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ON A PUTATIVE CASE OF NATIVE SLAVIC BIASPECTUALITY: CZECH *JÍT*, SLOVENE *ITI* AND BCMS *IĆI*

This article investigates whether Czech jít, *Slovene* iti, *and BCMS (Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian – red.)* ići *are biaspectual, as has sometimes been claimed based on the past-tense usage of these verbs in narrative sequences. This article argues that determinate* go-*verbs in Czech, Slovene, and BCMS are imperfective, employing a cognitive linguistic approach and referring to facts and data that have not previously been discussed and/or not been considered together.*

Keywords: *Slavic verbal aspect, western Slavic languages, biaspectuality, determinate motion verb 'go', imperfective.*

1. Introduction. This article investigates a case of putative biaspectuality in native Slavic verbs, that of the determinate motion verb 'go' in Czech, Slovene and Bosnian/Croatian/Montenegrin/Serbian (BCMS). Some scholars have argued that Czech *jít*, Slovene *iti*, and BCMS *ići* are biaspectual (on Czech, cf. F. Kopečný, 1962, and T. Berger, 2013; on Slovene, cf. the SSKJ and A. Derganc, 2014, 2015; on BCMS, cf. I. Grickat, 1957–1958).[1] However, the aspectuality of these verbs is rarely investigated in detail. The usage of these *go*-verbs that motivates the biaspectuality claims is their use after perfective verbs in sequences of events, as exemplified in (1).

(1) a. *Potom je vzal a **šel** domů.* (Czech)
  'Then he took them and went home.'

 b. *Ji je Radovan že prej vse povedal in je **šel** domov.* (Slovene)
  'Radovan had already told her everything earlier and went home.'

 c. *Već drugi dan stao sam na noge i **išao** kući.* (Croatian)
  'The very next day I got up on my feet and went home.'

In addition, the future-tense and imperative forms prefixed with *po-* of determinate motion verbs in Czech and 19th-century Slovene has also been considered to be evidence of their biaspectuality, inasmuch as such forms resemble prefixed perfective verbs (e.g., Russian *пойти* 'start to go') Future-tense forms are shown in (2).

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[1] The same assumption has been made for older stages of various Slavic languages, e.g., Old East Slavic. Older stages of Slavic are not considered here.

(2) a. **Půjdu** *domů*. (Czech)
   'I will go home.'

  b. *Sama* **pojdem** *domov*. (Slovene)
   'Is myself will go home.'

Note that according to A. Derganc (2015), contemporary Slovene avoids the prefixed forms in the future, which are archaic at this point, whereas the prefixed imperative (*Pojdi!* 'Go!') is still in use.

    This article argues that the determinate *go*-verbs in Czech, Slovene, and BCMS (hereinafter collectively referred to as Czech/Slovene/BCMS 'go') are imperfective, employing a cognitive linguistic approach and referring to facts and data that have not previously been discussed and/or not been considered together. Unless otherwise indicated, the data from the respective languages are taken from the following corpora: The Czech National Corpus (Czech), Nova beseda (Slovene), and the hrWaC – Croatian Web Corpus (Croatian, representing BCMS) analysis presented here increases our knowledge of Slavic verbal aspect and explains the apparently puzzling usage of *go*-verbs in the western Slavic languages from a cognitive linguistic perspective, without resorting to concepts such as biaspectuality or unmarkedness in an ad hoc way.

    2. Theoretical Background and Preliminaries. This analysis assumes a cognitive linguistic approach to language, in particular that of Cognitive Grammar (CG; cf., e.g., R. Langacker, 2008, J. Taylor, 2002) and Construction Grammar (CxG; cf., e.g., A. Goldberg, 2006), which share many assumptions. The following assumptions about meaning made by CG and CxG are particularly relevant. First, the meanings of linguistic units, whether lexical units or grammatical units, are conceptual categories. These semantic categories can (and usually do) have internal structure, such as a central prototypical meaning with related peripheral meanings (a radial category) or a family-resemblance structure, in which the individual members share some but not all of a set of features with each other. If all grammatical units have semantic content, then there is no reason to assume that some (e.g., the imperfective aspect) are semantically unmarked vis-à-vis another category.

    This article also takes a CxG approach to aspectual morphology in Slavic based on prefixation as a system of verb classification. In Common Slavic and in later Slavic dialects, prefixation and suffixation have been ways of classifying situations, in order to identify them according to type. L. Janda et al. (2013) and S. Dickey and L. Janda (2015) argue that Slavic prefixes represent a system of verbal classifiers. Perfectivizing prefixes classify verbs according to their **outcomes**; the spatial relations expressed by prefixes are directly instantiated in or metonymically related to the goals of the actions expressed by verbs. For non-motion predicates, e.g., Old Church Slavic (OCS) *стрищи* 'clip, cut hair', prefixes classify actions according to their outcomes, e.g., *по-стрищи* 'cut hair all over some surface > tonsure someone'. That is to say, the outcome is the perceptual and conceptual anchor point of the action. Classifying a non-motion action according to the outcome produces a composite profile that does not allow the outcome to be defocused, i.e., prefixed perfective verbs assert the existence of the outcome.[2] These configurations are illustrated in figures 1–2.

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[2] Imperfective verbs derived via suffixation from prefixed perfectives, e.g., OCS *постриcати* 'tonsure' express the classified situation as a process that does not assert the existence of the outcome, suffixation produces a verb that retains the outcome in the profile base while limiting the profile of the verb itself to the phases of clipping that will lead to the outcome.
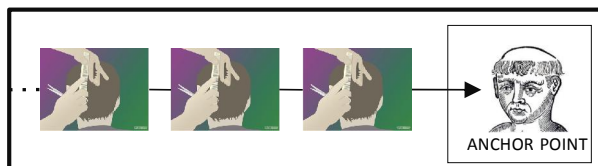
Figure 1: OCS *стрищи* 'cut/clip' as an activity situation

Figure 2: OCS *по-стрищи* 'tonsure' as a situation with an outcome
as the anchor point (cognitive access point)

According to this view, perfectivization is the by-product of classification by outcome, which was the original function of Slavic prefixes.[3] Further, if a verb lacks a prefix, it is imperfective by default. This default is only overridden in certain cases, of which there are basically two. In the first case, the inherent lexical meaning of a few simplex verbs is so inseparable from an outcome that the latter serves as the anchor point in the absence of a prefix, e.g., OCS *дати* 'give': this verbal notion cannot be conceived without the resultant state of an object ending up with a recipient. In the second case, the semelfactive suffix *-нѫ-* creates perfective verbs with the meaning of 'once', e.g., OCS *плинѫти* 'spit [once]', which in fact specifically profiles the non-resultativity of a situation in many cases (for discussion, see T. Nesset 2013).

The previous literature suggesting that Slavic *go*-verbs are biaspectual, whether F. Kopečný (1962) and T. Berger (2013) on Czech, A. Derganc (2014, 2015) on Slovene, or I. Grickat (1957–1958) on BCMS, may be summed up as based on two facts. First is the fact that determinate *go* in these languages occurs in past-tense sequences of events, as shown in (1) above. Second is the fact that the future tense and imperatives of these verbs in Czech and Slovene are or have contained the prefix *po-* which is ordinarily associated with the perfective aspect in Slavic, as shown in (2) for the future tense above. These two points are addressed in section 3.

It bears pointing out that almost all 20th-century Slavic aspectologists considered the imperfective to be the unmarked member of the PERFECTIVE : IMPERFECTIVE opposition, following R. Jakobson (1957). The idea that the imperfective is unmarked vis-à-vis the perfective arose as a way to explain uses of imperfective verbs that refer to single completed events, e.g., Russian *Простите, это я у вас **брала**?* 'Excuse me, did I take this from you?' As misguided as I think the assumption of the unmarkedness of the imperfective aspect is, once one makes that assumption there is no conceivable reason to then hypothesize that Slavic *go*-verbs are biaspectual based on data such as that in (1).[4]

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[3] The western aspectual group and BCMS have basically preserved prefixation in this original function; the eastern aspectual group and Polish have undergone innovations that lie beyond the scope of this article and cannot be discussed here.

[4] F. Kopečný (1962) suggests that the "perfective" usage of Czech *jít* can be explained by the unmarkedness of the imperfective aspect.

In the case of Slovene, it is also worth pointing out that the SSKJ tags *iti* 'go' as biaspectual, but tags other determinate verbs of motion such as *leteti* 'fly' and *nesti* 'carry' as well as the newer *peljati* 'drive [trans.]'. This is presumably because they are correlated with perfective verbs prefixed in *po-*, i.e., *poleteti, ponesti, popeljati*. Nevertheless, these imperfective verbs, especially *peljati*, occur in sequences of events, as exemplified in (3).

(3) a. *Nakupila in **nesla** sva jim hrane za naslednji teden, pokosila travo in obrala češnjo.* (Slovene)
'The two of us bought food for the next week and took it to them, mowed the lawn and picked the cherries.'

b. *Ta me je zagrabila in hitro **peljala** nazaj k zdravnikom.*[5] (Slovene)
'She grabbed me and drove me quickly back to the doctors.'

Regardless of the existence of prefixed perfective correlates, the usage of these verbs in sequences of events raises the issue of a comprehensive approach to such usage.

Lastly, the issue of the aspect of determinate motion verbs, and *go*-verbs in particular cannot be addressed without taking into account the fact that a western group of Slavic languages (Czech, Slovak, Slovene, Upper and Lower Sorbian) allows imperfective verbs in sequences of events, as was established by S. Ivančev (1961). Often, but not always, such usage occurs in contexts that would require an ingressive phase verb in East Slavic and Bulgarian (e.g., Russian *заиграть* 'start to play') or a construction with an ingressive phase verb (e.g., Russian *начать* 'begin', *стать* 'start'). According to Ivančev, Polish allows such usage as well, but not to the extent of Czech and Slovak. S. Dickey (2011) shows that BCMS also allows such usage, to a degree higher than that assumed by Ivančev. Representative examples from Czech, Slovene and BCMS are given in (4).

(4) a. *Hned tu první noc jsem sedla k počítači a **psala**.* (Czech)
'Right away that first night I sat down at the computer and wrote.'

b. *Ko je ta prišel, je župan sedel za pisalno mizo in **pisal**.* (Slovene)
'When she came the parish priest sat down at the desk and wrote.'

c. *Danas sam nakon dugo vremena sjela i **pisala** nešto.* (Croatian)
'Today after a long break I sat down and wrote something.'

Here I will term such usage the CONTEXTUALLY-CONDITIONED IMPERFECTIVE PAST (CCIP; cf. S. Dickey 2000), a modification of Ivančev's term *контекстово обусловена ингресивна употреба на глаголите от несвършен вид*. A full consideration of *go*-verbs and their aspectual value in sequences of events cannot ignore such usage of non-motion verbs in the same languages.

Finally, it should be pointed out that motion verbs seem to have odd properties in a number of languages. English *go* can serve as an example. Consider the uses of *go* in (5).

(5) a. **I went to the bridge in 15 minutes.*

[= it took 15 minutes to reach the bridge]

b. **I went to the bridge for fifteen minutes.*

[= I spent 15 minutes going to the bridge]

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[5] Source: http://www.ringaraja.net/forum/m_1154679/printable.htm.

c. *I went to the store and back in fifteen minutes.*

> [= it took 15 minutes to complete the trip]

d. *Then it all went to pot over the course of two weeks and was over a month early.*

e. *He ran to the store in fifteen minutes.*

Though *go to the bridge* seems like an eminently telic predicate, as shown in (5a) *I went to the bridge in 15 minutes* cannot mean that it took 15 minutes to get to the bridge.[6] Thus, *go to the bridge* is not an accomplishment. But as shown in (5b) it is not a simple activity either, because *I went to the bridge for 15 minutes* cannot mean that I spent 15 minutes going there.[7] And the oddities do not end there, for (5c), which refers to a round trip, is quite acceptable. Further, metaphorical uses of *go* can behave like an accomplishment, as shown in (5d), which is about a failed ski season. Finally, as (5e) shows, manner-of-motion verbs such as *run* with destinations contrastingly pattern as accomplishments.

What to make of this data? First, English *go* in the expression of veridical unidirectional motion with a destination phrase appears to resist telicization: such predicates are not accomplishment situations. This is in contrast to other motion predicates, such as *go* in bidirectional predicates and metaphorical motion as well as to manner-of-motion predicates such as *run*. On the other hand, *go* with destination predicates does not pattern as an activity situation either. These facts suggest that *go* expresses an incremental path with space as its exclusive domain of instantiation. The only way to get *go* to combine with a duration adverbial in reference to a single trajectory is combination with unbounded path adverbials such as in *that direction*: *They went in that direction for about 15 minutes* is acceptable. Note that *go* without any path modifier is unacceptable, or at the least very odd: **They went for about 15 minutes*.

The dominance of space as the domain of instantiation for *go* is probably connected to the fact that humans (and animals) perceive absolute motion (i.e., motion of a figure not relative to any landmark), e.g., a bird flying across a cloudless sky, due to the movement of the image of the object across the retina. The idea that retinal image motion is triggered by the motion of a perceived object is so basic to the study of perception of motion that the scholarship does not take up this idea as such (though there are ultimately complications, but they are irrelevant for this paper). For a laconic confirmation of it, see P. Warren and S. Rushton (2007, p. 1).

3. Data and Discussion. Based on the introduction to the issue in sections 1 and 2, it is now possible to consider the aspectual status of *go*-verbs in Czech, Slovene and BCMS, with a focus on their possible perfective value in the past tense, which has been the basis for the assumptions of their biaspectuality. Section 3.1 considers some basic data regarding the actionality of *go* in Czech, Slovene and BCMS in combination with a goal phrase. Section 3.2 considers evidence provided by other motion verbs in these languages.

3.1. The Actionality of *GO* in Czech, Slovene and BCMS

In this section we consider whether these verbs can combine with 'in X time' and/or 'for X time'. If *go* in Czech, Slovene and BCMS can combine with 'in X

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[6] Ex. (5a) is, however, acceptable in the meaning of 'I left to go to the bridge after a period of 15 minutes'.

[7] Ex. (5b) is, however, acceptable in the meaning of 'I went to the bridge and spent 15 minutes there'.

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time' phrases in the past tense, then the predicates are accomplishments and thus possibly accomplishments with a perfective value; if they only combine with 'for X time' phrases, then they are activities, which speaks against the likelihood that they have perfective value in the past. Regarding Czech, K. Součková (2004, p. 55) provides the following examples and judgments:

> (6) a. ***Šel** do města ***za hodinu**.   (Czech)
>   'He went to the town in an hour.'

>   b. ***Šel** do města **hodinu**.   (Czech)
>   'He walked to the town for an hour.'

BCMS speakers give the same judgments, as shown in (7a–b):

> (7) a. ***Išao** je u grad*****za sat vremena**.   (BCMS)
>   'He went to the town in an hour.'

>   b. ***Išao** je u grad **sat vremena**.   (BMCS)
>   'He walked to the town for an hour.'

This data confirms that Czech *jít* and BCMS *ići* cannot be telic (accomplishments). Given the correlation between telic situations and perfectivity, the likelihood that these verbs can have perfective value is accordingly lower. Conversely, the acceptability of 'for an hour' in (6b, 7b) indicates that these verbs are activity verbs, even with a goal phrase. Given the correlation between activities and the imperfective (particular in the western Slavic languages), this data provides no evidence that militates against the idea that Czech *jít* and BCMS *ići* are in fact imperfective.

     Slovene patterns differently: the equivalent predicate does not allow adverbial phrases of either type, as shown in (8a–b); in order to express the duration of such a motion event, one must use the manner-of-motion verb *hoditi* 'walk', as shown in (8c).

> (8) a. ***Šel** je v mesto ***za eno uro**.[8]   (Slovene)
>   'He went to the town in an hour'.

>   b. ***Šel** je v mesto ***eno uro**.
>   He went to the town for an hour.'   (Slovene)

>   c. ***Hodil** je v mesto **eno uro**.   (Slovene)
>   'He walked to the town for an hour.'

This data provides little information about the aspectual nature of Slovene *iti*: it does not pattern straightforwardly as an accomplishment or an activity. Evidence for the actional and aspectual value of Slovene *iti* will have to be sought elsewhere.

     In examining the actionality of the *go*-verbs in these languages, it is also instructive to consider what the verbs communicate when combined with goal-

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[8] Note that exx. (6a, 7a, 8a) are all acceptable in the meaning of 'An hour later, he went to the town'. But the examples in this meaning are irrelevant for the present discussion.

phrases. For instance, in the case of 'He went home', (9a–c), what do the clauses assert vs. merely imply?

(9) a. ***Šel*** *domů.* (Czech)
'He went home.'

b. ***Šel je*** *domov.* (Slovene)
'He went home.'

c. ***Išao je*** *doma.* (BCMS)
'He and went home.'

The informants I have spoken to for Czech, Slovene and BCMS all say the same thing: that the person made it home is the most natural, i.e., default interpretation, but the clauses do not *assert* this. Moreover, the implication can be canceled, as shown in (10a–c)[9]:

(10) a. ***Šel*** *domů, ale na cestě zemřel.* (Czech)
'He went home, but died on the way.'

b. ***Šel je*** *domov, vendar na poti je izdihnil.* (Slovene)
'He went home, but died on the way.'

c. ***Išao je*** *doma, ali na putu je poginuo.* (BCMS)
'He and went home, but died on the way.'

My Czech informant also points out that examples such as (11) are, strictly speaking, vague.

(11) *Prohrál, udělalo se mu mdlo, **šel** domů a zemřel.*
'He lost, felt nauseous, went home and died.'

That is to say, in addition to its default interpretation – that the gambler died after he got home, ex. (11) also allows an interpretation according to which he dies on his way home and never makes it there.

The interpretations of the data presented in (9–11) cannot be considered to support the view that Czech/Slovene/BCMS 'go' is biaspectual, inasmuch as when these verbs occur with a goal phrase they do not assert attainment of the telos, which is an essential feature of telic perfective verbs. If Czech/Slovene/BCMS 'go' does not assert attainment of a telos but only implies it, then it does not do more than other imperfective verbs when in various statement-of-fact usages they refer to a process and imply completion, notably in Czech, e.g., *Kdy jsi vstával^{IMPF}?* 'When did you get up?'.[10]

Section 3.2 considers the occurrence of other imperfective motion verbs in sequences of events as circumstantial evidence for the imperfectivity of Czech/Slovene/BCMS 'go'.

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[9] These examples were constructed by informants, due to the difficulty of finding a context that motivates such usage in actual discourse.
[10] This example comes from E. Petruxina (2013, p. 64), which discusses in detail numerous examples of such usage in Czech.

3.2. Other Imperfective Motion Verbs in Sequences of Events

This section examines other imperfective motion verbs in sequences of events in Czech, Slovene and BCMS. In Czech, in which such usage is most prominent, imperfective motion verbs other than *jít* occur commonly in the CCIP. Representative examples are given in (12).

(12) a. *Autobus vyjel z Remeše v neděli večer a **mířil** do Prahy.* (Czech)
'The bus drove out of Reims on Sunday evening and headed for Prague.'

b. *Přijel jsem domů skočil do sprchy a **mazal** do práce.* (Czech)
'I came home, jumped in the shower and rushed to work.'

c. *Dal jsem jí pusu a **utíkal** zpátky do školy.* (Czech)
'I gave her a kiss and ran [away] back to school.'

d. *Zvedl se od stolu a **odcházel**.* (Czech)
'He got up from the table and left.'

In (12a–b) slang motion verbs occur in the CCIP, whose meanings are extensions of the basic meanings of imperfective non-motion verbs: *mířit* 'aim', *mazat* 'smear'. Either we must recognize that imperfective motion verbs occur in sequences of events, or commit ourselves to positing perfective senses of otherwise imperfective verbs. Any doubt that the former option is the only viable possibility should be dispelled by (12c–d), in which derived imperfective motion verbs occur in the CCIP. Note that when used for motion, Czech *mířit*, *mazat* and *utíkat* have prefixed future-tense forms: *pomířím*, *pomažu*, *poutíkám*.

Similar usage occurs in Slovene and BCMS, though derived imperfective motion verbs do not occur in the CCIP.[11] Examples are given in (13) for Slovene (see also exx. (3a–b) in section 1) and (14) for BCMS.

(13) a. *Hotela sem se opravičiti, a sem samo odšla iz dvorane in **šepala** do doma.*[12] (Slovene)
'I wanted to apologize, but I only left the auditorium and limped to my house.'

b. *Ta me je zagrabila in hitro **peljala** nazaj k zdravnikomю.*[13] (Slovene)
'She grabbed me and drove me quickly back to the doctors.'

c. *V Šempetru je nato zapeljal z avtoceste in **vozil** proti Polzeli.* (Slovene)
In Šempeter he then got off the highway and drove toward Polzela.'

(14) a. *To ju je najviše ispizdilo pa je ustala i **hodala** za mnom sve do sestrine sobe.* (BCMS)
'That pissed her off the most and so she got up and walked behind me all the way to my sister's room.'

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[11] According to the Nova Beseda, 19th- and early 20th-century Slovene saw usage of imperfective *odhajati* 'depart/leave', similar to Czech (12c–d), e.g., *Waldersdorf je vstal in odhajal* 'Waldersdorf got up and was leaving'. Note that the narrative continues with him stopping at the door and coming back into the room where he was.

[12] Source: https://www.igre123.com/forum/tema/cause-you-never-get-a-second-chance-at-the-first-time-feat.-1d/58631/19.

[13] Source: http://www.ringaraja.net/forum/m_1154679/printable.htm.

    b. *Nesretnog je muškarca stavio na leđa i **nosio** ga 300 - injak metara do policijskog auta.*   (BCMS)
        'He put the unfortunate man on his back and carried him about 300 meters to the police car.'

    c. *Kupljeni čardak vlasnik je utovario u prikolicu traktora i **vozio** ga doma*.   (BCMS)
        'The owner put the corn crib that he had bought into the tractor's trailer and drove it home.'

To recapitulate, the significance of the data in exx. (12–14) is simply that other motion verbs occur in sequences of events, sometimes with goal phrases, as in (12a–c, 13a–b, 14a–c), and if such past-tense usage is a reason to consider Czech/Slovene/BCMS 'go' to be biaspectual, that also commits one to considering all kinds of other motion verbs to be biaspectual as well.

    Further, as illustrated with ex. (4), ordinary imperfective verbs occur in sequences of events in Czech, Slovene and BCMS; the CCIP is probably most frequent in Czech, not quite as well-represented in Slovene and occurring the least of the three in BCMS. One type of usage in the languages of the western group and BCMS that has received very little attention is the CCIP in combination with result phrases. Representative examples for Czech are given in (15a, c).

(15) a. *Vojáci Gestapa je přepadli a **mučili** k přiznání.*[14]   (Czech)
        'The Gestapo soldiers suprised them and tortured them to the point of confession.'

    b. *Peter se zvedl a **šel** k oknu.*   (Czech)
        'Peter got up and went to the window.'

    c. *Když odmítla, svalil ji na zem, posléze bil pěstí a nakonec **škrtil** až do bezvědomí.*   (Czech)
        'When she slipped away, I knocked her on the ground, then beat her with my fists and finally choked her to the point of unconsciousness.'

    d. *Polkl jsem a **šel** až do klece.*[15]   (Czech)
        'I swallowed a lump in my throat and went all the way up to the cage.'

What is important here is the parallel in the grammatical structure between the non-motion clause in (15a) with the motion clause in (15b) – each contains a simplex verb followed by the preposition *k* 'toward' and a target state/destination. Likewise, in (15c) and (15d) the non-motion and motion clauses are parallel, each containing the preposition *do* 'up to/to' introducing the target state/destination.

    Exx. (16–17) give similar pairs in Slovene and BCMS.

(16) a. *Deček je štirinožca v gozdu privezal k drevesu in ga s palico **tepel** do onemoglosti.*   (Slovene)
        'In the woods the boy tied the quadruped to a tree and beat it with a stick to the point of enervation.'

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[14] Source: https://obsahyruznychknih.estranky.cz/clanky/nema-barikada---drda-jan/nema-barikada---jan-drda.html.
[15] Source: https://cs.nytid.no/da_professor_arne_nass_og_jeg/.

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b. *Ranka je vstala in **šla** do njega.* (Slovene)
'Ranka got up and went up to him.'

(17) a. *Odveli su ga u svoju kući u Gloucestershireu i **mučili** ga do smrti.* (BCMS)
'They took him inside their house in Gloucestershire and tortured him to death.'

b. *Čelije su se otvorile, odmah sam izašala i **išla** do Angele.* (BCMS)
'The cells opened, I immediately went out and went to Angela.'

These examples provide more evidence that Czech/Slovene/BCMS 'go' is imperfective. If ordinary imperfective simplex verbs can occur with prepositional phrases in resultative constructions, the idea that parallel usage of *go*-verbs with prepositional goal phrases is a reason to assume that they have perfective value is undermined.

3.3. 'Go' in Czech, Slovene and BCMS and Source-Oriented Perfectivity

Section 3.1 presented data showing that past-tense forms of 'go' with goal phrases in Czech, Slovene, and BCMS cannot be considered to be accomplishment predicates and thus be perfective by virtue of asserting the attainment of the telos. The only other possibility for past-tense 'go' in these languages to have perfective value would be if it is an ingressive predicate in its «perfective» use, basically on a par with Russian *пойти* '[start to] go'.

A. Derganc (2015, p. 71) points out that translations show equivalence between Russian *пошел* and Slovene *šel*; an example is (18)

(18) a. *Я **пошел** направо.* (Russian)
'I went to the right.'

b. ***Šel sem** na desno.* (Slovene)
'I went to the right.'

While it may seem that in such usage *šel* only refers to the start of the trajectory, nothing in fact speaks against the idea that *šel* refers to a process of motion with some duration, which includes some initial position plus some amount of subsequent motion. And while it is true that Russian ingressive *пошел* is ordinarily interpreted as referring to some amount of motion as well, there is a subtle but important difference between Russian *пойти* and Czech/Slovene/BCMS 'go'. Consider the Russian usage of *пойти* exemplified in (19).

(19) a. *Лапшин. Прощенья просим! (**Пошел**, но остановился.) А Таисия Николаевна не заглядывала?* (Russian)
'Lapšin: Goodbye! (He started to go, but stopped.) And Taisija Nikolaevna didn't happen to look in, did she?

b. *Не понимают люди! – Он **пошел**, но в дверях остановился.* (Russian)
'"People don't understand!" He started to go, but stopped in the doorway.'

c. – *Прощай! Григорий* **пошел**, *но, отойдя несколько шагов, стал вполоборота, окликнул Кудинова* […]   (Russian)
'"Goodbye!" Grigorij started to go, but after a few steps, he stopped and turned halfway around and called out to Kudinov […]'

In (19a–c) *пошел* refers to the start of a trajectory that is immediately interrupted. And my informant for Slovene is categorical that *šel* is unacceptable in these contexts, as shown in (20) with the equivalents of the relevant clauses.

(20) a. **Krenil** / **Šel je*, *a se ustavil*.   (Slovene)
'He started to go, but stopped.'

b. **Krenil** / **Šel je*, *a se na vratih ustavil*.   (Slovene)
'He started to go, but stopped in the doorway.'

c. *Grigorij* **je krenil** / **šel*, *a se že po nekaj korakih ustavil...*   (Slovene)
'Grigorij started to go, but after a few steps, he stopped…'

Likewise, my Croatian informant points out that *išao* is impossible in these contexts, and the perfective *krenuti* 'start to go/set out' is required,[16] e.g., *Krenuo je pa stao* 'He started to go but stopped' for (20a). My Czech informant expresses the same opinion: *šel* is unacceptable in these contexts, and another verb is needed, e.g., perfective *poodjít* 'go away a little', as in *Poodešel a zastavil se* 'He went away a little and stopped' or the imperfective *odcházet* 'go away', as in *Odcházel, ale zastavil se* 'He started going away but stopped'. The latter version represents a case of the CCIP, so common in Czech and Slovene, and it is interesting that there is an attestation of the same verb in the same context from early 20th-century Slovene, shown in (21).

(21) *Waldersdorf je vstal in* **odhajal**. *Toda ravno pred vrati se je ustavil in obrnil.*

(Slovene)
'Waldersdorf got up and started to go away. Then he stopped right at the door and turned around.'

Such imperfective usage, as with all instances of the CCIP, is ultimately a case of the processual meaning of the imperfective aspect.

If the past tense of 'go' in these languages is unacceptable in the narrowly inceptive contexts of (19a–c), then it must assert an open-ended process of motion that includes an initial location, which all perceived motion in fact does. It is difficult to imagine what kind of perfectivity this could represent; on the contrary, it seems like a central semantic component of the imperfective, i.e., a situation continuing in time.

At this point the prefixed future-tense and imperative forms of Czech *jít* and Slovene *iti* deserve comment, as they resemble perfective present verb forms in the future-tense function. There is an important difference, however, between these future-tense forms and ordinary perfective present forms. As pointed out by Kopečný (1961) and Bondarko (1961) for Czech and Derganc (2015) for Slovene, these future-tense forms cannot occur in the non-actual present (e.g., habitual

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[16] Another perfective option is *pošao* 'departed/started going', but here this verb is high style and slightly archaic for most speakers.

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repetition, narrative present, etc.) unlike perfective present-tense verb forms. Thus, assuming that they have perfective value requires one to explain why they do not behave as other perfective present-tense forms. Similarly, the prefixed imperative forms occur with negation more frequently than ordinary perfective verbs. It is simpler to assume that these are imperfective forms that are relics from a pre-aspectual stage of Slavic (as Galton 1976, p. 46–48 suggests).

3.4. Evidence from Other Aspect Languages

The preceding sections have presented evidence from Czech, Slovene and BCMS for the view that 'go' in these languages is an imperfective verb. Though this evidence is in my view convincing enough, it is worth pointing out that there are facts from other aspect languages that provide more circumstantial evidence of a correlation between *go* and imperfectivity.

Starting with Slavic, in Upper and Lower Sorbian the aorist and imperfect tenses of Late Common Slavic were reanalyzed as synthetic preterits of the perfective and imperfective aspects, respectively. The preterits of Upper Sorbian *hić* and Lower Sorbian *hyś*, both 'go', have the old imperfect endings. Thus, 's/he went' is *dźěše* in Upper Sorbian (not *dźe, the nonexistent aorist form) and *źěšo* (not *źe) in Lower Sorbian. This fact gains in significance when we remember that the aorist of reflexes of Late Common Slavic *iti 'go' is amply attested in the older stages of most Slavic languages. The simplest explanation is that when the old aorist and imperfect were reanalyzed as synthetic preterit inflections of perfective and imperfective verbs (respectively) in Upper and Lower Sorbian, speakers already considered *hić* and *hyś* to be imperfective.[17]

In Ancient Greek, which had a consistent aspectual opposition between present-tense stems and aorist stems reinforced in the past tense by the AORIST : IMPERFECT opposition, some verbs tended to occur in the imperfect where one would expect the aorist, i.e., in narrative sequences of events. R. Kühner (1898, p. 143) observes that such usage occurs «in prose with verbs of *sending and going*, such as πέμπειν 'send', ἀποστέλλειν 'send', πλεῖν 'sail, swim, float', ἀνάγεσθαι 'advance', etc.» (my emphasis – SMD). Verbs of sending and going obviously have a salient motion component. Further, D. Kölligan (2007, p. 146) notes the «aoristic» use of the imperfect form ἤϊα of εἶμι 'go'.

The tendency to use of motion verbs in the imperfect in narrative sequences of events described above indicates that the correlation between 'go' and the imperfective construal of a process as continuing in time extends beyond the Slavic derivational PERFECTIVE : IMPERFECTIVE opposition to include the AORIST : IMPERFECT opposition, and exists outside of Slavic. This tendency is very difficult to reconcile with the idea that past-tense usage of Czech/Slovene/BCMS 'go' in narrative sequences of events reflects a perfective construal.

3.5. The Aspectual Nature of 'GO' in Czech, Slovene, and BCMS

The preceding sections have presented various kinds of evidence that past-tense usage of 'go' in narrative sequences of events is not a case of the perfective construal, but rather of the imperfective construal. And this is what the lack of perfective morphology on the verb would suggest – Czech *jít*, Slovene *iti* and BCMS *ići* are imperfective verbs. And yet, there is something to A. Derganc's opinion that Slovene *šel* in sequences of events is different from other imperfective verbs. Indeed, my informant points out that in (22) the imperfective *vračal* somehow draws out the return to the house.

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[17] Note that *hić* and *hyś* are otherwise like Czech *jít*, with prefixed future forms (Upper Sorbian *póńdu* and Lower Sorbian *pójdu*).

(22) *Okrog sedmih zvečer je 69-letna M. B. iz Mrzle Luže končala z delom v hlevu in se **vračala** v hišo. Ko je stopila skozi vrata in prižgala luč, so se iz dnevne sobe prikazali trije neznanci.* (Slovene)

'At around seven in the evening 69-year old M. B. of Mrzla Luža finished working in her barn and returned to her house. When she walked through the door and turned on the light, three strangers appeared from the living room.'

This retarding effect is absent with Slovene *šel*, and is also absent in BCMS *išao* according to my informant. Further, T. Berger (2013) argues that the CCIP in Czech generally expresses this retarding effect, but questions whether it occurs in Czech *šel*. He notes that in a translation of Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita* a Czech translator rendered *повернулся от Ивана и пошел прочь* 'turned away from Ivan and went away' with *pak se otočil a odcházel* 'then he turned and went away', employing imperfective prefixed *odcházel* for the same stylistic effect instead of the possible *šel pryč*.

Why would the past tense of Czech/Slovene/BCMS 'go' lack the retarding effect? I think the answer lies in the nature of 'go': it is a neutral verb of determinate motion that is devoid of additional lexical content, such as motion relative to a landmark as in 'go away' (Czech *odjít / odcházet*, Slovene *oditi / odhajati*, BCMS *otići / odlaziti*). That is to say, 'go' as such only profiles absolute motion, the kind that is perceived strictly by retinal image motion, as modeled in figure 3:
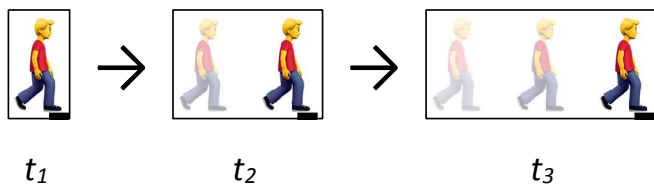

t_1 t_2 t_3

Figure 3: 'GO' as Absolute Motion

In figure 3 the absolute motion is conceived by the changing position of the trajector relative to its previous position. Time is necessary to process this change of position.

With non-motion activity verbs, e.g., OCS *стрищи* 'cut/clip' in figure 1, there is no salient incremental change perceived by an observer, all the observer perceives is an ongoing activity. The same applies to all manner of non-motion situations, e.g., reading, writing and eating. Further, derived imperfective verbs such as OCS *постризати* 'tonsure' or Czech *odcházet* specifically suspend the change profiled by their perfective correlates, as modeled for Czech *odcházet* in figure 4, and are essentially stative.
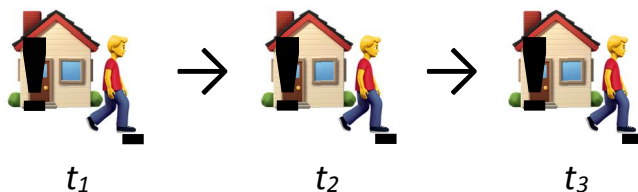

t_1 t_2 t_3

Figure 4: Imperfective 'GO AWAY' as a State (Continued Lack of Change)

Note that Michaelis (2004, p. 35 ff.) argues that the English progressive produces stative predicates, either by combining straightforwardly combining with atelic verbs (*sit*, *read*) or by coercing telic predicates (e.g., *read a book*) into stative

predicates. My suggestion for ordinary Slavic imperfectives follows her logic, but recognizes that 'go' is an atypical imperfective verb in Czech, Slovene and BCMS because of the dynamic change of position inherent in its semantic profile. It is important to point out that the dynamic change of position profiled by Czech/Slovene/BCMS 'go' is not bounded in the verb at either end of the trajectory–such bounding must be provided by goal and source phrases. In contrast, the retarding effect with other motion verbs discussed by Berger is the result of a telic motion event coerced by the imperfective aspect into a state.

4. Conclusions. This article has argued that Czech *jít*, Slovene *iti* and BCMS *ići* are not biaspectual, as has sometimes been suggested, but imperfective verbs. The analysis has presented a number of facts regarding their use in past-tense sequences of events from inside and outside the Slavic language group that support the hypothesis that these verbs are imperfective. However, *go* as a verbal notion is very specific and cannot be conceptualized without development through time, in contrast to other imperfective verbs.

This analysis has the advantage of taking aspectual morphology seriously, and shows that «anomalous» usage of individual imperfective verbs need not resort to notions such as biaspectuality or the unmarkedness of the imperfective aspect, which are catch-all notions for categorizing unexpected usage.

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Резюме

Дікі Стівен М.

ПРО ЙМОВІРНИЙ ВИПАДОК ПИТОМОЇ СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКОЇ БІАСПЕКТУАЛЬНОСТІ: ЧЕСЬКЕ *ЛÍТ*, СЛОВЕНСЬКЕ *ITI* І БХЧС *IĆI*

Вступ. У цій статті розглянуто один випадок ймовірної двовидовості у питомих слов'янських дієсловах, а саме – у дієслові цілеспрямованого руху *йти*. Деякі науковці вважають, що чеське *jít*, словенське *iti* та боснійсько-хорватько-чорногорько-сербське (далі – БХЧС) *ići* є двовидовими. Це твердження базується насамперед на використанні цих дієслів у минулому часі

щодо окремих напрямків, наприклад, чеське *Potom je vzal a šel domů*. Однак аспектуальний статус цих дієслів та способи вживання детально не досліджені.

Мета. У цій статті стверджується, що дієслова цілеспрямованого руху в чеській, словенській та БХЧС є недоконаними. Застосовано когнітивний лінгвістичний підхід з опорою на факти та дані, які раніше не було розглянуто та / або не було проаналізовано в комплексі.

Результати. Аналіз починається з розгляду дієслова '*йти*' із обставинами мети у зазначених мовах (наприклад, чеське *Šel domů*). Воно не може поєднуватися із обставинами обмеженого часу (наприклад, чеське *za hodinu*), й інформатори кажуть, що такі предикати не підтверджують прибуття до пункту призначення, а лише передбачають це. Ці факти корелюють із гіпотезою, згідно з якою дієслово *йти* не є граничним досягненням (*telic accomplishments*). Аналіз продовжено непрямими доказами того факту, що й інші дієслова недоконаного виду зі значенням детермінації та способу руху використовують для вираження послідовності подій у цих мовах, а також того факту, що дієслова недоконаного виду загалом використовують для вираження послідовностей подій у цих мовах. Далі подано дані з інших видових мов. По-перше, зазначено, що у верхньолужицькій мові синтетичний претерит *hić* 'йти' утворений із закінчень старого імперфекта, а не із закінчень аориста, що впевнено наводить на думку: коли старий аорист та імперфект були повторно проаналізовані як синтетичні претеритні форми дієслів доконаного та недоконаного виду (відповідно), *hić* вважався дієсловом недоконаного виду. По-друге, давньогрецька мова засвідчує тенденції вживання *відправляти* та *йти* як дієслова недоконаного виду, де «можна було б очікувати аорист», зокрема й імперфект *ἤϊα* від *εἶμι* 'йти'. Останнім поданим аргументом є нездатність 'йти' в чеській, словенській та БХЧС слугувати перекладом російського *пойти* в ситуації раптово перерваної дії (наприклад, *Он пошел, но остановился в дверях*). Цей факт є вагомим доказом того, що 'йти' в цих мовах не відображає простий початок руху (нарівні з інгресивними дієсловами руху доконаного виду в російській мові), а завжди відображає продовження ситуації в часі, що характерно для слов'янських дієслів недоконаного виду.

Обговорення. Представлений аналіз поглиблює наші знання слов'янського дієслівного виду та пояснює загадкове вживання дієслова *йти* у західнослов'янських мовах з когнітивно-лінгвістичної позиції, без використання таких понять, як біаспектуальність (двовидовість) або немаркованість спеціальними показниками.

Ключові слова: слов'янський дієслівний вид, західнослов'янські мови, біаспектуальність, дієслово спрямованого руху 'йти', імперфектив.

Abstract

Dickey Stephen M.

ON A PUTATIVE CASE OF NATIVE SLAVIC BIASPECTUALITY: CZECH *JÍT*, SLOVENE *ITI* AND BCMS *IĆI*

Background. This article examines one case of putative biaspectuality in native Slavic verbs, that of the determinate motion verb *go*. Some scholars have considered the possibility that Czech *jít*, Slovene *iti*, and BCMS *ići* are biaspectual, based primarily on the past-tense usage of these verbs in reference to single trajectories,

e.g., Czech *Potom je vzal a šel domů*. However, the aspectual status of these verbs and their patterns of usage are rarely examined in detail.

Purpose. This article argues that determinate *go*-verbs in Czech, Slovene, and BCMS are imperfective, employing a cognitive linguistic approach and referring to facts and data that have not previously been discussed and/or not been considered together.

Results. The analysis begins with a consideration of 'go' with a goal phrase in these languages (e.g., Czech *Šel domů*). They cannot combine with time-to-completion phrases (e.g., Czech *za hodinu*) and informants say that such predicates do not assert arrival at the destination, but only imply it. These facts are consistent with the hypothesis that these *go* verbs do not represent telic accomplishments. The analysis continues with circumstantial evidence in the fact that other imperfective determinate and manner-of-motion verbs occur in sequences of events in these languages, as well as the fact that imperfective verbs in general occur in sequences of events in these languages. Then data from other aspect languages are adduced. First, it is pointed out that in Upper Sorbian the synthetic preterit of *hić* 'go' consists of endings of the old imperfect and not those of the aorist, which strongly suggests that when the old aorist and imperfect were reanalyzed as synthetic preterit inflections of perfective and imperfective verbs (respectively), *hić* was considered to be imperfective. Second, Ancient Greek attests tendencies to use verbs of sending and going in the imperfect where "one would expect the aorist," including the imperfect *ἤϊα* from *εἶμι* 'go'. The last piece of evidence presented is the inability of 'go' in Czech, Slovene and BCMS to translate Russian *пойти* in contexts of an immediately interrupted departure (e.g., *Он пошел, но остановился в дверях*). This fact is a strong piece of evidence that 'go' in these languages does not profile simply the inception of motion on a par with ingressive perfective motion verbs in Russian, but always profiles extension of the situation in time, which is typical of Slavic imperfective verbs.

Discussion. The analysis presented increases our knowledge of Slavic verbal aspect and explains the apparently puzzling usage of *go*-verbs in the western Slavic languages from a cognitive linguistic perspective, without resorting to concepts such as biaspectuality or unmarkedness in an ad hoc way.

Keywords: Slavic verbal aspect, western Slavic languages, biaspectuality, determinate motion verb 'go', imperfective.

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