{NOM}.
 - no, thank_{I-1-SG}, already ate_{I-1-SG} dinner_{ACC}.
 - Are you hungry?
 - No thanks, I have already eaten my dinner.

Would the perfective verb *zjeść_p* have been used in this sentence, then we would have said 'I already finished my dinner', which clearly focuses entirely on the terminus.

With *jeść_i* as used in (65) the object can also be considered to be non-discrete and so function as Schlegel's description "Non quantitatively actualised object" such as we described in 2.3:

- (66) - *Co robisz_i?*
 - *Jem_i obiad.*
 - what_{ACC} do_{I-2-SG}?
 - eat_{I-1-SG} dinner_{ACC}.
 - What are you doing?
 - I am eating my dinner.

And so, in fact, all functions usually associated with imperfectivity can be performed by *jeść*. The secondary imperfective is used in sentences like the following.

- (67) *Codziennie zjada_i cały obiad, bo zawsze jest bardzo głodny.*
 daily up-eat_i whole_dinner_{ACC}, because always is_{i-3-SG} very
 hungry_{MASC-NOM}.

Every day he eats his whole dinner, because he is always very hungry.

We see here an in some senses highlighted focus on the terminus, which makes it extremely suited for presenting the action in its totality such as we see in the terminal iterative usage discussed in 1.2 above. That is an obvious interpretation as *zjadać* is non-processual transformative. In (67) the object *cały obiad* ‘whole dinner’ is already discrete but the terminative imperfective exposes its discreteness by focusing on the terminus but in a repeated context, hence its non-processual transformative type of terminativity. We could say that we have here highlighted terminativity. The following table sums things up. The non-discrete object is marked with a subscript 1, the discrete object has a 2.

aterminative	terminative	
	imperfective	perfective
<i>jeść</i>	<i>jeść obiad₂</i>	<i>zjeść obiad₂</i>
<i>jeść obiad₁</i>	<i>zjadać obiad₂</i>	

Not all triplets seem to be so clearcut in allotting the processual, intraterminal usage to the imperfective simplex and the terminal iterative to the secondary imperfective. The case of *umierać_i : umrzeć_p* ‘die’ was already discussed in 1.3, where we pointed out the telic, so processual nature of *umierać_i* in the sentence *Piotr umierał, ale nie umarł_p* ‘Peter was dying but he did not die’. Unfortunately, the unprefixated imperfective of this triplet, *mrzeć_i*, has almost given up the

ghost itself, and so the prefixed imperfective assumed the processual meaning also.

The verb *palić* is coupled with twin *spalić_p* in Dunaj (1996: 712) for meanings ‘destroy something with fire’ and ‘light a fire’. The reflexive counterpart *palić_i się* is not provided with a perfective twin, but in its description the compiler of the dictionary used *spalać_i się* which elsewhere (1996: 1040) is twinned with *spalić_p się*. The author warns users that the meanings, which we translate freely as ‘burn (up)’, are usually rendered with the perfective twin. The other dictionary providing information on prefix pairs, Bańko, provides similar data.

Consider the following example from the internet.

- (68) *Doskonałe drewno na opał; jest wysoko cenione ze względu na swoją zwartość, bardzo wolno się spala_i i długo utrzymuje płomień w palenisku.*

excellent_wood_{NOM} for burning_{ACC}; is_{1-3-SG} highly valued_{NOM} from viewpoint_{GEN} for its_consistency_{ACC}, very slowly self_burns_i and long maintains_i fire_{ACC} in fireplace_{LOC}.

[This is] [e]xcellent fire wood; it is highly valued for its consistency, it burns (up) very slowly and maintains fire in the fireplace for a long time.

On the internet there are also many examples about a different kind of burning (up): that of calories for energy, petrol in an engine and such like. In (68) though, we have the kind of very concrete burning we are interested in for our primary simplex meaning, rendered terminative by the prefix. It may seem then that unlike *jeść_i - zjeść_p - zjadać_i* the present triplet’s secondary imperfective seems to be usable in processual transformative situations, as evidenced by (68). The focus on the terminus is there, in quite the same strong sense as with *zjadać_i* albeit in a different way. In our example the message that needs to be

conveyed is clearly that it takes a long time before the wood is completely destroyed by fire, whilst in the meantime, during the burning (= process), it yields a good quality fire. The terminativity lying in the fact that the process of burning is presented as finite, depending on the wood, which by implication (and extra lingual knowledge) is provided in a certain amount. However, we could also read this differently. We could interpret this example, essentially a description of the quality of the wood, as something we know through repeated observation. On the basis of this observation we are telling the listener: “If you take a piece of wood like this, it will take a long time to burn etc.” In other words, we cannot entirely exclude a repeated reading. Native informants did find the sentence *Miałem kawałek drewna, który spalał się bardzo wolno* ‘I had a piece of wood that burnt (up) very slowly’ on the edge of acceptability. Even so, this only makes a very feeble case for the use of the secondary imperfectives of this group of verbs for processes.³⁰

On the other hand, here, like with *jeść*, the simplex can also be used terminatively, in much the same way as *jeść obiad* ‘eat dinner’, so object terminativity: *palić papierosa* ‘smoke a cigarette’.

What remains is then that whichever type of terminativity is involved, we always see that the two imperfective members of an aspectual triplet can be used in terminative contexts, but the secondary imperfective always has a higher focus on the actual terminus. Such highlighting of the terminus seems to sometimes occur also with other verbs, which have no triplet but a pair. In the next section we will look at one of these in which our prefix *prze-* plays a role.

4 The case of *czytać* : *przeczytać*_p

The case of aspectual triplets of the previous section of this chapter leads us to consider Polish *czytać* : *przeczytać*_p ‘read’. This is in fact one of two so called prefixal aspectual pairs, the other being *pisać* : *napisać*_p ‘write’, that one might term “prototypical” judging from the fact that they are always presented as such in text books for language learners. Moreover, recent Polish dictionaries, nota-

bly Dunaj (1996) and Bańko (2000), list these verbs as aspectual pair as well. Actually, *czytać_i* : *przeczytać_p* it is often thought to be the only prefixal aspectual pair involving prefix *prze-* as so-called “empty” prefix. This is not entirely true as we have endeavored to point out in Genis (1997: 205, 206) and there are others that could be considered candidates. We will come back to this in chapter III paragraph 4.

Polish seemingly lacks a three-member opposition such as the Russian *читам_i* : *прочитат_p* : *прочитыват_i*. These three Russian members could be described as (a)terminative-imperfective : terminative-perfective : terminative-imperfective respectively. A typically terminative-imperfective context such as (69) below is evident as to the use of the secondary imperfective.

- (69) *Он каждое утро прочитывал_i всю газету от А до Я.*
 he_{NOM} every_morning_{ACC} through-read_{I-PRET} whole_newspaper_{ACC} from A to Z.
 Every morning he (through-)read the entire newspaper from A to Z.

The terminativity lies in the discrete object, which is clearly limited by its beginning and its end, and which is specified as being dealt with in its entirety. The modifier *каждое утро* ‘every morning’ already by itself introduces the notion of repetition, which the secondary imperfective emulates. Indeed, not even all of these elements have to be present in order to bring out the notion of terminativity plus repetition, for it would already suffice to say simply *Он каждое утро прочитывал_i газету* ‘every morning he (through-)read the newspaper’. The presence of the prefix and its lexical meaning in fact makes *всю* and *от А до Я* superfluous, especially as it is common knowledge that a newspaper is a discrete object.

Recent Polish dictionaries would point to the fact that modern Polish does not have at its disposal the theoretically possible secondary imperfective **przeczytywać_i*, which is also lacking, according to recent searches, in the language corpora of PWN, or indeed in our own Amsterdam corpora, which

contain mostly literary and newspaper texts. It comes as no great surprise then that even in language courses and such like *czytać*; *przeczytać_p* are used as an example of a so-called pure aspectual pair. This seems to be corroborated by recent dictionaries, none of which however, specify exactly what they mean when verbs are presented as aspectual pairs. Here is Dunaj.

czytać I *cz. ndk VIIIa, -am, -a, -ajq, any - przeczytać dk VIIIa 1.* "śledząc wzrokiem napisane lub wydrukowane litery, rozpoznawać je, łączyć w wyrazy i nadawać im (w umyśle lub na głos) odpowiednie brzmienie językowe; także: zapoznawać się z czymś w taki sposób, poznawać coś w całości': Czytać notatki, list, książkę. Czytać płynnie na głos. Czytać po angielsku, po łacinie. Przeczytać ogłoszenie, artykuł, powieść. Czytać ze zrozumieniem, bez rozumienia. Skrupulatnie czytał wszystkie nowości. Chwali się, że przeczytał całego Szekspira. 2. "o urządzeniach komputerowych i in.: odnajdywać, zgodnie z przyjętym kodem, trybem działania dane na nośniku informacji': Komputer czyta dyskietkę.

czytać II *cz. ndk. VIIIa 1.* "umieć czytać w zn. 1.': Dziecko już czyta. Uczyć czytać. 2. "domyslać się czegoś, przewidywać, przepowiadać coś z jakichś znaków, śladów': Czytać ślady stóp na piasku. Czytać tropy zwierząt. Czytać komuś z ręki. Czytać w przyszłości. (Dunaj 1996: 152).

przeczytać I zob. czytać I

przeczytać II *cz. dk VIIIa, -am, -a, -ajq* "zdołać coś odczytać, odcyfrować, rozszyfrować': Przeczytano tajemnicze napisy. Nie sposób przeczytać czyjegoś pisma. (Dunaj 1996: 873).

(read; I [morphological information] read_p [= aspectual partner] 1. 'using one's eyesight trace written or printed letters, recognise them, connect into words and give them (in thought or in speech) the appropriate speech sounds; also: make oneself acquainted with something in this way, acquaint oneself with something in its entirety': read notes, a letter, a book. Read out loud fluently. Read English, latin. read [an entire] advertisement, article, novel. He painstakingly read all the news items. He prided himself on having read the whole of Shakespeare. 2. 'when referring to computers and such like: find data on an information carrier in accordance with the accepted code or the specified manner of functioning': the computer is reading a diskette.

read_i II [morphological information] 1. 'be able to read as specified in 1.': the child can already read. Teach to read. 2. 'interpret something, predict something on the basis of certain signs, traces': Trace tracks of animals. Read someone's palm. Interpret the future.

read_p II see. read_i I.

read_p II [morphological information] 'manage to read something, decipher, unravel': They managed to decipher the coded inscriptions. There is no way to read a given person's handwriting.)

Bańko's (2000) rendition is much the same with different examples (that seem even more unlikely to be transferable to perfective usage than does e.g. Dunaj's *Czytać płynnie na głos* 'read out loud fluently' and *Czytać po angielsku, po łacinie* 'read / be able to read English, Latin'). He does provide prefixed perfectives for the meaning that equals Dunaj number II, 2., namely *odczytać_p*, *wyczytać_p*. This last fact shows that already these two dictionaries set diverse parameters for acknowledging aspectual pairs. The even more recent dictionary by Dubisz (2003) obviously adheres to yet a different definition of an aspectual pair again, as it does not qualify our two verbs as an aspectual pair.

This notion finds some support though in the usual Polish rendition of (69) above.

- (70) *Codziennie rano czyta_i całą gazetę od A do Z.*³¹
 daily morning_{ACC} reads_{S1-3-SG} whole_newspaper_{ACC} from A to Z.
 Every morning he reads the entire newspaper from A to Z.

Unlike Russian it is not possible in Polish to render the same unequivocally terminative meaning without mentioning either one of the elements *całą* 'entire' or *od A do Z* 'from A to Z' and so we see that Polish relies more heavily on such syntactic elements for the expression of terminativity in this type of sentence than does Russian.³²

Whichever way we look at it, a sentence like (70) should be classified as terminative. The verb itself is not always terminative as is evident from simple examples such as the following, which are similar to (52) except that a clear

repeat was added.

- (71) *Codziennie wieczorem ojciec czyta_i poezję.*
 daily evening_{INSTR} father_{NOM} reads_i poetry_{ACC}.
 Every evening father reads poetry.

As the object here is clearly non-discrete a terminative verb does not fit in this context,³³ where there are no other delimiters and this would seem to be the case for Russian too. Let's consider a further simple example.

- (72) *Kto z was czytał_i „Pana Tadeusza?”*
 who_{NOM} of you_{GEN} read_{i-PRET} “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 Who of you have read “Pan Tadeusz?”

Now, there would seemingly be all reason to utilise a perfective verb in this context: the object is easily perceived as being discrete. Also, the event is definitely finalised as this sentence is never interpreted as meaning ‘who of you has read *in* “Pan Tadeusz?”’ or ‘who of you has been reading (some of) “Pan Tadeusz.”’³⁴ In terms of situational change, X would here be understood to be the situation in which Pan Tadeusz was not yet read, Y where it was being read and Z where it would have been read (totally). *Czytać_i* is quite special in this usage and it would be similar to *pisać_i* ‘write’ and maybe some other verbs.

When then does the perfective, prefixed and thus specifically morphologically marked *przeczytać_p* crop up? We will consider what happens when we render (72) but this time with a perfective verb. There is every reason to deem this possible beforehand on the grounds of the object being discrete.

- (73) *Kto z was przeczytał_p „Pana Tadeusza?”*
 who_{NOM} of you_{GEN} through-read_{p-PRET} “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 Who of you have (finished) read(ing) “Pan Tadeusz”?

Whereas (72) would be used in a context where the speaker is informing whether or not someone *knows* the book in question, in (73) we have to think

of a situation in which an assignment to read Pan Tadeusz was executed. I.e. the assignment was executed in total. And therein lies the rub. This example clearly focuses entirely on the actual termination of the reading of the book. We can describe this as a double portion of terminativity which causes us to focus entirely on the terminus. If (65) had had the perfective *zjeść_p* ‘eat’, we would have had the same with a verb that is non-processual transformative. In (73) though, it would not seem appropriate to talk of non-processual transformative terminativity on account of the prefix meaning: there is a clear notion of getting through the book (which actually must relate to the lexical meaning of the prefix).³⁵ We cannot test this however, because there seemingly is no corresponding secondary imperfective and the compound we do have is perfective, which renders it untestable for its processuality.

We will now discuss the notion of quantification for this kind of verbs and study their behaviour in this respect. In (73) we may describe the object as being quantified as it could only point to the entire book having been read. It is actually actualised for quantity by specification through the title (and everybody perceives a book that is identified by its title as discrete). Perhaps this can be brought forward by an example with a more clearly quantified object.

(74) *Wczoraj Ania przeczytała_p całego „Pana Tadeusza” jednym tchem.*

yesterday Ania_{NOM} through-read_{p-PRET} whole_“Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}
one_breath_{INSTR}.

Yesterday Ania read the whole “Pan Tadeusz” in one go.

Indeed, in this context an imperfective, let alone an aterminative verb is unthinkable. In (72) it was possible, because, although quantified, the object is not perceived or presented as being an accumulated quantification such as it is in (74). In (74) the accumulation is in the generally perceived concept that the book consists of various parts (words, chapters, pages etc.) and the entire sum forming that totality is brought to the fore as it were, without considering the

process-phase: it is in fact presented as an object discrete through cumulation.

That the process-phase can be considered by the imperfective verb even when a discrete object is present can be seen in the following, which form the same test we applied in 2.2 to establish processuality.

- (75) *Ania długo czytała_i „Pana Tadeusza”.*
 Ania_{NOM} long read_{I-PRET} “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 Ania took a long time reading “Pan Tadeusz.”³⁶
- (76) *Jak zadzwoniłem_p, Ania akurat czytała_i „Pana Tadeusza”.*
 when up-phoned_{P-1-SG}, Ania_{NOM} just-then read_{I-PRET} “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 When I phoned, Ania was just reading “Pan Tadeusz”.
- (77) *Ania czytała_i, czytała_i a wreszcie przeczytała_p „Pana Tadeusza”.*
 Ania_{NOM} read_{I-PRET}, read_{I-PRET} and finally through-read_{P-PRET}
 “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC}.
 Ania read and read and finally she finished (completed) reading “Pan Tadeusz”.

Unfortunately the English translation does not imply as strongly as does the original Polish that the book was finished.

Now we will turn to a further two examples with specifically quantified objects, both of which were approved by native informants.

- (78) *Czytałem_i trzy książki na ten temat.*
 read_{I-PRET-1-SG} three_books_{ACC} on that_subject_{ACC}.
 I read three books on that subject.
- (79) *Przeczytałem_p trzy książki na ten temat.*
 through-read_{P-PRET-1-SG} three_books_{ACC} on that_subject_{ACC}.
 I (have) read three books on that subject.

In (78) it is entirely possible and indeed even preferable to add a modifier such

as *już* ‘already’ or *aż* ‘as many as’. Even though in these sentences the objects are quantified they do provide entirely differing information. (78) is said by informants to point, as in (72), to the fact that the subject has read as many as three books and they confirm our suspicion that there is, as it were, actually more attention for the quality rather than the quantity of the act of reading; it is almost comparable with ‘reading a really difficult book’. In (79) on the other hand there seems to be some emphasis on the amount rather than on the knowledge gained and the resulting status of “being more / quite knowledgeable on this subject.” According to our informants, the latter is clearly the case for (78).

Schlegel would analyse the objects in this kind of examples as to whether they can be seen or indeed are meant to be actualised in a quantified or qualified way as we discussed above in paragraphs 1 and 2. Although he leaves some room for manoeuvre – what exactly is actualising, quantifying or qualifying? – it is not as easy as it would seem from Schlegel’s point of view, especially if we consider some matters, as we announced earlier, for which we now shall use present tenses. The following example could easily be the answer to the question *Co robi_i Ania w tej chwili?* ‘What is Ania doing at the moment?’.

- (80) *Ania czyta_i książkę (w tej chwili).*
 Ania_{NOM} reads_I book_{ACC} (in this_moment_{LOC}).
 Ania is reading a book (at this moment).

How quantified or actualised is the object here? It is difficult to say, even though it could easily be a discrete object according to the definition provided earlier since the object ‘book’ is generally perceived as being finite and so potentially terminus inducing. We think in this context it is not and ‘book’ could almost be analysed as an adjunct to reading: the kind of reading is specified but not actualised in a terminativising sense. When the question would have been *Co Ania czyta_i w tej chwili?* ‘What is Ania reading at the moment?’ the answer could be:

- (81) *Ania czyta_i poezję (w tej chwili).*
 Ania_{NOM} reads_i poetry_{ACC} (in this_moment_{LOC}).
 Ania is reading poetry (at this moment).

And we would still not have a clear discrete object. It is easier though to perceive the answer to the following question as terminative: *Którą książkę Ania czyta_i?* ‘Which book is Ania reading?’

- (82) *Ania czyta_i „Pana Tadeusza” (w tej chwili).*
 Ania_{NOM} reads_i “Pan_Tadeusz”_{ACC} (in this_moment_{LOC}).
 Ania is reading “Pan Tadeusz” (at this moment).

Or:

- (83) *Ania czyta_i książkę, którą dostała_p od nauczyciela.*
 Ania_{NOM} reads_i book_{ACC}, which_{ACC} got_{TP-3-PRET} from teacher_{GEN}.
 Ania is reading **the** book she was given by her teacher.

Note the use of the definite article in the translation into English. A comparison of (82) and (83) to the notion of telicity as described above (1.3) following Comrie (1976: 44) with the example *John is making a chair* does not seem farfetched or indeed out of order. After all, ‘a chair’ is a discrete object, the building of which usually reaches completion, at which point the resulting product can actually be called a chair. The objects in (82) and (83) are similar in that their contours, like that of the telicifying chair are finite and the reading process of such an object is in fact just as cumulative as the building process of a chair: one progresses through it adding more and more from the ‘story’ or other content of the book until one reaches the conclusion.

If we then hold to the principle that telic situations are described in Slavic languages by terminative predicates, (82) and (83) could indeed be classed as such. If we then accept that with verbs like *czytać_i* the nature of the object and how it is perceived can render a situation telic and so introduce terminativity,

the question remains at what moment exactly does an object become discrete enough, without it being specifically quantified, such as in (78) and (79). Having said that, the obvious answer based on the above examples would seem to be: somewhere between ‘a book’ and ‘Pan Tadeusz’ / ‘the book...’. However, ‘poetry’ (81) seems less discrete than ‘a book’ (80) and as articles are absent in Polish, *książkę* ‘a / the book’ then remains a grey area with fuzzy edges before such an object is clearly discrete. All in all, we could say that there is something of a sliding scale running up to clear terminativity. If an object is discrete and therefore able to terminativise an imperfective verb, a perfective verb together with the same object marks terminativity twice in one sentence (as seems also to be the case for the perfectives in the aspectual triplets discussed above in paragraph 1). This is how we explain that in such predicates the focus is clearly on the terminus, whilst the imperfective verb can take on a role that in Slavic languages may otherwise also be designated to verbs that are clearly terminative on account of their own lexical meaning.

The following table sums up the problem but please note that the sentences given relate directly to the contexts of the above examples.

imperfective		perfective	
<i>czyta₁</i>			aterminative
	<i>czyta₂ poezję</i>		
	<i>czyta₂ książkę₁</i>		
	<i>czyta₂ „Pana Tadeusza”</i>		terminative
		<i>przeczyta książkę₂ / „Pana Tadeusza” / książkę, którą dostała od nauczyciela</i>	+ focus terminus

Please note that **przeczyta_p poezję* is not actually possible in Polish (unless

poezję is again clearly identified or quantified in a certain context). It is too nondiscrete to be combined with a perfective verb, whereas *książkę* as a lexeme can be the object to a perfective verb. It is then no longer possible to see it in the more adjunct-like function we described for example (80). This is why we have marked it *książkę*₁ and *książkę*₂ in the above table.

Now let's return to secondary imperfectives, which are by their very nature imperfective-terminative informers. As we noted above, no such secondary imperfective is said to exist, according to the standard sources, for *przeczytać*_p (whereas they do for compounds with *-czytać*_p : *-czytywać*_i and other prefixes, such as *do-*), and we have established for Polish that there is a dual verbal lexeme: aterminative *czytać*_{i1} and terminative *czytać*_{i2}.

And so we see that, although the compound *przeczytać*_p clearly does have distinct semantic functions from the imperfective *czytać*_{i1/2}, Modern Polish has apparently no need for a secondary imperfective *przeczytywać*_i such as exists in Russian. Or does it?

Certainly, older dictionaries, notably the dictionary by Linde, and the so-called *Słownik Wileński* and *Słownik Warszawski* do mention it and with direct reference to *przeczytać*_p. The largest dictionary of the Polish language so far, Doroszewski (1958-69), mentions it with a lemma that is rather revealing, which is why we have attempted to render the translatable parts in English below.

przeczytywać *ndk VIIIa*, *-ywany rzad*. «czytać kolejno kilka rzeczy, odczytywać»: Rozwiązywała coraz nowe zadania arytmetyczne, przeczytywała naprzód całe wypisy. DĄBR. M. *Noce II*, 29. [= Maria Dąbrowska, 1889-1965, *Noce i dni* part II "Wieczne zmartwienie", page 29 (Warszawa 1932-34) - *rg*] Zaczął z uwagą i starannością, do której dosyć miał czasu, przeczytywać te porozrzucone pisma. DZIERZK. *Pow. II* 205 [= Józef Dzierzkowski, 1806-1865, *Powieści z życia towarzyskiego* part II, page 205 (Lwów 1846) - *rg*] / / *L* pod: przeczytać

[entry] *imperfective* [morphological information] *seldom*. 'read consecutively several things, [near synonym]': She continually solved new arithmetical assign-

ments, and she read in advance (through) entire extracts. [Source of quotation.] With attentiveness and care, for which he had plenty of time, He began to read (through) the scattered papers. [Source of quotation.] // [Indication that in the dictionary of Linde (1854) *prze czytywać* is incorporated in the entry for *prze czytać*)]

Obviously present-day Poles perceive the language of these quotations as dated and Doroszewski labels the entry as ‘rare’. The following quote is from a text by the famous marshal Józef Piłsudski, no less, who comments about receiving many texts that he had to sift through when he was editor of a magazine:

[...] Gdzie indziej znowu naiwne zakończenie korespondencji: “Prze-praszam redakcję za styl, ale proszę wydrukować, dużo u nas ciemnych, może ich oświeci”. To agitator fabryczny lub warsztatowy, biedzący się gdzieś wśród otoczenia biednych, mało mu współczujących ludzi, prosi o pomoc słowa drukowanego.
Prze czytujesz te dokumenty, wsłuchujesz się w to pasmo jęków i skarg. Umieścić wszystkiego nie można. [...]. Wybierając z pomiędzy mnóstwa korespondencji część - resztę usuwasz na bok. [...] (from: *Bibuła*) Piłsudski.³⁷

([...] Elsewhere you would find a naive ending to a correspondence: “I apologise to the editors for my style, but please print it anyway as there are many ignorant among us and they may be enlightened.” That was from a factory or workplace agitator who was poor in an environment of also poor people who did not show him compassion and therefore he requested the aid of the printed word.

You read (through) all these documents, you acquaint yourself with this layer of complaints and accusations. You cannot publish everything. [...] Choosing from a lot of letters a selection and the rest you put aside.)

This too is perceived as dated by native informants although none of my informants actually indicated that “*prze czytujesz*” would be wrong. So was this form lost somewhere between and Maria Dąbrowska (1932) and Szymczak (1978) for active use by present-day Poles?

It will probably not be a surprise if we say that spoken Polish is on occasion capable of producing just such a form. It would seem that if the need arises, the form can simply be produced. It is not considered correct by many, even

II IMPERFECTIVE TERMINATIVITY IN POLISH

form			search term	hits
Presens	sing.	1st ps	<i>przeczytuje*</i>	198
		2nd ps	<i>przeczytujesz</i>	34
		3rd ps	*	
	plur.	1st ps	<i>przeczytujemy</i>	1
		2nd ps	<i>przeczytujecie</i>	0
		3rd ps	<i>przeczytują</i>	3
Preterite	sing.	1st ps	m <i>przeczytywałem</i>	24
			f <i>przeczytywałam</i>	4
		2nd ps	m <i>przeczytywałeś</i>	0
			f <i>przeczytywałaś</i>	0
		3rd ps	m <i>przeczytywał</i>	7
			f <i>przeczytywała</i>	1
	plur.	1st ps	n <i>przeczytywało</i>	3
			m <i>przeczytywałyśmy</i>	0
			f <i>przeczytywałyśmy</i>	0
		2nd ps	m <i>przeczytywaliście</i>	0
			f <i>przeczytywałyście</i>	0
		3rd ps	m <i>przeczytywali</i>	2
f <i>przeczytywały</i>	8			
Imperat.	sing.	1st ps	<i>przeczytuj</i>	14
	plur.	1st ps	<i>przeczytujmy</i>	0
		2nd ps	<i>przeczytujcie</i>	0
Gerund			<i>przeczytując</i>	79
Active participle			<i>przeczytując-</i>	0
Passive participle			<i>przeczytywan-</i>	0
Impers. preterite			<i>przeczytywano</i>	1

* for technical reasons it was not possible to separate *przeczytuje* (pres. sing. 1st ps) from *przeczytuje* (pres. sing. 3rd ps).

though it does occur with increasing frequency on the internet, where spoken language can often be found written down. Simple searches via Google on 12 December 2006 yielded the results we have given in the table on the previous page.

Let's have a closer look at some examples, which by the way we have not corrected but we have copied them as they were, even when diacritics were lacking. We did add indications for aspect.

We find a fair number of cases of clear processual transformative terminativity. In the first of our examples a single discrete object, read again in its entirety is obvious, although the notion of entirety is completely left to the verb to describe.

- (84) *Ostatnio przeczytuje, ponownie Kirsta.*
 lately through-read_{I-PRES-1-SG} again Kirst_{ACC}.
 Lately I am reading (through) Kirst again.

A case of specified discreteness was also found. Interestingly this is an example in the historic present.

- (85) *Pociąg rusza. – Przeczytuje, spokojnie "Zagrodę" prawie od deski do deski i czynię, postanowienie*
 train_{NOM} moves_I. - Through-read_{I-PRES-1-SG} quietly "Farm"_{ACC} almost from cover_{GEN} to cover_{GEN} and make_{I-1-SG} decision_{ACC}.
 The train moves. I quietly read (through) "The Farm" almost from cover to cover and I make a decision.

In the next example we see a case of terminal iterative terminativity. The repetition is of an unspecified amount of discrete objects. The series of repeated acts is actually presented in a process-like way.

- (86) *Taką śmieszoną rzecz odkryłem_p, kiedy przeczytywałem_i kolejne artykuły w książkach...*

such_funny_thing_{ACC} un-covered_{p-1-SG}, when through-read_{i-PRET-1-SG}
 successive_articles_{ACC} in books_{LOC}.

... I discovered a funny thing when I was reading through some
 successive articles in books...

The following example is of habitual usage. The verb here conveys a strong sense of the lexical meaning of the prefix combined with open repetition and a markedly discrete direct object, which, through the use of the plural, is however transposed to a different level: that of the individual event.

- (87) *W zerówce to ja osiemdziesięciostronicowe książki to w jeden dzień przeczytywałem_i.*

in playschoolloc PART. i_{NOM} 18-paged_books_{ACC} PART. in one_day_{ACC} through-read_{i-PRET-1-SG}.

In playschool I would read (through) books of 18-pages in one day.

The next example needs explanation. The passage refers to a forum, which is a type of internet site at which users write and “post” usually quite short texts for each other to read. Short but clearly discrete texts, of which one reads an unspecified amount, usually in (relatively quick) succession, but each in their entirety. Such at least is implied in this text and this seems to induce, as it were, a notion, which the secondary imperfective fits quite nicely. We need terminativity (through a number of (short) texts in their entirety) but we also need imperfectivity as there is also repetition involved. In the following example matters are emphasized by the adjunct *dość dokładnie* ‘quite accurately’.

- (88) *Witam wszystkich, przeczytywała[m]_i to forum dość dokładnie przez ostatni tydzień i zdecydowałam_p się, biore od wczoraj. ...*

greet_{I-1-SG} all_{ACC-PL}, through-read_{I-FEM-PRET-1-SG} this_forum_{ACC} quite accurately
through last_week_{ACC} and decided_self_{I-FEM-PRET-1-SG}, take_{I-1-SG} from yesterday

Greetings to everybody. I have been reading (through) [the messages on this - rg] forum quite accurately throughout the last week and I took a decision, from yesterday I am taking part. ...

A similar example is

- (89) *... było już kiedyś tak że posty się same przeczytywały, chyba przed zmianą wyglądu nie?*

... was_{NEUTR} already once so that messages_{NOM} self themselves_{NOM} through-read_{I-PRES}, perhaps before change_{INSTR} lay-out_{GEN} no?

... it used to be almost like the messages read themselves (= were easy to read) before the lay out was changed, no?

The next example shows that objects can also be temporal, so in fact a kind of repeated perdurativity or our meaning *prze*₂ as described in chapter I paragraph 2.2. Although here the author may have wanted to indicate that something is slightly odd, when presented to other native informants, most had no objection.

- (90) *Jeszcze niespełna trzy miesiące temu , “przeczytywałam_i” wieczory do późnej nocy . . .*

even not-fully three_months_{NOM} ago, “through-read”_{I-PRET-1-SG} evenings_{ACC} to late_night_{GEN} ...

Not even a full three months ago I used to spend whole evenings “reading” until late at night...

There is a highlighted sense of the lexical meaning of *prze-* in this kind of

example, which is much more rare. The following example is similar.

- (91) *Ja też tak mam_i - że książka jest jak przyjaciel. Jak się czymś stresuję_i, coś mnie zdenerwuje_p, to muszę_i coś poczytać_p. To mnie na chwilę odrywa_i od problemu i potem już mogę_i spokojniej na niego popatrzeć_p, “przeczytuję_i” najgorszy moment chandry.*

I_{NOM} too so have_i - that book_{NOM} is as friend_{NOM}, when self something_{INSTR} stress_{I-1-SG} something_{NOM} me_{ACC} angers_p, then must_{I-1-SG} something_{ACC} while-read_{P-INF}, that_{NOM} me_{ACC} for moment_{ACC} away-tears_i from problem_{GEN} and afterwards already can_{I-1-SG} quietly on it_{ACC} while-look_{P-INF}, “through-read”_{I-1-PRES-SG} worst_moment_{ACC} dejection_{GEN}.

I too have that - that a book is like a friend. When I am stressed by something, or something angers me, I have to read a little. That tears me away from the problem and afterwards I can look at it more quietly, I read through the worst moment(s) of dejection.

It is striking how often the gerund actually appears for this verb, such as in the next example (92). One would expect this form to be used when there is processuality as the gerund is very much a form used to express the background to the event described by the main verb of a sentence. In (86) we saw an example of a repetition, a series of events that were presented as a process, here, we have the opposite: a process that is repeated.

- (92) *Przeczytując_i początek, wciąga_i to i czyta_i sie całą notkę.³⁸*

through-reading_i beginning_{ACC}, in-pulls_{I-3-SG} that and reads_{I-3-SG} one whole_message_{ACC}.

Reading (through) the beginning, it attracts and you read the whole message.

The repeat variant crops up quite clearly in the next example with a plural

object together with a very clearly added notion of the terminal points belonging to each unit, each individual object.

- (93) *Widze_i, że piszesz_i, nie przeczytując_i, pierw moich postów do końca .*
 see_{i-1-SG} that write_{i-2-SG} not through-reading_i first my_messages_{GEN} to end_{GEN}.
 I see that you write without first reading my messages to the end.

The following example, our last, is interesting as it uses the imperfective imperative form, probably to indicate that the addressee needs to read the discrete amount of text indicated carefully (the perfective form would not have this stress to the same extent).

- (94) *Janusz przeczytuj_i art 42 ustawy o pomocy społecznej. Jest wyżej skopiowany z ustawy.*
 Janusz_{NOM} through-read_{i-IMP} art_(NOM) 42 law_{GEN} about benefit_social_{LOC}. is_{i-3-SG}
 above copied_{NOM} from act_{GEN}.
 Janusz, read (through) article 42 of the social benefit act (carefully). I copied it above from the act.

All in all it does not seem wrong to state that the secondary imperfective *przeczytywać_i* does function in modern Polish.³⁹ Our extensive treatment of these examples shows in our opinion, that, although the secondary imperfective *przeczytywać_i* is not deemed entirely correct and is often rejected by native informants, the usages in our examples seem to be entirely in concordance with that of acknowledged secondary imperfectives. Some native informants have recognised this set of examples to “clearly be the language of young children”. That may be so, and it makes us think of the interesting observation of Labenz (2004: 25) that children sometimes use incorrect forms before they have learnt what should be used. In the presented cases we deem there to be a clear semantic motivation for the use of the secondary imperfective.

The reader will probably agree with us when we say that, perhaps more so

than is the case with the perfective *przeczytać_p*, the original lexical meaning of prefix *prze-* seems to be more pronounced in the examples employing secondary imperfectives. This holds also when we compare this with the secondary imperfectives of the triplets we discussed in paragraph 3. This may of course also be due to the fact that the triplets discussed both involved prefix *z-*, which, of all Polish verbal prefixes is probably the one with the most indistinct lexical meaning, as we also noted in an earlier paper (Genis 2003: 103). This is essentially no surprise, but it is nevertheless worth noting.

To conclude our remarks on *przeczytywać_i* it should be noted that native informants are capable and quite happy to produce a Polish equivalent to Russian (69):

- (95) *Codzien rano ojciec przeczytuje_i całą gazetę od A do Z.*
 daily morning_{ACC} father_{NOM} through-reads_i whole_newspaper_{ACC} from A
 to Z.
 Every morning father reads the entire newspaper from A to Z.

Actually, the above phenomenon occurs with other *prze-*compounds as well. An interesting case is presented by simplex *tłumaczyć_i*, which has two main meanings: 1) ‘clarify’ and 2) ‘translate’. Its first meaning is usually coupled with perfective twin *wytłumaczyć_p* and the second meaning with *przetłumaczyć_p*, as is confirmed by Dunaj and Bańko. As the imperfective simplex is unmarked for these rather diverse meanings it will come as no surprise that for the *prze-*compositum at least a secondary imperfective does seem to function; this again is not an official form, but it does appear on the internet. Here is an example, in which again we see typical usage as the author wishes to convey the idea that all the various types of different texts mentioned are translated in full.

- (96) *Ja WSZYSTKIE teksty, artykuły, wywiady przetłumaczam, sama z niemieckiego.*

I_{NOM} all_texts_{ACC}, articles_{ACC}, interviews_{ACC} through-translate_I myself_{NOM} from German_{GEN}.

I translate ALL texts, articles and interviews from the German myself.

5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter we have touched on many different issues which together show some of the complexities involved in the study of verbal prefixes in Polish. In this last paragraph we will sum up.

5.1 Terminativity in our view

Whichever way one would put it, terminativity, also in the view of Barentsen, as a semantic category was conceived originally by Maslov to deal with the problem of defective aspectual pairing as we mentioned in 1. In the context of our study, which is essentially about imperfective terminativity, delimitatives and perduratives do not pose a real problem as both categories consist of perfectiva tantum. If viewed from the perspective of Barentsen's situational change and terminativity model, ingressive verbs are also dealt with under the heading of non-processual transformative verbs. The ingressive group of verbs differs from other non-processual transformative verbs in that they usher in the beginning of the state that is described by the corresponding imperfective simplex. This does not change the fact that there is still a terminus⁴⁰ (hence terminativity) and situational change.

5.2 Imperfective terminativity as a sliding scale

If we recognise syntagmatic terminativity and so also object terminativity, we must also recognise that the nature of objects as well as the nature of various contexts and methods of actualising the quantity or quality of the potentially

terminativising object is complex and by no means clear cut. We have presented the view that matters might be easier to recognise if we do not adhere to a rigid binary semantic category, but rather to a sliding scale or to different steps of terminativity. After all, it is often down to the interplay of verb meaning and object meaning as well as the intentions of the speaker to present something with relevant or irrelevant terminativity or indeed aterminativity. Sometimes the means to explicitly express terminativity by way of the imperfective verb itself are lacking, in which case adjuncts or other means can be used. Sometimes indeed, Polish native informers can produce secondary imperfectives at will when the need arises to express imperfective terminativity.

5.3 Aspectual pairing

The matter of recognising verb external boundaries as “markers” for terminativity does pose a real problem. Leaving aside the matter of exactly how and on what semantic principle aspectual prefix-pairs are formed,⁴¹ we simply state the obvious in signalling that they do exist and function in the Polish (and other Slavic) verb system(s) as is nowadays generally accepted. This then forces us to consider whether or not verbs such as *pisać* ‘write’ and *czytać* ‘read’, which are often presented as prototypical in this respect, are terminative or aterminative. We have seen that some authors, notably Nübler (1993), class these verbs as aterminative but use a verb external boundary to introduce terminativity into a situation. Here we have to recognise that terminativity crosses over from being a strictly verbal category to a syntactic one. The terminative usage of such imperfective verbs, i.e. in conjunction with a terminativising object (and according to Nübler (1993) and Schlegel (1999) also other complements) can then also be rendered perfective, hence the aspectual pair. All in all we could posit the following scheme, which summarises this matter.

TERMINATIVITY	ATERMINATIVITY
(a) perfectiva tantum (mostly achievements)	(c) absolute imperfectiva tantum (mostly states, activities)
(b) perfectiva <==> imperfectiva (accomplishments, achievements)	
(d) perfectiva <==> (d) ^{+T} argumentally terminativised imperfectiva (mostly accomplishments)	(d) ^{-T} imperfectiva used aterminatively (mostly activities)

We find it very hard to make categorical statements about these matters, as the indicated groups are never 100% homogenous; certain verbs might belong to one or more groups due to their polysemy or the intended or even perceived interpretation of particular meanings in particular contexts. This is then not meant as an absolute model but rather as an attempt to organise things on a basic level. We need to expand on the various categories indicated.

Group (a)-verbs need no explaining, as a basic premise is that all perfective verbs are terminative.

Group (b)-verbs are the so-called 'pure' aspectual pairs. Only terminative verbs can exist in such clear-cut pairs.

Group (c)-verbs are usually state-verbs. They do not appear in 'pure' aspectual pairs as their aterminative meaning prohibits this.

Group (d)-verbs are the so-called prefix pairs (the terminative side). The imperfectiva of this class have as it were a double listing here: in their terminative usage they often form pairs and appear with their perfective counterparts on the terminative side of the table. They denote terminativity only in conjunction with discrete objects (and possibly particular subjects and other verb complements such as proposed by Schlegel (1997: 25-52), which we mark (d)^{+T} as opposed (d)^{-T}, which denotes the lack of such objects and hence aterminativity. The perfective equivalents of imperfective (d)^{+T} usage are often formed with ex-

plicite terminativity by a prefix. These may be ‘pure’ aspectual pairs in such usage. This principle is recognised in some modern dictionaries (notably Dunaj 1996, Bańko 2000 but not Dubisz 2003), which indicate a prefixed perfective counterpart for the terminative usage / meanings of the unprefixated imperfective verb of the type that we decided to call dual verbal lexemes after Proeme (1983: 396-7).

NB1. Aspectual triplets belong to (b) and (d) at the same time and might have been indicated by a separate class; for the sake of minimal classification we decided to leave it at this.

NB2. In this model we maintain Maslov’s principle that aspectual pairing only takes place when there is terminativity.

NB3. In chapter III paragraph 4 we will return to the matter of aspectual pairing rather more extensively, armed as we are with the material concerning terminativity from the present chapter.

5.4 *Prze-* vs. (a)terminativity

The following table shows in which kinds of terminativity we have found *prze-* to function.

Type of terminativity		pf	ipf
Process. Transf.	process variant	√*	√
	repeat variant	√*	√
Relative terminus		√	√
non Process. Transf.	repeat variant	×	-
	ingressivity	-**	×
Semelfactivity		-	×
Delimitativity		-	×
Perdurativity		√	?***

* Perfective verbs signal a single completed event.

** Unless we include here the quasi-ingressive verbs *przejrzeć_p*, *przewidzieć_p* 'start to see, get the gift of vision', *przemówić_p* 'start to speak'. See 2.2 for a discussion.

*** In most publications on perdurativity it is presented as perfective only. In the light of our example (90) it may be necessary to revise this, although further research is needed to be done.

Most notable is probably that we have not been able to establish that *prze-* appears in imperfective non-processual transformative compounds.