

ASPECT IN CZECH: A MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

by

L. HRUBANT

Graduate Philologist, Vysoká škola ruského
jazyka, Praha, 1958, Specialty: Russian -
Czech

Universita Karlova,
Praha, 1967, Specialty: English

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ABSTRACT

This thesis consists of a morphological analysis of the category of aspect in Czech. The investigation concentrates on two main questions: 1) how the system of verbal types in Modern Czech is influenced by aspectual derivation and 2) what linguistic formants are used for expressing the aspectual opposition. The material used in this study is the stock of verbs of Modern Czech as presented in contemporary authoritative dictionaries and as known to the author.

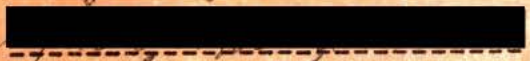
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

imp.	imperative
impf.	imperfective
inf.	infinitive
part.	participle
pas.	passive
pf.	perfective
pl.	plural
1 pl.	1 person plural
2 pl.	2 person plural
3 pl.	3 person plural
pref.	prefix
pres.	present
sg.	singular
1 sg.	1 person singular
2 sg.	2 person singular
3 sg.	3 person singular
suf.	suffix
sec. impf.	secondary imperfective

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY NOTES ON THE CZECH LANGUAGE

In the following section some basic information on the Czech language and orthography is given. Such information should be useful to the reader as he progresses through the discussion of aspect in Czech. For this reason, no attempt at a complete presentation of the language has been attempted; only that which is felt to be necessary to an understanding of the discussion is included.

1. 1. Czech

Czech is the official language of the Czech Republic. It is spoken by some nine million people living in Czechoslovakia and minorities in Poland, the United States and Canada. The variety of language spoken in schools, theatres, and so forth, and used in newspapers and official documents, is known as Literary Czech (spisovná čeština). Its spoken variant used on less formal occasions is called Common Czech (obecná čeština). The transitional variety between Common Czech and the territorial dialects is called Common Colloquial Czech. Regional dialects survive in Moravia and along the Czech border.

The first documents of the Czech language date from the ninth century and this marks the beginning of at least the written history of Czech. Czech, together with Slovak, Polish, Kashubian and Lusatian comprise the western branch

of the Slavic language groupings.

The type of Czech specifically described in the body of this thesis is Literary Czech in its spoken and written varieties. When other varieties of Czech are used for example or contrast, attention will be drawn to this fact.

1. 2. Phonology of Czech

The phonology of Czech is as follows. Table I provides specific information regarding the phonology of Czech in terms of distinctive feature analysis. Tables II and III provide general articulatory information in terms of a more traditional phonemic analysis.¹

TABLE I

SEGMENTAL PHONEMES AND DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

	p	b	t	d	ʈ	ɖ	k	(g)	ç	f	v	s	z	š	ž	x	h	l	r	ř	m	n	ɲ	j	i	i:	e	e:	u	u:	o	(o)	a	a:	
vocalic vs. non-vocalic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
consonantal vs. non const.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
compact vs. non-compact	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
diffuse vs. non-diffuse	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	o	o
grave vs. non-grave	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	o	o	o	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	o	o
acute vs. non-acute	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
long vs. short	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
syllabic vs. non-syllabic	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	

TABLE I cont'd.

	<u>p</u>	<u>b</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>t̚</u>	<u>d̚</u>	<u>k</u>	<u>(g)</u>	<u>ç</u>	<u>ǰ</u>	<u>v</u>	<u>z</u>	<u>ṣ</u>	<u>ʒ</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>h</u>	<u>l</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>ʀ</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>ɲ</u>	<u>j</u>	<u>i</u>	<u>i:</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>e:</u>	<u>u</u>	<u>u:</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>(o)</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>a:</u>			
nasal vs. non-nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
contin- ous vs. non-con- tinuous	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
voiced vs. voiceless	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	o	o	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	
strident vs. mel- low	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	+	+	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	

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TABLE II

Consonants

		Labial		Alveo-dental		Palatal	Velo-glottal	
		bilabial	labio-dental	apico-dental	apico-alveolar	apico-alveo-palatal	lami-no-palatal	dorso-velar glottal
stops	v less	/p/		/t/			/tʃ/	/k/
	vd	/b/		/d/			/dʒ/	/g/
fricatives	v less		/f/		/s/	/ʃ/		/x/
	vd		/v/		/z/	/ʒ/		/h/
affricates					/tʃ/	/dʒ/		
nasals		/m/		/n/			/ŋ/	
lateral					/l/			
trills					/r/	/ʀ/		

TABLE III

Vowels

	front	central	back
high	/ɪ/ /i:/		/u/ /u:/
mid		/e/ /e:/	/ɔ/ /ɔ:/
low		/a/ /a:/	

1. 3. Orthography.

The Czech orthography is more or less morphophonemic in its construction. Since for the purposes of our work the standard orthography is sufficient, phonetic transcription is not necessary and will not be used. The Czech orthography is based on the Latin alphabet and its use of these characters is relatively straightforward.

The diacritics and pronunciation of certain graphemes and clusters differ from those used in English and are as follows:

á, é, í, ý, ó, ú, ů	- long vowels, e.g. /a:/
bě, pě, vě,	b + j sound, /bje, pje, vje/
ně	m + ŋ sound, /mne/
dě, tě, ně	palatals, /ɟe, tɛ, ɲe/
di, ti, ni	palatals, /ɟi, tɪ, ɲi/
d', t', ň (also printed	
d', t', ň)	palatals, /ɟ, t, ɲ/
dy, ty, ny	non-palatals, /di, ti, ni/
č	affricate, as in English <u>ch</u> urch
c	affricate, /ts/
š, ž	palatal fricatives, as in English <u>sh</u> ugar, <u>sh</u> ion /s, ʒ/
ř,	apico-alveolar trill, close to English <u>tr</u> y /r/
ch	voiceless velar fricative, as in German <u>ch</u> /x/

Consonantal clusters are pronounced either as voiced

or voiceless, usually according to the cluster-final consonant, e.g. předpěv/přetspjef/ 'musical introduction'. Word-final paired voiced consonants are pronounced as voiceless, e.g. udělav/udelaf/ .

1. 4. Verbal forms.

1. 4. 1. Infinitives end in -ti, but a few verbs have -ci endings. Forms with -i are bookish, and in their place one more commonly finds infinitives in -t, -c, or -ct.

1. 4. 2. The present tense (non-past tense) has the following personal endings:

1 sg:	- m, -i/-u	1 pl.	- me
2 sg:	- s	2 pl.	- te
3 sg:	- ø	3 pl.	- i/-ou

Personal endings are joined to the stem; stems may alternate morphophonemically in their conjugations. Depending on the vowel that precedes personal endings, three conjugational types, usually known as the a, e, and i conjugation verbs, may be distinguished. In this study, conjugational type is taken as one criterion for the classification of verbs.

1. 4. 3. The imperative has the following endings:

2 sg:	-j-, -i-, -ø -
1 pl:	-eme (ěme), -me
2 pl:	-ete (ěte), -te

The imperative is derived from the present stem. The endings -i, -eme (ěme), -ete (ěte) always follow a consonantal cluster.

The endings of the 1 pl. and 2 pl. are agglutinative.

1. 4. 4. The present gerund is an indefinite verbal form expressing relative time. It expresses gender in the same fashion as a nominal. The present gerund is characterized by the following:

masculine gender: -a, -e

feminine and neuter gender: -ouc, -íc

plural (all genders): -ouce, -íce

These endings are added to the stem of 3 pl. present.

As a rule, only imperfective present gerunds are used in this formation. Colloquially, the present gerund is an infrequent form and used only in Literary Czech.

1. 4. 5. The present verbal adjective is built by adjectival endings from the feminine form of the present gerund. This form is also known as the present participle. Again, as a rule, only imperfective adjectives are used.

1. 4. 6. The past participle also expresses nominal gender, and is characterized by the following endings:

masculine sg: -l, -š- masculine pl. -li

feminine sg: -la feminine pl. -ly

neuter sg: -le neuter pl. -la

Because of the typical -l suffix, the past participle is also called the -l participle. The š ending is

common in colloquial style after consonantal clusters.

The past participle is derived from the infinitive stem which may alternate. Occasionally in the literature infinitive and past participle stems are presented as two different stems. Since these alternations are not frequent and usually are characterized by vowel length mutation, only one stem is distinguished and taken as the criterion for our classification.

The past -l participle is one component of the past tense, the other component being the present tense form of the verb být 'to be'. For example já jsem dělal 'I made'.

1. 4. 7. The past passive participle has the formant -n or -t, and is derived from the infinitive stem. Nominal gender is expressed by the same endings as in the case of short adjectives.

1. 4. 8. The past gerund has the following endings:

masculine: -v, Ø

feminine and neuter: -(v)ši, -ši

plural (all genders): -(v)še, -še

The -v endings follow after a vowel; Ø, -(v)ši, -(v)še endings after a consonant. The past gerund is derived from the infinitive stem of perfective verbs. It is used infrequently, and only in Literary Czech.

1. 4. 9. The past verbal adjective is formed from

the feminine form of the past gerund by means of adjective endings. Again, as a rule, only perfective verbs show this form.

1.5. Verbal categories

1.5.1 Person: first, second, third

1.5.2 Number: singular, plural

1.5.3 Tense: a) Present: 1) actual, expressed by present tense (non-past) forms of simplex and secondary imperatives, and denoting activity that is being carried out in the present moment, e.g. dělám 'I am doing'.

2) non-actual, expressed by the present tense forms of perfectives and iteratives, and denoting activity that is not being carried on in the present moment, e.g. udělám 'I will do', dělávám 'I usually do' (but not now).

b) Future: 1) imperfective, expressed by the future tense forms of the verb být 'to be' + infinitive, e.g. budu dělat 'I will do'.

2) perfective, expressed by present (non-past) tense forms of perfective verbs, e.g. udělám 'I will do'.

c) Past, expressed by present tense forms of the verb být 'to be' + past participle, e.g. udělal jsem 'I did'.

1.5.4 Mood: indicative

conditional

imperative: a) non-modal, expressed by positive imperative of perfectives and imperfectives and

negative imperative of imperfectives.

b) modal, expressed by the negative imperative of perfectives. It has always the meaning of warning.

1. 5. 5. Voice: active, passive

1. 5. 6. Aspect: perfective, imperfective

The last two categories are always present in every verbal form in Czech. The last category, that of aspect, perfective and imperfective, constitutes the topic of investigation and discussion for the remainder of this study.

CHAPTER II

ASPECT AS A GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY IN CZECH

The whole system of the Czech verb is dominated by the category of aspect. Every Czech verb belongs either to the imperfective or to the perfective aspect. Most lexical units denoting the same activity may be expressed by both perfective and imperfective verbs. Thus, most Czech verbs form pairs whose members differ only in aspect.

The existence of pairs complicates the relatively simple character of the Czech conjugational system, because it doubles almost all forms. As such pairing does not exist in non-Slavic Indo-European languages, it was often asserted that the choice of aspect was simply a free lexical choice between two synonyms.¹ Further studies proved, however, that besides the cases of subjective choice, there are contexts in which only one aspect can be properly used.

For almost two centuries, grammarians systematically tried to find the explanation for this fact. Since both Czech verbs, and verbs in other Slavic languages were used as material, their general theories and conclusions were accepted for Slavic languages in general. In their studies they discovered that some verbal groups share the same semantic meaning and the same morphological formants. The groups of iteratives, instantaneous verbs, duratives and other verbs were isolated and described. Later, the attempt to find a common denominator, the common concept uniting

all perfectives on the one side, and all imperfectives on the other, was made. Definitions that were given reflected various semantic approaches to aspect, and, dozens of such definitions may be found in the literature. They differ, as they are usually constructed on some concrete, and therefore more apparent semantic meaning, that the grammarian considered as basic.

As an example of these definitions, F. Saussure's explanation of the perfective aspect as showing "the action as total, closed"² may be cited. The imperfective aspect was usually defined as denoting the duration of activity in time. Objections could be raised to almost any of these definitions as they did not include the entire stock of verbs without making some tortuous explanations. Though it was easier to define the perfective than the imperfective, it became obvious that the perfective does not mean only momentary duration and the imperfective longer duration in time. Thus, a higher level of abstraction and larger generalizations were needed for explaining the various meanings of the different verbal groups.

This abstraction led to the opinion that the basis of aspect is an opposition of the semantic meaning of the perfective and imperfective. Definitions stressing this opposition were formulated. Miklosich's definition that "Eine Handlung wird entweder dauernd dargestellt oder als vollendet ausgesagt"³ was a classic definition of this genre,

though, again, it was difficult to accommodate all types of verbs under this scheme, in this case perfectives with the meaning of the beginning of activity. Thus Vinogradov introduced a new term into this definition of perfectiveness, namely internal limit,⁴ since in Vinogradov's terms, every activity expressed by the perfective has an internal juncture, or a limit to which it leads.

According to Karcevskij, the perfective forms do not have "perspective temporelle".⁵ Trávníček's definition is a broad one: "By the verbal aspect we understand the course of action, that is, perfectivity and imperfectivity, as well as the quantity of action, that is momentary, durative, iterative and frequentative action. According to this, we distinguish perfective and imperfective verbs, e.g. napišu/píšu ['I'll write, I write'], or instantaneous (momentary), durative, iterative and frequentative, e.g. hodím ['I'll throw'], nesu ['I bring'], nosím ['I bring'], nosívám ['I bring sometimes']".⁶

Dostál's definition goes further, as he stresses the complexity of activity, not the completion, as the underlying semantic meaning of aspect. "By the perfective aspect the speaker presents an external event as total, complex. The imperfective aspect is, on the other hand, characterized by non-total (non-complex) presentation of the action. In the perfective correlation, the perfective is the basic member, while the imperfective is a secondary (subsidiary) one".⁷

Kopečný returns to the controversial point of completed and non-completed activity. With examples like zítra budeme platit elektrinu 'we will pay the electricity bill tomorrow', he shows that the imperfective verb does not mean that the activity will not be completed, but that it is only neutral to this feature. He says: "It follows from these facts that the perfective forms are aspectually marked, that means that they must express this completion of activity, whereas the imperfective forms cannot be defined from this viewpoint. They are the unmarked member of the pair of opposites. That means that they do not give any answer to the question of completion or non-completion, that they are neutral to it".⁸

To recent definitions often quoted, belongs that one given by Maslev: "the category of perfective and imperfective aspect ... is the reflection of speaker's (or writer's) objectively conditioned choice between two views of action denoted by the verb. It may be presented as an indivisible whole - perfective, or without reference to the totality of action - imperfective".⁹

Thus even the recent definitions of aspect and of the specific functions of perfective and imperfective verbs remain varied and controversial, though such terms as complex action, action in complexity, marked complexity, unmarked totality of action may be found in most of them. It seems

therefore that the semantic meaning of marked or unmarked totality (complexity) of activity was generally accepted as the basis of the aspectual opposition.

All the above definitions have something in common, namely that they present aspect as a one-dimensional category, based entirely on semantics. No formal grammatical features of aspect are mentioned in them. Therefore, it could seem that there are no formal markers of this semantic category. But even a cursory glance at the structure of the verbs and at their syntactic characteristics reveals that there are typical formants in some groups of verbs, and that only the imperfective verb can be used in the construction буду + infinitive, e.g. буду číst 'I'll read', and after phase verbs as začít 'to begin', přestat 'to stop' and others. The latter feature was stressed by Kopečný. Accepting Havránek's¹⁰ opinion about imperfectives as verbs with unmarked perfectivity, he states: "It is necessary to define imperfective verbs, if the definition be precise, as verbs with unmarked perfectivity, that may be used after phase verbs буду ['I'll be'] (in the periphrastic future). This non-semantic, formal marker is the most reliable criterion of aspect".¹¹

Semantic meaning as well as form are considered by I. Němec. He formulated the definition of aspect after a detailed study of the development of the aspectual system

in Slavic languages. As his definition might help to clarify the substance of aspect as well as its categorial character, it will be given in full.

"By verbal aspect we understand the ability (capability) of the verb to express the same action either as perfective (total, complex) or as imperfective (non-total, non-complex). In Slavic languages the category of imperfective or perfective action, that is, the category of aspect, is a grammatical one because of the character of its abstraction (1) and the way of expressing this abstraction (2).

1. The category of perfectivity, constructed on the lower category of objectively punctual actions includes even the actions objectively non-punctual, but conceived of as a point, that is a complex; the category of imperfectivity, constructed on the lower category of objectively non-punctual actions, includes even the actions objectively punctual, but conceived of as non-punctual, that is, as non-complex.

2. This notional category of perfectivity - imperfectivity is expressed basically by formal non-meaning bearing means, by the aspectual suffix, meaningless, pure aspectual prefix, and pleonastic pure aspectual prefix".¹²

According to Némec, the above mentioned formal means were used so frequently that they changed the whole structure of the Slavic verbal system. As he maintained "we can see that the expansion and decay of specific Slavic verbal

stems connected with the development of the specifically Slavic category of aspect was the common denominator of the most basic processes that formed the Slavic system of stems and forms. The genesis of aspect was also the principle regularity of the pre-historical development of the Slavic verb. It has also determined the tendencies of its historical development".¹³

To show (1) how the Czech verbal types are influenced by the category of aspect and (2) how the structure of the verbs expresses the basic aspectual difference and its nuances is the purpose of this work. The material used is a general inventory of verbs of contemporary Czech and the method is a typological analysis and structural in nature. The former leads to a classification of the verbal types already existing, the latter shows processes in which those types are built.

In the literature on aspect some terms are used that are either not common in other linguistic literatures or that are used in some other sense. Some of these terms are generally accepted, others may be characteristic for one author only. Thus, for the convenience of the reader, the meanings of the terms used in this thesis are explained below. The English equivalent is given first, the Czech form and meaning follow:

aspect	- <u>vid slovesný</u>	- used in the meaning discussed above, not for denoting <u>průběh děje</u> 'course of action' (as is usual for other linguistic literature).
complex	- <u>komplexní</u>	- total, completed, finished
denominatives	- <u>denominativa</u>	- verbs derived from nouns
deverbatives	- <u>deverbativa</u>	- verbs derived from verbs
distributives	- <u>distributiva, dokonavá iterativa</u>	- perfective verbs formed by prefixation from secondary imperfectives
duratives	- <u>durativa, trvaci slovesa</u>	- verbs denoting actions of longer duration
imperfective aspect	- <u>nedokonavý vid</u>	- see preceding discussion
ingressives	- <u>ingresivní slovesa</u>	- verbs with the meaning of abrupt beginning of action
iteratives	- <u>iterativa, frequentativa, slovesa násobná</u>	- imperfectives derived from imperfectives by the suffix <u>-va-</u>
perfective aspect	- <u>dokonavý vid</u>	- see preceding discussion
secondary imperfectives	- <u>druhotná imperfectiva</u>	- imperfectives derived from prefixed perfectives by suffixation
semelfactives	- <u>okamžitá slovesa</u>	- verbs denoting instantaneous actions
simple verbs primary verbs	- <u>neodvozená slovesa</u>	- historically non-derived verbs
simplex verbs, simplicia	- <u>simplicia, jednoduchá slovesa</u>	- non-prefixed verbs with lexical derivational suffixes

theme vowel	- <u>thema</u>	- vowel between the root and ending
verbal root	- <u>slovesný kořen</u>	- the meaning-bearing morpheme without affixes
verbal stem	- <u>slovesný kmen</u>	- the part of verb without ending, but with the theme vowel

CHAPTER III

TYPES OF VERBS AND ASPECT

3. 1. Classificational criteria.

The Czech verbal system, as a reflection of the common Slavic system, is a very old formation, the beginnings of which can be traced up to the Indo-European era. A substantial differentiation from the common Indo-European system took place in early Balto-Slavic, and especially in the Proto-Slavic period. The changes were connected with the genesis and development of a category of aspect that apparently did not exist in Indo-European language era. This notional category influenced the whole system to such an extent that formal means for its expression appeared. The frequent use of such means lead to the development of new verbal groups, that differed in form and semantic meaning from the already existing types. The conjugational system was also affected and changed. Such independent development continues into more recent history and leads to the extension and spread of some verbal types and, at the same time, to the differences which separate Slavic languages one from the other.

This chapter is meant to show what verbal types exist in contemporary Czech and how their existence and productivity are influenced by the category of aspect.

Furthermore, the semantic meanings typical for some groups of verbs belonging to the same type will be shown, as well as the possibility of further aspectual derivation. It is not the purpose of this study to give the simplest conjugational rules or to explain all morphonemic alternations in conjugation. Where this is done, it is simply a means to an end, the classification and explanation of verbal types in terms of their aspectual derivation.

For isolating verbal types, some formal features characteristic for the verbs were taken as criteria. Such features are as follows:

- 1) present (non-past) stem, that is, the form of the 3 sg. present without the personal ending; e.g. from dělá 'he does', the stem is děla-.
- 2) infinitive stem, that is, the form of infinitive without the infinitive ending, e.g. from dělati 'to do', the stem is děla-.
- 3) conjugational type a, e, i (See Chapter I, 1.4.2)

Verbal types exhibiting the above features in the same way, will be called classes. Both verbal stems were taken as criteria because in most cases all other verbal forms may be derived from them. Some verbal types may show modifications of the stems in some forms, e.g. imperative, past participle. These modifications will be mentioned in the description of individual verbal classes.

So that the reader may compare the verbal classes

established on basis of the above criteria (to be used in this study) with the classes isolated on other principles by other descriptions, a short explanation of classificational criteria is given.

As the criterion for the first scientific classification the infinitive stem was taken. This classification was done for the Czech and Old Slavonic verb by Dobrovský.¹ The scheme was accepted by Miklosich,² Gebauer,³ Vondrák⁴ and others, who applied it in their works. According to the infinitive stem ending, all verbs were divided into six classes.

I class: pure stem,	e.g. <u>nes</u> - <u>ti</u> 'to carry'
II class: -nou-	e.g. <u>mi-nou-ti</u> 'to pass'
III class: -e-	e.g. <u>saz-e-ti</u> 'to plant'
IV class: -i-	e.g. <u>ched-i-ti</u> 'to walk'
V class: -a-	e.g. <u>děl-a-ti</u> 'to do'
VI class: -ova-	e.g. <u>kup-ova-ti</u> 'to buy'

Later the present stem was taken as the primary criterion by Schleicher,⁵ Weingart,⁶ Lehr-Splāvinski⁷ and others. In Czech, this stem is generally derived from the 3 sg. present form. The five classes into which the verbs are divided, are generally known as e, ne, je, i, a verbs. This classification is the one used in standard Czech grammars and taught in schools.

In his book Système du verbe russe, Karcevskij⁸ made

a considerable contribution to classificational theories. This system, based on matching the present and infinitive stems and on distinguishing productive and non-productive verbal types, was accepted by Vinogradov⁹ and later was included in the Academy Grammar.¹⁰

From recent classifications only those based on the so-called full or basic stem will be mentioned. For the first time such classification was presented by Jakobson in his article "Russian Conjugation".¹¹ Similar classifications were made by Halle,¹² Rubenstein,¹³ Isačenko¹⁴ and others. Rubenstein's classification is interesting since it deals exclusively with the Czech verb. Some corrections and additions were later added to this classification by Kučera.¹⁵

The basis of classification cited by this group is perhaps best summed up by Isačenko's statement that "grammatical forms may be considered as a result of a series of formation and transformation rules applied to strings of morphemes generated in a certain way".¹⁶

The basic stem is usually the longest form that can be found among all conjugational forms of a given verb, though there is not a fixed procedure for establishing it. In some cases, the basic stem is the result of internal reconstruction, reminiscent of some supposed Proto-Slavic stems. It is believed that after applying a series of morphophonemic rules, all verbal forms can be easily de-

rived from these abstract formulae. The practical application of the basic stem principle led Townsend¹⁷ to dividing the Russian verbs into groups according to this notion, that of the basic stem ending.

As is obvious from the preceding discussion, no one of these four methods of classification arrives at a satisfactory statement of the facts of the aspectual situation in Slavic. Instead, this study will concentrate its attention on the nature of aspect in Czech, and will make use of several criteria in explaining its relation to the verbal system. Once again, these criteria are the nature of infinitive stem, the present stem, and the conjugational type.

The following are the verbal types in Czech which may be isolated by such criteria. These verbal types may not, and in fact do not, correspond to classifications found in other descriptions of the Czech verbal system.

In further discussion, the isolated verbal types, called classes, are presented in the following order.

Class I: -at verbs

Class II: -nout verbs

Class III: -ovat verbs

Class IV: -it verbs

Class V: non-productive groups

3. 2. Class I verbs. Type: dělat

Infinitive: -a -t,

Present stem: dělá -

Infinitive stem: děla -

Conjugation: á

In those Czech grammars that take the present stem as the basis of classification these verbs are usually known as Class V or -a- verbs, according to their theme vowel. In the conjugation there is no mutation of the final root consonant, nor is there any vowel alternation in the root. Though this class of verbs is not so productive as the Russian -a- verbs, thousands of Czech verbs belong to it. In Russian, almost one-half of all verbs, including all secondary imperfectives derived from prefixed perfectives, belong to the -a- class; in Czech it consists of iteratives, partly secondary imperfectives and denominatives.

According to their formation and semantic or aspectual meaning, some of these verbs fall naturally into several smaller groups, while other verbs without these distinguishing features remain outside these groups.

In respect to lexical derivation, two main groups may be distinguished:

- a) non-derived verbs (simple, primary verbs),
- b) verbs derived from other parts of speech.

By non-derived origin are characterized, first of all, very old verbs, known in historical grammars as the volati 'to call' type verbs.¹⁸ The meanings of some of them are quite closely connected with nouns of the same root, e.g.

<u>the verb</u>	<u>the noun</u>
delat 'to do'	dilo 'deed'
starat se 'to care'	starost 'care'
zadat 'to ask'	zadost 'demand'
poutat 'to tie'	pouto 'tie'
chovat 'to breed'	chov 'breeding'
vrhat 'to throw'	vrh 'throw'

The relationship is not productive in Modern Czech and the number of verbs is very small.

Other non-derived verbs are not numerous, though some of them are frequently used, e.g.

znat 'to know'	nechat 'to let'
podobat se 'to be alike'	vrtat 'to drill'
trvat 'to last'	motat 'to wind'

The same may be said about verbs originally not belonging to the volati 'to call' type, but to other -a- stem types. Contrast some Old Czech and Modern Czech forms of the 1) the brati 'to take' type:

<u>Old Czech</u>	<u>Modern Czech</u>
inf. <u>skati</u> 'to wind'	<u>soukati</u> 'to wind'
1 sg. pres. <u>sku</u> 'I wind'	<u>soukam</u> 'I wind'
2 sg. pres. <u>sces</u> 'you wind'	<u>soukas</u> 'you wind'

inf.	<u>z</u> dáti 'to wait'	<u>z</u> dáti si 'to demand'
1 sg. pres.	<u>z</u> du 'I wait'	<u>z</u> dám 'I demand'
2 sg. pres.	<u>z</u> deš 'you wait'	<u>z</u> dáš 'you demand'

(The forms zdu, zdeš are used only in poetic language).

2) tesati 'to hew', type:

<u>Old Czech</u>	<u>Modern Czech</u>
inf. <u>py</u> kati 'to suffer for'	<u>py</u> kat 'to suffer for'
1 sg. pres. <u>py</u> čí 'I suffer for'	<u>py</u> kám 'I suffer for'
2 sg. pres. <u>py</u> češ 'you suffer for'	<u>py</u> káš 'you suffer for'

The change of conjugational pattern similar to that of the verb pykati 'to suffer for' may be observed in the following verbs: hlodat 'to gnaw', stýskat si 'to complain', plesat 'to rejoice', získat 'to obtain', dýchat 'to breathe', and several others.

Other verbs belonged originally to different vocalic and consonantal stems. Some of them are: dát 'to give', ptát se 'to ask', lkát 'to moan', dbát 'to care about', zdát se (from sdieti) 'to seem, to dream', inf. klát (archaic, 1 sg. kolu, 2 sg. koleš) 'to knock down', plát 'to blaze' (archaic, 1 sg. polu, 2 sg. poleš), 1 sg. plají, or plám.

All the non-derived verbs listed above are imperfectives except dát 'to give'. When prefixed, the aspect changes, but their conjugational type is not affected.

b) The verbs derived from other parts of speech are mostly denominatives and deverbatives. The former are formed more frequently from roots, from which nouns, adjectives and sporadically other parts of speech are also formed, e.g.:

vzdychat 'to sigh' from vzdech 'sigh'

přísahat 'to take an oath' from přísaha 'oath'

onikat 'to address a person by 3 pl. pronoun oni 'they'

tykat 'to address a person by 2 sg. pronoun ty 'you'

mokvat 'to be dripping wet' from mokrý 'wet'

červenat se 'to be red' from červený 'red'

The comparison with Russian is interesting because the derivation with the -a- suffix is extremely productive there, while in Czech the -a- suffix is replaced by the suffix -ova- or -i-. Thus, e.g. the Russian new formation kolchozičat' came into Czech as kolchozničit 'to work in a co-op'.

On the other hand, the formation of deverbatives belonging to the -at class is much more productive than the transfer from another class or the derivation of denominative verbs. Deverbatives with infinitives ending in -ávat, -ívat, -vat, -at are all transferred to the 'a-class', no matter to which class the simplex verb belonged. The -ávat type is extremely frequent as it characterizes: 1) secondary imperfectives built from prefixed perfectives, e.g. contrast the following pairs:

Prefixed perfective

slitovat se

skoncovat

vyjmenovat

spotřebovat

vytrhnout

rozmotat

Secondary imperfective

slitovávat se 'to have
mercy'

skoncovávat 'to finish'

vyjmenovávat 'to enumerate'

spotřebovávat 'to consume,
to use up'

vytrhávat 'to pull out'

rozmotávat 'to unwind'

2) iteratives derived from unprefixed imperfectives. In this group, however, the -ívát type is also very frequent.

For example contrast the following pairs:

Imperfective

čítat

dělat

slýchat

chytat

zárlit

chodit

Iterative

čítávat 'to read'

dělávat 'to do'

slýchávat 'to hear'

chyťávat 'to catch'

zárlívat 'to be jealous'

chodívat 'to go'

The types -vat, -at, found in the same morphological groups, are less frequent e.g.:

jíst

číst

mýt

odejmout

psát

jídat 'to eat'

čítat 'to read'

mývat 'to wash'

odjímat 'to take away'

psávat 'to write'

stát	stávat 'to stand'
řící	říkat 'to say'
prostřít	prostírat 'to spread'

Moreover, the verbs correlated with the prefixed-nout verbs are usually replaced by the -ávat variants, e.g. the prefixed perfective opadnout 'to fall down' has two secondary imperfectives: opadat and opadávat 'to fall down'.

The structure of the verbs of the two previous groups (deverbatives) shows that these verbs are formed productively by the -va- suffix with preceding theme vowel length alternation (the types -ívát and -ávat) and non-productively by the -a- and -va- suffixes, the latter not being accompanied by vowel length alternation.¹⁹ The existence of these verbal groups is the result of suffixation that serves the needs of aspectual system.

As the previous analysis indicates, the largest part of the Class I verbs is formed in the process of aspectual derivation of secondary imperfectives and iteratives. While the former group has another formant besides the -va- suffix, namely the -ova- suffix, all iteratives with the only exception of bíjeti 'to beat', derived either from simplex or secondary imperfectives, belong in Czech to the -at class.

Differences between Czech and Russian deverbatives belonging entirely to the -at class are shown in the following simple scheme, as they may reveal specific features of the aspectual derivation in these two Slavic languages.

	Primary Iteratives	Secondary Imperfectives	Iteratives formed from Secondary Imperfectives
Czech	all	not all	all
Russian	all	all	do not form a group in Russian.

Being so numerous, the -at verbs do not form one semantic class, but rather a variety of semantic meanings is to be found among them. E.g., contrast the meanings of the following verbs of saying as říkat 'to say', ptát se 'to ask', povídat 'to tell', kecat 'to prate', plácát 'to chat', or of perception as hmatat 'to touch', chutnat 'to taste', čichati 'to smell', or of abstraction as rouhat se 'to blaspheme', žehnat 'to bless', proklínat 'to curse', etc.

A large group is represented by imperfectives from which perfectives denoting instantaneous actions can be formed by the suffix -nou-; e.g. padat - padnout 'to fall', chytat - chytnout 'to catch', praskat - prasknout 'to crack', pískat - písknout 'to whistle'. In Czech grammars they are known as semelfactives or instantaneous verbs.²⁰ Many of them name common sounds and therefore are called "acoustic verbs"; e.g.

<u>mňoukat</u> 'to meow'	<u>mlaskat</u> 'to smack (while eating)'
<u>buchat</u> 'to bang'	<u>kukat</u> 'to croak'
<u>krákat</u> 'to caw'	<u>tukat</u> 'to knock'

brnkat 'to vibrate' vrkat 'to coo'
štěkát 'to bark'

Others denote movements or actions of limited, very short duration or recurrent actions. Many of these movements are connected with typical sounds; e.g.

klesat 'to fall down' klekat 'to kneel'
čútat 'to shoot' píchat 'to prick'
míchat 'to mix' bodat 'to stab'
vrhat 'throw, hurl' zvedat 'to pick up'
stríkat 'spray' zdvíhat 'to lift up'
pleskat 'to smack (as e.g., in sound of hands striking)'

Verbs like všímat si 'to observe', jímat 'to grasp', keukat 'to watch, to look at', lekat se 'to be frightened', naskytat se 'to arise', podnikat 'to undertake', pohrdat 'to despise', can have the meaning of a recurrent action (in which the interruption is momentary) as well as of a long action, unlimited by time. Their -nout derivatives can have semelfactive as well as resultative²¹ meanings.

However, words like běhat 'to run', cválat 'to gallop', pajdat 'to limp', belhat se 'to hobble', brouzdat se 'to wander', pospíchat 'to be in a hurry', bloumat 'to gad about', denoting the way of moving, and others like plýtvat 'to waste', holedbat se 'to boast', čerpat 'to

draw', strádat 'to suffer', hlídat 'to watch', vítat 'to welcome', hádat 'to gobble', poutat 'to bind, to put together', chystat 'to prepare', hledat 'to look for', žádat 'to ask', hádat 'to guess', that may denote repeating of action, but that have basic meanings implying longer activities that can be performed only within a certain period of time, always longer than a moment, do not show such a -a-/-nou- correlation.

In the morphological structure of the -at class we can distinguish the following groups:

1. (a) Simplex imperfectives with the infinitive in -at. They are many, but their number is quite fixed because no new verbs are added to their category.
- (b) Perfectives derived by prefixation from primary imperfectives; they have the same typological marks of the (1-a) group.
- (c) Perfectives that are derived in similar fashion to (1-b). However, in Modern Czech, speakers no longer see them as derived, but rather as simplex verbs. Some of these are: ponechat 'to let', shledat 'to get together, to find', setkat se 'to meet', vyndat 'to take out', (and other perfectives formed from dát 'to give', too numerous to be listed here), objednat 'to order', zmeškat 'to miss', odolat 'to resist'.

2. Several verbs with monosyllabic roots: dát, 'to give', zdát se 'to seem, to dream'.
3. (a) Secondary imperfectives with suffixes (-áva/-íva-, -va-, -a-) As (-áva/-íva-, -va- are typical suffixes, secondary imperfectives and iteratives can be easily distinguished from other verbs. Only several verbs with -v- as the medial root consonants are difficult to see in this respect. E.g. kovat 'to forge', kývat 'to wave', klovat 'to peck', snovat 'to weave', plivat 'to spit', (Compare: Chapter III, 3.6.1.).

It may be more complicated to distinguish the secondary imperfectives that have the suffix -a- in the resulting form; the infinitive in -at is the same as that of simplex imperfectives. Contrast the form of secondary imperfectives pročítat 'to read through', to the perfective pročíst, vyjídat 'to eat up' to the perfective vyjíst, with that of primary imperfectives hledat 'to look for', všínat si 'to notice'. The structure of the whole word however, is different:

	prefix	+ root	+ a	- t
Primary imperfective	-	+	+	
Secondary imperfective:	+	+	+	

- (b) Iteratives derived from primary imperfectives with the same suffixes as (3-a); e.g. dělat - dělavat

'to do', nosit - nosívat 'to bring'. It is evident that for distinguishing -a- suffix verbs, the structure + prefix would not help since iteratives derived from simplex imperfectives have no prefixes. Only the existence or non-existence of a simplex imperfective can help, in classifying the -at verbs from this viewpoint. Thus, contrast the following pairs, in which the first member is an imperfective and the second an iterative. For comparison, the common root is given in the third column. The point to be noted is that the lexical meaning is essentially the same for both.

<u>Imperfective</u>		<u>Iterative</u>	<u>Root</u>
slyšet	-	slýchat 'to hear'	slych -
vidět	-	vídat 'to see'	vid -
sedět	-	sedat 'to sit'	sed -
ležet	-	léhat 'to lie, to rest'	leh -
jíst	-	jídat 'to eat'	jid -
pást	-	pásat 'to graze'	pas -
mést	-	metat 'to weep'	met -
plést	-	plétat 'to plait, to knit'	plet -

However, in the pair síci - sekat 'to mow', sekat

is felt to be an imperfective, and in the pair běžet - běhat, 'to run', the latter is the indeterminate member of one of the 'verb of motion' pairs.

As already mentioned, -a- in this correlation is not a productive suffix, and the number of verbs that exhibit this correlation is small. The only productive correlation with the -a- suffix is that of forming primary imperfectives in -at with semelfactives in -nout. Such pairs, however, are not accepted by all grammarians as purely aspectual. (Compare Chapter IV, 4. 4.).

It can be said, therefore, that the infinitive of most of (3-a) and (3-b) groups of verbs end in -vat, and that this feature can help in telling them from other verbs.

The present tense stem is also helpful in distinguishing class affiliation, but only for certain verbs. This additional feature is a secondary marker for at least the following kinds of verbs. Present (non-past) stem forms of (1-a), (1-b) and (1-c) verbs end in the following consonants:

1) velars:- frequently, k

lekat se 'to be frightened', říkat 'to say', sekat 'to mow'

h

šlehat 'to beat', šíhat 'spy, to watch it', pobíhat 'to run around'

ch

poslouchat 'to listen, to obey', máchat 'to rinse', tlachat 'to gabble, to gossip', prchat 'to run away'

2) dental stops: t

poutat 'to cuff', metat 'to throw', škrtat 'to scratch out'

d

hledat 'to look for', hádat 'to guess', padat 'to fall down'

3) nasals: n

načínat 'to begin', chutnat 'to taste', stonat 'to be all'

4) liquids: r

starat se 'to care', pedezírat 'to suspect', bourat 'to demolish'

l

dělat 'to do', odelat 'to resist', volat 'to call'

5) labials and labiodentals:

Only a few verbs belong to the -á- conjugation, since most of verbs of their type can have free variants in either the -a- and -e- conjugations. (See Chapter III, 3. 6. 1). In the literary language, the following belong exclusively to the -á- conjugation, though some -e- conjugation forms are also heard dialectically.

všínat 'to observe', klímat 'to have a nap', bloumat 'to wander'

trvat 'to last', chovat 'to breed', plýtvat 'to waste',
(all have only -á- conjugation forms)

podobat se 'to be alike', holedbat se 'to boast'

lapat 'to catch', capat 'to walk making small steps',
čerpat 'to draw', (though some -e- conjugation forms as
lapou 'they catch', capou 'they walk', čerpou 'they draw',
are used as well as the expected lapají, čerpají, etc.)

ňafat 'to puff', colloquial blafat 'to prate'

6) dental spirants: generally what was said about labials can be said of these with only the following with the full -á- conjugation. klesat 'to fall down', lysat 'to become', jásat 'to rejoice', kasat se 'to boast'

7) affricates: c (very rare)
bacat 'to hit', plácat 'to clap', kodrcat 'to bump'

8) Semivowel: j exceptional:
hajat 'to sleep'

9) Present stems ending in more than one consonant: most typical are only those in sk/st: laskat 'to pet', tleskat 'to clasp', luskat 'to snap (the fingers)', stýskat se 'to be homesick', blyskat se 'to blaze', tres-tat 'to punish', chlestat 'to rustle', chlastat 'to swill'. The verb šeptat 'to whisper' has only the -á conjugation forms. (1 sg. present sepcu has become obsolete).

Stems in sk/st type never have consonant alternation as in Russian, where the present tense and imperative differ (compare: iskat' 'to look for' - išču 'I look for').

Verbs with a present stem consonant -z belong to the e conjugation (see Chapter III, 3.6.1.). Stems ending in ř, š, č are not followed by -a- in the infinitive (compare Russian non-productive deržat' 'to hold', dýsat' 'to breathe', slyšat' 'to hear'), but by -e- or -i-. This conditioned vowel mutation a → e was completed before the first Czech texts were written, as we have in them only slyšeti 'to hear', držeti 'to hold', křičeti 'to shout'.

The following is a sample conjugational paradigm of the -at type, with the verb dělat 'to do' as a sample verb.

Present stem forms:

Present tense:

<u>sg.</u>	<u>pl.</u>
dě-á-m	dě-á-me
dě-á-s	dě-á-te
dě-á	dě-a-jí

Imperative: děl-ěj(te)
Present gerund: děl-a-je
Present verbal adjective: děl-aj-ící

Infinitive stem forms:

Infinitive: děla-t
Past participle: děla-l
Past passive participle: dělá-n
Past gerund: děla-v
Past verbal adjective děla-vší

Notes to conjugation: Only verbs with monosyllabic stems of the type dbát 'to care' have to be mentioned, as they have vowel length mutation in the following infinitive stem forms: 1) past participle, e.g. dbal 'cared for', 2) past gerund, e.g. dbav 'having cared for'.

3.3 Class II verbs.

Type: tisknout

Infinitive: -nou-t,

Present stem: tiskn-

Infinitive stem: tisknou-

Conjugation: e

In traditional Czech grammars the -nout verbs belong to Class II verbs together with all other verbs that have -ne in the 3 sg. present, e.g. začne 'he begins', zajme 'he takes, he serves'. The verbs of the type začne have some forms completely different from other -nout verbs. These forms are not predictable without some knowledge of Old Czech. According to the Concise Czech Grammar "the third type začne is irregular and it belongs to this class only because it has a similar ending -ne, and partly similar infinitive (pnout, zajmout)".²² Verbs of this type form a closed group, are not productive in Modern Czech, and therefore they are discussed in this classification under non-productive groups.

Comparing the -nout verbs with other productive classes, namely the -at, -ovat and -it verbs, it is evident that this class is less numerous and that the derivation of the -nout verbs is limited to adjectives and verbs.

It may be convenient here to recall that the -nout verbs are both derived or non-derived; derived verbs have been routed to the verbal class from the adjectival and

verbal classes by means of appropriate affixes. Thus, according to their origin, aspect, and semantic meaning, the -nout verbs may be divided into three groups:

- 1) mostly adjectival derivatives with the semantic meaning of a change of state, of imperfective aspect,
- 2) deverbatives with semelfactive and pure perfective meaning,
- 3) primary, non-derived verb of various semantic meanings, of imperative aspect.

1) The adjectival derivatives have the semantic meaning of a change of state, and as simplicia they belong to the imperfective aspect. E.g. stárnout 'to become old', mládnout 'to become young', bohatnout 'to become rich', hloupnout 'to become stupid', chladnout 'to become cool', blbnout 'to grow idiotic', blednout 'to grow pale', pustnout 'to become desolate', rudnout 'to become purple', tichnout 'to become silent', slepnout 'to become blind', hluchnout 'to become deaf', etc.

The origin of verbs like mrznout 'to freeze, to become frozen', stydnout 'to become cold', křehnout 'to become tender', schnout 'to dry', moknout 'to become wet', chřadnout 'to fail in health', from adjectival roots is evident. Their derivation is obviously more complicated than that of the previous type, e.g. adjective suchý

'dry' and the verb schnout 'to become dry'.

Some verbs with the semantic meaning of change of state are not derived from adjectives, but rather from verbal roots; e.g. puchnout 'to swell', tuchnout 'to become rotten', vadnout 'to wither', pachnout 'to smell'. Such verbs as arise from the verbal class itself are called de-verbatives. Verbs of this type are infrequent.

2. The -nout deverbatives belong to the perfective aspect and carry the additional meaning of very short, instantaneous action without repetition. Known in the literature as "Momentanverben (Isačenko)²³ or semelfactives (Koschmieder)²⁴, they are classified by many linguists as a lexical group and not correlated with imperfectives of the -at type. The -nou- suffix is taken primarily as a lexical one by such grammarians.²⁵ Isačenko and other linguists include them among the 'semelfactive' Aktionsart and the -nou- suffix is taken as a modifying one.²⁶ According to the Russian Academy Grammar they are classified for Russian verbs, as real aspectual partners of some simple imperfectives. Thus, "some simple imperfectives build the perfective aspect by means of the suffix -nu- without adding prefixes".²⁷ According to Kopečný, the verbs bafnout 'to puff', bodnout 'to stab', bouchnout 'to hit', cvrknout 'to shrink', trhnout 'to puff', vrhnout 'to throw', and others are correlates of imperfective -at verbs, but

according to him, this correlation is no longer productive. However, a few new verbs with the perfectivizing -nou- can still be found. His examples of new formations are risk-nout 'to take the risk', šiknout se 'to fit, to be handy', sprchnout se 'to take a shower', hýbnout 'to move'.²⁸

Some verbs of the same morphological structure do not have semelfactive meaning, but only that of simple perfective, and therefore they may be paired with the imperfective -at verbs, e.g. všimnout si - všímat si 'to notice'. The following are examples of such perfectives. Each of the verbs has an -at correlate (except only the verb minout 'to pass' which has the imperfective míjet 'to pass'):

prchnout - prchat 'to run away'	stihnout - stihat 'to catch (a train)'
zvyknout - zvykat 'to get used to'	sednout si - sedat si 'to sit down'
sahnout - sahat 'to touch'	lehnout - lehat 'to lie down'
leknout - lekat (about a fish) 'to die'	leknout se - lekat se 'to be frightened'

The addition of a prefix usually negates the semelfactive meaning and turns the verbs into perfectives. In some cases, the prefix may not be felt as a component but as the part of the root by speakers of Modern Czech, e.g.:

sevrknout se 'to shrink'	zdechnout 'to die' (collo- quial)
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zdvihnout 'to lift up'	polknout 'to swallow'
smeknout se 'to slip down'	vnuknout 'to inspire, to suggest'
usnout 'to fall asleep'	ponouknout 'to instigate'
spiknout se 'to conspire'	

In some cases the verbs are felt as prefixed, as the roots are used with usually more than one prefix, though never without prefixes, e.g.:

<u>Prefixes</u>	<u>Verbal Base</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
za-/ode-/př ^ǎ -	-aknout	'to lock/to unlock/ to cling to'
u-/pro-/vy-	-niknout	'to escape/to get through/to excel'
de/po/	-hodnout se	'to come to an un- derstanding (both verbs)
od-/	-hadnout	'to estimate'
na-/př ^ǎ -	-prahnout	'to stretch out/to put (horses to carriage)
po-/vy-/na-	-skytnout	'to give/to occur/ to emerge'
za-/se-	-ž ^ǎ hnout	'to set fire/ to burn'
ob-/o-	-ž ^ǎ ivnout or živit	'to come to live' (both verbs)
na-/ed-/pro-	-mít ^ǎ nout	'to object/to re- ject/to project'
s-/od-	-poč ^ǎ í ^ǎ nout	'to stop (to come to)/to relax'
př ^ǎ -/od-/pro-	-bě ^ǎ hnout	'to run to/to run away/to run through'

na-/vy-	-bidnout	'to offer/to exhort'
vy-/po-	-slechnout	'to listen/to obey'
u-/pri-/za-	-pomenout	'to claim (payment)/ to remind/to forget'
vy-/na-	- [√] rknout	'to utter/to accuse'

But in most cases the prefix and the verb can be isolated, the verb existing independently of the prefixes:

<u>Prefixes</u>	<u>Verbal Base</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
vy-/za-	k [√] riknout	'to shout out/ to shout a person down'
u-/za-/pro-	keusnout	'to bite/ to bite to death/ to bite through'
pri-/za-	bouchnout	'to shut (with a bang), both verbs'
pro-/vy-	klouznout	'to slide through/ to slide out'

In comparison with Russian, it seems that the Russian instantaneous -nu- verbs form a more productive group than in Czech. On the basis of their productivity and semantic meaning Isáčenko isolates them into a special productive class, separating them from "change of state" verbs. Morphologically however, they differ only slightly; they can drop -nu- in past stem forms, e.g. gasnut 'to burn low' can have as past tense gas, gasl or gasnul, past gerund gasnuvší 'it burnt low, having burnt low'. While there are, accord-

ing to Isačenko, only about 60 verbs of the latter type, the number of instantaneous verbs is almost unlimited.

Isacenko states that "die Produktivitat der Verben der IV Verbalklasse ist dadurch gegeben, dass das Suffix -nu- zur Bildung perfektiver Momentanverben gebraucht wird".²⁹

Further, "in der Umgangssprache werden Momentanverben laufend gebildet".³⁰

The situation seems to be quite different in Modern Polish. According to Koschmieder there are about 70 verbs of the type krzyczeć - krzyknać, and this method of forming aspectual pairs is very old in the history of the language but no longer productive.³¹

As far as Czech -nout verbs are concerned, Kopečný's opinion has already been presented. Similar conclusions were made by Nemeč who labels the momentary perfectives ending in -nout as an "extraordinary productive category, though in the future development of the language we may expect a decline of the perfective type křiknout ['to shout out'], šplouchnout ['to splash'], which is opposed to the aspectually paired type křičet/zakřičet, šplouchat/zášplouchat, because even today verbs like šplouchnout and zašplouchnout, svistnout and zasvistět 'to whistle' etc., are already considered as semantically equivalent".³² He calls the following types of verb formation productive: imperfective non-prefixed types and productive perfective types that are ".... prefixed perfective verbs (zahvízdat

['to whistle'], přehodnotit ['to reevaluate']), but partly also non-prefixed perfectives (expressing motion, such as trefit, ['to find the way'], trčít ['to stick out'], bacit ['to hit']; these perfective types, again, have their own superstructure in an extraordinary productive category of momentaneous perfectives ending in -nout".³³ It is not clear what he means by productive non-prefixed perfectives, though he gives trefit, trčít, bacit as examples. However, most would say that verbs of their type are so few, that it can be said that non-prefixed perfectives are exceptional. Furthermore, in the more productive correlation chytat - chytnout 'to catch' the first verb is imperfective, the correlation itself being a specific feature of those verbs with a semantic meaning which may include the notion of a non-durative action. From the examples given, only bacit 'to hit', has a -nout verb báčnout; for trefit 'to find the way' there is no -nout verb; and the imperfective of trčít 'to stick out' has a meaning other than the pair trkat/trknout, 'to gore'.

By the superstructure he apparently means the co-occurrence of the prefixed and -nout forms, e.g. šplouchnout/zášplouchat. But such an interpretation could be applied to them for another reason, namely that such forms are the potential third member in the paradigm iterative-imperfective - instantaneous.

In spite of the foregoing, two observations are useful for our purposes: 1) the notion of superstructure, because such an approach shows the special position of the -nout verbs in the verbal system, whether we take them for members of aspectual pairs, or only as a lexical class, 2) the line of possible grammatical development, because such an approach compares the present situation with other types of aspectual formations, and so in broader relations, explains the hidden non-productivity of this type.

As far as morphology is concerned, the Czech perfective -nout verbs did not develop special conjugational patterns differentiating them from other -nout verbs. Still, it is typical that their roots end in a consonant, e.g. bac-nout 'to hit', bod-nout 'to stab', bouch-nout 'to bang', blesk-nout 'to blaze', and that they only rarely show alternation of the stems, e.g. bodnout 'to stab', boden, bodnut 'stabbed'; strhnout - stržen 'to tear off, torn off'; zdvihnout 'to pick up', zdvižen - zdvihnut 'picked up'. (Such alternations are connected with free variations of the n/t suffix in past passive participle forms). They lack such characteristic features as the retention of the -nu- suffix in the past participle where their Russian counterparts do. On the contrary, they form the past participle in the same way as the change of state verbs (bohatnout 'to become rich', rud-nout 'to become red') or as the few other imperfectives in -nout.

In the literary language the rules are based on the consonant/vowel type of the root.

In educated spoken and written language they tend to retain -nu- before l, and in colloquial usage to drop both. Thus in the literary language we have as past participle from bodnout 'to stab', bodl, bodla, bodlo, bodli 'he, she, it, they stabbed'; in the standard spoken language: bodnul bodnula, bodnulo, bodnuli 'he, she, it, they stabbed'; in common usage: bod, bodla, bodlo, bodl 'he, she, it, they stabbed'.

3. A third group of -nout verbs is formed from non-derived verbs which have not arisen through any affixation process. They may be called pure or primary verbs. Verbs of this group are non-derived imperfectives of various meanings and structure. Though vocalic roots are typical for them, a few verbs have consonantal roots and some have non-syllabic roots. The most frequent of these are given below.

1. Verbs with consonantal roots:

tíhnout 'to tend'	vládnout 'to rule'
tisknout 'to print'	váznout 'to come to a standstill'
prahnout 'to be sunburnt; to desire'	drhnout 'to rub'
hasnout 'to die down' (about fire)	vleknout 'to draw'
sáknout 'to soak'	střechnout 'to guard' (bookish)

l'ihnout 'to hetch' mlknout 'to be silent'
√ zasnout 'to be surprised' t'ahnout 'to pull'

(The verb t'ahnout 'to pull, to draw' was derived from the imperfective tahat 'to pull', as the determined partner of this verb of motion pair).

2. Verbs with vocalic roots:

klenout 'to vault'	kynout 'to wave'
planout 'to blaze'	plynout 'to flow'
linout se 'to spread'	hynout 'to die'
slynout 'to be famous'	kanout 'to flow (as tears)'
manout se 'to happen'	√ rinout se 'to flow (as blood)'
vinout 'to wind'	sunout 'to move'
vanout 'to breeze'	tanout 'have in mind'
√ sinout se 'to move'	tonout 'to be drowned'

3. Verbs with non-syllabic roots:

dmout 'to swell'	pnout 'to entwine'
mnout 'to rub'	klnout 'to curse'
lnout 'to stick to'	hrnout 'to pile'
jmout 'to seize'	√ žhnout 'to burn'
hnout 'to move'	

Aspect of the verbs of the 3rd group is imperfective, except hnout 'to move', which has a perfective, and √ zasnout 'to be surprised' that has both aspects.

The verb pnout 'to entwine', can be conjugated as other -nout verbs, with pnul, in the past participle and pnut in the past passive participle; but it retains, in the literary

language at least, the somewhat bookish pjal, pjat (compare Russian raspjat 'crucified'). The forms jmut 'seized', jmul 'he seized' of the verb jmout 'to seize' are common, especially in prefixed přijmout 'to accept', najmout 'to hire', zajmout 'to capture', but the literary language shows only the older variants jat, jal, přijat, snat. Prefixed verbs show the j/n initial root consonant alternation. (Compare the Russian in zajmu 'I capture' and snimu 'I take off'). In some contexts only sejmul 'took off', is possible (referring to a knitting technique, e.g., sejmul oko). Thus the two verbs pnout, jmout, stand on the border of the -nout verbs category, showing the gradual transfer from infrequent conjugational types to a very common type. They will, however, be mentioned again in the non-productive classes.

The conjugation of verbs of this type is quite complicated and thus their conjugational pattern will be presented in some detail.

As mentioned above, in Czech grammars all verbs with -ne in the 3 sg. present are classified as Class II verbs, with the accompanying remark that some of the verbs (especially those of the zacít type) are irregular. Other verbs fall into two groups, one of them dropping -nu- in the past participle, and the other retaining it. The Concise Czech Grammar listed the following rule: "To the first

type 'tiskne' belong verbs whose past stem (in the past participle) without the suffix -nu- ends in a consonant. To the second type 'mine' belong verbs whose past stem has always the suffix -nu- joined to a vocalic base (mi-nu-l). In the infinitive the -nu- suffix has a -nou- variant which is usual for both types".³⁴

The rule seems to be simple and the line between the two types clearly cut. But if the rule is applied to actual language situations, it helps very little. Such forms as tiskl/tisknul 'printed' or vykřikl/vykřiknul 'shout out' co-exist in the educated language, and their frequency is almost the same. The line between literary tiskl/křikl and common tisknul/křiknul is even for the educated speaker artificial, given arbitrarily by grammars and dictionaries. And as these approve some forms with -nu-, e.g. stárnul - stárl 'he became old' (but only stárla 'she became old'), schnul 'he dried' (but only vyschl 'he dried out') and do not accept others, the situation seems to be overly complicated. To distinguish between what is accepted as literary and what is not, normative reference books are to be used, e.g. Rules of the Czech Orthography, normative grammars and dictionaries.³⁵

In common usage, however, a great deal of variety is to be observed. There is unsteadiness in the same dialect and in the same verb, and also in different verbs. Roughly it can be said that the new formations with -nu- are more common in Czech dialects (as opposed to Slovak dialects)

and in western Moravia, and that the original forms, namely past (-l) participles without -nu- are used in Haná dialects, partly in Moravian Slovak dialects, and partly in the Slovak standard language. Thus, the value of the previous rule in respect to conjugational predictability is minimal.

It is obvious that, in accepting the older forms of the past participle as the only literary forms, Czech grammars do not reflect the real language situation. To this point Travnicek wrote: "In the colloquial usage the existence of a great deal of variety and unsteadiness is not infrequent in the same dialect ...".³⁶

Grammars usually do not mention the third possibility, namely past participles not having a -nu- suffix and having a zero -l suffix in the masculine form, e.g. usch 'he dried', vykřik 'he shouted', bouch 'he banged', postřeh 'he noticed', polk 'he swallowed'. Though these forms are very frequent, they are typical for colloquial style only. Thus, we have the following forms, all of which are possible and all of which are indeed common: e.g., tiskl, tisknul, tisk 'he printed', řízl, říznul, říz 'he cut'.

On the basis of the foregoing, it can be said that

- 1) the semantic - aspectual groups of the Czech -nout verbs do not differ in the conjugation (contrast the Russian verbal counterparts of the same type, which may differ).
- 2) All -nout verbs can have the -nu- suffix in the past participle and in the past passive participle; for vocalic roots

it is the only possible form, for consonantal roots it is a free variant. Other past stem forms always have -nu-.

3) One conjugational pattern with -nu- in all forms for all -nout verbs is sufficient, as even the "literary" forms for most consonantal roots are predictable. As an example the paradigm of the verb -minout 'to pass by' will be used.³⁷

Present stem forms:

Present tense:	<u>sg.</u>	<u>pl.</u>
	min-u	min-e-m (e)
	min-e-s [✓]	min-e-te
	min-e	min-ou
Imperative:	mi [✓] (te)	
Present gerund:	min-a	
Present verbal participle:	min-ouci [✓]	

Infinitive stem forms:

Infinitive:	mi-nou-t
Past participle:	mi-nu-l
Past passive participle:	mi-nu-t
Past gerund:	mi-nu-v
Past verbal adjective:	mi-nu-vsí ^{✓✓}

Conjugational remarks:

1) There are four possible alternations of the suffix:

-nou- (infinitive), -nu- (past participles, past gerund), -n-/-ň- (other forms).

2) The verbs dmout 'to swell', jmout 'to seize', have nasal -m-, instead of the expected -n-.

3) Past participle: In the literary language some verbs with consonantal roots have the masculine gender forms of past participle without the -nu- suffix or with it, and both participles are labelled as "literary", e.g. strárnul - stárl 'he became old'. Verbs with non-syllabic and non-vocalic roots always have -nu-: hnul 'he moved', knul 'he cursed', mnul 'he rubbed', lnul 'he stuck', hrnul 'he piled', trnul 'he was apprehensive', žhnul 'he burned', dmul 'he swelled'. The verbs pnout 'to entwine', jmout 'to seize', have pnul, jmul and pjal, jal. The past participle jmul is not accepted as literary as a non-prefixed verb, but it is allowed in prefixed verbs: e.g. contrast sejmul/sňal 'he took off' and odejmul/odňal 'he took away'.

4) Past passive participle: Some verbs with consonantal roots can have two variants in the past passive participle, namely the form -nut and the form -en. For the latter a consonant mutation (softening) is typical. Alternating root consonants are:

h - ž:

táhnout - tažen 'to pull - pulled'

stříhnout - strížen 'to cut - cut'

zdvihnout - zdvižen 'to lift - lifted'

stihnout - stižen 'to catch - caught'
vrhnout - vržen 'to throw - thrown'

k - č:

za/mknout - za/mčen 'to lock - locked'
dotknout - dotčen 'to touch - touched'
zatkout - zatčen 'to arrest - arrested'
obleknout - oblečen 'to dress - dressed'

ch - š:

nadchnout - nadšen 'to inspire - inspired'

sk - št:

tisknout - tištěn 'to print - printed'

The verbs napadnout 'to attack' and nabodnout 'to prick' have napaden and naboden, respectively, as their past passive participles. Hnout 'to move' and tknout 'to touch' have hnut and tknut, respectively. Trhnout 'to pull' can have as past passive participle tržen, but the verbal noun is trhnutí or tržení.

Verbs having consonant mutation belong to the very old stock and their mutated participles are original forms (Old Czech: tiščen 'printed'). Many of them belong to the old Slavic non-determined - inchoative correlation dvigati - dvignoti 'to move, to lift up'. Newer formations (e.g. semelfactives) do not have consonant mutation; e.g. srknout 'to sip', prasknout 'to crack', rozbfesknout se 'to dawn',

plesknout 'to spank', lusknout 'to crackle, to slap', poslechnout 'to obey'.

5) Some more frequent final root consonants are:

velars: k, h, ch:

sáhnout 'to touch', páchnout 'to smell bad', sežehnout 'to burn', schnout 'to dry', hořknout 'to turn bitter', tichnout 'to become silent'

dental stops: d, t:

vládnout 'to rule', stydnout 'to become cold', sednout 'to sit down', odmítnout 'to decline from', bohatnout 'to become rich'.

dental spirants: s, z:

říznout 'to cut', klouznout 'to slip', váznout 'to be at a standstill', zasnout 'to be surprised', hlesnout 'to utter a word'.

labials: p, b:

hloupnout 'to become stupid', šoupnout 'to move', klepnout 'to knock', slábnout 'to become weak'.

labial fricatives: f, v (rare):

hafnout 'to puff', obživnout 'to come to life'.

Other root final consonants are infrequent: plácnout 'to hit', stárnout 'to become old'.

The only root final consonant clusters are sk and st: tloustnout 'to become fat', prasknout 'to crackle'.

3. 4. Class III verbs: Type: kupovat

Infinitive: kup-ova-t

Present stem: kupu,j-

Infinitive stem: kupova-

Conjugation: -e

In traditional Czech grammars such verbs are said to belong to the class III group of verbs together with other verbs with -j- in the present stem, even though some types differ in their infinitive stems, e.g. kryt 'to cover', smát se 'to laugh'. The latter are few and in this classification are discussed in non-productive groups. The -ovat verbs on the other hand, are numerous, since by means of the -ova- suffix new denominatives as well as new deverbatives are formed. This formation was known and common as early as Old Czech. In word formation (denominatives) there seems to be only one suffix having similar productivity, namely the suffix -i-. The suffixes -e- and -a- are now less frequent and typical of derivation from certain parts of speech (e.g. adjectives) only. Thus, besides the old panovat 'to rule', kralevat 'to reign', besedovat 'to debate', kamenovat 'to stone', obětovat 'to sacrifice', bedovat 'to lament', darevat 'to give', we have new formations schuzovat 'to hold a meeting', soudcovat 'to function as a referee', colloquial kafovat 'to be a coffee addict', or predsedovat 'to be or to function as a chairman' (different from predsedat 'to run a meeting').

The majority of loan verbs that came into Czech from German, French or other languages, and the so-called Europeanisms based on Latin or Greek, have the -ova- suffix. This feature can be found in very old verbs as bir̂movat 'to confirm', bir̂icovat 'to make noise', as well as in recent formations as nacionalizovat 'to nationalize', komunikovat 'to communicate', tr̂enovat 'to practice', modernisovat 'to modernize', etc. As a grammatical formant the suffix -ova- is used to form derived secondary imperfectives from the -it verbs, e.g. vyprosit - vyprošovat 'to beg, to beseech', zkrátit - zkracovat 'to shorten'. This correlation is productive and replaces the older type which is based on the i - e correlation, e.g. vyvařit - vyvářet/vyvařovat 'to boil', vysušit - vysoušet/vysušovat 'to dry'.

In addition, the pairs with both -ovat and -ávat correlations should be mentioned. Both correlations are productive, but the meanings may be slightly different, e.g. the verb zastřít 'to put something somewhere, to lock' has secondary imperfectives zastrkovat 'to lock' and zastrkávat 'to put something somewhere'; the verb hrabat 'to rake' has secondary imperfective uhrabovat and uhrabávat, both meaning 'to rake'.

The verbs in -st, meaning transition into another quality or state, form the secondary imperfectives in the same manner as the -it causatives. Secondary imperfectives as zjemnovat

to zjemnit 'to make smooth' and zjemnět 'to become smooth', have both causative and change of state meanings. Thus zjemňovat means both 1) 'to become smooth', 2) 'to make something smooth'.

Prefixed perfectives in -nout with the instantaneous meaning have often imperfective correlates in -ovat/-avat but rarely in -at. The co-occurrence of both variants with -ovat/-avat is not exceptional, e.g. vystříhnout - vystříhovat/vystřihávat 'to cut out', obtisknout - obtiskovat - obtiskávat 'to print'. Some verbs like oplachnout - oplachovat 'to rinse', poskytnout - poskytovat 'to offer', vystihnout - vystihovat 'to characterize', have only the -ova-variant.

Correlations with -nout/-et are rare, e.g. pominout - pomíjet 'to pass by, to stop', but ovínout has both ovíjet and ovínovat 'to wind, to bind'.

In summary, it can be said that there are three large groups of -ovat verbs,

- 1) simplex verbs
- 2) prefixed perfectives
- 3) secondary imperfectives.

As far as aspect is concerned, it is obvious in its appearance in groups 2 and 3. Aspect in group 1 (simplex verbs) has to be mentioned briefly. While simplicia of other classes are only exceptionally perfective, the -ovat simplicia, especially those belonging to scientific borrowings, are aspectually non-differentiated. It means that

they do not have formal aspectual correlations, and that their aspect is determined only by context. They can be used either as perfectives or imperfectives, though the more frequently used verbs tend to differentiate aspect by means of prefixation. Thus we have only avizovat 'to notify', but aranžovat and zaranžovat 'to arrange' (see Chapter IV, 4. 1.).

It is obvious that in Czech the -ova- suffix functions grammatically in aspectual formation, and not only lexically as it does in Modern Russian. There it was replaced by the -yva- suffix in the derivation of secondary imperfectives; common 18th century types, as for example, svazovat 'to bind', nakazovat 'to punish', were replaced by svazyvat, nakazyvat. The Polish -owa- suffix has the same grammatical function as its Czech counterpart.

During the historical development of Czech only few verbs were transferred from other classes to the -ova- class. Modern Czech does not have -eva- verbs. For example, for the old forms kralevat 'to reign', nocevat 'to stay overnight', there is modern kralovat 'to reign', nocovat 'to stay overnight'.

After the loss of the imperfect tense, the verbs of the kovati 'to forge' type ceased to be differentiated in their conjugation from the -ovat verbs. However, they developed both -a and -e conjugation forms. We have now kovati 'to forge', kovám 'I forge', or archaic and literary

kouti 'to forge' with kuji 'I forge'; snovati 'to weave', has also infinitive snouti and 1 sg. present snuji, snovu, snovám 'I weave'; souti 'to push, to move', has only suji with the infinitive sovati not used. From the two verbs obědovat/obědvat 'to dine', only the latter remains in modern usage. Other verbs with -j- in the present stem but without -ova- in the infinitive belong to non-productive groups.

Generally the -ova- verbs can be called "action" and "attitude" verbs. The semantic meaning of a large part of this group is that of carrying out some kind of worklike activity. Thus numerous variants of pracovat 'to work' can be easily found, many of them professional and scientific terms; e.g. anestezovat 'anesthetize', redigovat 'to edit', chlorovat 'to chlorinate', inhalovat 'to inhale', drátovat 'to wire', montovat 'to assemble', asfaltovat 'to cover with asphalt', betonovat 'to cover with concrete', cementovat 'to cement', bagrovat 'to dredge', etc.

Frequent colloquialisms can be found, especially in expressions typical for different social groups, in this area, e.g. masírovat 'to massage', ketasovat 'to sell at the black market', sacovat 'to search', brakovat 'to pillage'.

Others can be called verbs of "active participation", e.g. besedovat 'to have a talk', debatovat 'to debate', sportovat 'to go in for sports', sledovat 'to pursue', směrovat 'to line up'. They may also imply activity or

attitudes, e.g. vyhrožovat 'to frighten', pochlebovat 'to compliment', žalovat 'to tattletale', vnucovat 'to enforce', vénovat 'to donate', vzdorovat 'to resist'.

"State" verbs and "change of state" verbs (resultatives) with the -ova- suffix are only secondary imperfectives, e.g. zjemňovat 'to make smooth', znečišťovat 'to make dirty'.

The following is a sample conjugational paradigm of the -ovat type, with the verb kupovat 'to buy' as a sample verb.

Present tense:	<u>sg.</u>	<u>pl.</u>
	kup-uj-i	kup-uj-e-me
	kup-uj-e-š	kup-uj-e-te
	kup-uj-e	kup-uj-í
Imperative:	kup-uj (te)	
Present gerund:	kup-uj-e	
Present verbal adjective:	kup-uj-ící	

Infinitive stem forms:

Infinitive:	kupova-t
Past participle:	kupova-l
Past passive participle:	kupová-n
Past gerund:	kupova-v
Past verbal adjective:	kupova-vší

Notes to conjugation: The -ovat verbs have -ova/uj- alternation of the stems.

3. 5 Class IV verbs.

Type: prosit

Infinitive: pros-i-t

Present stem: prosi'

Infinitive stem: prosi-

Conjugation: -i

In Czech grammars these verbs are known as class IV verbs. One of their formal conjugational features has been taken as the basis for their further sub-division into prosit 'to ask for' and sázet 'to plant' types, namely the form of the 3 pl. present. Their conjugational patterns partly correspond with the semantic meaning of the sub-groups, especially with the sub-division into -it/-et verbs; but on the whole they differ only very slightly and therefore in this classification they are presented as one type only.

The productivity of this class rests in its access to numerous nominal and adjectival derivatives. The former have mostly the -i- suffix and share the meaning of doing something, e.g. řečnit 'to talk', školit 'to educate', soutěžit 'to compete', cvičit 'to practice', cenit 'to evaluate', škrobit 'to starch', postríbrřit 'to cover with silver', or of working as or like a specialist, artisan, especially verbs with typical -řit, -řit, -nit endings. E. g. hospodařit 'to farm', from hospodář 'farmer', kolchozničit 'to work in a agricultural co-op', sedláčit

'to farm', from sedlák 'farmer', bratřit se 'to make friends with', from bratr 'brother'. Some of these can have a denotative meaning; e.g., kupřit 'to buy and sell with profit', pletichařit 'to gossip', diktátorřit 'to act as a dictator'. Denominative derivation is very old and in this group of verbs we find such forms as vítězit 'to win', bránit 'to defend', brojit 'to be against', rodit 'to bear', rmoutit 'to make sad', těsit 'to please' and pudit 'to impel'. Their connection with the noun roots might not be obvious in the modern language, as the roots can have sound alternations, as těsit and útěcha 'consolation'; tusit 'to anticipate', and tucha 'anticipation'. Their etymological connection may become obsolete as rmoutit 'to make sad' and rmut 'sediment', brojit 'to be against' and broj 'armour', bránit 'to defend' and braň 'weapon'. Other verbs with a sound pattern not too dissimilar from that of the nouns are felt rather as non-derived units than derivatives. For semantic reasons, since their meanings either became too distant to be connected (e.g. štít 'shield' and štítit se 'to detest', mok 'potion' and mořit 'to make wet'), or more often, the original common meaning was extended and now represents only a small part in the meaning field of the verb (e.g. čin 'deed' and činit 'to do, perform, to argue', děd 'grandfather', and dědit 'to inherit', mlat 'threshing floor' and mlátit 'to beat', člen 'member' and členit 'to divide' tvor 'creature' and tvorit 'to do, create',

mor 'plague', mořit 'to torment').

A shift of meaning is noticed in the group of adjectival derivatives whose original meaning was causative, e.g.

plnit 'to make something full', sílit 'to make strong',

tupit 'to make dull', tužit 'to make tough'. Now they

have more meanings, e.g. tupit: 1) make dull

2) blame someone

tvrdit 1) make strong, hard

2) to maintain, claim,

state

Other verbs have only their original causative meaning, e.g.

černit 'to make black', sladit 'to make sweet', sušit 'to

make dry'.

A small group of -it verbs has eventive (change of state) meaning as well as causative meaning. The difference is given only by the context: e.g.

bělit: 1) make white

2) become white

bubřit: 1) make swollen

2) become swollen

bachratit: 1) make paunchy

2) become paunchy

Deverbatives with the -i- suffix are rare, this suffix not being the means of forming productive aspectual corre-

lations. In pairs like mrskat - mrštit/mrsknout 'to throw fast', pouštět/pustit 'to let go, to drop', chápat/chopit 'to grasp', chytat-chytit/chytnout 'to catch', lapat-lapit/lapnout 'to catch', vracet-vrátit 'to return', the -i- suffix has perfective or semelfactive meaning. In pairs like nésti-nosit 'to bring', véztí-voztit 'to bring (by car)', jítí-chodit 'to go', jetí-jezdit 'to drive', the -it verbs are non-determined imperfective partners to the determined motion verb imperfectives. Both correlations are limited to a few verbs, though they are very old. In the case of semelfactives, variants of a more productive type are developed, e.g. chytnout, lapnout. (The verb praštit 'to hit', does not fit into the correlation praskat-prasknout 'to crackle', in the Dictionary³⁷ it is labelled only as a perfective without the other aspectual member).

Comparing the -i- suffix with other suffixes (-nou-, -va-, -a-, -e-), it is obvious that the main function of this suffix is lexical. Other suffixes are more grammatical in nature, functioning in building aspectual pairs.

The -et verb sub-group is much smaller than the -it verb sub-group and their semantic field much narrower.

Three types can be easily noticed:

1) change of state verbs, meaning to become:
šedivět 'to become gray', rezivět 'to become rusty',

lenivět 'to become lazy', tučnět 'to become fat', malátnět 'to become tired', trouchnivět 'to become rotten', ledovatět 'to become icy'. This type is productive and the verbs are mostly derived from adjectives.

2) the so-called acoustic verbs that represent noises made by man or by animals as křičet 'to shout', kvílet 'to squeal', kňučet 'to whine', kvílet 'to wail', vrčēt 'to growl', supět 'to pant', hučet 'to roar'.

3) stative and sensory verbs, that are not derived and intransitive. They apparently have an old history in the language and are recorded in the oldest texts. Examples of these verbs are: strmět 'to tower', vězet 'to be in', trčet 'to stick out', lpět 'to cling', ležet 'to lie', klečēt 'to kneel', držet 'to stick to something'; examples of sensory verbs are trpět 'to suffer', svrbět 'to itch', bolet 'to hurt', brnět 'to have pins (in the leg)', bolavět 'to be sore', churavět 'to be ailing', krvácet 'to bleed', smrdět 'to stink', vonět 'to smell', pučet 'to bud', etc.

The -et deverbatives are rare. To them belong infrequent transitive imperfectives derived from perfective verbs. These verbs do not form a distinct semantic group. Some of them are: kráčēt - kročit 'to walk', házēt - hodit 'to throw', pouštět - pustit 'to drop', vracet - vrátit 'to return', sázēt - sedit 'to plant'. Some imperfective stems are used only with prefixes, though the perfective verbs may be used unprefixes, e.g.:

<u>Perfective verb</u>	<u>Imperfective stem</u>
budit 'to awake'	-bouzet
klopit 'to let down'	-klápet
mlátit 'to thresh'	-mlacet
vařit 'to boil'	-vářet
dojit 'to milk a cow'	-dájet
-kusit 'to try'	-koušet

Other deverbatives with an -e- suffix are rare, e.g. prefixed verbs of movement: nést - -nášet 'to bring', vézt - -vázet 'to carry', chodit - cházet 'to go', hnát - -hánět 'to drive, to punch'.

The correlation -et/-et is exceptional: zavonět - zává-
nět 'to smell well', pohledět - pohlížet 'to look at'. No aspectual difference is felt in forms like velet - velit 'to command', vláčet - vláčit 'to pull, to plough', (though it is more often vláčil pole 'he ploughed the field', and vláčel něco za sebou 'he pulled something behind himself'), kutálet - kutálit 'to roll', válet - válit 'to roll', věšet - věsit 'to bang', hovět si - hovít si 'to relax'.

It can be said that the -e- suffix is important for word formation, though it is less frequent than the -i- suffix. In building aspectual pairs it is not used in Modern Czech. The productivity of -et verbs in Czech and Russian roughly corresponds: -et verbs are a sub-group of the -it type in Czech, and a sub-group of the -at type in Russian.

On the periphery of the Class IV verbs there are a few monosyllabic verbs with various semantic meanings and with infinitive forms ending in:

1) -it

2) -ít/-et

1) The following are some frequently used -it verbs:

sklít 'to put glass in'

snít 'to dream'

křtít 'to baptise'

mžít 'to rain (a little)'

dít 'to say'

ctít 'to honour'

clít 'to do the custom examination'

(po)hřbít 'to bury'

They deviate in the past (-l) participle, having root vowel length mutation, e.g. mstil 'he took revenge', ctil 'he honoured'.

2) Some frequently used -ít/-et verbs are:

pnít/pnět 'to rise'

tkvít/tkvět 'to stick'

čpít/čpět 'give a pungent smell'

chvít se/chvět se 'to tremble'

rdít se/rdět se 'to blush'

skvít se/skvět se 'to shine'

tmít se/tmět se 'to become dark'

In the past (-l) participle both variants are common,

e.g. rdila se/rděla se 'she blushed'

The aspect of the simplex -it/-et verbs is imperfective; only several of these verbs may be considered perfectives:

e.g., the following:

pustit 'to drop, to let go'	vrátit 'to return'
praštit 'to hit'	střelit 'to shoot'
mrštit 'to throw'	chopit 'to seize'
hodit 'to throw'	spasit 'to save'
koupit 'to buy'	určit 'to determine'

The verbs stavit, stačit, souřadit have both aspects,

e.g.:

<u>stavit</u> : perfective	1) <u>zastavit</u> , <u>zadržet</u> 'to stop'
	2) <u>postavit</u> , to put somewhere'
imperfective	1) <u>zabránit</u> cemu 'to prevent'
	2) <u>zastavit na čas</u> 'to stop for sometime'
	3) <u>stavět</u> 'to build'
<u>stačit</u> : perfective	<u>chytit</u> 'to catch (a train)'
imperfective	<u>být dost</u> 'to be enough'

In some prefixed -it perfectives the prefix is felt as part of the stem, giving the meaning of the imperfective - perfective split. Or, the imperfective is used very rarely (see forms in parentheses), e.g. sou-stredit 'to concentrate' (*stredit used very rarely) zkusit 'to try' (*kusit not used), uderit 'to hit', (derived from úder 'hit, blow' and not used

non-prefixed), o/vy-mezit 'to restrict' (derived from mez 'the border', not used non-prefixed), s-plavnit 'to make navigable', (derived from splavný 'navigable', not from the root plav -), s-příbuznit 'to make related' (derived from příbuzný 'relative').

Conjugation:

As some verbs of Class IV have free variants that make the conjugation complicated, a short explanation of conjugation is given.

Czech grammars usually give three patterns, making a distinction between -it verbs, -et non-derived and -et derived, the distinction being based on infinitive and past (-1) participle suffixes -i-/-e-, and different endings in the 3 pl. present.

Thus between the types prosit 'to ask' and trpět 'to suffer' we have the difference -i-/-e- in the infinitive and past participle and between the types trpět 'to suffer' and sázet 'to plant' the difference -í-/-ejí in the 3 pl. present. The Concise Czech grammar gives the following explanation: "The verbs of the type sází, sázel, sázet are almost all derived from other verbs (therefore they are imperfectives; compare sázet from sadit, vracet from vrátit) or from nouns (rozumět from rozum) or adjectives (e.g. šedivět, temnět with the meaning become gray, etc.)"³⁸ In respect

to the derived verbs, the derivation of which is no more apparent, the remark is made that "some mediate between the type trpět and sázet and in the 3 pl. present have both endings -í/-ejí; thus e.g., bolí and bolejí, mizí and mizejí, náleží and náležejí. Both forms are also found in the present gerund, but in the imperative their forms are mostly according to the trpět type as bol, rdi/se, zni, etc."³⁹

In general, the rule seems to work if one eliminates the fact that most speakers do not feel sázet 'to plant' or umět 'to know' as derived because they do not use sadit. 'to plant' (the Dictionary labels it as obsolete),⁴⁰ and they use um 'knowledge, skill' in poetic language only. But from the next rule given by the same grammar it becomes apparent that there are some verbs that mediate between prosit and sázet types: Všechny tvary (kromě rozkazovacího způsobu) podle obou vzoru prosit a sázet mají slovesa bydlit-bydlet, hanit - hanět, kvílit - kvílet, musit - muset, sílit - sílet".⁴¹

At this stage it becomes clear that even in the literary language the distribution of free variants among -it/-et verbs can be compared with the -nout verbs. And in the real language situation, in the 3 pl. present almost all verbs have both forms (-í/-ejí), while present gerunds are not used at all. Taking this into account, it may be said that we have one conjugational type with lesser variations in

some areas (especially the imperative) which are predictable to some degree. Therefore, one verb of the most productive -it type is taken for the following sample paradigm and a few rules are given for -et, -[√]et, -it types. As a sample verb, the verb prosit 'to ask for' is used. For diverging forms, the paradigm of the verb sázet 'to plant' is given.

Present stem forms:

Present tense:	<u>sg.</u>	<u>pl.</u>
	pros- <u>í</u> -m	pros- <u>í</u> -me
	pros- <u>í</u> - [√] s	pros- <u>í</u> -te
	pros- <u>í</u>	pros- <u>í</u> , sáz-ej ^í

Imperative: pros(te), sáz-ej(te)

Present gerund: pros-e, sáz-ej-e

Present verbal adjective: pros-í-cí, sáz-ej-ící

Infinitive stem forms:

Infinitive: pros-i-t

Past participle: pros-i-l

Past passive participle: pro[√]s-en, sáz-en

Past gerund: pros - i - v

Past verbal adjective: pros-i-v[√]í

Notes to conjugation:

1) In the 3 pl. present all verbs have free variants -í/-ejí. In educated language the -í ending is accepted

as the literary form for all -it verbs and non-derived -et verbs.

2) Imperatives of derived -et verbs end in -ej, imperatives of all other verbs have the form identical with the present stem.

3) Present gerunds of derived -et verbs have the -j- suffix, e.g. sázeje 'planting'. Present verbal adjectives have both variants, e.g. sázející/sázící 'planting', vonějící/vonící 'smelling', bolející/bolící 'hurting'. The distinction 'literary and not-literary' is arbitrary.

4) Past participles of all -et verbs retain -e-: trpěl 'he suffered', sázel 'he planted'.

5) Only some -it verbs have consonant mutation (softening) in past passive participle, e.g.:

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Past passive participle</u>
t - c:	ztratit	ztracen 'lost'
d - z:	nahradit	nahrazen 'compensated'
st - št:	sprostít	sproštěn 'freed from'
zd - žd:	opozdit	opozděn 'retarded'
s - š:	hasit	hašen 'extinguished'
z - ž:	porazit	poražen 'knocked down'
sl - šl:	myslit	myšlen 'thought'

Other verbs of the same phonetic structure do not have the mutation, e.g.:

	<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Past passive participle</u>
	kreslit	kreslen 'drawn'

dědit	děděn 'inherited'
spasit	spasen 'saved'
umístit	umístěn 'placed'

The following verbs have both forms even in 'literary' usage:

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Past passive participle</u>
mísit	mísen/míšen 'mixed'
čistit	čistěn/čístěn 'cleaned'

The consonant mutation is not predictable in the past passive participle and therefore this form should be given in dictionaries.

6) Monosyllabic -ít/-et verbs, as dlít/dlet 'to be somewhere, to stay', tlít 'to rot' have free variants dlil/dlel 'stayed', tlil/tlel 'rotted'.

In Modern Czech, the -í conjugation forms predominate. The -j- suffix in imperative and present gerund of derived -et verbs is the only remnant of an older stage, when this suffix, being in all present stem form, characterized the group. After vowel alternation known as úžení (e.g. for Old Czech uměju 'I know' there is Modern Czech umím 'I know'), the whole group was transferred from the -e to the -í conjugation.

3. 6. Class V verbs.

Non-productive verbs.

Verbs belonging to this class may differ in two ways from those included in the four productive classes.

1) in their conjugational pattern; this does not necessarily mean that they are irregular, since their conjugations can be explained in terms of rather general rules.

2) in their productivity, as opposed to classes I - IV. Thus, matching conjugational types and productivity, it can be said that no new Czech verbs, either lexical or grammatical new formations, are conjugated as members of this non-productive verb class. It is therefore not surprising that most of these verbs belong to the oldest stock, often documented in the first texts.

For their further division into groups the same criterion as for the productive classes was used, namely, matching of the present and infinitive stem and the conjugational type. The -e conjugation type is the most numerous, having some verbs of the transitional productive - non-productive type. Verbs ending in the 3 sg. present in -ne are almost disappearing, being transferred into the productive -nout class. Several isolated verbs with unpredictable conjugations are discussed in the "irregular" group, for they close the list of verbal classes, showing a range from thousands of verb types to single verb types.

The non-productive verbs will be discussed in this order:

- Group 1: infinitive: -a -t
conjugation: -e
- Group 2: infinitive: - consonant + t, -ci
conjugation: -e
- Group 3: infinitive: -(r)í - t
conjugation: -e
- Group 4: infinitive: -í-t, -á-t, -ou-t
present stem: -j- suffix
conjugation: -e
- Group 5: infinitive: -í-t/-nou-t
present stem: -n- suffix
conjugation: -e
- Group 6: isolated irregular verbs

3.6.1. Group 1

Types: sypat, mazat

Present stem: syp-, maž-

Infinitive stem: sypa- maza-

Conjugation: -e

To the largest non-productive group belong verbs with an infinitive form identical to the verbs of Class I, but that have either both -á and -e conjugation forms or only -e conjugation forms. Many of these verbs have free variants as a result of gradual changes of conjugational pattern. Some of them have consonant or vowel alternation in the present tense, imperative, present gerund, and on this basis they can be divided into two sub-groups:

A) those without root alternation

B) those with root alternation

A) Verbs without root alternation

For this sub-group, present stems ending in a labial are exhibited in the present tense. In the present gerund, they always show a -j- suffix; in the imperative all of them can have a -j- suffix, and some of them have a zero suffix as a free variant.

As the infinitive and present stem forms of these verbs are the same as those of Class I verbs, a list of frequently used verbs belonging to Class V, group 1 follows. Present stems ending in labials are typical, while other consonants or clusters are exceptional.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Present stem</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
	<u>- p -</u>		
třepat 'to follow'	třep-	třep-u, -ám	třepej, třep
šlapat 'to slip'	šlap-	šlap-u, -ám	šlapej, šlap
sypat 'to pour'	syp-	syp-u, -ám	sypej, syp
štípat 'to chop'	štíp-	štíp-u, -ám	štípej
klepat 'to knock'	klep-	klep-u -ám	klepej, klep
loupat 'to peel'	loup-	loup-u, -ám	loupej

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Present stem</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
tápat 'to grope'	táp-	táp-u, -ám	tápej
chápat 'to seize'	cháp-	cháp-u, -ám	chápej
tepat 'to beat'	tep	tep-u, -ám	tepej
šoupat 'to move'	šoup-	šoup-u, -ám	šoupej
skřípat 'to grate'	skříp-	skříp-u, -ám	skřípej
sípat 'to wheeze'	síp-	síp-u, -ám	sípej
rýpat 'to dig'	rýp-	rýp-u, -ám	rýpej
sápat se 'to attack'	sáp-	sáp-u, -ám	sápej
houpat 'to swing'	houp-	houp-u, -ám	houpej
kopat 'to dig'	kop-	kop-u, -ám	kopej
klapat 'to clatter'	klap-	klap-u, -ám	klapej
kapat 'to trickle'	kap-	kap-u, -ám	kapej

(Compare the Modern Russian kapaju and the older kaplju 'I trickle')

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Present stem</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
	-b-		
klobat 'to peck'	klob-	klob-u, -ám	klobej
dloubat 'to nudge'	dloub-	dloub-u, -ám	dloubej

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>Present stem</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
✓skrabat 'to scratch'	✓skrab-	✓skrab-u, -ám	✓skrabej, ✓skrab
dlabat 'to poke'	dlab-	dlab-u, -ám	dlabej, dlab
rubat 'to go bang'	rub-	rub-u, -ám	rubej, rub
hýbat 'to move'	hýb-	hýb-u, -ám	hýbej, hýb
hrabat 'to rake'	hrab-	hrab-u, -ám	hrabej, hrab
zobat 'to peck up'	zob-	zob-u, -ám	zobej, zob
✓skubat 'to jerk'	✓skub-	✓skub-u, -ám	✓skubej
vstřebat 'to absorb'	vstřeb-	vstřeb-u, -ám	vstřebej, vstreb
-m-			
lámát 'to break'	lám-	lám-u, -ám	lamej
cloumat 'to tug'	cloum-	cloum-u, -am	cloumej
klamat 'to disappoint'	klam-	klam-u, -am	klamej, klam
-v-			
kývat 'to wave'	kýv-	kýv-u, -ám	kývej
plavat 'to swim'	plav-	plav-u, -ám	plavej, plav
couvat 'to step back'	couv-	couv-u, -ám	couvej

Infinitive Present stem 1 sg. present Imperative

-other consonants-

kašlat 'to cough'	kašl-	kašl-u, -ám	kašlej, kašli
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Verbs with monosyllabic basis exhibit only -e conjugation forms, e.g.:

Infinitive Present stem 1 sg. present Imperative

ržat 'to neigh'	rž-	3 sg. ržá	not used
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3 pl. rzou, rzaji

štvát 'to bait'	štv-	štv-u	štvi
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rvat 'to tear'	rv-	rv-u	rvi
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řvát 'to bawl'	řv-	řv-u	řvi
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cpát 'to stuff'	cp-	cp-u	cpí
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Present gerunds of the above verbs, when they are used, have the -j- suffix. Gerunds rva, řva, cpa or cpaje are used very rarely. For štvát the dictionaries usually do not give a present gerund.

B) Verbs with root alternation

Two types of alternation can be noticed: (a) root consonant alternation (softening), (b) vowel alternation

B.a) The root consonant alternates in all forms of the present tense (compare the previously mentioned -it verbs with root alternation in the past passive participle), in

the imperative, and present gerund. There is no alternation in the past passive participle. Some of the verbs can have variants in accord with the -á conjugational patterns mentioned above. The variants sometimes have different or shifted meanings but most verbs have free variants in the imperative and present gerund only.

Alternating consonants are:

1) velars: h - ž, k - č; ch - š

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Present gerund</u>
lhát 'to lie'	lžu	lži	lha
týkat 'to touch'	3 sg. týká týče	týkej	týkaje, týče
plakat 'to cry'	pláču	plač, plakej (colloq.)	pláce, plakaje
skákat 'to jump'	skáču	skákej	skákaje
páchat 'to do some- thing bad'	pášu, páchám	páchej	páchaje

2) dental spirants: s - š; z - ž

kousat 'to bite'	koušu, kousám	kousej	kousaje
česat 'to comb'	češu, česám	česej, češ	česaje
křesat 'to strike'	křešu, křesám	křesej, křeš	křesaje
klusat 'to gallop'	klušu, klusám	klusej, kluš	klusaje
řezat 'to cut'	řežu, řezám	řezej, řež	řezaje

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Present gerund</u>
vrzat 'to creak'	vr ^ǎ zu, vrzám	vrzej, vrž	vrzaje
lízat 'to lick'	lí ^ǎ zu, lízám	lízej	lízaje
hryzat 'to grow'	hry ^ǎ zu, hryzám	hryzej	hryzaje
klouzat 'to slide'	klou ^ǎ zu, klouzám	klouzej	klouzaje

All forms of the above verbs are accepted as literary. But the verbs mazat 'to spread', vázat 'to bind', tázat se 'to ask', kázat 'to preach', have only one form in the imperative, e.g. maž, taž se, and in present gerund, e.g. maže, táže se.

The verb psát 'to write' has both consonant and vowel alternation, and is the only one of its kind. E.g. 1 sg. present, pí^ǎsu, pí^ǎsi, present gerund pí^ǎse, (compare Russian pisat').

3) r - ř

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Present gerund</u>
orat 'to plough'	orám, or ^ǎ u (bookish)	orej	oraje
párat 'to unsew, to rip'	parám, pá ^ǎ ru	párej	páraje
kárat 'to reproach'	káram, ká ^ǎ ru	kárej	káraje

4) n - ň

stonat 'to be ill'	st ^ǎ nu, stonám (colloq.)	stonej	stonaje
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The verb slát 'to send' has initial root consonant alternation in the present stem and imperative, e.g. slu 'I send', slí 'send'. There is no present gerund.

B.b) Vowel alternation is typical for monosyllabic roots with a liquid before the root vowel:

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>Present gerund</u>
prát 'to wash'	peru	per	pera
drát 'to strip' (feathers)	deru	der	dera
zrát 'to eat up, to glut'	z ^ˇ eru	z ^ˇ er	z ^ˇ era
stlát 'to strew'	stelu	stel	stela

One verb has initial consonant alternation and vowel mutation as well:

hnát 'to drive'	z ^ˇ enu	z ^ˇ en ^ˇ	z ^ˇ ena
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The verb zvat has variants zvu and zovu (the latter is poetic, perhaps archaic; compare the Russian zvat' - zovu). The verb

brát 'to take' has ø - e root vowel alternation, e.g.

1 sg. present beru 'I take'. Forms with -ř-, e.g. běru are bookish.

Most Class V, Group 1 verbs are non-derived primary verbs. In Old Czech they belonged to different conjugational types (e.g. to Class V, type kovati 'to forge' with present stem suffix -io-, -je, or the same class, type

tesati 'to hew', or Class I, types plivati 'to spit', znát 'to know', Class IV, type brát 'to take'. Compare Travnick's classification⁴²). The conjugational variants can be explained diachronically, and only on this basis more general conjugational rules can be given for free variants.

Such an approach is seen in Isacenko's "Morphology of the Slovak Verb", in which he gives a scheme of verbal bases derived by internal reconstruction and morphonemic transformation rules for morpheme strings generated in Modern Slovak.⁴³ But, as he remarks, free variants are not considered in these rules. It can be said that each of the free variants is possible, but this does not mean its existence or co-occurrence is a fact.

It can be said, however, that most labial stems have usually two sets of forms, except when they are iteratives and secondary imperfectives in -vat. (Compare Chapter III, Class I verbs and the situation in Russian that is occasionally simpler, as Russian labials in this position alternate as a rule, the verbs having only one set of forms). Stems with k, ch, h, s, z have consonant alternation and usually one set of forms. The latter verbs differ from Class I verbs, but there is no indication of such a difference in their infinitive forms (sahat 'to touch', koukat 'to look at' are Class I verbs; kousat 'to bite', plakat 'to cry' are Class V, Group 1 verbs). The difference can be noticed in the present stem, but to derive

this stem presupposes knowing the possible 3 sg. present variants, e.g. only jás-a 'he rejoices' against kouš-á/ kouš-e 'he bites'. This tendency seems to be stronger in Czech than in Russian where verbs like metat' 'to sweep', šeptat' 'to whisper', opojasat's'a, 'to girdle', pl'asat' 'to rejoice', klevetat 'to gossip', trepetat' 'to shake', glodat' 'to gnaw', dvigat' 'to move', pleskat' 'to spank' and others have consonant mutation. The corresponding Czech opášu se 'I girdle', šepcu 'I whisper' are possible, but obsolete. The verb ždat si čeho is used only in poetic language. The verb tkát has regular -á conjugation forms. Others, as for example, the dialectal, fláču 'I flitter', plkocu 'I say', mocu 'I can', can be heard in Moravian Slovak.

Verbal aspect of this Group 1 verbs is imperfective; only the verb slát 'to send', can be either perfective or imperfective, but the verb itself is commonly replaced by the pair poslat - posílat 'to send'. Some verbs can have semelfactives in -nout, e.g. kopnout 'to kick', hýbnout 'to move', and iteratives in -á-vat, e.g. škubávat 'to jerk sometimes', plakávat 'to be used to cry'.

Prefixed, they become perfectives. The rules for prefixation are the same as those for productive verbs; prefixes do not affect roots or the conjugational type.

Conjugational Pattern:

Only verbs with consonant mutation will be given, as deviant forms were mentioned in detail above. As a sample verb, the verb mazat 'to spread' is used.

Present stem forms:

Present tense:	<u>sg.</u>	<u>pl.</u>
	maž-u	maž-e-m(e)
	maž-e-š	maž-e-te
	maž-e	maž-ou/í

Imperative: maž (te)

Present gerund: maž-e

Present verbal adjective: maž-í-cí

Infinitive stem forms:

Infinitive: maza-t

Past participle: maza-l

Past passive participle: maza-n

Past gerund: maza-v

Past verbal adjective: maza-vsí

3.6.2. Group 2

Types: nést, pečí

Infinitive: consonants s/z + t, -ci

Present stem: nes-, pec-

Infinitive stem: consonantal

Conjugation: -e

In Czech grammars these verbs are usually classified

as a sub-group of Class I, type nésti 'to bring'. This classification is obviously taken from historical grammars, where it was based on the final consonant or vowel of the infinitive stem. As in this case, the infinitive suffix was added directly to the stem, all these verbs being considered historically "athematic". They differ from other verbs with an -a-, -nou-, ova, -i-, -e- theme vowel because of the consonantal cluster at the end of their infinitive forms. As they developed, the consonantal groups underwent phonetic changes, e.g. st developed from Proto-Slavic *tt, *dt, c from *gt, *kt. (Athematic vocalic stems brá- zvá- in verbs brát 'to take', zvát 'to call' have in Modern Czech the same conjugation as thematic vocalic stems of Group 1, and therefore were listed there).

Among the athematic verbs several smaller groups can be distinguished, according to the stem consonant:

Group 2.a:

Infinitive	1 sg. Present	Imperative	Past Parti- ciple	Past Passive Participle
s/z:				
růst 'to grow'	rostu	rost'	rostl	(does not form)
nést 'to carry'	nesu	nes	nesl	nesen
trást 'to shake'	trésu	trés	trásl	trésen
vézt	vezu	vez	vezl	vezen

Infinitive	1 sg. Present	Imperative	Past Parti- ciple	Past Passive Participle
lézt 'to crawl'	lezu	lez	lezl	(na)lezen (only prefixed)
hrýzt 'to gnaw'	hryžu	hryž	hryzl	hryzen

The verb hrýzt 'to gnaw' has a new formation hryzat, 'to gnaw', that can have both -á and -e conjugation forms. Thus we have trios: 1 sg. present hryžu, hryzu, hryzám 'I gnaw', imperative hryz, hryž, hryzej 'gnaw'. (Compare Russian which has gryzt).

The verb zábst 'to freeze', used in the 3 sg. and pl. zebe, zebou and in the past (-l) participle zábl has the infinitive form with -s- probably by analogy with nésti 'to bring'. The Old Czech infinitive was ziebti. (Compare the colloquial 3 sg. present zábne, zíbne with Russian infinitive zabnut).

As a conjugational pattern the forms of the verb nést 'to bring' are given below.

Present stem forms:

Present tense:	<u>sg.</u>	<u>pl.</u>
	nes-u	nes-e-m(e)
	nes-e-š ^v	nes-e-te
	nes-e	nes-ou

Imperative: nes(te)

Present gerund: nes-a

Present verbal adjective: nes-ouci

Infinitive stem forms:

Infinitive: nés-t

Past Participle: nes-l

Past Passive Participle: nes-en

Past gerund: nes

Past verbal adjective: nes-ší

Notes to conjugation:

1) In the past stem the verbs show root vowel length alternation: infinitive: long vowel; other forms: short vowel.

2) In colloquial language the masculine gender of the past participle has the stem form, the -l suffix being dropped (compare Chapter III, Class II verbs), e.g. nes 'brought', vez 'carried', před 'wove'.

3) In colloquial language, past passive participle of nést 'to bring', vézt 'to carry' have consonant alternation by analogy with the -it verbs, thus nešen 'brought' vežen 'carried'.

4) The verbs rust 'to grow', houst 'play the violin', příst 'to weave' have root vowel alternation: ú-o, ou-u, í - e, in all forms except infinitive, therefore rostu 'I grow', hudu 'I play the violin', předu 'I weave'.

The verb trást 'to shake' has -á- only in infinitive and past participle, all other forms have -e-.

The verb číst 'to read' has present tense čtu 'I read',

čtes 'you read', imperative čti 'read', past participle: četl 'he read', četla/čtla 'she read'; četlo/čtlo 'it read', četli/ctli 'they read' (compare Slovak and Russian čitat 'to read').

In Old Czech more verbs belonged to the nést 'to bring' type. Some of them were replaced by other lexemes, e.g. čerpti 'to draw', viezti 'to be in' (now vězet 'to be in' and vězení 'prison'), hřésti 'to rake, to dig', but the noun hřeben 'the comb', and the new formation hřbít 'to bury' are used. (Compare hřésti with Russian gresti 'to row'). Others gradually developed all forms of productive classes, namely those of the -nout verbs, e.g. old siesti, modern sednout 'to sit', pasti/padnout 'to fall down', skysti/skytnout 'to offer', vlasti/vládnout 'to rule', bosti/bodnout 'to stab'. (Russian still has past' 'to fall', sest' 'to sit'). On this basis present variation of zábst/zábnout 'to freeze', krást/mkrást/ukradnout 'to steal' can be understood.

Group 2.b Stem Consonants h, k.

These consonants do not appear in infinitives that have the typical ending -ci (in colloquial -ct by analogy with -t/ti infinitives; compare the Russian -č). Consonant alternation is characteristic for both stems, k/h being found in the 1 sg. and 3 pl. present, past participle, past gerund. They have č/z in other present forms

and the past passive participle, and in imperative they have c/z. Present tense forms with both k/č and h/ž are accepted as literary, with the exception of můžu 'I can' and můžou 'they can', that are labelled as colloquial by Český pravopis,⁴⁴ but that are commonly used. Frequent unprefixated -ci verbs are the following: vléci 'to draw', tlouci 'to beat', síci 'to mow', téci 'to flow', pečí 'to bake', obléci 'to dress', říci 'to tell', moci 'can', stríci se 'to warn, to watch'.

As a conjugational pattern the forms of the verb pečí 'to bake' are given:

Present stem:

Present tense	<u>sg.</u>	<u>pl.</u>
	pek-u/peč-u	peč-em(e)
	peč-eš	peč-ete
	peč-e	pek-ou/peč-ou

Imperative: peč/te

Present gerund: pek -a

Present verbal adjective - pek-oucí

Past stem:

Infinitive: péci .

Past participle: pek-l

Past gerund: pek

Past verbal adjective: pek-ší

Notes to conjugation:

The following verbs have stem vowel alternation:

1) tlouci 'to beat', tluku/tluču 'I beat', stříci 'to warn', střehu 'I warn', past participle střehl 'warned' (the verb itself is bookish and its prefixed derivatives belong to the -nout verbs; e.g. postřehnout 'to notice').

2) The irregularities in the conjugation of the verb říci/řeknout 'to say' can be explained by the gradual transfer to the -nout verbs. Thus we have the original, but bookish forms: 1 sg. řku, imperative rci, rcete, present gerund, řka; original and used: past participle řekl and colloquial řeknul, past passive participle řečen; new forms of the present tense: řeknu, 'I say', řekneš 'you say', etc., imperative řekni, past gerund řeknuv.

Prefixed derivatives have říci and řknout or řeknout forms, e.g. prořici se/prořeknout se 'to say what was not intended to', bookish vyřknout 'to utter', (with past participle vyřkl, vyřknul); dořici/dořeknout 'to finish telling' (with past participle dořekl); nařici 'to start telling' (with past participle nařekl); nařknout 'to accuse'.

The verb určiti 'to decide' (derived from past passive participle rcen 'said') shows a regular conjugational pattern.

3) Old Czech vrci 'to throw', žéci 'to burn' sieci 'to touch', příeci 'to put the horses to (carriage)' léci 'to lie down', léci (laku) 'to cure' were transferred

mostly to the -nout verbs, giving modern forms vrhnout, žhnout, sáhnout, prefixed - práhnout, lehnout, léčit (with later split léčit 'to cure' and líčit 'to make up' respectively).

Aspect of non-prefixed Group 2 verbs is imperfective, except řici 'to say' and obleci 'to dress' (originally prefixed obvléci), that are perfectives. Some of them have iteratives as růst/růstat 'to grow', pást/pásat 'to graze', trást/trásat 'to shake', síci/sekát 'to mow'. The verbs nésti 'to bring', vésti 'to lead', vézti 'to carry, build non-determined imperfectives nosit, vozt, vodit. The verb lézat is felt rather as an iterative of the verb lézt 'to crawl' than a non-determined imperfective. Prefixed perfectives build imperfectives that belong to productive classes, e.g. utlouci/utloukat 'to beat to death', nasíci-nasekat 'to cut a lot of ...'.

Group 3 Infinitive -it Type: drít

Present stem: dr -

Infinitive stem: drí-

Conjugation: -e

All primary verbs of this group have cc + it structure in the infinitive, the second consonant being r. (The only exception is one verb, mlít). Otherwise, all belong

to the -e conjugation. They can have free variants in the 1 sg. and 3 pl. present, the forms with -ř being bookish. But they show only r forms in the present gerund. In past stem forms (except the infinitive) they have -e- instead of the expected í.

The following verbs belong to this group: třít 'to rub', vřít 'to boil', přít se 'to argue', mřít 'to die' dřít 'to work hard', bookish střít 'to spread', zřít 'to see', and mlít 'to grind, to mill'. All are imperfectives from which other verbs can be derived, but only by prefixation. Only from prefixed perfectives, secondary imperfectives can be derived by suffixation, e.g.:

třít - utřít - utírat 'to wipe'

přít - popřít - popírat 'to negate'

mřít - umřít - umírat 'to die'

This means that there are not semelfactives and iteratives in this group. (The same can be said about Russian verbs with "full vocalism" Vollaut, polnoglasije, e.g. the ere/oro - olo types in Russian).

The meaning of the derived verbs is often very far from the simplex verb, e.g.:

přít (archaic) 'to negate', zapřít 'to deny', upřít/odepřít 'to withhold'; vřít 'to boil', zavřít 'to close', uvřít/přivřít 'to close a little', zanevřít 'to conceive hatred', vyvřít 'to erupt'.

Conjugation:

In general, the conjugational pattern is identical to that of Group 2.b (nésti). Only the verb mlít 'to grind' has to be mentioned separately, as it has root vowel alternation in the present stem, e.g. 1 sg. present melu, imperative mel, present participle mela, but past participle mlel.

3.6.4. Group 4 Types: hrát, pít, sout

Infinitive: -át/-ít/-out

Present stem: hraj-

Infinitive stem: hrá-, pí-, sou-

Conjugation: -e

According to their present stem suffix -j-, these verbs are very similar to the -ovat verbs. According to their infinitive ending, on the other hand, they can be divided into three sub-groups (4a, 4b, and 4c).

4.a) Verbs with -at in the infinitive

This group contains several verbs only. Infinitive forms without the -j- suffix are documented in Old Czech, (compare Old Czech láti 'to curse' and káti se 'to repent' against Russian lajat' 'to curse', and kajat'sa 'to repent').

Some verbs are without mutation, e.g.: lát 'to curse', sát 'to suck' (past passive participle sán or sát, verbal noun sáni or sáti), tát 'to throw', (past passive participle tán or tát, verbal nouns tátí, tání), kát se 'to repent',

zrát 'to ripe', hrát 'to play', plát 'to blaze' (present tense plají is bookish, as well as its -a variant plám; its -nout variants planout 'to blaze', 1st sg. planu, are common).

Some verbs show the vowel mutation á - e.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Past participle</u>
okrát 'to recover'	okřeji	okřál
prát 'to wish'	přeji	prál
smát se 'to laugh'	směji se	smál se
hřát 'to warm'	hřeji	hřál
vát 'to blow'	věji	vál

(variants with -nou- also exist: vanout 'to blow'),

All verbs are imperfectives, except the verb okrát 'to recover' which is a perfective (originally prefix o + krát; the non-prefixed form is not used in Modern Czech).

All verbs can have iteratives in -ávat, e.g. hřávat 'to warm'.

4.b) Verbs with -ít in the infinitive

These verbs, can be divided into two smaller groups, one with root vowel length alternation i - í in both stems, the other with í - e mutation. The difference can be explained only in a historical framework, when the verbs belonged to different roots: u root, ei root, e root, v root. (Compare the different development of -ei- in Russian pit' 'to drink', against kryt 'to cover' and v

sound in živu 'I live', as opposed to Czech pít 'to drink', krýt 'I cover', žiji 'I live').

Verbs with the i - í alternation are the following.

(In all forms except the infinitive, the root vowel is short.)

nýt 'to pine for'	lít 'to pour'	blít 'to vomit'
týt 'to fatten'	pít 'to drink'	plít 'to spit' (new formation plivat)
výt 'to howl'	bít 'to beat'	
rýt 'to dig'	vít 'to wind'	hnít 'to rot'
krýt 'to cover'	sít 'to sow'	žít 'to live'

Verbs with the í - e root vowel alternation have -e- in all forms except the infinitive. E.g.,

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Past participle</u>
sít (dialectical set) 'to sow'	siji/seji	sil/sel
plít/plet 'to weed'	pleji	plel
klít 'to curse, to swear'	kleji	klel
dít se/det se 'to occur, to happen'	děje se 'it happens'	dělo se
zíti/zeti 'to yawn, be wide open'	zeji	zel
chvít se/chvěti se 'to sway'	chvěji se	chvěl

Three verbs with -e- in the infinitive also belong to this group.

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>1 sg. present</u>	<u>Past participle</u>
pěť 'to sing'	pějí	pěl
spěť 'to tend towards'	spějí	spěl
přimětí 'to force'	přimějí	přiměl

(the stem -mětí is used only with prefixes in Modern Czech, e.g. přimět 'to force', pomětí se 'have a good time.')

As a conjugational pattern the forms of the verb bítí 'to beat', follow:

Present stem forms:

Present tense:	<u>sg.</u>	<u>pl.</u>
	bi-j-i	bi-j-e-m(e)
	bi-j-e-š	bi-j-e-te
	bi-j-e	bi-j-í

Imperative: bij (te)

Present gerund: bij-e

Present verbal adjective: bi-j-í-cí

Infinitive stem forms:

Infinitive: bí-t

Past participle: bil

Past passive participle: bit

Past gerund: biv

Past verbal adjective: bi-v-ší

Non-prefixed verbs in the above groups (4a, 4b) are imperfectives. Some can have iteratives in -vat, e.g. sívát

'to be used to sow', klívat 'to curse sometimes', plíval 'to weed sometimes', but they do not have semelfactives. The apparent exception plivnout 'to spit' is derived from plivat. The verb bít 'to beat' has iterative bíjetl which is an exception to the above. Prefixed perfectives form aspectual pairs with secondary imperfectives, e.g.:

<u>Simplex imperfective</u>	<u>Prefixed Perfective</u>	<u>Secondary Imperfective</u>
bít 'to beat'	rozbít	rozbíjet 'to break'
vít 'to make a wreath'	uvít	uvíjet 'to make a wreath'
ryt 'to dig'	vyryt	vyryvat 'to dig out'
plít 'to weed'	proplít	proplévat or proplívat 'to weed'
spět 'to head for'	dospět	dospívat 'to come of age'
žít 'to live'	užít	užívat 'to use'
pít 'to drink'	dopít	dopíjet or dopívat 'to drink up'
pět 'to sing'	opět	opévat or opěvovat 'to praise, celebrate'

All suffixed derivatives belong to productive classes.

4.c) Verbs with -out in the infinitive:

Only several verbs belong to this pattern, e.g. sout 'to shift, to move, to slide', čout 'to anticipate', chřout 'to snore', plout 'to float', obout 'to put on shoes',

zout 'to take off shoes', dout 'to blow', slout 'to be famous', psout se 'to go to dogs', more commonly, popsout se 'to bungle', sepsout se 'to bungle'. All forms except the infinitive have a stem vowel -u-. The conjugational pattern is the same as that of group 4b. Sout and plout have free variants sunout and plynout. Non-prefixed verbs are imperfectives in aspect, but obout, zout are perfectives, the stem -out not being used without prefixes. Secondary imperfectives belong to the productive -at class.

3.6.5 Group 5

Type: tít/tnout

Infinitive: -ít or -nout

Present stem: tn-

Infinitive stem: tí- or tnou-

Conjugation: -e

Only a few verbs belong to this group, namely tít/tnout 'to cut', žíť/žnout 'to mow', prefixed-čít/čnout (the latter is colloquial) as for example in začít 'to begin', počít (bookish) 'to begin, start', načít 'to begin', jmout 'to take, overtake' and prefixed odníť (from old odjeti) and odejmout 'to take from, away', najmout 'to hire', sejmout 'to take off', přijmout 'to accept', zajmout 'to take into captivity'. The verb vzít 'to take' is the only verb that belongs to this group that does not show free variants with -n - in the infinitive stem forms. All other verbs

have free variants with -nou-/-nu- that are used in educated speech instead of older forms with i/-a-. Though vezmut' 'to take' exists, its usage is limited to eastern dialects.

As this question was mentioned previously in Class II verbs, only -jm- verbs that have -jm/n stem alternation depending on the last phoneme of the prefix, will be mentioned here. If the last phoneme of a prefix is a consonant, the stem alternates to n; thus, we have odnít 'to take away', but odejmout or ujmout se 'to take up', (ujít does not exist in Modern Czech, though it was frequent in Old Czech; only the noun ujec 'foster parent' remains), přijmout 'to accept', najmout 'to hire'. Variants with -j- (homonymous, in many cases, with prefixed forms of the verb jít 'to go', e.g. přijít 'to come to', najít 'to find') were replaced by -jm- variants (compare the Russian snimu 'I take off', zajmu 'I capture'). Only one other verb has stem-initial consonant mutation of this type, namely, jíst 'to eat' against sníst 'to eat up'.

In other cases, prefixation does not cause vowel alternation.

The aspect of unprefixated tít/tnout and jmout and vzít is perfective; so is that of originally prefixed začít 'to begin'. The verb žít 'to mow' is imperfective. Iteratives and secondary imperfectives belong to the -at class. The verbs vzít 'to take' and brát 'to take' form suppletive

aspectual pairs (see Chapter IV, 4.5.2.).

3.6.6. Group 6 Isolated Irregular Verbs.

These verbs either have forms according to more than one conjugational type, or they have stem alternations of a kind that do not occur among other verbs. The following eleven verbs can be called irregular:

1. stát se this verb has several meanings:
 - 1) as a link verb it denotes change of state, character, quality, and can be translated as 'to become someone'; e.g. stát se prezidentem 'to become a president', stát se spisovatelem 'to become a writer', stát se módou 'to come into fashion'. In this meaning stát se 'to become' can be compared with the Russian stat' 'to become'
 - 2) another meaning is that of being done, performed, happening, occurring, e.g. stalo se to včera 'it happened yesterday'.
 - 3) stát se 'to become' can be used in the meaning nastat 'to come into being, to begin, to be', but only archaically; e.g. stala se tma na celém světě 'there was darkness in the whole world'.

Conjugation:

The present stem has an -n- suffix and -e conjugation forms; e.g. stanu se 'I will become', stanou se 'they will become', imperative: staň se 'become'. Infinitive stem forms are regular.

Aspect:

Aspect in this verb is perfective; the imperfective partner is stávat se 'to become'. Prefixed derivatives like nastati 'to come into being', přestat 'to stop', dostat 'to get', zastat 'to be able to do', vstát 'to stand up', zůstat 'to stay', are not reflexive and therefore are not taken as aspectual partners of stát se 'to become'. Their meanings are also shifted.

2. stát: This verb is used in two basic meanings:
1) to stand; 2) to cost.

1) In the meaning 'to stand' the verb can be compared with the Russian stojat'. Except for the notion of being in an upright position as in lidé stáli před domem 'people stood in front of the house', it is used in the sense "not to move, remain in the same place, be out of work, e.g. továrna stála 'the factory did not work'. Closely connected is the meaning 'to be in a position', e.g. in slunce stojí na obloze 'the sun is in the sky'.

More abstract are the meanings of 'taking place or being in relation to someone', and that of supporting, backing someone, helping', e.g. stál za ním 'he supported him'.

2) The other meaning of stát is 'to cost, to be worthwhile or useless'. This meaning can be compared with the Russian stojit 'to cost'. Examples: kolik to stojí 'how much is it', to nestojí za nic 'it is useless'.

Conjugation:

The -j- suffix is inserted into alternating present stem and the forms exhibit the -í conjugation, e.g. stojím 'I stand', stojíme 'we stand', stůj 'stand'. Infinitive stem forms are regular.

Aspect:

The verb stát is imperfective in both meanings. The iterative form stávat has also both meanings. Prefixed perfectives are new lexemes, e.g. dostát slovu 'to keep one's word', postát 'to stand for a while', obstát 'to resist', prostát 'to lose time standing', přestat 'to survive', etc.

3. bát se 'to be afraid, to fear'. Conjugation of this verb is the same as that of the verb stát 'to stand, to cost'. Only the imperative is different, namely boj se.

Aspect is imperfective. Bávat se 'to fear' is iterative. The verb bat se 'to fear' does not have prefixed perfectives.

4. spát 'to sleep' This verb shows the -i conjugation forms in the present tense, e.g. spím 'I sleep', spíte 'you sleep', etc. Imperative is spi 'sleep'. Infinitive stem forms are regular, except the vowel length mutation. Compare spát 'to sleep' with on spal 'he slept'.

Aspect in this verb is imperfective; spávat 'to sleep sometimes', is iterative. The verb can be perfectivised by prefixes, e.g. prospat se 'to have a short sleep', zaspát 'to sleep too long'.

5. jít 'to go'. Conjugational forms of this verb are built from different stems and therefore the morphemic structure of the present and past stem forms varies. This irregularity can be observed in other Indo-European languages (compare English I go and I went). The stem of the supposed Proto-Slavic infinitive is -i (compare Latin ire 'to go'), of the present forms -d-, of other past stem forms -šd-.

Present tense: sg. jdu, jdeš, jde, 'I go, you go, he goes'.
pl. jdeme, jdete, jdou, 'we go, you go, they go'.

Imperative: jdi 'go'

Past participle: šel, šla, šlo, šli, '(he, she, it, they)
want'

Past gerund: šed 'he has been coming'

The aspect of the verb jít 'to go' is imperfective. It forms one of the several pairs of determined - non-determined imperfective verbs of motion, with the verb chodit 'to go'. Prefixed verbs like přijít 'to come to', odejít 'to go away' are perfectives.

6. jet 'to go by train, bus, other means of transportation, also to ride'.

Conjugation:

Only present stem forms must be mentioned as they exhibit the -d- suffix and the -e- conjugation, e.g. jedu 'I go', jedeš 'you go', etc. Past stem forms are regular.

Aspect is imperfective. With the verb jezdit 'to go' jet forms one pair of determined - non-determined verbs of motion. Prefixed verbs are perfectives, e.g. přijet 'to come', projet 'to go through'.

7. jíst - 'to eat'

In traditional grammars the verb is listed among athematic verbs, because the present stem endings are joined directly to the supposed stem *-ed- (compare Latin edere 'to eat').

Since its conjugation is unpredictable, it is given in full.

Present tense: sg. jím, jíš, jí 'I eat, you eat, he eats'

pl. jíme, jíte, jedí 'we eat, you eat, they eat'

Imperative: jez(te) 'eat'

Present gerund: jeda 'eating'

Past participle: jedl, colloquial jed

Past gerund: jed 'having eaten'

Past passive participle: jeden 'eaten'

Aspect in the verb jíst 'to eat' is imperfective. The iterative is jídat 'to eat sometimes'. Prefixed perfectives are new lexemes, e.g. ujíst 'to eat a little'. In the prefixed sníst 'to eat all', the initial root consonant j was replaced by palatal n, (compare Czech odnít 'to take away', from the original od + jati, and the Russian sjest 'to eat').

8. vědet 'to know'

This verb, derived from the supposed stem *vēd is also athematic. The present stem forms are irregular, but the infinitive stem forms are regular.

Present tense: sg. vím, víš, ví 'I know, you know, he knows'

pl: víme, víte, vědí 'we know, you know, they know'.

Imperative: věz 'know'

Present participle: věda 'knowing'

The verb vědet is an imperfective. Iterative vídat 'to know', homophonous with iterative vídat derived from vidět 'to see', is used only occasionally. Prefixed perfectives are new lexemes, e.g. povědet 'to tell, say', předpovědet 'to forecast'.

9. chtít 'to want'

In Old Czech this verb belonged to the trpěti 'to suffer' type, but the forms of 1 sg. present chcu 'I want' and 2 sg. present chceš 'you want' are used in the oldest texts.

Present stem forms are irregular, infinitive stem forms are regular.

Present tense: sg. chci, chceš, chce 'I want, you want, he wants'

pl. chceme, chcete, chtějí/chtí 'we want, you want, they want'

Imperative: chtěj 'you may want'

Present gerund: chtěje or chtě 'wanting'

Aspect of the verb chtít is imperfective; chtívat is iterative. The verb does not take prefixes, except for the prefix za- which shows an inceptive meaning. E.g., zachtít 'to begin to want'.

10. mít 'to have'

In Old Czech the infinitive was jmieti, and present tense forms were jmám 'I have', jmáš 'you have', etc. (compare Russian verb imeti 'to have'). In Modern Czech the verb is conjugated irregularly:

Present tense: sg. mám, máš, má 'I have, you have, he has'

pl: máme, máte, mají 'we have, you have,
they have'

Imperative: měj 'have'

Present gerund: maje 'having'

Past participle: and other past stem forms except the infinitive are built from the mě- stem.

Aspect in this verb is imperfective, mívát 'to have sometimes' is iterative. The verb does not have prefixed perfectives (for verbs přiměti 'to force', poměti se 'to have a good time', see Chapter III, 3.6.7, 4b.).

11. být 'to be'

This verb is irregular in Czech, as well as in other Indo-European languages, its forms being derived from different stems (supposedly *es and *bhu).

Present tense: sg: jsem, jsi, je 'I am, you are, he is'

pl: jsme, jste, jsou 'we are, you are,

they are'

Imperative: bud' 'be'

Present gerund: jsa 'being'

Past stem forms derived from the stem by- are regular.

Aspect in the verb is imperfective, bývat 'to be sometimes' is iterative. By prefixation new lexemes are formed, e.g. pobýt někde 'to stay somewhere' odbyť něco 'to do carelessly', etc.

3.7. Summary

The verbal classes and groups described in the preceding discussion may be presented graphically in the following accompanying diagram. (See Table IV, p. 116).

Moreover, the previous analysis implies at least the following conclusions:

1) Matching the infinitive and present stems of the verb and its conjugational pattern leads to the formation of five large classes, the fifth being divided into 6 groups.

2) The number of verbs in the groups is finite. From this, it follows that new verbs may exhibit a conjugation typical of one of the classes, I - IV. Thus, these verbal classes comprise productive types, while class V represents non-productive types.

3) The productivity of verbal classes is not absolute. Rather, in each class there are a number of verbs that differ in their aspect or semantic meaning, although they share the same conjugational pattern otherwise.

As was shown in the analysis, the origin of such verbs can be usually traced to Proto-Slavic; however, no new verbs have been added to their number since. In other words, they are listed here in classes for purely formal reasons. In other features, they are as non-productive as the verbs listed in the verbal groups.

TABLE IV

Conjugation	- a		e			i
Verbal types	Class I		Class III		Class II	Class IV
Classes I - IV	dělat dělá		kupovat kupuje		tisknout tiskne	prosít prosí
Class V	Group I		Group II	Group III	Group V	
Groups	sypat sypá sype		nésti nese	drít dře	tnout/ tít tne	
			Group IV			
			hraje, suje kryje hrát sout krýt			
			Group VI			
			irregular			

4) Prefixation does not change the conjugational pattern. Only suffixation can influence productivity or non-productivity of a conjugational type.

5) The productivity of classes depends on verbal or nominal derivation by suffix. Some suffixes are used to form deverbatives, some to form denominatives, and some form verbs of both types. The verbal classes obviously increase because both new deverbatives and denominatives may be added to the already existing stock.

6) Only that conjugational type, according to which at least one type of suffixal derivatives is conjugated, can be called productive. Conjugational types and their productivity may be shown in a accompanying scheme, (see Table V, p. 118).

7) The productivity of two verbal classes (Classes I, II) is the result of deverbative formation. The productivity of one class (Class III) is based on both types of derivation.

8) Each suffix has two functions: (1) it designates that the word is a verb; (2) it designates the aspect of the verb. The former function can be called lexical, the latter grammatical. The only exception to this generalization is the -ova- suffix in loan words that do not differentiate aspect.

9) The formation of deverbatives is always connected

TABLE V

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V	Group VI
Verbal type	dělat	tisk- nout	kupo- vat	prosit	sypat	nésti	dřít	hrát	tít	irregu- lar
Aspectual Suffixal Derivatives	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lexical derivatives (e.g. denom- inatives)	-	limi- ted to ad- jec- tives	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Productive				Non - Productive					

with a change of aspect or aspectual nuance. To express the aspectual difference, some linguistic formants e.g. suffixes -ova-/-nou-, -áva-/-íva- became typical, and became, in fact, so frequent that they, in effect, make verbal types productive or non-productive.

10) Only one suffix (-nou-) is used for building perfectives. Perfectivization by means of suffixation is connected with adding semelfactive meaning. Therefore, it can be said that suffixation is productive only in the sphere of imperfectivization. Perfectives are productively built in the process of prefixation.

11) Thus, it appears that in Modern Czech, there are only two productive processes of forming new verbs: prefixation for perfectives and suffixation for imperfectives. How these processes are interconnected and how they influence the formation of aspectual types will be shown in the following sections of this study.

CHAPTER IV

STRUCTURE OF THE VERB AND ASPECT

In his Grammar of the Literary Czech Language, F. Trávníček states: "The difference in aspect does not depend on the conjugational class, as there are perfective and imperfective verbs in each class".¹ Though we must agree with the second part of this statement it is not correct to assume that aspect and conjugational type are not connected at all; nor, that there is no formal way in which the aspectual difference is reflected. Such a conclusion would contradict the material analyzed in the previous chapter.

However, objections can be raised that the analysis deals mostly with material reduced to simple verbs and deverbatives built by suffixation (in other words, one-half of the verb population). Other verbs derived by prefixation were left out with the remark that prefixation does not affect conjugational type, since prefixation and conjugation operate really independently. Therefore, prefixation need not be considered directly in such a classification.

Prefixation does not change the classification of verbs. Trávníček says nothing, however, about the interrelationship of aspect and conjugational types, or whether in the processes of prefixation and suffixation that are

connected with aspectual change, some conjugational types can become dominant and productive and others non-productive. Nor does he make mention of the extent prefixation affects indirectly the growth of productive types.

It can be said that for classificational purposes it is sufficient to analyse simplex verbs and suffixed verbs, but that the increase of verbs of a certain type and relative productivity of types can be compared only if simplex, prefixed and suffixed verbs are studied. And as prefixation and suffixation of verbs are always connected with aspect, our previous objection to Trávníček's statement will be made clear in the analysis of additional material. The material will be examined in the following order:

- 4.1 The aspect of unprefixed verbs.
- 4.2 The aspect of verbs with prefixes.
- 4.3 Basic meanings of prefixes.
- 4.4. Suffixation
- 4.5. Aspectual pairs.

4.1 The Aspect of Unprefixed Verbs

Verbs that (1) were not prefixed and (2) that were formed by prefixation but that are no longer separable into their original formants (and therefore not felt as prefixed in Modern Czech), comprise the class of unprefixed or simplex verbs. According to their aspect, unprefixed verbs can be (1) imperfectives, (2) perfectives, (3) bi-aspectual.

Most Czech unprefixed verbs belong to the imperfective aspect. Verbs like pracovat 'to work', myslet 'to think', vidět 'to see', and thousands of others are imperfectives. Only verbs with semelfactive meaning form a large group of unprefixed perfectives. As already stated, they are formed by the suffix -nou- (and in this classification are listed as Class II verbs). Only a small number of unprefixed verbs other than the -nout type are perfectives.

A similar situation is found in other Slavic languages: Karcevskij found 50 verbs of this type in Russian,² Isačenko gives a list of 43 verbs in Russian (and adds the remark "und einige andere");³ in analysing Old Church Slavonic materials Dostál found 500 simplex verbs, and listed 50 as perfectives, 28 as inconsistent in aspect, and one, byti 'to be', as exceptional (since, as he says, it has two stems with two sets of forms, of which one set is used only perfectly and the other only imperfectively).⁴

A comparison of Old Slavonic and Modern Czech shows that for the Old Slavonic perfectives pasti 'to fall', sesti 'to sit down', lešti 'to lie down', rešti 'to tell', jeati 'to grasp', there are Czech -nout type perfectives padnout 'to fall down', sednout 'to sit down', lehnout 'to lie down', řici 'to tell' (with a colloquial variant řeknout), jmout 'to grasp, to take'. Other Old Slavonic perfectives have imperfective equivalents in Czech or Russian, e.g. Old Slavonic živiti 'to bring to life' and Czech živít 'to feed, to maintain', Old Slavonic vrediti 'to do harm', and Russian vredit' 'to do harm', Old Slavonic truditi se 'to work hard', and Russian trudit's'a 'to work hard', Old Slavonic mbstiti 'to take revenge', and Czech mstít se 'to take revenge'. The Czech prefixed perfective osvobodit 'to free', and oživit 'to revive, to resuscitate' correspond with Old Slavonic perfectives svobodit 'to free', živít 'to revive'. The aspect of the verbs skočit 'to jump', pustit 'to let out', stavit 'to stop, to forbid', vrátit 'to return', koupit 'to buy', and of some perfective -nout verbs is the same in Old Slavonic as in Modern Czech, perfective.

The Czech partners of Old Slavonic biaspectual verbs are mostly imperfectives, e.g. celovat 'to kiss', znamenat 'to mean', měnit 'to change', běžet 'to run', jít 'to go', vést 'to lead, to go', pít 'to drink', etc.

Though there are slight differences among individual Slavic languages, the group of unprefixated perfectives be-

came non-productive in the process of stabilization of the aspectual systems of these languages. Thus, unprefixated perfectives can be called an exception in the aspectual system.

The following unprefixated perfectives are frequently used in Modern Czech:

vrátit 'to return'	střelit 'to shoot'
pustit 'to drop'	řící 'to tell'
minout 'to pass by'	dát 'to give'
mrštit 'to fling'	chopit 'to grasp, to seize'
půjčit 'to lend'	ranit 'to wound'
vzít 'to take'	chybit 'to make a mistake'
hodit 'to throw'	stát se 'to become'
koupit 'to buy'	stanout 'to stay'
sadit 'to plant'	stavit 'to stop'
tknout 'to touch'	krojit 'to eat, to carve'
praštit 'to hit'	skočit 'to jump'
strčit 'to push'	spasit 'to save'

The verbs lapit 'to snatch', tít 'to cut, to hit', bacit 'to hit' have variants with -nou-: lapnout, bácnout, tnout. The verbs sednout 'to sit down', lehnout 'to lie down', dechnout 'to breathe', polknout 'to swallow' have perfective meaning, and not semelfactive, as would be expected (compare Chapter III, 3.3.). The verb odvětit 'to answer', is unprefixated, since there is no simplex

*větit (the root -vět- exists in the noun zavět 'the testament' and věta 'the sentence').

In the following group are listed perfectives that are felt as simplex verbs but whose perfectivity can be easily explained diachronically, on the basis of their original prefixation:

smířít se 'to reconcile'	povědět 'to say'
obout 'to put on shoes'	pořídít něco 'to get something'
zout 'to take off shoes'	poslat 'to send'
začít 'to begin'	políbit 'to kiss'
octnout se 'to find oneself somewhere'	obléci 'to dress'
oběsit 'to hang'	navštívit 'to visit'
slíbit 'to promise'	zbavit 'to get rid'
dověst 'to know'	potkat 'to meet'
určit 'to determine'	pozřít 'to swallow'
pomoci 'to help'	otéci 'to swell'

Biaspectual verbs from another smaller group among unprefixated verbs. Czech grammarians call them obojvidová ('biaspectual'), since they combine the meaning of both aspects in one form. Thus the verb absorbovat 'to absorb', can be used perfectly or imperfectly and its future tense can be expressed either by the periphrastic form or by the present tense form, e.g. bude absorbovat 'it will absorb', against absorbuje 'it absorbs' or 'it will absorb'.

This fact seems to negate the statement that every verb belongs to one aspect, and this indeed would be the case if biaspectual verbs had meanings of both aspects in every context and in every form of the verb. It is obvious, however, that in concrete situations they retain the meaning of one aspect only and they can be used in either aspect depending on context.

It can be said that biaspectual verbs are homonyms that do not formally differentiate aspect. This type of homonymy exists also in noun declensions or gender systems: e.g. hrady 'castles' can be the plural form of the nominative, accusative, vocative, instrumental; rez 'rust' is either masculine or feminine.

Reasons for this homonymy may be semantic and formal. The latter may be explained by the fact, that the largest part of all biaspectual verbs are loanwords that came into Czech from German, French and Latin, or that were brought into the language as international technical and professional terms constructed on Latin and Greek models. The languages from which they were borrowed have other means of expressing the various types of action and differ from Czech. Those systems are usually based on assigning imperfective meaning to the sets of forms derived from different stems that form one lexical unit. In other words, one lexical verb consists only of perfective and imperfective

stems, while in Czech there are two verbs with full sets of forms that are all either perfective or imperfective. Thus, only one lexical unit can be borrowed and used in situations in which otherwise either a perfective or an imperfective verb would be used.

Semantic meaning often contributes to the aspectual syncretism of such verbs as absorbovat 'to absorb', abstrahovat 'to abstract', adresovat 'to address', anestezovat 'to anesthetize', arondovat 'to landscape', etc., but in most cases the verb was borrowed as the basic, imperfective member of the pair, (e.g. mechanisovat 'to mechanize', modelovat 'to model', montovat 'to assemble', koncentrovat 'to concentrate', etc.). The reason for such interpretation was probably because assigning perfective aspect would limit the possibility of using the verb in unlimited contexts. Forming imperfective variants of borrowed words would result in non-euphonic words like mechanizovávat 'to mechanize', akceptovávat 'to accept', etc.

Interestingly enough, some borrowings prefixed in the original languages are felt as perfectives, e.g. absolvovat 'to absolve', aspirovat 'to aspire', aretovat 'to discontinue', adoptovat 'to adopt', etc.

Dictionaries often differ in assigning aspect to a borrowed verb, and a verb labelled in one dictionary as biaspectual can often be found listed in another as perfective or imperfective. It seems that subjective interpretation

is not always a reliable guide in deciding the aspect of loanwords, especially those that are used infrequently or have some narrow technical meaning.

The more common expressions or older borrowings usually acquire some formal mark of one aspect, either a prefix or a suffix. E.g. bombardovat 'to bomb', takes prefixes vy-, z-; betonovat 'to cement' takes prefixes pří-, vy-, za-; bargovat 'to excavate, to dredge' takes prefixes na-, pro-, vy-, etc.

Some of the verbs listed as biaspectual in the order imperfective, then perfective in the Dictionary of the Literary Czech Language are:

inhalovat 'to inhale'	ignorovat 'to ignore'
inkasovat 'to collect money'	exportovat 'to export'
inspirovat 'to inspire'	exploatovat 'to exploit'
intervenovat 'to intervene'	explodovat 'to explode'
investovat 'to invest'	falsifikovat 'to falsify'
isolovat 'to isolate'	realisovat 'to realise'
kapitulovat 'to capitulate'	referovat 'to refer' ⁵

The list might be longer, but the above examples may suffice to illustrate the point. Verbs listed as perfective and imperfective are, on the other hand, not numerous, though more than the following examples might be found:

avisovat 'to modify'

angažovat 'to engage'

aprobovat 'to approve,
accept'

aretovat 'to fix something'

The verbs adoptovat 'to adopt', absolvovat 'to absolve' havarovat⁶ 'to crash' are listed as perfectives though their periphrastic future is commonly used, e.g. budou adoptovat dítě 'they will adopt the child', letadlo bude havarovat 'the plane will crash'.

Analysis of the material shows that the process of aspectual stabilization of a loanword is a longer process and one that can be compared with similar processes involved in adapting borrowed nouns or adjectives to Czech declensions. The analysis, however, does not show anything that would prove that the biaspectual verbs are direct continuations of the aspectual non-differentiation of the Indo-European verb in the modern Slavic languages.

Verbs of Czech origin are biaspectual only exceptionally, and sometimes not in all meanings. For example, the verb jmenovat is biaspectual in the meanings 'to appoint a person' and 'to enumerate', while in the sense 'to have a name, to be called' it is imperfective. The same can be said about the verbs stačit, spadat, padnout, vrhnout and several others. Stačit in the phrase 'to bude stačit' 'it will do' is only imperfective, but in stačit vlak 'to catch the train' it is always perfective. Spadat, meaning

'to coincide' or 'to slope down', is imperfective, but in the meaning 'to fall down' it is perfective. Padnout 'to fall down' is perfective, but the metaphoric padnout-sloušet meaning 'to suit a person' is imperfective. Vrhnout 'to throw' is perfective, but vrhnout 'to vomit' is imperfective. The split of the meanings of the last verb is so deep that this verb can be already taken as an example of accidental homonymy.

There are some other cases of such homonymy, e.g. Kopecný's example:⁷ dovážíme to zboží 'we'll finish weighing the merchandise' and dovážíme je z ciziny 'we import it from abroad'. The former dovážíme is a form of the perfective dovážit 'to weigh', the latter dovážíme of the imperfective dovážet 'to import'. Cases of different meaning and homonymy will have to be eliminated as the analysis of aspect is carried out.

The following verbs are frequently used biaspectual verbs of purely Czech origin (non-borrowed): zvěstovat 'to announce', stavit 'to stop, to forbid', přenocovat 'to stay overnight', souřadit 'to co-ordinate', zprostředkovat 'to mediate', slát 'to send', stanovit 'to determine', obětovat 'to sacrifice'. The verb obětovat 'to sacrifice' was biaspectual in Old Slavonic. Reasons for its aspectual ambiguity may be found in its meanings of short sacrifice and long religious ceremony.

The verb darovat 'to give, to donate' may be taken as the last example of biaspectual verbs, since it shows that assigning both aspects to one verb may indeed depend on the individual's approach. In the older Concise Dictionary of the Czech Language⁸ it is listed as perfective and imperfective. According to Kopečný, this verb is not purely biaspectual, since clear imperfectivity is missing and the verb gradually becomes a synonym of perfective dát 'to give'.⁹ In the new Dictionary of the Literary Czech Language¹⁰ the verb is listed as an imperfective. To this Kopečný remarks: "In the new Dictionary of the Literary Czech Language it [dát] has been listed, surely only by mistake in the abbreviations, only as imperfective. It is hard to believe that the existence of more clear prefixed perfectives podarovat ('to donate, to give') given at the end of the entry would have mistakenly led to this conclusion".¹¹ So far no correction of the aberrant entry has been made. For this author (since we are discussing individual approaches) the verb is imperfective and not biaspectual.

Though the number may slightly differ, non-borrowed biaspectual verbs from such small groups in all Slavic languages that they can be called exceptions in their aspectual systems.

In the analysis of unprefixes verbs, two groups were called exceptional, namely, unprefixes perfectives and bia-

spectual verbs. The rest of the unprefixated verbs are imperfectives. As can be seen from the material given, none of the groups of verbs exhibits such morphological features as forms of one conjugational type. It seems therefore that it would not be correct to connect conjugational pattern directly with aspect and to assign verbal classifiers (theme vowel, suffixes) one definite aspectual meaning. It seems that aspect is expressed rather by the structure of the whole verb (prefixated - unprefixated) than only by suffixes. Moreover, verbal suffixes always have the word formative (lexical) function of differentiating the verb from other parts of speech. This function is doubtless in the group of borrowed verbs. The group of biaspectual verbs shows that it is hard to decide to what extent the word-formative function of the suffix is shared with the aspectual functions, or whether it is the meaning that prevents definite aspectual function of the suffix. Thus we cannot maintain with certainty that it is the meaning that causes aspectual syncretism or that it is only the lack of grammatical formants (or formants unsuitable for the loanwords) which does not allow to express the semantic meaning with the precision usual for non-borrowed verbs. The answer to this question could be found in the study of general processes of adapting loanwords, however such a study is not necessary for our purposes, since the conclusion that biaspectual verbs are an exception in the

system is sufficient for our purposes. The answer to the question of whether it is the suffix that bears aspectual meaning or whether it is the structure of the verb and the suffix, can be found in comparison of verbs of other structural types.

For comparison, types of relatively frequent unprefixated imperfective, perfective and biaspectual verbs are shown in the accompanying scheme. (See p. 134).

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV		Class V				
	dělat	tisk- nout	kupo- vat	prosit	mazat	nést	držet	hrát	tít	irregu- lar
Imperfectives	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Perfectives	-	+	-	some of the <u>skočit</u> 'to jump' type	-	-	-	-	+	-
Biaspectual Verbs	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note to the scheme: + frequent
- infrequent

4.2 The Aspect of Verbs With Prefixes

In the previous discussion we concentrated on simplex verbs of non-perfective aspect and came to the conclusion that such verbs (except the -nout verbs), are exceptional. If so, the basic principle seems to be that the simplex verbs are imperfective. However, simplex verbs represent only one type of verb, though their number is large, sharing their important place in the verbal system with other groups of, at least the same, but rather higher productivity and different morphological structure. The change of the morphological structure is due to two processes that co-occur and that produce the complex picture of the Czech verb, those processes being prefixation and suffixation.

Both processes are very old and the idea that in them the presumably non-aspectual or tense-aspect system of the Indo-European verb was changed in the Balto-Slavic, and specifically Proto-Slavic era, is generally accepted in recent works on this topic.¹² But in detail the views differ as to whether it was the semantic meaning that conditioned the spread of formal constituents that basically lack concrete meaning (non-lexical formants) or which of the formal constituents, prefix po or suffixes -a- and -n- was primary in this work with the stock of verbs existing in Modern Czech, it would not be appropriate to analyse these processes from the historical point of view, and therefore only

the results of their effect on the verbal system will be shown. It has to be stressed that prefixation, always connected with perfectivization and suffixation connected with imperfectivization, are complex processes existing concurrently and not independently of each other, and that it is this complexity that makes the Slavic verbal systems so different from other Indo-European verbal systems. For methodological purposes, however, first prefixation will be discussed and then suffixation.

4.2.1 Prefixation

The first process, prefixation (called also composition, and the verbs composites or compounds by Dostál)¹³ is known from many Indo-European languages. Only in the Baltic and Slavic languages did it become one of the ways by which these languages built perfective verbs, or in other words, only in these languages, does prefixation have not only lexical functions, but also a grammatical function in the aspectual system. The question "why" was asked by many grammarians and the answer that prefixes lead (bring) the activity somehow to a certain point at which it is then non-durative was given by Čelakovský.¹⁴ Nekrasov observed that prefixes limit the activity,¹⁵ while Delbrück¹⁶ stressed the idea of culminating and completed activity. Mazon¹⁷ noticed that some prefixes can give the verbs

ingressive¹⁸ and terminative¹⁹ meaning, while other prefixes concentrate the activity so that its beginning and end meet together, by which the notion of perfective aspect are given. For Karcevski the result of prefixation-perfectivization is 1) linear reduction (bežat' - nabežat' na derevo 'to run' and 'to run into a tree'), 2) totalization (begat' - nabegat's'a 'to run' and 'to run to one's satiation, very often'), 3) reduction to one action (tolkat' - tolknut' 'to push' and 'to push once').²⁰

Prefixation has always to be connected with deverbal derivation. Koschmieder²¹ states that prefixes change the lexical meaning and that this gives the verbs the notion of finality.

Other grammarians as Belić,²² Meillet,²³ Poldauf²⁴ concentrate on the semantic meaning of prefixes and state that perfectivization is a result of limiting, narrowing the meaning of the simplex verb.

Though these views are correct, not all types of verbs with prefixes can be explained by them, and most especially not the group of secondary imperfectives. Poldauf noticed that prefixes can perfectivize only if they are added to the verb and the combination prefix + verb is felt by the speaker in the new formation.²⁵ From this viewpoint, secondary imperfectives are not prefixed new formations, but suffixal deverbatives.

Dostál gives the following definition: "In each case

when the prefix is added, the imperfective verb changes into a perfective if the prefix is really added to it, and if the lexical meaning of the given verb (non-derived) can be perfectivized. Prefixation stands in opposition to derivation from verbs (deverbalization) in the aspectual system. By perfectivization we mean a process that has two principle functions in the structure that are partly independent, partly concurrent, namely the perfectivizing function and the lexical function".²⁶

Especially the last statement is very important as it became the basis for further investigation that has yielded valuable results in the recent works of Maslov,²⁷ Isačenko,²⁸ Castagnou,²⁹ Němec,³⁰ and others. It has, however, split the linguists in their answers as to whether the perfectivizing function of prefixes is always connected with a change of meaning, though very slight, or whether some prefixes can function only grammatically. If the answer to this problem, known usually as 'preverbes vides', is positive, prefixed perfectives of the type "udělat" 'to do', napsat 'to write', uvěřit 'to believe', přiblížit se 'to approach' are accepted as pure aspectual partners of imperfectives dělat 'to do', psát 'to write', věřit 'to believe', blížit se 'to approach'. This can be shown in the following simple scheme, in which the verbs dělat 'to do', udělat 'to do' and nadělat se 'to do too much, to one's fill' are used.

Aspect	Basic Meaning not changed	Basic Meaning modified
Imperfective	dělat	
Perfective	udělat	nadělat se

Grammatical - aspectual pairs

This approach is typical for traditional grammars.³¹ From recent grammarians it was accepted by Kopečný,³² Pol-
dauf,³³ Castagnou.³⁴

If the answer is negative, and the prefixed perfectives of the mentioned type are not accepted as pure aspectual partners of the simplex imperfective, simplex imperfectives are taken practically as imperfectiva tantum and the prefixed verbs as perfectiva tantum with modified basic meaning. Such modifications of the meaning, consisting in adding a new semantic element to the basic meaning, but not basically changing it, are known as Aktionsarten,³⁵ or types of action. The scheme will be as follows:

Aspect	Basic Meaning not changed	Basic Meaning modified
Imperfective	dělat	
Perfective	-	udělat nadělat se

Aspectual pairs Aktionsart

The third theoretical solution may be in accepting some prefixed verbs as aspectual partners in case that they are felt as such by native speakers, because of the strong reduction of the lexical element added by the prefix. This theory can be called mixed. It can be shown as follows:

Aspect	Basic Meaning not changed	Basic Meaning modified
Imperfective	dělat	
Perfective	udělat	nadělat se

Aspectual pairs	Aktionsart
Grammatical formation	Sub-lexical formation

A similar solution was recently proposed by J. Forsythe in "A Grammar of Aspect".³⁶ He suggests accepting prefixed perfectives as pure aspectual partners in cases where there is no secondary imperfective derived from the prefixed perfective and "the basic procedural nuance of the prefix is totality of performance".³⁷ In his terminology, Aktionsarten are called procedurals.

It seems, however, that the transition from unchanged meaning to clearly modified meaning is gradual, and therefore, in many cases the evaluation of the validity of aspectual pairs depends on the opinion of each grammarian.

But this is only one side of the question. One must

ask where the line of division is between Aktionsarten and new lexemes and whether some reliable criteria can be postulated to separate them from one another.

It seems again that the transition between Aktionsart and a new lexeme is gradual. For example rozpršelo se 'it started raining' can be taken for evolutive Aktionsart to pršelo 'it rained', in the same way rozjíst se 'to start eating well' (e.g. in phrase dítě se rozjedlo 'the child started eating, stopped arguing about eating, (eats well now)'), and other verbs with the prefix roz-. Secondary imperfectives of these verbs are not used. The meaning of the verb rozepsat se in the sentence Nejdřív nemohl jsem napsat nic, ale pak jsem se rozepsal 'At first I could not write anything, but then I started and wrote' is modified. The same verb in the sentence Rozepsal jsem se o svých dojmech 'I started describing (fully) my impressions', it is a new lexeme. The verb rozhlédnout se 'to look around', is a new lexeme only. In this complicated situation, the existence or non-existence of a secondary imperfective is taken as a criterion for separating Aktionsarten from new lexemes.

Aktionsarten express one type of action that can be connected either with perfective or with imperfective aspect, but not with both. They are therefore either perfectiva tantum (when the verb is prefixed) or imperfec-

tiva tantum (when the verb is suffixed). Perfective Aktionsarten do not have therefore secondary imperfectives.

While the deeper changes of meaning caused by prefixation are generally recognized as lexical, the cases of slightly changed or modified meaning are a point of controversy with grammarians when they try to assign them either lexical or grammatical function. Whether we accept the theory of provebes vides or that of Aktionsarten, it can be said that the change of grammatical meaning caused by prefixation may be connected with the change of lexical meaning. Lexical prefixation may be shown schematically in the following manner:

Aspect	Basic Meaning		New lexeme
	not changed	modified	
Imperfective	dělat 'to do'	-	
Perfective	-	-	předělat 'to do over'

The question is complicated because there are no prefixes with specialized (pure) aspectual or lexical function. In other words, no list of only lexical or only aspectual prefixes can be given. The prefix po- in poděkovat 'to thank' can be taken as purely aspectual; in počíst si 'to read a while' as modifying; in popravit 'to execute' as lexical (pravit 'to say, to order').

The extent to which the basic meaning of the verb is changed by prefixation depends on the lexical meanings of both components of the new formation. The meaning of the imperfective dělit 'to divide' is only repeated, stressed by addition of the prefix roz-, that has itself the meaning of partition. Both dělit and rozdělit can be translated as 'to divide'. But if the prefix od- meaning 'from, apart' is added, the new verb oddělit has the meaning 'to take from, to take apart'.

According to the three recent theories that were mentioned, the following types of prefixes affect the meanings of the verbs:

1) Theory of Preverbes Vides

<u>Type of Prefixes</u>		<u>Meaning of the Verb</u>
lexical	.....	new lexemes
grammatical	.....	change of aspect with or without modification of meaning.

2) Theory of Aktionsarten

<u>Type of Prefixes</u>		<u>Meaning of the Verbs</u>
lexical	.....	new lexemes
modifying		Aktionsarten (meaning always modified)

3) Mixed Theory

<u>Type of Prefixes</u>		<u>Meaning of the Verb</u>
lexical	.....	new lexemes
sub-lexical (modifying)	.....	Aktionsarten (modified meaning)
grammatical	.....	change of aspect only

So far we have concentrated on one type of prefixation, namely prefixation of simplex imperfectives, that is the verbs of the resulting structure prefix + simplex imperfective, e.g. pro - hrát 'to lose', vy - hrát 'to win', (from hrát 'to play') roz - řezat (from řezat 'to cut') 'to cut into pieces', etc. But there are other types of verbs in whose morphological structure prefixes can be also found, e.g. vy-skočit 'to jump up', zachytit 'to catch', pro-dělavat 'to loose money', po-darovat 'to donate, to give', po-vy-vracet 'to uproot (trees)', po-vy-skocit 'to jump up a little', ná-ležet 'to belong', po-stradat 'to miss', etc. In the structure of these verbs following elements can be easily recognized:

<u>Morphologic Structure</u>	<u>Aspect</u>
1) prefix + simplex perfective	perfective (vyskočit)
2) prefix + suffixed imperfective	imperfective (prodělavat)
3) prefix + prefixed perfective	perfective (povyskočit)
4) prefix + simplex biaspectual	perfective (podarovat)

5) prefix + simplex imperfective imperfective (nalezet)

As such imperfective types as prefix + imperfective cannot be explained as exceptional since they represent one of the most numerous groups of verbs, they will be analysed in more detail. Without any difficulty we can distinguish two types among them:

1) prefix + simplex imperfective

2) prefix + suffixed imperfective

1) the first type includes verbs like soužit 'to distress', zdat se 'to seem', zpívat 'to sing', doufat 'to hope', postrádat 'to miss', etc., that means verbs that are no longer felt as prefixed. Further this group consists of verbs like přisedět 'to function as an associate judge', záležet 'to rest in, to consist', něnavidět 'to hate', náležet 'to belong', etc., that are felt as prefixed but whose prefixes differ from the rest of prefixes in that they are always syllabic, and their vowel is long. Such prefixes can be found in the morphologic structure of nouns, (contrast vykřik 'cry, shouting' against vykřiknout 'to cry out, to shout'). In Modern Czech only three long prefixes can be found in verbs, namely pří-, ná-, zá-. Verbs with them belong to the very old formations, many of which are archaic. E.g. přístát meaning slušet se, patřit se 'to be suitable, proper', nástát 'to insist', snábdět meaning pozorovat, stríci se 'to watch'. These are from the period when pre-

fixation was not connected with perfectivization (compare the situation in Lithuanian, where the prefix po- has perfectivizing function, while other prefixes do not perfectivize).

Verbs of the type zpívat 'to sing', and náležet 'to belong' are so rare that they can be called exceptional.

To the first type belong also verbs like smýčít 'to sweep', smrdět 'to smell badly', smýslet 'to be of the opinion', pozorovat 'to watch', účastnit se 'to take part in', ucinkovat 'to perform, to present something', učít 'to teach', etc. Prefixation in these verbs is only illusory, the prefix-like particle is either a constant element of the root, as in smýčít 'to sweep' (there is no *mýčít), or the verbs are historically derivatives of prefixed nouns, as in pozorovat 'to watch' (there is no *zorovat, but there is the noun pozor 'heed').

2) the verbs of the second type prefix + suffixed imperfective cannot be called exceptional, and therefore their imperfectivity has to be explained otherwise. Unprefixed stems of the type -bafovat 'to puff', -citovat 'to feel', -ceňovat 'to value', -bližovat 'to approach', etc. can help to find the answer. These stems do not occur without prefixes, though their perfective counterparts do. E.g. to the perfective vy-bafat 'to puff', there is a corresponding independent imperfective bafat; to pocítit

'to feel', there is an imperfective cítit; to při-blížít blížít se; etc. Thus we have triplets like the following:

bafat vy-bafat-vybatovat 'to puff'
cíbit po-cítit - pocitovat 'to feel'
dělat pře-dělat předělávat 'to do over'

The first and second members of the sets differ, by the first not having a prefix and the second having a prefix. But both have the same make-up after the prefix. It is evident that the second member of each set is derived by prefixation, while the third member is derived by suffixation of the prefixed second member. Therefore, there is no *bafovát, *citovat, etc. Though there is a prefix in the structure of the third member of the sets, such verbs are not built by prefixation, but by another process (suffixation) that results in the change of aspect.

One might object, however, that there is dělávat 'to do from time to time' against předělávat 'to do over'. In this case we must simply recall the discussion of iteratives and secondary imperfectives that were derived by the same suffix (see Chapter III, 3.2. and Chapter IV, 4.4.). Both verbs differ in their meanings and their place in the system can be seen in the following scheme:

<u>Simplex Imperfective</u>	<u>Iterative Aktionsart</u>	<u>Prefixed Perfective</u>	<u>Secondary Imperfective</u>
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<u>dělat</u>		<u>předělat</u> ----	<u>předělávat</u>
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'to do'

'to do over'

dělávat

<u>cítit</u>		<u>pocítit</u> ----	<u>pocítovat</u>
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'to feel'

'to feel a little'

cítivat

Notes: to the scheme:

1) suffixed derivation is indicated by ----.

2) prefixation is indicated by

Thus the types předělávat, pocítovat were built in a process that negates prefixation and builds imperfective verbs of the same meaning to the prefixed perfectives.

Summarizing what was said about prefixation and aspect, the following rules may be given:

1) if a prefix is added to a simplex imperfective, the prefixed verb is perfective.

2) If a prefix is added to a simplex perfective, the prefixed verb is a perfective.

3) If a prefix is added to a biaspectual verb, the prefixed verb is a perfective.

4) If a prefix verb is added to a secondary imperfec-

tive, the verb is perfective.

5) If a prefix is added to a prefixed perfective, the aspect is not changed. I.e, when a verb is prefixed, it is perfective.

4.3 Basic Meanings of Prefixes

Many verbal prefixes have primary meanings of physical, directional or spacial nature close to the meaning of the prepositions to which they are historically and synchronically related. Except for vz, ob-, roz-, pře, vy-, all prefixes have corresponding prepositions. Beside these primary meanings, many prefixes have one or several abstract meanings whose connection with the primary sense may vary from obvious to remote to unestablishable. The primary meaning will be given first and the more abstract meanings will follow. Meanings that can be regarded as purely aspectual, at least in the case of certain verbs, will be designated.

However, only the basic meanings of the prefixes will be given as an illustration of the theories of prefixation. A detailed analysis of the meanings of prefixes, the meanings of new lexemes, etc. is not the aim of this work. Secondly, since the meanings of Czech prefixes can be compared with the meanings of English prepositions or adverbs rather than English prefixes, the equivalent of the Czech prefix will be an English adverb or preposition as well as prefix.

Prefix do - 'to, up to'

1) to reach a certain point, limit, boundary in space or time, e.g. dohodit 'to throw to',

donést 'to bring to'. Imperfectives of this type may have metaphoric meaning: donáset 'to report, to gossip'.

2) to finish, to bring the activity to an absolute end; e.g. dovařit 'to finish cooking', dočíst 'to finish reading; this type is productive.

3) to finish an activity successfully obtaining expected results, e.g. dočkat se 'to wait so long as to meet the person' domluvit se 'to come to an agreement, etc. This type is productive; secondary imperfectives are either not built or have other meanings.

Meanings 2 and 3 are close to Aktionsarten.

Prefix na-, 'on, to, from to'

1) to put something on something, e.g. nabodnout 'to stab', nabrat 'to dip, to ladle, to fork'.

2) to cover the surface with something, e.g. namalovat 'to paint', nalepit 'to glue'.

3) (a) intensity of action, a not intensive activity or an action covering only part of the object, e.g. nakousnout (jablko) 'to bite (an apple)', navlhčit 'to make damp a little, to dip a little', etc.

(b) intensive activity resulting in quantity of things done, e.g. nanosit (dříví) 'to bring (lots of wood)', nasetřit (peněz) 'to save (lots of money)'. Secondary imperfectives are not usual; verbs with this meaning may be designated as Aktionsart.

4) to do something to one's fill, e.g. nasmát se 'to laugh very much', namluvit se 'to talk too much, to do lots of talking'. The type is productive, secondary imperfectives are not usual, and the verb may be taken as Aktionsart.

5) pure perfective meaning. Verbs of this type may be taken as pure aspectual partners of simplex imperfectives, e.g.:

Imperfective

psát

Perfective

napsat 'to write'

lepit
kreslit
sypat
vonet

nalepit 'to glue'
nakreslit 'to draw'
nasypat 'to pour on'
navonet 'to perfume'

Verbs with pure aspectual meaning are not frequent.

Prefix nad- 'above, up'

1) usually the same meaning as the preposition nad 'above', e.g. nadnest 'to lift up'. Secondary imperfectives may have metaphoric meaning. Contrast the perfective nadbehnout 'to run to catch up, come up with' and imperfective nadbihat 'to insinuate into a person's graces'; the perfective nadsadit 'to lift up' and imperfective nadsazovat 'to exaggerate'.

Prefix o- 'around,- ex-, circum-'

1) the same meaning as the preposition, encircling, encompassing, e.g. obalit 'to wrap around' ohlednout se 'to look around'.

2) to remove, to suppress or to damage by activity, e.g. orezat 'to cut away'; ostrouhat 'to grate', odrit 'to rub off, to skin'.

3) (a) factitives with the meaning of making the thing like the root, e.g. ocernit 'to make black', obarvit 'to dye', etc. Though these verbs usually have secondary imperfectives, they may be taken for pure aspectual partners of the simplex verbs.

(b) many verbs with change of state meaning e.g. ochuravet 'to become ill', ozdravet 'to recover'. These verbs do not have secondary imperfectives and they only rarely have simplex perfectives without the prefix, e.g. churavet 'to be ill'. Since prefixation was connected with derivation from nouns or adjectives, there is no *zdravet. The prefix may be taken as purely aspectual.

(c) pure perfective meaning in other verbs, e.g. otazat se 'to ask', oklamat 'to deceive', ozdobit 'to decorate', ozenit se 'to marry', etc.

Prefix ob-/obe- 'around', 'circum-'

1) usually more concrete meaning of encircling than the prefix -o-, e.g. obeplout 'to circumnavigate' obstoupit 'to surround'

2) similar to the prefix o-, listed under 3a and 3b, e.g. občerstvit 'to make fresh', obživnout 'to come to life, to enliven', etc.

3) purely aspectual, but rare, e.g. obvinit 'to accuse'.

Prefix od-/ode 'off, away, from, un-'.

1) the meaning 'off', 'from' with intransitive verbs as jít 'to go', padnout 'to fall', e.g. odejít 'to go away', odcestovat 'to leave for', etc.

2) to take away, from, e.g. odříznout 'to cut from', oddělit 'to take from', odpeckovat 'to stone a fruit', etc.

3) to loosen, e.g. odlepit 'to unglue', odsroubovat 'to unscrew', etc.

4) to do carelessly, e.g. odříkat 'to drawl off'.

5) to compensate, to do restitution by activity, e.g. odpracovat 'to work for', odstát si něco 'to stand for', etc. In this meaning the verb is usually used with the reflexive pronoun.

Prefix po- (meanings are extremely varied).

This prefix seems to be the most versatile of Czech prefixes as its meanings vary from purely lexical to purely grammatical. Among the latter functions the forming of the synthetic future tense of some imperfectives must be mentioned. There are about a hundred imperfectives that have future tense according the following structure: po- + present tense form, e.g. po-nesu 'I'll bring'. The meaning of these verbs is clearly that of imperfective future, as there are no limitations of the action in the future and the verbs cannot be used in situations where the present

tense of other imperfective verbs can be used, e.g. in characterising atemporal meaning. On the other hand, the forms ponesu and periphrastic budu nést (both translated in English as 'I will bring'), are interchangeable. There are no infinitive stem forms with the prefix po-, including the infinitive. Thus there is no *ponést (infinitive), or *ponesl (past participle).

Future tense of this type can be formed from verbs of motion: a) determined, as povezu 'I will carry', pojedu 'I'll go', (půjdu is from Old Czech pójdu), poletím 'I'll fly', potáhnu 'I'll draw near, I'll move on', povleču 'I'll pull', poženu (stado) 'I'll punch (cattle)', poběžím or poběhnu 'I'll run', povedu 'I'll go ahead'.

b) others: poklušu 'I'll trot', pokulím se 'I'll roll, I'll move rolling', pobelhám se 'I'll limp', pofíčí (vítr) 'It will saugh (the wind)', pofrám (colloq.) 'I'll run quickly', etc.

The verbs pokvete 'it will be in blossom', poroste 'it will grow', poklíčí 'it will germinate', and several others are also connected with motion.

This type of future tense is of an archaic morphological structure that appears only in the mentioned types. Among the other meanings of the prefix po-, the following are frequent:

- 1) diminution of time or intensity of action:
(a) to do something for a short time, e.g. pobýt

někde 'to stay somewhere for a short time', posedět 'to sit for a while', etc.

(b) to do something to some extent, the activity is often connected with the feeling of satisfaction and enjoyment, e.g. počíst si 'to read a little while and enjoy it', poležet si 'to stay in bed longer', etc. These verbs, usually not having secondary imperfectives, may be taken for Aktionsart.

2) meaning of activity distributed to several objects, e.g. pozavírat okna 'to shut windows one after another', poroznášet něco 'to distribute something'. Verbs of this type are known as distributives and are always of perfective aspect. The type is productive belonging to Aktionsarten.

3) meaning of activity covering surface or space, e.g. popsat 'to cover a page with writing', pomalovat 'to paint on something', pokryt 'to cover', etc.

4) purely aspectual function in pairs like děkovat - poděkovat 'to thank', radit - poradit 'to advise', kárat - pokárat 'to reprimand', etc.

Prefix pod- 'under, up, to'

In a verbal form the verb usually shows the meaning of the preposition, e.g. podkopat 'to dig under, to undermine', podrazit 'to sole (the shoes)', etc.

Prefix pro- 'through, by, past'

1) the basic meaning is that of activity carried out through space or time, e.g. prohořet 'to burn through', prokopat 'to dig through', etc.

2) the meaning of passing, failure, vanity, e.g. prodelat 'to lose money', propadnout (ve škole) 'to fail', prosedět (hodiny) 'to lose (hours) sitting', etc.

3) purely aspectual meaning, but only seldom, e.g. probudit se 'to wake up'.

Prefix pre- 'across, through, over, re-'

1) the basic meaning of the preposition, to the

other side, across, e.g. přeběhnout 'to run across', přehodit 'to throw across', etc.

2 a) to do something over, excessively, exceedingly, e.g. přesolit 'to salt too much', přeplnit 'to fill too much', etc.

2 b) to interrupt, to spoil by overdoing, e.g. převařit 'to boil too much', přerušit 'to interrupt', etc.

3) to repeat, e.g. předělat 'to do over', přepřesat 'to re-copy-', etc.

Prefix při- 'to'

1) basic meanings is that of the preposition, e.g. přijít 'to come to', přitisknout 'to press together'.

2) to add something, e.g. přidat 'to add', připsat 'to add a few lines', etc.

Prefix před- 'before, fore-'

1) the basic meaning is to be before something, in space or time, e.g. předpovědit 'to foretell', předložit 'to put before', etc.

Prefix roz- 'to divide, disperse, spread, dis-, un-, de-'

1) to divide into two or several parts, e.g. rozkřájet 'to cut into pieces', rozehnat 'to disperse', etc.

2) to loosen, e.g. rozmrazit 'to defrost', rozšroubovat 'to unscrew', etc.

3) growth, extent, starting an activity or bringing it to an excessive extent, e.g. rozpálit 'to make hot', rozestavět 'to start building (a house)', etc.

4) purely aspectual meaning infrequently, e.g. rozdělit 'to divide', roztavit 'to melt'.

Prefix s- 'with, together, down, con-, de-'

1) the meaning of together, e.g. sejít se 'to meet', sestavit 'to compile', etc.

2) the meaning of down, e.g. sletět 'to fly down', svalit 'to roll down', etc.

3) to do entirely, fully, e.g. sníst 'to eat all', strávit 'to digest', etc.

Prefix u- 'away, from'

1) to take something away, e.g. ubrat 'to take from', usypat 'to pour a little', ukrojit 'to cut from', etc.

2) adlative meaning, to put to, to put in, e.g. umístnit 'to place'. (In this meaning the prefix u- historically replaced the older prefix v-).

3) ability, readiness to accomplish something, e.g. ujet 100 mil 'to go at a speed of 100 miles', ubranit 'to defend', etc.

4) aspectual meaning, e.g. dělat - udělat 'to do', škodit - uškodit 'to do harm', zrát - uzrát 'to ripen', etc. According to Kopečný "simple perfectives formed with this prefix belong to a simple type of perfectives as the prefix is ideally empty".³⁹ It seems however, that perfectives with this prefix are always accompanied with a meaning change much like a leap into another quality, which is the finished product of the previous activity.

Prefix vy- 'out, from, up'

1) the basic meaning is to be out of something, sometimes connected with the meaning of up, e.g. vyletět 'to fly up from', vylezt do kopce 'to climb up a hill', etc.

2) exhausting the activity, or exhausting the material by the activity, e.g. vyčerpat 'to exhaust', vyschnout 'to dry out', etc.

Prefix vz- 'up'

1) the basic meaning of up is frequent, e.g. vzhlednout 'to look up', vzrůst (o rostinách) 'to

grow up (about plants)'.
2) the upsurge of action, e.g. vzplanout 'to flame out', vzbourit se 'to riot, to rise up', etc.

Prefix z- 'from'

1) the basic meaning of preposition, to take from, to separate, to disconnect, e.g. zběhnout 'to desert', zřici se 'to renounce, to abandon', etc.

2) with verbs meaning change of state the preposition implies the limit, the moment when the change was completed or when the leap into another state or quality took place. This meaning is also the basic meaning of the corresponding preposition in Modern Czech. Examples of state verbs: zcernat 'to become black', zchudnout 'to become poor'. Examples of factitives: zchladit 'to make cool', zmenšit 'to lessen'.

Prefix za- 'behind'

1) basic meaning is directional, but it is not always concrete, e.g. zajít 'to go to', zabloudit 'to lose one's way', etc.

2) the meaning of a sudden beginning of action, but connected with the feeling that the action did not last long. This meaning is typical for the preposition. Examples: zasteknout (o psu) 'to bark a little (about a dog)', zasteknout se 'to feel homesick'.

3) additional meaning of satisfaction with the activity, as in zalyzovat si 'to do some skiing', zatancovat si 'to dance a little', etc. Verbs of this type have a reflexive pronoun si. As they do not build secondary imperfectives, they may be listed among Aktionsarten.

4) as purely aspectual as in the following pairs:

<u>mávat</u>	-	<u>zamávat</u>	'to wave'
<u>trást</u>	-	<u>zatrást</u>	'to shake'
<u>hrát</u>	-	<u>zahrát</u>	'to worm up'
<u>smát se</u>	-	<u>zasmát se</u>	'to smile, and several

others.

4.4. Suffixation

Aspectual suffixation may be defined as a process in which suffixed verbs are derived by means of adding suffixes to the meaning-bearing verbal stems. In contrast with prefixation which consists of adding a prefix to the simplex verb without changing it, suffixation may affect conjugational pattern and the sound structure of the root to which the suffixes are added. Suffixation may also be connected with the change of aspect, though this change does not lead to the formation of derivatives of one aspect, as prefixation does, but to formation of either imperfectives or perfectives. While prefixation may be connected with the change of lexical meaning, verbs derived by suffixes have their lexical meanings unchanged, because what the suffixes add is a modification of the basic meaning or the change of aspect only.

The question is now 1) what types of verbs can be suffixed and which suffixes they can take, 2) whether there are special suffixes for change of aspect and for meaning modification or whether the same suffixes are used in both functions. Answers to both questions can be given only after consideration of the following material.

4.4.1 Suffixed perfectives.

The largest part of unprefixated verbs are imperfectives. Suffixation of these verbs can result in modification of

their meanings or in changing the verb into a perfective.

When the suffix -nou- is added, the resulting form is a perfective with or without the semelfactive meaning (compare Chapter III, 3.3). This suffix is added to the -a- verbs of the type hvízdat 'to whistle', bafat 'to puff', and only exceptionally to stems of verbs of other types, e.g. křičet - křiknout 'to shout out'. The verbs knúknout 'to whine', kviknout 'to squeak', can be paired with imperfectives knúkat or knučet 'to whine', kvikat or kvičet 'to squeak', though in the Dictionary⁴⁰ they are labelled as perfectives of -a- verbs only. The verb fikat 'to move quickly', 'to pass by', has other meanings than the verb fičet 'to whiz'.

The roots to which the suffix -nou- is added alternate, exceptionally, e.g. mazat - máznout 'to spread, to smear', řezat - říznout 'to cut'.

Semelfactives can be derived only from verbs in which the underlying semantic meaning does not contradict the notion of a single action of a very short duration. Therefore, they are typical both for verbs that name different sounds and for verbs naming movements of the body. The latter can be either fully controlled, as e.g. chňapat - chňapnout 'to catch, seize quickly', lapat - lapnout 'to catch', or partly controlled, e.g. mrkat - mrknout 'to wink', 'to twinkle', lokat - loknout 'to gulp'. Furthermore, they may name and point out single acts of one activity that in reality consist of a number of short and repeated acts of the same kind, e.g. plácat - plácnout 'to hit', mrskat -

mrsknout 'to throw', etc. It seems that the semelfactive meaning eliminates the notion of any activity previous to the act designated by the verbs. It means further that the action is neither the result or the end nor the conclusion of the previous activity. Thus, křiknout 'to shout out once', does not presuppose křičet 'to shout'; neither does it mean the end of křičení 'the shouting'. It seems, on the contrary, that every action expressed by a semelfactive is taken as an event, isolated from the previous activity.

As they are highly expressive, some of the -nout semelfactives are typical for the colloquial style. Very common are the following phrases: já tě zíhnu or třepnu or křísnu, all meaning 'I'll slap you, hit you, give you a slap', hlodni si instead of kousni si 'have a bite', ten se chvástnul 'he has shown off', etc.

Syntactically, there is no difference between the imperfective and semelfactive verbs. Both members of the pair take noun phrases of the same type, e.g. mrkat očima - mrknout očima 'to twinkle (eyes)', mrkat na někoho - mrknout na někoho 'to give a sign to somebody (with the eyes)', dítě chňápa po míči - dítě chňapne po míči 'the child seizes the ball', etc.

However, there is a group of imperfectives with the meaning of doing something, which have semelfactive counterparts only when the manner in which the activity is carried

out is expressed, or when the object of the activity is not given directly. The most frequent verbs of this type are the following:

kousat - kousnout 'to bite'

kuchat - kuchnout 'to eviscerate, to gut'

krouhat - krouhnout 'to cut, to slice'

šlehat - šlehnout 'to beat, to whip, to cane'

trhat - trhnout 'to pull at a thing, to jerk'

sekat - seknout 'to cut'

škusbat - škubnout 'to pull, wrench, to pluck a
bird'

škrabat - škrábnout 'to scrape, to peel'

hrabat - hrábnout 'to rake, to snatch at a thing'

rýpat - rýpnout 'to dig, to scratch'

For example, the imperfective rýpat 'to dig, to scratch' can be used in the following contexts:

rýpal pomalu 'he dug slowly'

rýpal na zahradě 'he dug in the garden'

rýpal zahon 'he dug the bed'

The verb rýpnout 'to dig' can be used only as follows:

rýpnul pomalu 'he dug slowly'

rýpnul na zahradě 'he dug in the garden'

*rýpnul zahon 'he dug the bed' (not acceptable).

While phrases like pomalů rýpal na zahradě záhon 'he dug slowly a bed in the garden' are common, phrases of the same structure with the -nout verb are not generated.

The sentences with the -nout verb differ, as e.g. pomalu rýpnul na zahradě do záhonu 'he dug slowly in a bed in the garden'.

A second example might be cited řezat - říznout. Though řezat něco 'to cut something' consists of one or several acts of cutting, the bread can be only řezán 'cut' (past passive participle from řezat), but not říznout 'cut' (past passive participle from říznout). But it is possible to say řezat do něčeho as well as říznout do něčeho 'to cut into something'. Again, the verb říznout 'to cut' is not used with the direct object.

As the translation of the above -at/-nout verbs shows, sometimes different English equivalents are given for the same pair, and therefore it could be simply a case of homonymy. This would be so if, e.g., the verb hrabat had only the meaning of raking and hrábnout that of snatching. But hrabat and hrábnout can have both meanings; thus we can have hrabat po něčem (třeba rychle) 'to snatch', to try to reach (even quickly)' and hrábnout po něčem (třeba pomalu) 'to snatch (even slowly)', and hrabat zahradu 'to rake the garden' where the noun zahradu 'the garden' is direct object, is not generated.

For the Czech speaker, verbs like hrabat, řezat, kou-
sat (see meanings in the list above) are one lexical unit (as such, they are given by Dictionaries) and therefore homonymy does not explain the cases where they can or cannot be replaced by their -nout partners. As the only dif-

ference between the -at and -nout verbs is in aspect, the answer may be found in the compatibility or non-compatibility of the aspectual notion of isolated acts (or acts styled as isolated) with the non-aspectual notion of activity gradually spreading over an object that might be contained in the lexical meaning of the verb or that might follow from the combination of the verb and the direct object. In kousnout do něčeho 'to bite into something', one isolated act of biting is connected with one part of the object, in kousat do něčeho 'to bite into something', one part of the object is exposed repeatedly to a number of the same acts. In kousat jablko 'to bite an apple', a number of the same acts covers gradually the whole object, the type *kousnout jablko is not generated.

Thus far, the following first conclusions can be made. Firstly, semelfactives of the rypnout 'to dig' type cannot be used in all contexts where their rypat 'to dig' partners can be used. Simply enough, they cannot express all the semantic meanings of the imperfective verbs. The meanings of the semelfactive is more limited and narrower than that of the imperfective.

Secondly, compare hrábnul pomalu po něčem and rychle po něčem hrabal 'he snatched and tried to reach something'. In the first case the semelfactive is used with the adverb

slowly and in the second the imperfective with the adverb quickly. This fact seems to contradict the definition of semelfactive verbs as that of implying short, instantaneous actions. The adverbs, however, show rather manner than duration of time. Duration is implied secondarily by the manner in which the activity develops. Time modifiers as dlouho 'a long time', chvíli 'a moment', okamžik 'a while', zlomek vteřiny 'less than a second', etc. cannot be used with the -nout verbs, though with -at imperfectives they are usual. Thus it may be concluded that physically and grammatically "short moments" are different. The linguistic means for expressing actions of short duration is grammatical to such extent that instantaneous action in objective reality and in language styling may be completely different notions.

Thus we may say that the verbs of the type rypnout 'to dig', etc. can be used as pure perfectives or semelfactives according to the context.

The last group of -nou- suffixed verbs are perfective correlates to the imperfective -a- verbs. The following are used frequently:

<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Perfective</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
lehat si	lehnout si	to lie down
zdvihat	zdvihnout	to pick up
sahat	sáhnout	to touch at something

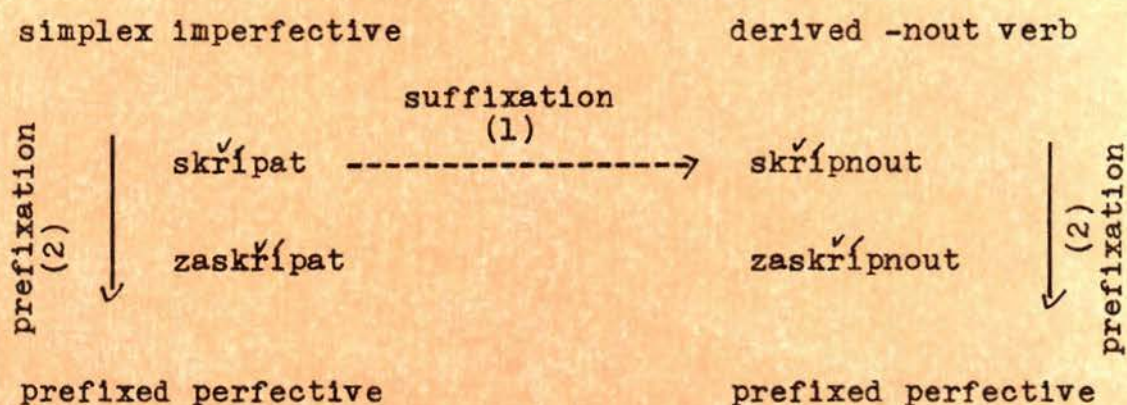
stihat	stihnout	to catch (a train)
sedat	sednout si	to sit down
klekat	kleknout	to kneel
lekat se	leknout se	to be frightened
padat	padnout	to fall down

In this type of verb the grammatical styling of a physical action is quite striking. It seems that the language presentation of an action as sitting down as imperfective or perfective is a very abstract concept. It is interesting that the -nout perfectives belong to the oldest verbs with one aspect assigned to each member. The development of such pairs as padat - padnout 'to fall down' is taken by some grammarians as the beginning of a process known as ustalování ve vidu (stabilization in aspect) in which lexico - semantical notions became the basis for a grammatical category.⁴¹ In Modern Czech, however, this type of correlation is no longer productive (compare Chapter III, 3.3.).

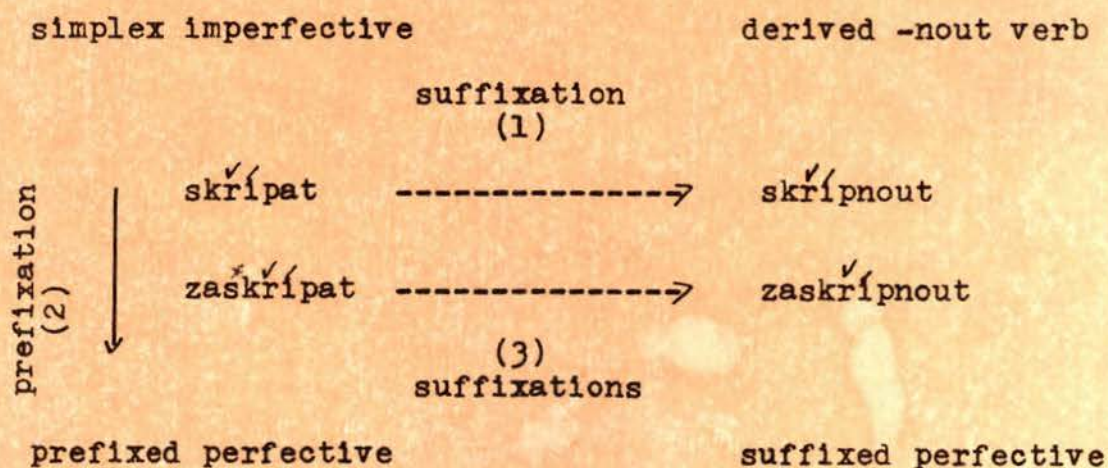
So far only the derivation of suffixed perfectives (with or without semelfactive meaning) from unprefixated verbs was discussed. But such verbs as vyrýpnout 'to dig out', povšimnout si 'to notice', probodnout 'to jab through', etc are frequent. Their aspect is perfective.

Thus we have imperfective skřípat, suffixed skřípnout, prefixed zaskřípnout with the same meaning 'to squeak', or rýpat - rýpnout - vyrýpnout 'to dig out'. The imperfective

members of the trios can also be prefixed. Thus we have skřípat - zaskřípat 'to squeak', rypat - vyrýpat 'to dig out'. The history of the aspectual string is then: zaskřípat - skřípat - skřípnout - zaskřípnout. As there are many cases in which the imperfective -at verb takes suffixes other than the -nout verb, we may assume that the aspectual string is built in this way:



An alternative, but for a less desirable explanation is the following:



The number 1, 2, 3 show the order of processes.

Situations like the following are a rule rather than

an exception:

	<u>-at-</u> verb	<u>-nout-</u> verb
non-prefixed	bouchat 'to bang'	bouchnout 'to bang'
prefix za-	zabouchat 'to bang at the door'	zabouchnout 'to shut something'
[✓] pri-	X	přibouchnout 'to shut something'
vy-	vybouchat (patrony) 'to shut out'	vybouchnout 'to explode'
od-	odbouchat (rare) 'to kill, to shoot'	odbouchnout 'to shoot someone'
do-	dobouchat se 'to be successful and awake someone by banging'	X
na-	nabouchat se 'to do banging to an ex- cessive extent'	nabouchnout se 'to eat too much'

In view of the preceding discussion of the -nout verbs, the following may be said:

1) Only some simplex imperfectives can be perfectivized by the -nou- suffix.

2) Verbs that can take the -nou- suffix belong mostly to the -at type.

3) The derived -nout verb may be a pure perfective having no additional semantic meaning. This type of -nout verb, however, is not frequent.

4) The derived verb may be a perfective with an additional semelfactive meaning. This type is frequent.

(compare Chapter III, 3.3.).

5) Semelfactive or perfective meaning of some -nout verbs is given by the context.

6) The possibility to form semelfactive is given by the semantic meaning of the type of action underlying the lexical meaning of the verb.

7) The degree of abstraction in the language presentation (grammaticalization) of physical actions is high.

4.4.2 Iteratives.

Other groups of verbs that can be easily recognized as suffixed are verbs with the suffixes -va- and -ova-. The suffix -va- has two functions, depending on the aspect of the verb to which it is added. It builds iteratives if added to simplex and secondary imperfectives; added to prefixed perfectives, it builds secondary imperfectives. The addition of the suffix to the stem is connected with lengthening of the preceding stem vowels -a- and -i-, e.g. děla-t/dělá-va-t 'to do', prosi-t/prosí-va-t 'to ask for, to beg'. If the stem ends in -e, the alternation e-í takes place, e.g. sáze-t/sazí-va-t 'to plant', trpě-t-trpí-va-t 'to suffer'.

In the iteratives, the -va- suffix is the only productive one. Other suffixes appear only exceptionally in the imperfective - iterative correlation, e.g. imperfective jíst - iterative jíd-a-t both meaning 'to eat',

imperfective číst - iterative čítat 'to read', etc. (compare correlations in Chapter III). Secondary imperfectives on the other hand, are built productively by the -va- suffix as well as by the -ova- suffix, e.g. prefixed perfective vyděla-t has secondary imperfective vydělá-va-t, prefixed perfective vyprosi-t has secondary imperfective vyproš-ovat 'to ask for, to beg'. The derivation of secondary imperfectives with other suffixes than -ova- and -va- is not productive, though there are pairs like vyjíst - vyjídat 'to eat up', zmrznout - zmrzat 'to freeze'. Sometimes there are two imperfectives to one prefixed perfective, one with the -va- suffix, another without, e.g. zamrznout - zamrzat or zamrzávat 'to freeze up', (compare correlations in Chapter III).

The position of iteratives in the verbal system may be compared with that of semelfactives in both form and meaning. While semelfactives represent a sub-class in the sphere of perfective aspect, iteratives can have the same place within the imperfective aspect. While semelfactives are a group of verbs in which the special semantic meaning of action of short duration is expressed formally (by the suffix -nou-), iteratives are a group of verbs with formally expressed semantic meaning of an activity repeating after some time or from time to time. This meaning of repeating, known as iterative, is not always formally expressed in other groups of verbs though it may

be an additional or a possible feature accompanying another meaning. Such is the case with all imperfectives and even with some perfectives, and therefore, in fact, there are more verbs with possible iterative meaning formally unexpressed than expressed. But the -vat iteratives are marked morphologically as well as semantically, since their meaning of repeating is not contextual or possible, but basic and obligatory.

On the other hand, the repetition of activity expressed by iteratives is not to be mistaken with physical activity which consists of actions interrupted by intervals or which is divided among several objects. Such is the case in mýt nádobí 'to wash the dishes', utírat nádobí 'to wipe the dishes', kráčet někam 'to walk somewhere', malovat stěnu 'to paint the wall', etc. It seems that this semantic meaning of interrupted activity or divided activity accompanies the lexical meaning of the verb that names the activity, and therefore it does not have to be taken as a special feature of the Slavic verbs if only the type of activity is considered, e.g. walking consists of a number of steps, painting of a number of movements done with the brush, in wiping the dishes the activity goes from one object to the other, etc.

But, when the repeating of activity from time to time as a whole is expressed by special language means that are not random lexical items, but systematic, then this

feature has to be taken as categorical and such a category is a special feature of Slavic, and especially of the Czech verb. Thus the Czech malovával 'he painted sometimes, he used to paint', utírával nádobí 'he used to wipe the dishes, he wiped the dishes sometimes', etc. differs from the English painted, wiped in that the usual activity, repetition and casualness, may be added lexically to the verb in English, while in Czech these meanings always accompany the lexical meaning of the iterative.

Moreover, iteratives can express as repeated such activities that are not internally dissected or interrupted, e.g. imperfective vidět 'to see', prosit 'to beg' have iteratives vídat, prošívát. Imperfectives of this type are usually called duratives.

Contrast the following:

1) Internally divided activity:

a) internally divided activity kráčet 'to walk', chodit 'to go', natírat něco 'to paint something', etc.

b) activity divided to several objects: utírat nádobí 'to wash the dishes', psát dopisy 'to write letters', etc.

c) uninterrupted, durative activity, držet něco 'to hold something', prosit 'to ask', etc.

2) Iterative (repeated activity)

a) kráčívát 'to walk sometimes, from time to time',
natírát 'to paint sometimes, usually, severtimes, often,
rarely', etc.

b) utírát nádobí 'to wipe the dishes sometimes',
psát dopisy 'to write letters sometimes, several times,
often, rarely', etc.

c) držívát 'to be used to hold', prosívát 'to ask
sometimes, usually', etc.

3) Further, contrast how the repeating of activity can
be expressed in English and in Czech.

<u>English</u>	<u>Czech</u>
to paint	<u>natírat</u> (imperfective)
to paint sometimes,	<u>natírát</u> (iterative)
to paint often	
to paint usually,	
(I) used to paint	

Thus it can be said that iteratives express quantity
of verbal meaning, and that in this respect, they stand
on the opposite side of the -nout verbs. In the former,
activity is manifested as a series of multiplied actions;
in the latter, as a single action.

Quantity of verbal action expressed by the verb is still another dimension different from quality of action contained in the aspectual meaning of marked or unmarked totality or complexity of action. It is therefore not surprising that the meaning of quantity cuts across the whole aspectual system, which means that we have both perfectives and imperfectives with quantitative meaning. It is evident from the material that expressing quantity is not a typical feature of the Slavic verb. Slavic has, nevertheless, developed some types stressing quantitative meaning. What is typical is the subordination of the meaning of quantity to that of aspect. In other words, the meaning reflecting a physical feature of the activity (action) is subordinated to aspect. Thus, the verbs expressing quantity formally, e.g. iteratives, distributives, semelfactives, are only a component in the aspectual system together with other types of verbs, e.g. Aktionsarten, primary imperfectives etc.⁴²

Iteratives in Modern Czech form a large group of verbs derived from both simplex and secondary imperfectives. The former are so frequent that simplex imperfectives that do not have iterative variants can be called exceptional. It seems that the imperfectives of the -nout type, as planout 'to blaze', žhnout 'to glow', klenout se 'to vault' and several others do not form

iteratives only for formal reasons. Change of state verbs with a -nou- suffix, e.g. to schnout 'to get dry' to sládnout 'to become sweet' do not have iteratives, probably for both formal and semantic reasons, (there is no *sychat, *sladat). Iteratives of other change of state verbs, though theoretically possible, are always felt as unusual, though the native speaker may use them in some special context, e.g. rezavívat 'to get rusty' instead of the imperfective rezavět.

Other verbs that do not form iteratives for formal reasons belong to non-productive groups. Only the most common verbs will be listed:

moci 'to be able, can'	žíti 'to mow'
mást 'to mistake, to confuse'	slout 'to be famous'
krást 'to steal'	trít 'to mix (and all verbs of Group 3)
klást 'to put down'	krýt 'to cover'
vát 'to blow'	kát se 'to repent'
nýt 'to be bored'	

Other verbs of the non-productive classes can have iterative variants, e.g. být - bývat 'to be', pít - pívat 'to drink', mít - mívat 'to have', plést - plétat 'to knit', etc.

Probably for semantic reasons iteratives are not always derived from denominatives denoting a profession, e.g. sedláčít 'to be a farmer', truhlářít 'to be a carpenter',

etc. Iteratives are not derived from infrequently used scientific or professional terms, e.g. there is no iterative to apotheosovat 'to celebrate', kulminovat 'to culminate', etc.

Iteratives derived from secondary imperfectives are less frequent than iteratives derived from simplex imperfectives, though such iteratives as nakupovávat 'to be used to buy, to go shopping', příjíždívát 'to come sometimes', přiházívát se 'to happen sometimes', are commonly used. This fact can be easily explained by the overcomplicated morphological structure that would be the result of further suffixation of secondary -vat and -ovat imperfectives. Though such verbs as předělávávát 'to do over', vyprošívávát 'to ask for', zúčastňívávát se 'to take part in' are heard, they are usually replaced by imperfectives that may render the iterative meaning.

Still another feature of iteratives has to be briefly mentioned, namely, the possible repetition of the -va- suffix. Thus, besides the type delavat 'to do sometimes' we have dělávávát or dělávávávát. The latter types have the same meaning, but they are usually connected with affective reference to actions completed in the distant past, and they are mostly used only in the past tense forms.

Generally, iteratives are mostly used in the present tense, past tense and infinitive forms. (Compare the

Russian iteratives byvat' 'to be', govorivat' 'to speak', whose usage is practically limited to past tense and infinitive). Future tense forms of the type budu chodívat 'I'll usually go', budu psávat 'I'll usually write', are not so frequent. According to Kopečný⁴³ imperative forms are common. It seems, however that such imperatives as pěstovávej 'plant, grow', sdrátovávej 'wire, together', nerozpakovávej se 'don't be at a loss', právej 'wash', are theoretical forms rather than language facts. In usage such imperatives are exceptional.

The following conclusions can be drawn based on the previous analysis of iteratives:

- 1) the -va- suffix is the only productive morphologic formant for expressing repeated activity.
- 2) Czech iteratives are derived from simplex and secondary imperfectives.
- 3) in derivation of morphologically formed iteratives, the aspect is not changed, but the meaning is modified by marking the notion of verbal quantity.
- 4) iteratives may be listed as one of the Aktionsarten.

4.4.3 Secondary imperfectives.

The last group of suffixed verbs are secondary imperfectives. As already shown, this derivation followed

prefixation of simplex verbs, in the sequence of formative processes. The order of processes is as follows:

simplex verb --- prefixed perfective --- suffixed imperfective.

Simplex verbs may be imperfective (most common), bi-aspectual or perfective. One example of the derivation from each type of the basic verb is given below.

Imperfective: psát 'to write' - přepsat 'to copy' - přepi-
sovat 'to copy?'.
Bi-aspectual: ranit 'to wound' - zranit 'to wound' - zran-
ovat 'to wound'.

Perfective: mrstít 'to throw', odmrstít 'to throw away',
odmrstovat 'to throw away'.

Productive suffixes for deriving secondary imperfectives are -va- and -ova-, non-productive -a-, -e-, -i-. Suffixes are added to the stem and suffixation may be accompanied by the stem alternations as lengthening of the stem vowels -a- before the suffixes -va-, e.g. předěla-t - předělá-vat 'to do over'. Suffixation may also be accompanied by the mutation of the last stem consonant e.g. vyprosi-t - vyprošovat 'to ask for', odpusti-t - odpou-
stě-t 'to forgive', vyhodi-t - vyhaz-ova-t 'to throw away', etc. Class I -at verbs and Class III -ovat verbs take the -va- suffix, Class IV -it/-et verbs take the -ova- suffix and may show the last stem consonant alternation

d - z as in osladit - oslazovat - 'to make sweet',

t - c " " přichytit - uchycovat - 'to fasten'

s - š " " vyprosit - vyprošovat - 'to ask for'

z - ž " " ohrozit - ohrožovat - 'to endanger'

zd - žď as in opozdit - opožďovat - 'to be late'

st - št' " " vyhostit - vyhošťovat 'to expel'

that may be connected with vowel alternation, and Class II -nout verbs take both -ova- and -va- suffixes. Non-productive Class V verbs take mostly the -va- or the -a- suffix, e.g. umýt - umývat 'to wash', odřít - odírat 'to rub'.

Secondary imperfectives may be derived from most prefixed perfectives, but not from all. There are verbs like udělat 'to do', napsat 'to write', nakreslit 'to draw', zaplakat 'to cry a little', načekat se 'to wait a long time', and others from which secondary imperfectives are not derived. For some grammarians the non-existence of secondary imperfectives is the proof that the prefix added to the simplex verb was lexically empty, hence the term vide (which actually means 'empty'). Therefore, in the process of prefixation the meaning of the prefixed perfective remains the same as the meaning of the original (unprefixed) imperfective. Thus, there is no need to build secondary imperfectives. The simplex and the prefixed perfective represent a pure aspectual pair. According to Kopečný "to the verb udělat 'to do' no *udělávat is needed (and therefore it does not exist), as it has its partner

in dělat 'to do'; it does not have a different meaning, but only a different aspect..."⁴⁴

The non-existence of such secondary imperfectives as *udělavat proves, on the other hand, the purely aspectual function of some prefixes. Such prefixes are known as preverbes vides, or 'empty prefixes', (compare Chapter IV, 4.2).

In many cases, however, there exists a secondary imperfective to what seems to be a purely aspectual pair of unprefixated and prefixed verbs. For example, to the simplex budit 'to wake' there is a prefixed perfective vzbudit and secondary imperfective vzbuzovat, both meaning 'to wake'; to the simplex hájit 'to defend' there is a prefixed perfective obhájit and secondary imperfective obhajovat 'to defend'; to pálit 'to burn' there is spálit and spalovat 'to burn'; etc. In such cases, the criterion of absolute synonymy of the secondary and simplex imperfectives is suggested by Kopecny⁴⁵ as the deciding factor.

The prefixed perfective umýt 'to wash' can be taken as a pure aspectual partner to simplex imperfective mýt 'to wash', in spite of the fact that there exists a secondary imperfective umývat 'to wash'. Since this secondary imperfective umývat is synonymous with the simplex mýt. Thus, according to the theory of preverbes vides mýt - umýt 'to wash', dělat - udělat 'to do', etc. are pure aspectual partners as well as umýt - umývat 'to wash'.

For other grammarians⁴⁶ however, prefixed perfec-

tives that do not have secondary imperfectives represent types of verbs with semantic meanings that do not allow imperfectivization; e.g. resultative or ingressive. They are therefore listed among the Aktionsarten. All prefixed perfectives that can have secondary imperfectives are lexical formations in relation to the simplex verb, but are pure aspectual partners to the secondary imperfective. Thus, according to those grammarians, pure aspectual pairs are formed only by the pairs of prefixed perfectives and secondary imperfectives. The criteria for pure aspectual partners are:

- 1) absolute synonymy of lexical meaning.
- 2) different aspect with no additional semantic meaning of result, beginning of action, repeating, instantaneous action, etc.

Since every prefix according to this theory, introduces a new element to the basic verb, absolute synonymy cannot exist between unprefixes and prefixed verbs (compare Chapter IV, 4.2). Therefore for such grammarians, a prefixed and an unprefixes verb never form a pair. Such forms as dělat - dělávat 'to do' are not a pure aspectual pair because they belong to the same aspect (both imperfectives). The verb dělávat 'to do sometimes' has also the additional meaning of repeated activity. For similar reasons, dělávat and udělat cannot be paired. Thus, both criteria are met

only if prefixed perfectives and secondary imperfectives are matched. Such notions can be conveniently shown in the following lines of relationships.

Simplex Imperfectives	Aktionsarten	Aspectual pairs: prefixed perfectives - secondary imperfectives
psat 'to write'	napsat 'to write'	přepsat 'to copy'
	psávat 'to write' sometimes'	přepisovat 'to copy'

According to the above theory, all verbs except prefixed perfectives and secondary imperfectives (see the above scheme) that are paired, are perfectiva or imperfectiva tantum.⁴⁷

This theory divides very precisely all prefixed verbs into paired and unpaired verbs, listing as unpaired all that do not have secondary imperfectives. It seems almost ideal, but in practice such forms as vidět - uvidět 'to see', slyšet - uslyšet 'to hear', vařit - uvařit 'to boil', bránit - ubránit 'to defend', psát - napsat 'to write', etc., felt by the native speaker as synonymous partners, are divided and treated as verbs with additional modification of meaning, or shifted lexical meaning.

As the final criterion must be usage, it seems reasonable to apply Maslov's⁴⁸ and Forsyth's⁴⁹ transposition

of the perfective past into imperfective present historic, Forsyth's test, on the other hand, consists in the transposition of the perfective and imperfective imperatives. If in these transpositions, the prefixed verb is replaced by the simplex imperfective, it may be said that they form an aspectual pair. For example for the prefixed perfective uvařit 'to boil, to cook, to prepare meals', both transpositions show that it can be matched with the imperfective vařit.

The sentence Přišel jsem a ona uvařila
came (pf) am and she made (pf)

oběd 'I came and she made the dinner' is in the historic
dinner

present Přijdu a ona vaří oběd 'I
I come(pf) and she makes(imp) dinner

come and she makes the dinner'. For the positive imperative uvař oběd 'make the dinner', the negative form is nevař oběd 'do not make the dinner'.

If the same transpositions are applied to other prefixed perfectives of the lexeme vařit 'to boil, to cook, to prepare meals', the following picture emerges regarding their transpositional behavior.

Notes:

1) vařit in both meanings 'to boil' and 'to cook' is only one lexeme for the Czech speaker. Even syntactically there is no difference, e.g. vařit vodu 'to boil water, to make the water boil' shows the same case, the accusative, as in vařit oběd 'to make the dinner'; in the reflexive

passive there is voda se vaří 'the water boils' as compared to oběd se vaří 'the dinner is being prepared'.

2) the sign X will be used for cases in which the transpositions of the prefixed perfective and the simplex vařit are not possible.

3) the numbers (1) and (2) after the imperfective show the meanings corresponding to the perfective meanings (in those cases where there is more than one meaning).

<u>Prefixed perfective</u>	<u>Secondary Imperfective</u>	<u>Historic Present</u>	<u>Negative Imperative</u>
po-vařit 'to boil a little'	povařovat	X	X
do-vařit 'to finish boiling'	dovařovat	X	X
pře-vařit 1) 'to boil again'	pře-vařovat (1, 2)	X	X
2) 'to boil too hard'		X	X
vy-vařit 1) 'to consume in the process of boiling'	vy-vařovat (1, 2)	X	X
2) 'to boil the linen'		X	X
3) 'to prepare good meals'		X	X
za-vařit 1) 'to add something to the boiling substance'	za-vařovat (1, 2)	X	X
2) 'to preserve'		X	X
od-vařit 'to make an extract'	od-vařovat	X	X

př ^í -vařit 1) 'to make more food by cooking or boiling'	př ^í vařovat (1, 2)	X	X
2) 'to put to- gether by boiling		X	X
př ^é d-vařit 'to boil before'	př ^é dvařovat	X	X
o-vařit 'to boil on the surface'	ovařovat	X	X
roz-vařit 'to boil too much'	rozvařovat	X	X
s-vařit 1) 'to boil together'	svařovat (1, 2)	X	X
2) 'to weld'		X	X
na-vařit 1) 'to en- large by boiling'	navařovat (1)	X	X
2) 'to cook lots of things'	----- (rare)	vařit	nevař !
navařit se 'to make lots of soaking'	-----	X	nevař !
uvařit 'to boil, to cook'	-----	vařit	nevař !

According to these transpositions the simplex imperfective vařit 'to boil, to cook', is used in the negative imperative in contexts in which the positive form of the prefixed imperative nevař or nevař se are usual. In the historic present, transpositions of vařit cannot replace navařit se without a change of meaning. Other prefixed verbs cannot be replaced by the simplex verb. It could be concluded that they are new lexemes. For the Czech speaker, however, some of them are only modifications of

vařit. For example, povařit 'to boil a little', přivařit 'to prepare more food', navařit 'to make a lot of things', navařit se 'to cook too much'. Though some forms may be confusing even for Czech speakers, the following new lexemes are considered quite legitimate: zavařit 'to preserve' svařit 'to boil together, to weld', odvařit 'to make an extract'.

The situation is similar in the case of other verbs, and vařit is only one example of the prevailing situation. Among the prefixed verbs there can be prefixed perfectives that do not have secondary imperfectives but that have the same meaning as the basic verbs. There are also prefixed perfectives with modified meaning with or without secondary imperfectives. Lastly, there are also prefixed perfectives with new lexical meanings. Thus, as the result of prefixation, most simplex verbs exhibit a number of prefixed perfectives (from one to possibly 20) that vary in their meanings. These meaning variations represent a range, at one end of which there are prefixed verbs of the same meaning as the unprefixed imperfective, and at the other entirely new lexemes. It seems that between these two ends of the continuum a number of transitional types of mixed features tend to one or the other end. If we call the two ends polar and the transitional types intermediate the following picture emerges: (see Table VI, p. 187).

TABLE VI

	<u>Basic Meaning</u>	<u>Modified Meaning</u>		<u>New Meaning</u>
Prefixed Perpective	uvařit	navařit	dovařit	zavařit
Secondary Imperfec- tive	∅	∅ /	dovařovat	zavařovat
	Pole I	Intermediate		Pole II

Comparing **this** picture with what was previously said about prefixation and pure aspectual pairs, one finds that even suffixation substantiates the mixed theory in accepting some simplex imperfectives - prefixed perfective as pure aspectual partners and prefixed perfectives with modified meaning as unpaired or sublexical.

Unpaired prefixed verbs may include those verbs that (1) modify, but do not change the basic meaning, (2) at least partly may be replaced by the simplex verb in the transpositions. This means that in some contexts the simplex verb is used instead of the sublexical nuance.

According to the mixed theory, unpaired verbs are reduced to some perfectives and some simplex imperfectives (that do not form pairs for semantic reasons) and to *Aktion-sarten*. The unpaired verbs were compared with defective types in nominal declension, and were taken as an argument for the notion that aspect is a category standing on the periphery of grammar and lexicon⁵⁰ (see Chapter IV, 4.5).

Summarizing the previous analysis of secondary imperfectives, it may be said that verbs belonging to this group

1) have special morphologic structure consisting in prefix + root + suffix + endings,

2) are built in the process of suffixation of prefixed perfectives productively by suffixes -va-, -ova-, non-productively by suffixes -a-, -e-, exceptionally -i-.

3) in the sphere of secondary imperfectives, suffixation yields results opposite to prefixation.

4) secondary imperfectives are built under the pressure of the aspectual system as imperfective correlates to prefixed perfective verbs.

5) building of secondary imperfectives is not a lexical, but a grammatical process that shows the subordination of the lexical meaning of the verb to the grammatical category of aspect.

Before concluding the section on suffixation, two types of verbs slightly different, from those that have been described, should be briefly mentioned.

- 1) determinate and indeterminate verbs of motion (4.4.4.),
- 2) distributives (4.4.5).

4.4.4. Verbs of motion.

1) The following pairs are usually labelled as determinate - indeterminate verbs of motion:

- jít - chodit 'to go'
- nést - nosit 'to bring, to carry'
- jet - jezdit 'to go, to drive'
- hnát - honit 'to drive, to punch, to pursue'
- vézt - vozit - to bring (by train, car...)'
- běžet - běhat 'to run'
- letět - létat 'to fly'

Among other features in which they differ from other Russian verbs, usually that connected with prefixation is stressed. The indeterminate verbs do not usually become perfectives, when prefixed, while their determinate partners do.⁵⁴

In Czech, all determinate verbs can form the ingressive future with the prefix po-, e.g. půjdu 'I'll go', povezu 'I'll bring', as well as the periphrastic future, e.g. budu nést 'I'll bring', budu vést 'I'll lead', but *budu jít 'I'll go' is not used. The indeterminate verbs can have only the periphrastic future, e.g. budu chodit 'I'll go'.

If the determinate verbs are prefixed, they become perfectives, but their meanings are always shifted. If the indeterminate verbs are prefixed they become perfectives. Some of them have distributive meaning added to the meaning of extensive quantity (e.g. na-nosit vody 'to bring water', naběhat kilometrů 'to run kilometres') or to that of re-doing something (usually with prefixes vy-, od-, roz-, e.g. odnosit něco 'to bring something somewhere'). The original imperfectives of the type vychodit 'to go out' were replaced by historically younger suffixal imperfectives of the type vycházet 'to go out', vynášet 'to carry out' (contrast Russian imperfective type prichodit 'to come').

Thus we have the following pairs:

vést - vodit 'to lead, to bring'

táhnout - tahat 'to pull'

Both members of the above pairs belong to the imperfective aspect. Each pair has an iterative, e.g. chodívat 'to go usually', nosívat 'to bring usually'

Wijk gave the same determinate - indeterminate designation to such verbs because they formally express the opposition of determined and undetermined activity. According to Wijk, determined activity is "l' action peu compliquée, menant directement a un but".⁵¹ The indeterminate verbs, on the other hand, express longer, more complicated activity consisting of more actions or repeated activity.

This opposition is supposedly the basis on which the aspectual system started to develop. But Dostál⁵² suggests that the opposition of determined - undetermined activity is semantically too far from the aspectual opposition and that it has not been productive in Slavic languages since the beginning of the historical era.

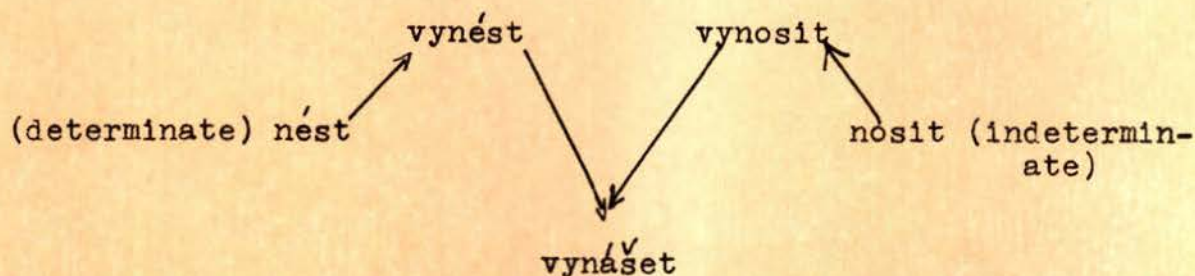
Moreover, in Old Church Slavonic he finds only several verbal pairs showing this opposition formally. According to him, "the verbs of the nositi 'to carry' type were included into the aspectual system as iteratives, though they still retain the undetermined meaning in addition to other meanings".⁵³

In Russian this sub-group is known as motornokratnyj and motorno-nekratnyj podvid 'the multiplied and non-multiplied sub-aspect', of the imperfective verbs of motion.

Imperfective	Determinate Verb	Indeterminate Verb	Imperfective
	jít 'to go'	chodit 'to go'	
	vyjít 'to go out'	vycházet 'to go out'	
	projít 'to go through'	procházet 'to go through'	
	odejít 'to leave'	odcházet 'to leave'	
	najít 'to find'	nacházet 'to find'	
<u>lexical perfectives and distributives</u>			
	vychodit 'to finish'		
	prochodit 'to go through'		
	odchodit 'to walk (for miles)'		

It may be noticed that some secondary imperfectives have two prefixed perfectives, e.g. to vynáset 'to carry out' there is vynést 'to carry out' and vynosit 'to carry out'

Thus verbs may be chained together in terms of their formations:



In most cases even the morphological pairs of verbs of

motion show such a variety of overlapping and different meanings, that it is difficult to find the appropriate pairs. But in all cases, their aspect is either perfective or imperfective.

Though the verbs of motion differ from other verbs in the features shown above, they, as a whole, fit into the aspectual system.

4.4.5 Distributives.

All verbs with the meaning of activity distributed, or going to several objects may be called distributives. This semantic meaning may be underlying the lexical meaning of the verb or it may be only a modification of the iterative meaning (compare Chapter V, 4.4.2). Such modification of the latter meaning is always expressed by a group of verbs of the structure prefix + secondary imperfective, e.g. po-rozvážet 'to bring to several places, persons, etc'. po-zahazovat 'to throw away all things', etc.

These verbs differ from the iteratives in their aspect, as they are always perfectives. Therefore they are called by some linguists⁵⁵ only perfective iteratives. The term distributives is accepted by others,⁵⁶ and seems to be more appropriate since it allows the classification of those verbs as one Aktionsart of the perfective verb set and iteratives as one Aktionsart of the imperfective set. Thus the semantic meaning of the quantity of verbal activity may be co-ordinated with the meaning of marked com-

plexity of totality. In the case of distributives, the expression of verbal quantity as total or complex shows the sub-ordination of the lexico-semantic meaning to aspect.

The group of distributives is comparatively small, and in many contexts distributives can be replaced by perfectives or imperfectives of less complicated morphological structure. E.g. instead of pozaházím všechno 'I'll throw away everything, one thing after another', the perfective zahodím všechno 'I'll throw away everything' may be used.

Moreover, in many cases, the formation of distributives leads to homonymy with other aspectual types, e.g. the use of otevřít 'to open' in the phrase otevřít okno 'to open the window', is as follows:

perf.	<u>otevřít okno, okna</u>	----	perf. <u>pootevřít okno, okna</u>
	'to open the window, windows'		to open the window, windows a little'
imp.	<u>otevírat okno, okna</u>	----	<u>pootevírat okno, (okna)</u>
	'to open the window, windows'		'to open the window, (the windows) a little'
perf. (distributive)	<u>pootevírat okna, *okno</u>		
	'to open the windows one after another'		

This homonymy proves that the presentation of every activity as either marked or unmarked in respect to totality (complexity) leads to forming structurally overloaded types. These are, in fact, borderline possibilities in the morphological system of the language.

Having concluded the investigation on suffixation, one might return to the questions originally asked at the beginning of this chapter. Answers to both questions can now be given with some assurance.

The first question was what types of verbs may be suffixed and what suffixes they may take. Again, the conclusions seem to be that:

- 1) simplex verbs take the suffixes -nou- and -va-.
- 2) prefixed perfectives take the suffixes -va-, -ova-, -a-, -e- and -i-.

The second question was whether there are special suffixes for the change of aspect and for the modification of meaning, or whether the same suffixes are used in both functions. The conclusion seems to be that:

- 1) the -nou- suffix changes aspect and modifies the meaning.
- 2) the suffix -va- changes the aspect and modifies the meaning.

3) suffixes -ova-, -a-, -e-, and -i- change the aspect, but do not modify the meaning.

Furthermore, it can be said that:

a) in the sphere of perfectivization there is only one suffix, that shares the same function with prefixes.

b) in the sphere of imperfectivization, suffixation is not connected with the change of lexical meaning.

c) the aspectual modification of the **resulting** suffixal types is not given only by the suffix, but also by the structure of the whole verb.

d) structurally different verbal types are the result of sub-ordination of the verb as a lexeme to the aspectual system.

e) the structure of the verb is the most important morphological formant of aspect.

f) suffixes with marked lexical function (those specifically characteristic of verbs) designate the imperfective aspect, (the semantically unmarked member of the aspectual pair).

4.4.6 Summary

In summary, structural changes caused by prefixation and suffixation and their connection with the change of aspect and modification of meaning is shown in the following table. (See Tables VII, a, b, c, d. pp. 197 - 200).

TABLE VII (a)

	<u>Basic Verb: Simplex</u>	<u>Imperfective</u>
Distributive		povyprošovat
Prefixed Perfective	poprosit	vyprosit
Suffixed Perfective		
Perfective		
Simplex (non-perf.)		
Imperfective	prosit 'to beg'	
Secondary Imperfective		vyprošovat
Iterative	prosívat	vyprošovávat

Notes to the tables:

- a) _____ pure aspectual pairs
- b) - - - - modification of meaning
- c) new lexical meaning
- d) direction of derivation >

TABLE VII (b)

	<u>Basic Verb</u>	<u>Simplex</u>	<u>Imperfective</u>
Distributive			porozkopávat
Prefixed Perfective		rozkopnout rozkopat 'to dig through'	
Suffixed Perfective	kopnout		
Perfective			
Simplex (non-perf)			
Imperfective	<u>kopat</u> 'to dig'		
Secondary Imperfective		rozkopávat	
Iterative	kopávat		

TABLE VII (c)

	<u>Basic Verb:</u>	<u>Simplex</u>	<u>Perfective</u>
Distributive		vyházet	povyhazovat
Prefixed Perfective		vyhodit 'to throw away'	povyhodit
Suffixed Perfective			
Perfective	hodit 'to throw'		
Simplex Imperfective	hazet		
Secondary Imperfective		vyhazovat	
Iterative	hazívat		

TABLE VII (d)

	<u>Basic Verb:</u>	<u>Simplex</u>	<u>Imperfective</u> <u>Verb of Motion</u>
Distributive		vynosit	povynáset
Prefixed Perfective		vynést 'to bring out'	
Suffixed Perfective			
Perfective			
Simplex			
Imperfective	nést 'to bring'		
Secondary Imperfective			vynáset
Iterative		nosivat	vynášivat

4.5 Aspectual pairs

The perfective and imperfective aspect is formally expressed by stem modifications of one lexeme, these modifications having full sets of conjugational forms. The question of whether aspect is a lexical or a grammatical phenomenon was often raised, and two answers were considered. One, that all verbs from aspectual pairs was an argument for grammatical function. Two, the existence of unpaired verbs was an argument for lexical function.

Further studies showed that pure grammatical, sub-lexical, and lexical formations are formed in the process of aspectual derivation, and that verbs lacking their aspectual partners, are still the exception to the rule rather than the rule. As the prefixed and suffixed types of those verbs have been already mentioned, only those unpaired perfectives and imperfectives that are definitely (or at least) felt as simplicia are listed below.

4.5.1 Imperfectiva tantum

a) state verb with the meaning being or having, e.g. býti 'to be', míti 'to have', postrádat 'to lack', scházet 'to miss', dlužít 'to be in debt', znamenat 'to mean', slout 'to be famous', náležet 'to belong', záležet 'to depend', příslušet 'to belong', následovat 'to follow'.

b) state verbs denoting attitudes and physical or mental states, e.g. sédět 'to sit', klečēt 'to kneel',

ležet 'to lie', stát 'to stand', viset 'to hang', trčet 'to be in', žít 'to live', spát 'to sleep', týt 'to become fat', snít 'to dream', nenávidět 'to hate', důvěřovat 'to believe', doufat 'to hope', závidět 'to envy', pyšnit se 'to be proud', myslet 'to think', předpovídat 'to suppose',

c) to be someone, to act as someone, e.g. kralovat 'to reign', panovat 'to be a sovereign', vladnout 'to rule', **and few others..**

d) verbs denoting natural phenomena or perfectives of things, e.g. sněžit 'to snow', vonět 'to smell', páchnout 'to smell badly', hrát 'to warm', chladit 'to cool' and few others.

e) some action verbs, e.g. dbát 'to care for', pečovat 'to care', hlídat 'to watch', varovat 'to warn'.

f) some denominatives, e.g. válčit 'to be at war', závodit 'to complete', trudit se 'to work hard'.

g) indeterminate verbs of motion (See Chapter IV, . 4.4.4), verbs denoting talking, e.g. hlásat 'to preach', kázat 'to give a sermon, to preach', prorokovat 'to predict', opětovat 'to report'.

Perfectiva tantum

According to Kopečný, "the existence of the perfectiva tantum is given either by their specific meaning, or

their form, sometimes by the bookish, and therefore exclusive and affective denotation of the verb".⁵⁷ The following give some indication of the range of perfectiva tantum verbs.

a) For formal reasons only few imperfectives are not paired, e.g. semknout se 'to unite', spasit 'to save', sklát 'to hit', nadchnout 'to inspire', and few others.

b) Slang expressions doběhnout někoho 'to trick someone', projet něco 'to lose something', zřítit někoho 'to beat someone black and blue', pochodit (dobře) 'to do well', and few others.

c) Other perfectiva tantum are not simplicia, but prefixed verbs forming groups with the same semantic meaning. They may be called Aktionsarten (compare Chapter IV, 4.3). The following types are frequent in Czech:

1) verbs denoting ability, e.g. unést 'to be able to bring', vydržet 'to hold, to bear'.

2) distributives, e.g. nanosit 'to bring'

3) verbs expressing satiation, one's fill, e.g. zaplavat si 'to swim to one's fill'.

4) verbs expressing overdoing, e.g. upít se 'to drink to death'.

5) verbs meaning finishing, exhausting by activity, e.g. vyplést vnu 'to run out of wool when knitting'.

6) verbs meaning small extent, e.g. zašumět 'to murmur'.

4.5.2 Suppletive pairs

As opposed to the aspectual pairs formed by the morphological modification of the same stem, there are several aspectual pairs whose partners belong entirely to different stems. The following pairs are generally accepted as such: imperfective brát - perfective vzít 'to take', imperfective klást perfective položit 'to lay', imperfective prefixed -kládat perfective prefixed -ložit (e.g. nakládat - naložit 'to load', vykládat - vyložit 'to unload , to explain', etc.).

Usually the following criteria for accepting suppletive pairs are considered:

- 1) absolute synonymy in meaning,
- 2) none of the partners forms an aspectual opposition with a verb-like form of its own stem. For example the former reason does not allow us to accept as a pair the set dobéhnout někoho - šidit někoho 'to trick someone', since the verbs are not absolute synonyms. Conversely, the latter reason disallows sets like perfective leknout se - bát se 'to fear, to be frightened', for there is a form lekat se which can be matched up with the first member of the above.

Suppletive pairs are infrequent. The exceptional nature of aspectual suppletion finds a parallel with suppletion in nominal declensions (e.g. človek - lidé 'the man - people').

On the whole, it seems that the question of verbal pairs as the only criterion for the grammatical character of aspect is somewhat overemphasized. It has led some grammarians⁵⁸ to the conclusion that aspect is a peripheral category standing between grammar and lexicon, while others have recognized aspect as a grammatical category only on the basis of the complementary functional inter-dependence of both members of the aspectual pairs.⁵⁹

In both cases only one feature or one phenomenon was taken as proof or negation of the categorial character of aspect. Grammatical categories, however, comprise more than one feature, these features being exhibited as complexes with smaller or greater regularity (never one hundred per cent consistent in their manifestations).

Realistically, it is obvious that the lack of one feature in some members of the category does not deny the existence of the feature by all the members of the category. Moreover, these features are qualitatively different being based on lexico-semantic as well as grammatical grounds. Formally, they are usually marked by special systems of linguistic formants of various values (ranging from single phonemes to word order). Thus the pairs and special temporal or modal function of some forms may be considered only to be single features of the category of aspect. Other features, such as structure as a morphological formant, linguistic

(subjective) presentation of physical (objective) actions, were among those mentioned in the analysis. From this viewpoint, it is obvious that aspect is a distinct linguistic category based on a system of semantic meanings and formal features.

CHAPTER V

In conclusion, the following general observations may be noted regarding the function and nature of aspect as a linguistic category in Modern Czech. Such observations follow directly upon the preceding independent analysis of Czech verbal types and the partial conclusions suggested at the close of each chapter.

The following may be presented as an overview of at least one satisfactory structural analysis of the troublesome category of aspect in the Slavic language.

Aspect may indeed be considered a single linguistic category, but in fact is characterised by grammatical as well as lexical manifestations. The two co-occur and are by no means mutually exclusive.

In terms of lexical features at least the following characteristics are consistently noticeable.

Conclusions

First, the lexical meaning of every verbal form is underlined by the semantic meaning of marked or unmarked totality or complexity of action that is denoted by the verb.

Secondly, the semantic meaning of marked and unmarked totality or complexity reflects the physical properties of various actions as well as their subjective evaluation of the speaker.

Thirdly, aspect as a notional category allows the language to represent momentary actions as non-momentary, and vice versa. Thus, aspect is an abstraction that operates, in most cases, independently of the lexical meaning of the verb.

Lastly, aspect crosses with other grammatical categories such as tense, mood, and voice. The result is that in such cases aspectual opposites are not interchangeable. In other cases, the speaker can choose between aspectual opposites, but this does not mean that the activity is presented in the same way, the aspectual difference stays.

In terms of formal grammatical features the following features are consistently observable:

Firstly, abstract, non-lexical formants are used to express the notional category of aspect. But the first important feature is the structure of the verb. Then, and then only can one proceed to a consideration of the formal linguistic markers of aspect, i.e. the more traditionally considered aspectual prefixes and suffixes.

Secondly, verbs form aspectual pairs, but such aspectual pairs do not depend on the lexical meaning of the verb. Simply, the building of aspectual pairs is not dependent upon the lexical identity of the verb.

Lastly, the productivity of verbal types is changed by aspectual derivation.

A comprehensive definition of aspect in Czech should, according to the findings of this study, include the above observations. Here follows a possible definition of aspect in Czech:

Aspect is a linguistic category based on the opposition of the semantic meaning of marked and unmarked totality of action, and expressed by formal, non-lexical (to varying degrees) linguistic formants.

FOOTNOTES

Footnotes I - (to Chapter I)

1. H. Kučera, Phonology of the Czech Language
(Mouton, 's - Gravenhague, 1961),
pp. 24 - 30.

Footnotes II - (to Chapter II)

1. For more detail regarding the history of research in-
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- Vinogradov, V.V.: Russkij jazyk, (Grammatices-
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2. F. Saussure, Course de linguistique generale.
(Paris, 1955), p. 162.
3. F. Miklosich, Vergleichende Grammatik Der Slavis-
chen Sprachen, Band IV (Wien, 1883),
p. 274.
4. V.V. Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk, (Grammaticeskve
učenije o slove) (Moskva, 1947), p.497.
Cited hereafter as Russkij jazyk.
5. S. Karcevskij, Système du verbe russe (Praha, 1927),
p. 149.
6. F. Trávníček, Mluvnice spisovné čestiny, Část II.
Skladba (Praha, 1949), p. 696.
7. F. Dostál, Studie o vidovém systému v staroslo-
vénštině (Praha, 1954), p. 10. Cited
hereafter as Studie.

Při D [dokonavém] vidu, jde o celkové
(ucelené) pojetí, plynoucí z postoje
mluv - čího k vnější události. Při
ND [nedokonavém] vidu naopak o nece-
lkové (neucelené) pojetí děje. D je
v korelaci perfektivnosti podstatným
členem, kdežto ND členem vedlejším.

8. F. Kopečný, Slovesny vid v čestíně (Praha, 1962), p. 9. Cited hereafter as Slovesný vid v čestíně.
- Z těchto skutečností plyne, že dokonavé tvary jsou co do vidu příznakové, to jest musí, abychom tak rekli, vyjadřovat dokonání činnosti, kdežto nedokonavé tvary z této posice definovat nemůžeme. Ty jsou bezpříznakovým členem protikladné dvojice, to znamená, že se k otázce dokonání nebo nedokonání nevyjadřují, jsou k ní neutrální.
9. Quoted from J. Forsyth, A grammar of aspect (Cambridge, 1970), p. 7.
10. Havránek-Jedlička, Česká mluvnice (Praha, 1960), p. 193.
11. F. Kopečný, Slovesny vid v čestíně, p. 11
Nedokonavá slovesa nutno prostě definovat, má-li být definice přesná, jakožto slovesa co do dokonavosti bezpříznaková, která mohou stát po slovesech fázových a po slovese budu (v opisném futuru). Tento nesémantický, formální znak je nejspolehlivějším kriteriem vidu.
12. I. Němec, Genese slovanskeho systému vidového (Praha, 1958), pp. 94 - 95.
- Slovesným videm rozumíme schopnost slovesa vyjadřovat týž děj jako dokonavý (celkový, komplexní) nebo jako nedokonavý/necelkový, nekomplexní). V slovanských jazycích je kategorie děju dokonavých a nedokonavých, t.j. kategorie vidu, kategorií gramatickou, jak o tom svědčí povaha její abstrakce (1) i způsob jejího vyjadřování (2).
1. Kategorie dokonavosti, vybudovaná na nižší kategorii děju reálné bodových zahrnuje děje i reálné nebodové, ale jako bod, t.j. komplexně pojaté, kategorie nedokonavosti, vybudovaná zase na nižší kategorii děju reálné nebodových, zahrnuje děje i reálné bodové, ale jako nebodové, t.j. nekomplexně pojaté.

2. Tato pojmová kategorie dokonavosti-nedokonavosti se vyjadřuje v podstatě prostředky formálními, nevýznamotvornými: vidovou příponou, prostě vidovou předponou významově prázdnou, prostě vidovou předponou pleonastickou, řadící.

13. ibidem, p. 99

7. Vidíme tedy, že rozvoj i úpadek specificky slovanských kmenů slovesných souvisí s vývojem specificky slovanské kategorie vidu. Právem můžeme říci, že společným jmenovatelem těch nejpodstatnějších procesů, které formovaly slovanský systém kmenů a tvarů slovesných byla právě genese vidu (z lexikální kategorie determinovanosti a indeterminovanosti). Genese vidu byla také hlavní zákonitostí předhistorického vývoje slovanského slovesa a určila tendence jeho vývoje historického.

Footnotes III - (to Chapter III)

1. J. Dobrovský, Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der böhmischen Sprache (Praha, 1809).
2. - - - - - Institutiones linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris (Praha, 1822).
2. F. Miklosich, Vergleichende Grammatik der Slavischen Sprachen (Wien, 1883).
3. J. Gebauer, Historická mluvnice jazyka českého (Praha, 1894 - 1896).
4. V. Vondrák, Vergleichende Slavische Grammatik I - II. (Gottingsen, 1924 - 1928).
5. A. Schleicher, Die Formenlehre der Kirchenslavischen Sprache (1852).
6. M. Weingart, Rukověť jazyka staroslověnského (Praha, 1937 - 1938).
7. T. Lehr-Spřavinski, Zarys grammatiky jazyka starocer- kievhoslowianskiego (1950)
8. S. Karcevskij, Systeme du verbe russe (Praha, 1927), p. 27.

9. V.V. Vinogradov, Russkij jazyk (Grammaticeskoje učenie o slove) (Moskva, 1947).
10. Academy Grammar. Grammatika ruskogo jazyka. (Moskva, 1960).
11. R. Jacobson, "Russian Conjugation", Word 4, 155 - 167 (1948).
12. M. Halle, "The Old Church-Slavonic Conjugation", Word 7, 155 - 168 (1951).
- - - - - "O pravilach ruskago sprjaženija," in American Contributions to the Fifth International Congress of Slavists. Volume 1. (Mouton, the Hague, 1963), pp 112 - 132.
13. H. Rubenstein, "The Czech Conjugation", Word 7, 145 - 155 (1951).
14. A. Isačenko, "The Morphology of the Slovak Verb" in Travaux Linguistiques de Prague, (University of Alabama, Alabama 1966), pp 183 - 201.
15. H. Kučera, "Notes on the Czech Conjugation", Word 8. 378 - 386 (1952).
16. A. Isačenko, "The Morphology of the Slovak Verb", in Travaux Linguistic de Prague I (Alabama, 1966), p. 183.
17. G. Townsend, Russian Word Formation (McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1970).
18. For further information on the Old Czech conjugational types consult:
- F. Trávníček, Historická mluvnice československá (Praha, 1935).
- J. Gebauer, Historická mluvnice jazyka českého (Praha 1894 - 1896).
19. Some grammarians use the term -íva/-áva/-va/-a suffixes, while others distinguish only -va/-a suffixes according to the elements v and a that were added to the roots. See Havránek - Jedlička, Česká mluvnice (Praha, 1960), p. 102.

20. F. Trávníček in Mluvnice spisovné češtiny, Část 2, Skladba (Praha, 1949), pp 696 - 738 calls these verbs momentánní, momentní, okamžitá. The term semelfactives is used by Koschmieder in Nauka o aspektech czasownika polskiego (Wilno, 1937) and Isačenko in Russische Sprache der Gegenwart (Halle, 1962), pp 385 - 417.
21. Imperfectives with the meaning of the result achieved, or of accomplishment are called resultatives, e.g. vařit 'to boil' and uvařit 'to boil'.
22. Havránek - Jedlička, Stručná mluvnice česká (Praha, 1968), p. 122. Vzor třetí začne (zajme) je nepravidelný a řadí se do této třídy jen podobným zakončením -n(e) a zčásti i podobností v infinitivu (pnout, zajmout).
23. The term Momentanverben is the German term for okamžitá slovesa. This term together with the term semelfactives is used by Isačenko and Koschmieder. See footnote 20.
24. See footnotes 20 and 23.
25. S. Karcevskij, Systeme du verbe russe (Praha, 1927), p. 102
26. A. Isačenko, Russische Sprache der Gegenwart (Halle, 1962), pp. 298 - 402. Cited hereafter as Russische Sprache.
27. Academy Grammar I (Moskva, 1960), p. 428
28. F. Kopečný, Slovesný vid v češtině, p. 99
29. A. Isačenko, Russische Sprache, p. 248.
30. ibidem, p. 230.
31. E. Koschmieder, Nauka o aspektech czasownika polskiego (Wilno, 1934), p. 7.
32. I. Němec, "Diachnomstic approach to the word formative system of the Czech verb", in Travaux Linguistiques de Prague I (Alabama, 1966), pp. 173 - 182.
33. ibidem,

34. Havránek - Jedlička, Stručná mluvnice česká (Praha, 1968), p. 122. K prvnímu vzoru tiskne náležejí slovesa, u nichž je kmen minulý (v příčestí minulém bez přípony -nu- zakončen na souhlásku (tisk-l), K druhému vzoru mine náležejí slovesa, u nichž má kmen minulý vždy příponu -nu-, připojenou k základu s koncovou samohláskou (mi-nu-l). V infinitivu má tato přípona -nu- podobu -nou- a je zpravidla u sloves obou vzorů.
35. Pravidla českého pravopisu is an authoritative guide for correct spelling, pronunciations and grammatical forms accepted in Literary Czech. The book is used in schools and official institutions and is edited by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.
36. F. Trávníček, Historická mluvnice československá (Praha, 1935), p. 405. V lidové mluvě dnešní je velká pestrost, nezřídka kolísání v témž nářečí u téhož slovesa nebo u sloves různých.
37. Slovník spisovného jazyka českého (Dictionary of the Literary Czech Language) (Praha, 1960), under the entry.
38. Havránek - Jedlička, Stručná mluvnice česká (Praha, 1968), p. 127. Slovesa vzoru sází/sázet-sázel jsou skoro vesměs odvozena od jiných sloves, jsou proto vidu nedokonavého. (srovnej, sázet od sadit, vracet od vrátit), a nebo od jmen podstatných (rozumět k rozum) nebo přídavných (napr. sedivět, temnět s významem stávat se sedivým, a.
39. Ibidem, p. 129. Některá slovesa kolísají mezi vzorem trpí a sází a mají v 3 os množ čísla koncovku -í- i -ejí, bolí i bolejí, mizí i mizejí náleží i náležejí, rdí se i rdějí se skví se i skvějí se, sumí i sumějí, zní i znějí aj. Obojí tvary má i přechodník přítomný, pokud se ho užívá (mize, mizíc i mizeje, mizejíc apod.), ale v rozkazovacím způsobu jsou většími jen tvary podle vzoru trpí, jako bol, rdí se, zní.
40. Slovník spisovného jazyka českého (Praha, 1960), under the entry.
41. Havránek - Jedlička, Stručná mluvnice česká (Praha, 1968), p. 129. The verbs bydlit - bydlet, hanit - hanět, kvílit - kvílet musit - muset, sílit - sílet

have all forms (except imperative) as do prosit and sázet.

42. F. Trávníček, Historická mluvnice československá (Praha, 1935), p. 380 - 422.
43. A. Isačenko, "Morphology of the Slovak verb", in Travaux Linguistic de Prague I (Alabama, 1966), p. 183 - 200.

Footnotes IV - (to Chapter IV)

1. F. Trávníček, Mluvnice spisovné češtiny. Cast 11. Skladba (Praha, 1949), p. 697.
2. S. Karcevskij, Systeme du verbe russe (Praha, 1927), p. 97.
3. A. Isačenko, Die Russische Sprache, pp 252 - 3.
4. A. Dostál, Studie, pp 62 - 154.
5. Slovník spisovného jazyka českého (Praha, 1960): see the entries.
6. ibidem, see the entries.
7. F. Kopečný, Slovesný vid v češtině, p. 43
8. Průruční slovník jazyka českého (Praha, 1936 - 1957): see the entry.
9. F. Kopečný, Slovesný vid v češtině, p. 43
10. Slovník spisovného jazyka českého (Praha, 1960): see the entry.
11. F. Kopečný, Slovesný vid v češtině, p. 43.
Nový SSJC s je jistě jen záměnou zkratek hodnotí dokonce jako jen nedokonavé! Težko věřit že by k takovému hodnocení sváděla možnost "jasnějších" předponových perfektiv podarovat, obdarovat, jež jsou na konci hesla uvedena.
12. A. Dostál, Studie

- E. Benveniste, Origine de la formation de nom en Indo-European (Paris, 1935).
- I. Němec, Genese slovanskeho systému vidového. (Praha, 1958).
13. A. Dostál, Studie.
14. F.L. Čelakovský, Čtení o srovnávací mluvnici slovan-
ské (Praha, 1853), p. 249.
- Předložky totiž okazujou paměry, a spojeny jsou s časoslovy také i směr, ve kterém činnost nějaká dává se na jevo. Představmež sobě ale trvání děje nějakého v nepřihodném obrazu čáry neb linie - pokud totiž volně jest ponětí délky s prostory i na čas obdobně přináseti, ajhle, tud' spatřujeme, že předložkami právě jen punkty t.j. dle času okamžiky se označují. A tím tedy výkon jenž byl dříve neobmezeným ve svém trvacím vidu, stává se obmezeným, uzavřeným neb okamžitým.
15. Material taken from A Dostál, Studie.
16. ibidem
17. A. Mazon, Grammaire de la langue reusse (Paris, 1949), 216 - 222
- - - - - Emplois des aspects du verbe russe. (Paris, 1914).
18. ingressive usually used in terms ingressive future or ingressive aspect, and denoting verbs with the meaning of action developing immediately after an abrupt beginning.
19. terminative usually used in the term terminative aspect and denoting such verbs that have the meaning of the end, completion, or non-contribution of action.
20. S. Karcevskij, Système du verbe russe, 155
In Karcevskij's example the verb tolknut' is not a prefixed verb. An example of a prefixed verb could be odhodit 'to throw away'.

21. E. Koschmieder, Nauka o aspektach czasownika polskiego w zarysie (Wilno, 1934), p. 44.
22. A. Belić, Zur Slavischen Aktionsart (Leipzig, 1924).
23. A. Meillet, Linguistique historique et linguistique générale I (Paris, 1926), p. 183.
24. I. Poldauf, "Podíl mluvnické a slovníku na problému tice vidu" in Studie a práce lingvistické I (Praha, 1954), pp. 200 - 223.
25. ibidem, p. 219 Prefixy mohou perfektivisovat jen jsou-li přidány ke slovu a kombinace prefix + sloveso je cítěna mluvčím v novém slově.
26. A. Dostál, Studie, p. 225 - 6, Každé připojení předpony mění nedokonavé sloveso v dokonavé, jeli předpona skutečně připojena a je-li lexikální význam daného (neodvozeňého) slovesa perfektivisovatelný. Prefixace je protikladným zjevem k derivaci ze sloves (deverbalisaci) ve vidovém systému. Prefixace je tím chápna jako jazykový jev, který má v struktuře jazyka dvě hlavní funkce, které jsou částečně zcela samostatné, částečně se projevují najednou, totiž funkci perfektivisační a funkci lexikální.
27. J. Maslov, "Rol' tak nazývanej perfektivacii i imperfectivacii v processe vznikovenija slavjanskogo glagol'nogo vida" in Issledovanija po slavjanskomu jazykoznaniju (Moskva, 1961), p. 165 - 95.
28. A. Isačenko, Die Russische Sprache.
- 29a) D. Castagnou, "Quelques remarques sur l' aspect verbal dans les langues slaves" in Biuletyn Polskiego tow. językoznawczego XIX, p. 125 - 139.
- b) D. Castagnou,
- b) D. Castagnou, Le livre de F. Kopečný sur l' aspect verbal en Tchèque" in International journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics, IX, pp. 25 - 61 (1965).

30. I. Němec, Genese slovanskeho systému vidového
(Praha, 1958).
31. F. Trávníček Mluvnice spisovné čestiny. Část 11.
Skladba (Praha, 1949), pp. 696 -
738.
- V. Šmilauer, Novočeská skadba (Praha, 1947).
Havránek-Jedlička, Česká mluvnice (Praha, 1960).
32. F. Kopečný, Základy české skladby (Praha, 1962).
pp. 100 - 113.
34. - - - - - Slovesný vid v čestiné.
33. See footnote 20
35. The terms Aktionsart(en) or type(s) of action denoting semelfactives, iteratives and other perfectiva or imperfectiva tantum is used by Koschmieder, (see footnote 21), Isačenko (see footnote 28 p. 385) and others.
36. J. Forsythe, A Grammar of Aspect (Cambridge, 1970), p. 41.
37. ibidem,
38. ibidem.
39. F. Kopečný, Slovesný vid v čestiné, p. 128 - 130.
40. Slovník spisovného za jazyka českého (Praha, 1960), see under the entry.
41. For more information see:
A. Dostál, Studie.
I. Němec, Genese slovanského systému vidového.
42. For detailed information on iteratives see:
A. Isačenko, Russische Sprache.
43. F. Kopečný, Slovesný vid v čestiné, p. 66.
Srovnej proverbialní "sedávej, panenka, v koutě, budeš-li, věř, hodná, najdou tě" a dále "svoje věci mívejte vždy v pořádku", "na plošině nestávej", apod.

44. ibidem, p. 5 K udělat není potřeba žádného udělá-
vat (Proto ani neexistuje), protože
má svůj protějšek v dělat, od něho
se nijak neliší významem, liší se
právě jen videm....
45. ibidem, p. 94
46. A. Isačenko, Russische Sprache der Gegenwart,
Teil I. Formenlehre, pp. 347 - 442.
47. ibidem
48. J. Maslov, "Aspect and lexical meaning of the
verb in contemporary Russian" in
Discussions of Academy of Sciences
of U.S.S.R. Series of Languages
and Literature, VII, Copy 4. (Moscow,
1948), pp. 303 - 16.
49. J. Forsyth, A Grammar of Aspect, pp. 32 - 56.
50. F. Kopečný, Slovesný vid v češtině, pp. 6 - 7.
51. N. Wijk, "Sur l' origine des aspects du
verbe slave" in Revue des Etudes
Slaves 9, pp. 237 - 252 (1929).
52. A. Dostál, Studie.
53. ibidem, pp 35 - 37.
54. For detailed study see:
V. Vinogradov, Morfologija. Sovremennyj russkij
jazyk (Moskva, 1952).
55. See footnote 29b.
56. F. Kopečný, Slovesný vid v češtině, p. 20.
see footnote 27.
- For I. Poldauf see footnote 27.
- For A. Isačenko see footnote 3 (pp. 107)
57. F. Kopečný, Slovesný vid v češtině, pp. 109 -
111.
- 58a). ibidem, pp 6 - 7
- b). V. Mathesius, Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt (Praha,
1947), pp. 165 - 6.

59a) See footnote 24.

b) V. Mathesius, Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt (Praha, 1947), p. 162.

Only the present forms of imperfective verbs can express that activity is carried out (being completed) in the present moment. This type of present tense is known as actual present.

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74 - 84. Praha.
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155 - 167.
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Surname: HRUBANT

Given Names: LEOPOLDINA

Place of Birth: NACERADEC Date of Birth: OCTOBER 27, 1934

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

VYSOKA SKOLA RUSKEHO JAZYKA, PRAHA 1952 to 1958

UNIVERSITA KARLOVA 1963 to 1967

----- to -----

----- to -----

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

grad. philologist 1958 Vysoka' skola' rusk. jazyka

----- a literatury, Praha

- 1 - 1967 Univerzita' Karlova, Praha

Honors and Awards:

grad. scholarship, Univ. of Victoria, 1970 / 71

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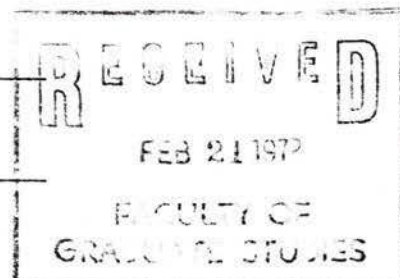
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(name)

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