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**“Actionality and Aspect in Early Latin  
and in Modern Serbo-Croatian:  
A contrastive study”**

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# Contents

<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>8</b>
1.1 On the Serbo-Croatian and Latin verbal systems	8
1.2 The semantic categories expressed by the verb	11
1.2.1 Actionality	12
1.2.1.1 Testing actional properties	14
1.2.1.1.1 The properties of dynamicity, telicity and durativity	14
1.2.1.1.2 The tests	17
1.2.1.2 STATES	22
1.2.1.3 ACTIVITIES	24
1.2.1.4 ACCOMPLISHMENTS	26
1.2.1.5 ACHIEVEMENTS	27
1.2.1.6 SEMELFACTIVES	28
1.2.2 Tense	29
1.2.2.1 The structure of Tense	30
1.2.2.2 Grammatical Tenses	31
1.2.2.2.1 The Present	31
1.2.2.2.2 The Perfect	33
1.2.2.2.3 Synthetic preterites	37
1.2.2.2.4 The Pluperfect	38
1.2.2.2.5 The Simple Future	39
1.2.2.2.6 The Future Perfect	40
1.2.2.3 Classification of temporal adverbials	41
1.2.3 Aspect	42
1.2.3.1 Imperfectivity	44
1.2.3.2 Perfectivity	47
1.2.3.3 Interactions between Aspect, Tense and Actionality	48
1.3 The purpose of this work	51
1.3.1 Terminology and methods	51
1.3.2 Note about Serbo-Croatian translations	53

<b>2 Latin</b>	<b>54</b>
2.1 The verbal system from Proto-Indo-European to Latin	54
2.1.1 Previous studies on the Latin verbal system	56
2.2 Tense and tense forms in Latin	57
2.2.1 The Present	60
2.2.2 The Perfect	62
2.2.2.1 Current relevance and Experiential Perfect	64
2.2.2.2 Resultativity	65
2.2.3 The Imperfect	67
2.2.4 The Pluperfect	69
2.2.5 The Simple future	71
2.2.6 The Future Perfect	74
2.2.7. The Simple Future and the Future Perfect: differences conveyed by the actionality	76
2.3 Aspect in Latin	77
2.3.1 The aspectual difference between the Perfect and the Imperfect tense	78
2.4 Actionality in Latin	82
2.4.1 Dynamicity	82
2.4.2 Agency, voice and change of dynamicity	86
2.4.3 Change of state	89
2.4.4 Telicity	91
2.4.5 Momentaneousness and +/- durativity	93
2.4.5.1 Testing durativity	95
2.4.6 Focus and Lexicon	97
2.5 Lexical morphology	98
2.5.1 Suffixes	98
2.5.1.1 The suffix <i>-sco</i>	98
2.5.1.2 The “iterative” suffix	100
2.5.2 Prefixes	101
2.5.2.1 <i>Con-</i>	101
2.5.2.2 <i>Ad-</i>	102
2.5.2.3 <i>In-</i>	102
2.5.2.4 <i>Ob-</i>	102
2.5.2.5 <i>Ex-</i>	103
2.5.2.6 <i>De-</i>	103

2.5.2.7 <i>Ab-</i>	103
2.5.2.8 <i>Per-</i>	103
2.5.2.9 Other prefixes ( <i>Pro-</i> , <i>trans-</i> etc.)	104
2.5.2.10 The interrelation between the prefixes	104
2.6 Summary	105
<b>3 Serbo-Croatian</b>	<b>107</b>
3.1 The verbal system from Proto-Indo-European to Serbo-Croatian	107
3.1.1 Previous studies on the Serbo-Croatian verbal system	110
3.1.2 The semantic categories expressed by the verb	111
3.2 Tense and tense forms in Serbo-Croatian	112
3.2.1 The Present	115
3.2.2 The Perfect	118
3.2.3 Preterites	120
3.2.3.1 The Aorist	120
3.2.3.2 The Imperfect	121
3.2.4 The Pluperfect	122
3.2.5 The Simple Future	122
3.2.6 The Future Perfect	123
3.3 Aspect in Serbo-Croatian	123
3.3.1 Aspect or actionality? The case of [+/-] Durativity	125
3.4 Actionality in Serbo-Croatian	128
3.4.1 Dynamicity	128
3.4.2 Transitivity, voice, and change of focus	130
3.4.3 States, activities, and prefixes	131
3.4.4 Change of state	132
3.4.5 Telicity	134
3.4.6 +/- Momentaneousness	137
3.4.7 Focus and lexicon	137
3.5. Lexical morphology	139
3.5.1 Suffixes	139
3.5.1.1 The suffix <i>-va-</i>	139
3.5.1.2 The suffix <i>-nu-</i>	140
3.5.2 Prefixes	141

3.5.2.1 PO-	143
3.5.2.2 NA-	144
3.5.2.3 U-	147
3.5.2.4 ZA- (c.f. §4.4.4.4 (a III))	149
3.5.2.5 DO- (cf. §4.4.3.4 (a))	151
3.5.2.6 OD- (with allomorphs <i>ot-</i> , <i>o-</i> )	153
3.5.2.7 IZ-	155
3.5.2.8 PRO- (cf. §4.4.6.3. (iii))	157
3.5.2.9 SA- (with allomorph <i>s-</i> ) (cf. § 4.4.7.4 (a))	157
3.5.2.10 PRE- (cf. § 4.4.9.4 (II))	158
3.6 Summary	160
<b>4 Verbal Lexicon and Morphology in Latin and Serbo-Croatian</b>	<b>162</b>
4.1 Verbal affixes	162
4.2 Actionality, agency, and morphology	165
4.2.1 Non-dynamicity vs dynamicity	166
4.2.2. Atelicity vs telicity	171
4.2.3 Durativity vs. momentaneousness	174
4.2.4 State and change of state	177
4.2.5 Shift in actional properties	180
4.2.5.1 Focus on different stages	180
4.2.5.2 Delimitation and intensity	181
4.2.5.3 Spatial functions	183
4.2.6 Voice and Agency	183
4.3 Suffixation	186
4.3.1 Dynamicity	187
4.3.2 Frequentativity and intensity	189
4.3.3 Conclusions	198
4.4 Prefixation	201
4.4.1 On the functions of prefixation	201
4.4.2 <i>CON-</i>	202
4.4.2.1 The actional function	202
4.4.2.2 The intensive function	206
4.4.2.3 The sociative function	207

4.4.2.4 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian	208
4.4.2.5 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian	213
4.4.3 <i>AD</i> (Serbo-Croatian: <i>za, do</i> )	215
4.4.3.1 The spatial function	215
4.4.3.2 The actional function	216
4.4.3.3 The intensive function	218
4.4.3.4 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian	219
4.4.3.5 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian	219
4.4.3.6 The interrelation between Latin <i>con-</i> and <i>ad-</i>	220
4.4.4 <i>IN-</i>	222
4.4.4.1 The spatial function	222
4.4.4.2 The actional function	223
4.4.4.3 Other cases	226
4.4.4.4 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian	227
4.4.4.5 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian	229
4.4.5 <i>OB-</i>	230
4.4.5.1 The spatial function	230
4.4.5.2 The actional function	231
4.4.5.3 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian	233
4.4.5.4 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian	235
4.4.6 <i>EX-</i>	236
4.4.6.1 The spatial function	236
4.4.6.2 The actional function	237
4.4.6.3 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian	241
4.4.6.4 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian	244
4.4.7 <i>DE-</i>	244
4.4.7.1 The spatial function	245
4.4.7.2 The actional and the intensive functions	246
4.4.7.3 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian	250
4.4.7.4 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian	252
4.4.8 <i>AB-</i>	253
4.4.8.1 Spatial function	253
4.4.8.2 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian	254

4.4.8.3 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian	255
4.4.9 <i>PER-</i>	256
4.4.9.1 The spatial function	256
4.4.9.2 The actional function	258
4.4.9.3 The perdurative function	260
4.4.9.4 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian	261
4.4.9.5 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian	264
4.4.10 Summary	265
4.5 Tense and Aspect	267
<4.5.1 Tense	267
4.5.1.1 Absolute tense	268
4.5.1.2 Absolute-relative tense	268
4.5.1.3 Relative tense	269
4.5.2 Aspect>	270
4.5.2.1 Progressivity and overview	271
4.5.2.2 Quantification and pluri-occasionality	272
4.5.2.3 Temporal adverbials and conjunctions	275
4.5.2.4 Past states	276
4.5.2.5 Ingressivity	279
<4.5.3 Summary>	281
<b>5. Conclusions</b>	<b>284</b>
5.1 Comparison between Latin and Serbo-Croatian prefixes	284
5.2 Verbal morphology in contrast	287
5.3 Remarks on the boundary between actionality and aspect	288
5.4 Summary	289
<b>Appendix: Questionnaire</b>	<b>292</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>291</b>

# 1 Introduction

This dissertation aims to achieve a better understanding of some actional and aspectual features of the Latin and Serbo-Croatian verbal systems. The present study aims to delineate the overlap and differences between the two systems through a systematic comparison of the verbal morphology (use of the prefixes and suffixes) and show the mechanisms of use and behaviour of verbal features in contrast.

This study deals with a corpus-language,<sup>1</sup> Latin, and a currently spoken language, Serbo-Croatian. The corpus used in this study consists of the comedies of Terence and their translations into Serbo-Croatian. In this way, the problems of diachrony are avoided. Moreover, the starting point, Early Latin, offers many prefixes that emphasize certain process phases. This fact opens up various pathways for contrasting the lexical semantics of these two languages.

By expanding the research field diaphasically and adding new variables, my thesis aims to give a broader and more up-to-date look into the patterns of usage of preterites and the perfect tense, as well as the narrative present in current spoken and written Serbo-Croatian. Both Serbo-Croatian, with its broad spectrum of past tenses still in everyday use, and Latin, with its great resources for nuancing verbal semantics using preverbs, offer fertile grounds for lexical, semantic and syntactic exploration.

## 1.1 On the Serbo-Croatian and Latin verbal systems

At an early stage in the history of the Indo-European languages, there appears to have been an opposition between stative verbs (e.g., to know, to be dead) and eventive verbs indicating some kind of change (e.g. to find out, to die). The stative paradigm is connected to the perfect tense and its paradigm (e.g., *noui* ‘I know’ in Latin, τέθνηκα ‘I am dead’ in Greek; cf. Sihler 1995 §§ 509–515; Baldi 2002: 75, 367; Weiss 2009: 384 ff., 409–410). The eventive verbs are durative or non-durative (semelfactive) and connected to the present and imperfect (durative) and aorist (non-durative) and their paradigms (cf. Sihler 1995: § 413; Baldi 2002: 367). The voice opposition was between the active and the middle voice, the passive being the result of a somewhat later development (cf. Sihler

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<sup>1</sup> The term ‘corpus language’ is preferred over ‘dead language’ because the latter does not necessarily arise through language death, and language death often yields not a dead language but no language at all (Langslow 2002).

1995: § 414; Baldi 2002: 72–73, 364–365; Weiss 2009: 380–383), and there were four, or five, moods (indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative and, possibly, injunctive; cf. Sihler: §§ 415–416; Baldi 2002: 73, 368; Weiss 2009: 383–384). Tense seems to be a relatively late factor, and at first the opposition was between past and non-past; in the past, there was in later Proto-Indo-European an opposition between the imperfect (indicating duration and imperfectivity) and the aorist (indicating non-duration and perfectivity); and the future tense is a later invention (cf. Sihler: § 417; Baldi 2002: 365–367; Weiss 2009: 378–379, 414–415). There has, however, been much discussion on the development of this system from the earliest to later stages and not the least on the alignment (e.g. active–non-active, ergative–absolutive) in early Proto-Indo-European, but there seems to be some agreement that the system found in most of the attested languages (i.e. the nominative-accusative alignment) is a relatively late phenomenon (for discussions cf., e.g. Baldi 2002: 367–364, 366–367; and Willi 2018: 28–57).

Some early Indo-European languages (among them Greek) have three verbal stems – present, aorist and perfect. In early Slavic, this system was still retained, and in Serbo-Croatian, there are still some traces. Still, in Latin, the blurring of the perfect and the aorist had already occurred at the beginning of the known documentation.<sup>2</sup>

Traditionally, Latin verbs were divided into two functional groups, according to their two stems. The *infectum* marks events as going on, whereas the *perfectum* usually marks them as having occurred and ended before reference time. This overly adopted taxonomy shows a system different from the Proto-Indo-European one: there are two instead of three stems (present, aorist and perfect). Tenses are built in the following way:

<i>Stem</i>	<i>Infectum</i>	<i>Perfectum</i>
Mood		
Indicative	present, future, imperfect	perfect, future perfect, pluperfect
Subjunctive	present, imperfect	perfect, pluperfect
Imperative	present, future	

**Table 1:** Traditional Varronian Tense taxonomy

<sup>2</sup> Haverling (2010: 279–283). Cf. e.g. Baldi (2002: 366–367); Weiss (2009: 409–414).

The Varronian categorization is based on the semantic features of the verbal stem (*Ling.* 6.96–101). The present stem (\*H<sub>1</sub>es- > *es-t*, ἐσ-τί) does not imply the inherent end-point, while the root aorist stem (\*b<sup>h</sup>uH<sub>x</sub> > *fu-i*, ἔ-φϋ-ν) does imply the inherent end-point. The *infectum* Tenses describe a situation as continuing, whereas the *perfectum* Tenses describe it as finished.<sup>3</sup> For a description of the Latin verbal system, cf. chapter 2.

In Serbo-Croatian, the synthetic (and, at the same time, older) verbal Tenses are built from two distinct stems: present and aorist (also called Infinitive stem). As in Latin, the present stem does not imply the inherent end-point, while the aorist stem does imply the inherent end-point. For some verbs, these two stems overlap (*pevati* ‘to sing’ has *peva-* both as the aorist and as the present stem), while for many more they are different (*ćutati* ‘to be silent’ has *ćuta-* as the aorist stem and *ćuti-* as the present stem):

<i>Stem</i>	Present	Aorist
Mood		(infinitive)
Indicative	Present,	Aorist
	Imperfect	
Imperative	Present	

Table 2: Stems and Tenses in Serbo-Croatian

The other analytic Tenses in Serbo-Croatian are the more recent Slavic formations. They can be built both from telic and atelic verbs. The Perfect is formed from a shorter form of the verb ‘to be’ in the Present tense and the active past participle (*pevao sam* ‘I have sung’). The Pluperfect is formed from the verb ‘to be’ in the Perfect tense and the active past participle (*bio sam pevao* ‘I had sung’) or from the verb ‘to be’ in the Imperfect tense and the active past participle (*bejah pevao* ‘I had sung’). The Future is formed from the Present tense of the verb ‘to want’ and the infinitive (*ja ću pevati* ‘I will sing’). For a description of the Serbo-Croatian verbal system, cf. Chapter 3.

The Proto-Indo-European verb could express various features by particles that, in later stages of its development and in its daughter-languages, often gave origin to the prefixes and the prepositions.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the core expressions of a Tense. Cf. Latin *perfectum praesens* (*odi* ‘I hate’, *noui* ‘I know’, etc.).

Both in Latin and in Serbo-Croatian, these prepositions have developed into the preverbs that yield, among other actional properties, telicity.

The Indo-European affixes are of a qualitative or quantitative nature. Their most frequent functions are change of state, completion, ingressivity (focusing on the starting point of a situation), egressivity (focusing on the final point of the situation), and perdurativity (focusing on the whole period of the unfolding of a situation).

The research on Slavic languages, which present behaviour in verbal semantics similar to that of Latin (and Greek), was a starting point for detecting the semantic differences between the unprefixed and the prefixed verbs. Following the theories that emphasize the importance of keeping separate notions of actionality and aspect (cf. Bertinetto & Delfitto 1992), the more recent works give results on the actional function of the prefixes and their role as prefixes in Latin (Lehmann 1983; Haverling 1994, 1996, 2000; van Laer 1998; Brachet 2000).

## 1.2 The semantic categories expressed by the verb<sup>4</sup>

Verbal systems encompass a specific combination of four categories: actionality, temporal reference, aspect and modality. These four categories are conceived and expressed in drastically different ways in different natural languages.

In traditional approaches to the study of Aspect and Tense, we deal with a misleading concept, also based on confusing terminology: there is the “perfective-telic confusion”, to use Bertinetto’s (2001) words. This confusion arises from the view that atelic events are unavoidably described in the imperfective aspect while telic events are described in the perfective aspect. Traditionally, lexical pairs in Slavic languages have been designated as “perfective” and “imperfective”: this terminology involves *confusion* between the actional – i.e., lexical – and the aspectual opposition. This conceptual confusion has been extended to the Classical languages. In particular, the research about the Latin verbal system, which lacks the Aorist tense, but has great possibilities of building lexical pairs, has borrowed a model from research on current Slavic languages for many decades. The semantic opposition that remains the most frequently referred to in both Serbo-Croatian and in Latin is exactly “perfective” vs “imperfective”. This overly broad notion somehow manages to constantly overshadow the importance of actional features, which are firmly embedded in the lexical fund of Slavic languages and of Latin.

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<sup>4</sup> In this chapter, I will mostly provide examples in English; English will be used for the translation of the Latin examples as well. I have chosen not to include Slavic languages here in order not to contribute to the confusion created by the fact that the Aspect is often taken to be specific to these languages.

I will follow Bertinetto in his view that this issue should be handled within the framework of the typological diversity of natural languages (2001: 203): an event may have an end-point either by being telic, in which case the end-point is inherent, or atelic, where the end-point is external. Our approach is generally close to that advocated by Dahl (1985) and Bertinetto (2000) in that we hold that derivatively connected verbs in the Slavic lexicon mainly differ in terms of actional class and that actionality is inseparable from the category of aspect. Slavic languages primarily distinguish between derivatively related but different lexical entries through overt actional contrasts. Hence, the aspectual pairs of Slavic languages may be referred to as “grammaticalized lexical categories” (Dahl 1985: 89).

### 1.2.1 Actionality

Actionality is a purely semantic-lexical characteristic: it is a component of the meaning of every verbal lexeme or group of lexemes (e.g. articles or adverbs together with verbs). Aspect, in contrast, is a semantic-morphological concept. It is the first reason for distinguishing these two phenomena while keeping in mind an overlap between these two fundamentally semantic verbal categories.

Although we know that Actionality inherently belongs to the meaning of the verbal lexeme, it must be defined with greater precision: a taxonomic model for the categorization of verbs by actional class is needed. Verbs belonging to these classes share identical syntactic behaviour in each language. Although Actionality is a semantic category, some of its features emerge only by observing that a particular verb can or cannot be used in a specific context.

The core, intuitively driven actional categorization contrasts non-durative and durative verbs (Bertinetto 1986: 88). Other, less intuitive oppositions oppose dynamic with non-dynamic verbs (Comrie 1976: 48) and telic with atelic verbs.

Here I will consider four actional classes following the Vendlerian actional taxonomy: States, Activities, Accomplishments and Achievements. Vendler (1957, 1967) based his four-way scheme on two main criteria: the (in)compatibility with some temporal adverbials and the (in)compatibility with the progressive periphrasis in English. I will, however, expand it by adding the category of **semelfactive** verbs (cf. Bertinetto 1986 and Smith 1997). These five actional classes behave in the following ways concerning the properties of durativity, telicity, and dynamicity:

	dynamic	telic	durative
States	-	-	+
Activities	+	-	+
Accomplishments	+	+	+
Achievements	+	+	-
Semelfactives	+	-	-

According to the well-established terminology, we will label overall dynamic situations as ‘events,’ and non-dynamic situations as ‘States’:

(A) **States** are non-dynamic, durative and atelic. They involve either the subject's inherent and/or permanent properties (*to be old, to exist, to believe*) or states or truth conditions that cannot be modified (*to be in London, to know, to be a singer*).

(B) **Activities** are durative and dynamic, but atelic and hence do not lead to a definite change of state (*to work, to laugh, to continue, to last, to write*). These verbs involve the possibility of the continuation of a process that can be interrupted at various times as it unfolds.

(C) **Accomplishments** are durative, dynamic and telic. Most importantly, they convey the events that lead to a definite change of state (*to wash a car, sing a song, eat a sandwich, and learn*). Often, these verbs are atelic in the absence of a direct object: *to wash, to sing, to eat*. In these cases, the presence of a direct object telicizes them by providing a goal to be attained. However, a direct object is not always present, for instance, not when the verb is intransitive (e.g. *to go to school*).

(D) **Achievements** are non-durative, dynamic, and telic. They convey a definite change of state (*to wake up, to reach, to find, to go mad, to surrender*).

(E) **Semelfactives** are non-durative, dynamic and atelic events (*to cough, to hit, to knock*). (see, e.g. Comrie 1976, Smith 1991, Rothstein 2004; see Haverling 2010: 305 for the implementation of the semelfactives within the Achievements category).

Semantic properties of the situations can be presented as below, in Smith's (1997: 23, 26, 30, 32) proposal. The dotted line conveys a dynamic situation, the solid line a state, T an end-point (*telos*) and R a resultant state:

State	[ _____ ]
Activity	[ ..... ]
Accomplishment	[ .....TR_____ ]
Achievement	[ TR_____ ]
Semelfactives	[ . ]

Table 5. Graphic representation of the actional types

States do not change or develop in time. Achievements, on the contrary, represent a change of state: the result is immediate, and the resultant state lasts in time. However, contextual coercion cases trigger different interpretations of the Achievements, which sometimes can imply the “preparatory phase”, typical for the Accomplishments (see the dotted line before the TR). The relevance of the (lack of) preparatory phase within an event will be explained further. This phase is “always interpreted as the preparatory process leading up to the completion of the event, thus to the resulting state” (Dini & Bertinetto 1995: 15).

Activities are also called processes; these verbs convey a dynamic situation lasting in time without reaching any goal. Accomplishments express processes that, after having lasted for some time, reach the goal; the result of reaching the goal lasts in time. Semelfactive verbs are dynamic, but they do not last in time before or after the exact moment when they occur. Hence, they have neither a preparatory dynamic phase as the Accomplishments do nor a State as a result of the process that came to its inherent end, as both Accomplishments and Achievements do.

### **1.2.1.1 Testing actional properties**

#### **1.2.1.1.1 The properties of dynamicity, telicity, and durativity**

##### **1° Dynamicity**

The distinction between dynamic and non-dynamic situations is determined by the presence or absence of the internal development of the situation itself. Comrie (1976: 48 ff.) clarifies the distinction between two types of situations by using the term “phase”, referring to the situation at any point in time. Dynamic verbs as *walk* and stative verbs as *know* refer to situations with different relations between their internal phases: while in *walk* the different phases of *walking* are distinguished (putting a foot on the ground, lifting the other foot, etc.), all phases of *knowing* are identical. Hence, while *know* does not involve any change, *walk* does involve a change.

From this follows that a state will continue unless some external factor contributes to its change. However, a dynamic situation can continue only “if it is continually subject to a new input of energy” (Comrie. 1976: 48 ff.). This input can be internal (1) or external (2). In the internal input, the interpretation is agentive, whereas in the external input, the interpretation is non-agentive.

(1) *Mary is walking.*

(2) *The house is burning.*

States are incompatible with the expressions of dynamicity, agency or completion; on the other hand, they are compatible with the expressions of the simple duration. Semelfactive situations imply a change of state, and they are dynamic: hence, states cannot be dynamic.

## 2° Telicity

Telic events involve a movement toward a specific goal or telos. Some English examples of non-durative telic verbs are *to notice*, *to throw*; durative telic expressions include: *to draw a sketch*, *to sing a song*, *to eat a sandwich*. The latter class is ambiguous: the verbs *to draw*, *sing*, and *eat* are atelic if unaccompanied by the direct object, which narrows their semantic field and provides a goal to be reached.

Various scholars have proposed tests for categorizing verbs by the [ $\pm$ telic] property. Dowty’s (1979) proposed the following tests:

1) *X is V-ing entails x has V-ed*<sup>5</sup>

If the answer is positive, the verb is atelic (a). If the answer is negative, the verb is telic (b).

(a) *John is running.*  $\Rightarrow$ <sup>6</sup> *John has run.* (atelic)

(b) *John is building a house.*  $\nRightarrow$  *John has built a house.* (telic)

2) *Take an hour to V/to V in an hour*

If the phrase featuring one of these adverbials is contradictory, the verb is atelic (c), (d); otherwise, it is telic (e), (f):

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<sup>5</sup> “V” is a verbal root.

<sup>6</sup> “ $\Rightarrow$ ” is used for “entails” and “ $\nRightarrow$ ” for “does not entail”.

- c) \*Mary *loved* John in an hour. (atelic)
- d) \*Mary *walked* in an hour. (atelic)
- e) Mary *played a song* in two minutes. (telic)
- f) Mary *noticed the cat* in two seconds. (telic)

When conjugating telic verbs in a prototypically imperfective Tense (for example, progressive periphrasis in English, Imperfect tense in Latin and Romance languages), the event's conclusion is not implicit. In the sentence “John *was singing* a sad song”, it is unclear if John concluded singing a song. Yet, when using the Present Perfect (hence, perfective tense), the goal is reached: “John *has sung* a sad song”.

On the contrary, when conjugating any atelic verb in an imperfective Tense, since there is no goal to be reached, it will be possible to say that the event has taken place at any given moment. The sentence “Mary *was working* in school” conveys that Mary indeed has worked in the school. The same conclusions can be drawn for durative verbs such as *to walk*, *to laugh*, and *to think*.

### 3° Durativity

**Durative** events last in time. **Non-durative** events are characterized by swift execution; in ideal terms, the starting point overlaps with the end-point.

Some tests for easy categorization of verbs as durative or non-durative are those that use adverbials of (A) durative type and compatibility with the verb *stop* (B).

#### (A)

- \*The boat *exploded* until the end of the attack. (non-durative)
- \*John *will fall* for many days. (non-durative)
- The puma *ran* until dusk. (durative)
- The problem *went on* for two years. (durative)

#### (B)

- Mary stopped *loving* John. (durative)
- John stopped *singing*. (durative)
- Mary stopped *singing the song*. (durative)

The exception to this rule is the circumstance that implies repetitiveness: this cancels the non-durativity of the relevant interval:

- John *noticed* the cat. (non-durative)
- John stopped *noticing* the cat. (durative)

In particular, this happens when a plural subject or object creates an iterative interpretation for the event (Bertinetto 1986: 247):

- \*The guest *arrived* for three consecutive hours.
- The guests *arrived* for three consecutive hours.
- \*John *attacked* the passer-by until dawn.
- John *attacked* passers-by until dawn.

Durative events are prototypically compatible with adverbs of duration and incompatible with semelfactive adverbs, while non-durative events behave oppositely. Moreover, durative events are compatible with the phasal verb ‘to stop,’ whereas non-durative events are not.

#### **1.2.1.1.2 The tests**

There are tests available to delineate better the boundaries of the actional classes of the verbs. The most frequently used ones are (a) compatibility with certain temporal adverbials, (b) compatibility with one of the phasal verbs and (c) contextual interpretation. In our study, we will usually rely on (a) and (b):

##### **(a) Compatibility with temporal adverbials**

Some scholars have already proposed the tests I list here (see Garey 1957, Dahl 1973, Comrie 1976, and Bertinetto 1986). The adverbials I use here follow the formula *preposition X*, where *X* stands for a quantified period (e.g., *two hours/days/weeks/years*) and *X ago*.

The (un)grammatical sentences featuring these adverbials with different situations will be tools for distinguishing between telic and atelic situations on the one hand and durativity and non-durativity on the other. In the following tests, I will use only past tense examples.

(i) “In X”<sup>7</sup>

These are complete adverbials, typically compatible with telic verbs (cf. above on telicity, ex. c–f).

(ii) “For X”<sup>8</sup>

These are the adverbials typically compatible with durative situations and atelic verbs (cf. above on durativity).

(iii) “X ago”

- |  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| a) The car <i>exploded</i> two minutes ago.      | (Semelfactive)   |
| b) John <i>fell asleep</i> two minutes ago.      | (Achievement)    |
| c) John <i>washed his shirt</i> two minutes ago. | (Accomplishment) |
| d) *Mary <i>ran</i> two minutes ago.             | (Activity)       |
| e) ?John <i>loved</i> Mary two minutes ago.      | (State)          |
| f) She was here two minutes ago.                 | (State)          |

Semelfactives, although atelic, are intrinsically non-durative. Non-durativity supplies for their telicity, and hence they are compatible with this type of adverbials (a), together with Achievements and Accomplishments. The results of this test are very similar to those of the test with “in X [time]” adverbials. Considering this conclusion, the intrinsically atelic Activities are incompatible with “X ago” type adverbials. However, this test does not always give precise results. If we change *ran* in example (d) to *was running*, there is no longer a problem. Also, consider the example “Two minutes ago I laughed so much”, where the activity predicate is compatible with this adverbial. As for the States, there is somewhat ambiguous compatibility with ‘X ago’: to make (e) acceptable, we would have to reconsider temporal distance between the period of the unfolding of the state and of its potential change (ex. ‘and he doesn’t love her anymore’). Hence, two minutes would be a reasonably short period for this emotion to change. On the other hand, (f) is grammatical; the difference between the behaviour of the States in (e) and (f) depends on the nature of the specific stative predicates. Since this test is relatively imprecise in clearly determining the compatibility of the actional classes with the adverbial, I will not use it.

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<sup>7</sup> Here I will consider only the durative occurrences of a given adverbial. Hence, occurrences with the iterative interpretation will not be considered (e.g. John ate pizza twice in three different days; Mary washed her hair at least ten times in a week).

<sup>8</sup> Here I will adopt the same criterion as indicated in the previous note. Hence, examples such as “Mary went to the theater for three consecutive days” will not be considered here.

(iv) “From  $t_x$  to  $t_y$ ”,<sup>9</sup> “until  $t_x$ ”

These adverbials explicitly refer to the final point of the situation: it is possible to combine them only with durative situations.

(v) Semelfactive adverbials

This type of adverbial comprises the exact moment or the explicitly limited time within which some situation unfolded, or some change occurred. Semelfactive adverbials describe the time of the event when combined with semelfactive verbs, whereas they trigger tense-specific interpretations when combined with durative verbs.

### **(b) Compatibility with phasal verbs**

Phasal verbs (“aspectual verbs” (Dowty 1979), “aspectualizers” (Freed 1979, Brinton 1991)) are the auxiliary verbs that convey a particular phase (stage) in the procedure of the situation: the beginning (to start), the final phase (to stop, to finish), the continuation (to keep, to continue),<sup>10</sup> and the like. This verbal class has an obligatory complement: the lexical and the semantic unity of the phasal verb and its complement cannot be split by the negation of the phasal verb. The auxiliary verb changes the actional boundary of the principal verb within the construction. The meanings of the phasal verbs reflect the combination of the negation and the actional change: *to start* = *to end not X-ing*, *to continue* = *not to stop X-ing* (see Piper, AntoniĆ, Ružić, Popović, Tanasić and Tošović 2005: 313).

*To start* denotes the left boundary of the event, its beginning. Since this verb does not consider the durativity, dynamicity or telicity, it is compatible with all the verbal classes. The only ambiguous case is represented by the Semelfactives, where the interpretation is habitual (“She started noticing the flowers”).

*To keep*, *to continue*, and similar have the volitional component and accordingly do or do not show compatibility with the actional classes.

(1a) \*Jim kept on being handsome.

(1b) Jim kept on being silly.

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<sup>9</sup> Here,  $t_x$  and  $t_y$  are specific temporal anchor points.

<sup>10</sup> For the distinctions between the English verbs *to keep*, *to keep on* and *to continue*, see Woisetschlaeger (1976).

These phasal verbs of continuation show compatibility with (certain) States and with Activities and Accomplishments. The Achievements (c) and Semelfactives (d) do not last in time and, accordingly, cannot be continued unless we assume their habitual interpretation.

(1c) Jim kept surrendering.

(1d) Jim kept coughing

### (c) Contextual interpretation

Context often influences the actional class of verbs. A factor of importance here is complementation. When there is no complement, a verb like *eat* (2a) is atelic and belongs to Activities. In contrast, with a complement (2b), it becomes telic and belongs to the category of Accomplishments:

(2a) to eat

(2b) to eat an apple

The verb becomes telic through the addition of a direct object. Similarly, (3a) is durative and (3b) is non-durative:

(3a) to give an impression

(3b) to give some change

Many factors influence the interpretation of a situation, as well as the acceptability of a given interpretation. The most prominent is coercion (ex. 4–7), reflexivity (ex. 8) and negation (ex. 9).

The quantification of the event argument often triggers the actional mismatches. When we deal with bare or indefinite nouns, the actional structure is different from when we deal with quantified noun predicates. While *to smoke* is usually a dynamic verb (4b), in (4a), the reading of this same predicate is stative (= is a smoker):

(4a) Mary smokes.

(4b) Mary has smoked two cigarettes (cf. Bertinetto & Lenci 2012: 860–861).

Other forms of coercion are the different interpretations of an event belonging to a specific actional class due to its possible reading with a temporal adverbial normally incompatible with it.

(5a) At that moment, John *knew* the answer. (Semelfactive)

(5b) John *knew* the truth for a long time. (State)

Coercion “alters the interpretation that is lexically associated with the given predicate in some way so to fit the requirements of the particular adverbials” (Arsenijević *et al.*, 2013). The case of mismatch between Accomplishments and Achievements offers a reasonable explanation for this. Both actional classes allow the *in X* adverbials, yet with different results. The Accomplishments include a preparatory phase (see the dotted line in Table 1), interpreted as the preparatory process leading up to the completion of the event and thus to the resulting state (Dini & Bertinetto 1995: 15). For the Achievements, this phase is only implicit. Yet, in some contexts, this phase could emerge and become explicit: in these cases, the Achievements undergo the “aspectual coercion” (in Hamm & Van Lambalgen 2005 it is called “additive coercion”). This is the case of the compatibility of the Achievements with *in X* adverbials, which add a preparatory phase to the event.

(6) He ran two miles in an hour.

(7) He reached the top in an hour.

In (6), the adverbial “in an hour” measures the time the event needed to be completed, while in (7), it measures the time *prior* to the actual event. In Rothstein’s (2004) view, the events like (7) add the preparatory phase to be compatible with these adverbials, and they are coerced into the Accomplishments.

Another factor of importance for the interpretation is the reflexive use of verbs. When used with a reflexive pronoun, *ask* becomes durative (8a), which it is not otherwise (8b):

(8a) Lin was asking *herself* about the future. (durative)

(8b) Lin *asked* for the phone number. (non-durative)

Negation is also an essential factor that may change the interpretation. Without a negation, the use of ‘until’ is ungrammatical in (9a), but with negation, it is correct in (9b). Similarly, the durative temporal adverbial *for three days* is ungrammatical in (9c) but grammatical with negation in (9d). On the other hand, whereas *until* and *for three days* work with the negation (9b, 9d), *since* does not (9e):

(9a) \*Fernando *left* until 9 o’clock.

(9b) Fernando *did not leave* until 9 o’clock.

(9c) \*Fernando *reached the top* for three days.

(9d) Fernando *has not reached the top* for three days.<sup>11</sup>

(9e) \*Fernando *did not leave* since five minutes

From these examples, it is evident that, to create a systematic classification of verbs by their actional features, we need to consider the entire range of contexts in which a verb can appear.

### 1.2.1.2 STATES

States do not convey any specific transition. The stative expressions last for an unspecified length of time; they do not involve any explicit variation in the state of the subject and do not possess an inherent end-point or goal.

States, prototypically lacking the end-point, are incompatible with the completive temporal adverbials (1 and 2), which are typically selected in the presence of telic predicates (see Comrie 1978: 41–44; Smith 1997: 26–29, 44–47; Haverling 2000: 61–65, 107–115). On the other hand, States are compatible with the durative temporal adverbials, typically selected by the atelic predicates (3 and 4 – *from t<sub>x</sub> to t<sub>y</sub>*; 5 and 6 – *For X*).

(1) \* John was happy *in two years*.

(2) \* Mary had flu *in two weeks*.

(3) John was happy *from Monday to Friday*.

(4) Mary had flu *from Monday to Friday*.

(5) John had flu for five days.

(6) John *stayed at home* for two hours.

States are compatible with the semelfactive adverbials (7):

(7) *On December 1*, she was abroad.

Example (7) anchors the situation at the moment specified by the semelfactive adverbial: it is implicit that the situation lasted not only during the specific moment but *also* during it since the States are durative.

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<sup>11</sup> Fernando has been trying to reach the top for three days, but he has not yet succeeded.

As for the semelfactive adverbials like *suddenly/quickly* (prototypically compatible with the semelfactive expressions), Dowty (1986) specifies that in some cases, there is compatibility with the stative predicates as well (8):

(8) Peter started to read and, *quickly*, the audience was asleep.

Example (8) could seem to imply the inceptive reading. However, the reading of this sentence conveys that, shortly after Peter started to read, the audience was *in the state* of being asleep. Hence, the emphasis is not at the entrance to the state of being but at the state itself. The more straightforward example of the compatibility with the stative predicate is (9):

(9) *Suddenly*, I knew the answer.

States are compatible with the phasal verb *to stop* (10):

(10) Jim *stopped* being handsome.

The Phasal verb *to finish* needs a dynamic, durative, and telic complement. Hence, States cannot be complements of this phasal verb (11):

(11) \*Jim *finished* being handsome.

Generally, these verbs are incompatible with specific morphological categories, such as the imperative (a) and the progressive periphrasis (b):

a) \**Know* the answer!

b) \*He *is being* handsome.

Typically, States have the property of permanence since they do not imply any change (see *to be tall*). Comrie (1976: 104) describes the permanent states as ‘absolute states’. However, there is a large subclass of states without the property of permanence. These states are transitory, as ‘to be ill’, ‘to be happy’. These predicates were called by different names. Among others, there are ‘stative progressives’ (Dowty 1979: 173), ‘dynamic states’ (Bach 1986: 6) and ‘transitory states’ (Croft 2012: 39 ff.). Here I adopt the terminology used by Bertinetto (1986: 95) and following Vet (1980: 66), where these verbs are labelled as “non-permanent states.” Some examples of these verbs are *to be hungry, have a headache, be Sunday, and be nervous*.

The two types of States can be differentiated by the frequency adverbs (Croft 2012: 41). The permanent States, expressing an inherent property, cannot occur multiple times (12). The non-

permanent states, being valid only for the limited period, are compatible with the frequency adverbials (14) since the periods of their validity can be repeated:

(12) \*John is tall often.

(13) ?The vase is cracked often.

(14) John is hungry often.

Klein (1994: 85) distinguishes inherently permanent states as physical properties and acquired permanent states as (13): the vase can be repaired, but it will never be intact as it used to be before being cracked.

### 1.2.1.3 ACTIVITIES

Like the States, the Activities have the property of not involving any specific transition. These events last for some unspecified length of time, without any explicit variation in the subject's state and an inherent end-point or goal.

These events convey a possibility of continuation of a process that, however, can be interrupted at various moments. This property is unlikely for non-dynamic verbs, such as *being old and thirsty*, which cease once they are interrupted.

Since they do not express a goal, the Activities are incompatible with the completive adverbials (1):

(1) \*Mary *walked* in two hours. (Activity)

On the other hand, Activities are compatible with the expressions of duration – *From  $t_x$  to  $t_y$*  (2) and *For X* (3). In combination with these adverbials, Activities show that the event has lasted for a certain period:

(2) Mary *ran* for two hours.

(3) Lisa *walked* from 5 to 7 / until 7.

Activities are compatible with the semelfactive adverbials (4):

(4) Matthew *was running* at 3 o'clock.

Example (4) anchors the event at the moment specified by the semelfactive adverbial: it is implicit that this event lasted not only during the specific moment but *also* during it, since the Activities are durative.

Activities, being durative, are compatible with the phasal verb *to stop* (5):

(5) Jim stopped laughing.

Since the phasal verb *to finish* needs a dynamic, durative and telic complement, Activities cannot be complements of this phasal verb, showing the same behaviour as the States (6):

(6) ?Jim finished laughing.

*To finish* can have an Activity complement only when the Activity gains the end-point contextually (7) (Rothstein 2003: 27–28).

(7) Jim finished reading the book.

The semantic contrast between an atelic event and a telic one is often expressed by employing either a non-definite or a definite complement (cf. Haverling 2010: 303-304). Homeric and Classical Greek use the partitive genitive for the atelic events and the accusative, which triggers telicity (e.g. “eat of something” vs “eat something”). Also, for the semantic reinforcement of completeness, the article is often found in Classical Attic (see Schwyzer (1959, 2: 103); on Homeric Greek, cf. also Napoli (2006: 112–113)).

However, Early and Classical Latin do not consider the complement's definiteness to express the contrasts in telicity. Instead, the presence of a verbal prefix often triggers telicity (cf. e.g., *uinum bibo* ‘I drink wine (of the wine)’ and *acetum ebibo* ‘I drink up the vinegar (consume all of it)’). On the other hand, in Romance languages, the opposition between atelic and telic events is often conveyed by partitive expressions and by expressions with articles (cf. e.g., *je bois du vin* and *je bois le vin*).

#### 1.2.1.4 ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The Accomplishments are dynamic, telic and durative. They express the events leading to a definite change of state. The presence of a direct object that telicizes these events by providing the goal (hence, the result of the event). Dowty (1979: 168–170) distinguishes between “definite” changes of state (typical for telic verbs) and “indefinite” changes of state (typical for atelic verbs).

Sometimes, Accomplishments can be detelicized, and in that case, they shift actional category; this behaviour is triggered by the context (for example, found with certain adverbials or imperfective tenses, as well as when the object changes).

Accomplishments are compatible with the completive adverbials (1), but typically not with a durative adverbial such as “for two minutes” (2):

(1) John *washed his shirt* in two minutes.

(2) \*John *painted the portrait* for two minutes.

However, in some cases, the adverbials of *For X* type are compatible with Accomplishments. For Accomplishments to be compatible with this construction, their telic character needs to be cancelled: in rare possible readings of the example as (2), ‘to paint a portrait’ could assume the atelic reading – hence, the end-point conveyed by the completeness of the expression itself could be annulled by the adverbial *for X*. The same stands for the modalities of compatibility with the adverbials of simple duration as *from t<sub>x</sub> to t<sub>y</sub>* or *until t<sub>y</sub>* (3).

(3) John *washed his car* from 5 to 7 / until 7.

It is unclear from sentence (3) whether the event reached its natural conclusion (the successful, complete washing of the car).

Accomplishments are compatible with the semelfactive adverbials (4).

(4) John *painted the portrait* at 3 o’clock.

In (4), being *to paint the portrait* is telic; the focus is set on the end-point of the situation unfolding even before it.

Accomplishments are compatible with the phasal verb *to stop*. When an Accomplishment occurs with *to stop*, it is implicit that the event was interrupted and that the end-point was not reached (5).

(5) Jim stopped washing the car.

Only Accomplishments occur with *to finish* (6) since this verb needs a dynamic, durative and telic complement:

(6) Jim finished washing the car.

### 1.2.1.5 ACHIEVEMENTS

By conveying a definite change of state, Achievements put the performer in a different condition than before the event took place (one is not mad, then becomes mad).

Achievements are compatible with the completive adverbials (1):

(1) John *left* in two minutes.

It may be noted that Achievements, prototypically non-durative events, are compatible with an adverbial indicating a specific duration. The reason for this contradictory fact is that, despite the non-durative nature of the event, the adverbial can be used to refer to the period that precedes the Achievement itself. In (1), the focus is on the very moment of the change of state, with additional reference to the period leading up to the change. As such, the length of the phase preliminary to this moment has no importance for the nature of the event. The only specific point in time relevant for these events is the moment of culmination (or change of state): this is why Achievements should be considered non-durative, in contrast to Accomplishments (2):

(2) John *washed his shirt* in two minutes.

Achievements, expressing non-durative events, are incompatible with the expressions of simple duration (3).

(3) \*That night, John *woke up* for two hours.

(4) \*John *fell asleep* from 5 to 7 / until 7.<sup>12</sup>

Example (3) would have a possible reading if the adverbial focused on the period *after* the change of state and not on the precise moment during which the event happened. Indeed, if we continue the sentence *That night, John woke up for two hours and sat in the kitchen*, during the time interval referred to using the adverbial “for X [time]”, the process, triggered at the moment when the state changed, continues to be active (Bertinetto 1986: 282).

Achievements are compatible with the expressions of semelfactivity (5).

(5) He *arrived* at 3 o'clock.

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<sup>12</sup> I will not deal here with the case of *reversible Achievements* (see Rossetti 1979/80) or *continuative Achievements*, ‘trasformativi continuativi’ (Bertinetto 1986: 291), events that signal temporary but lasting change of state (eg. *disappear, faint, turn off*). This phenomenon will be dealt with in the chapters on Latin and Serbo-Croatian structure.

In (5), the adverbial overlaps with the entire unfolding of the events, which are, indeed, momentaneous.

The semelfactive adverbs like *suddenly/quickly* are compatible with the Achievements (6).

(6) Suddenly, Peter *arrived* from Rome.

Non-durative situations as the Achievements (7, 8) do not show compatibility with either *to stop* or *finish*, since they have an inherent internal boundary and cannot be interrupted or finished.

(7) \*Jim stopped surrendering.

(8) \*Jim finished surrendering.

### 1.2.1.6 SEMELFACTIVES

Semelfactive predicates convey “irreversible situations” (Rothstein 2004: 1–2). In contrast to Achievements, they do not imply any change of state: hence, they do not imply any resulting state or, consequently, any preparatory process leading to the resulting state.

Since Semelfactives are atelic, they are incompatible with the completive adverbials (1):

(1) \*Mary *noticed the cat* in two hours.

The expressions of simple duration are incompatible with Semelfactives as well since this actional category expresses the events that occur and end suddenly (2 and 3):

(2) \*The car *exploded* for two minutes.<sup>13</sup>

(3) \*The car *exploded* from 5 to 7 / until 7.

Naturally, Semelfactives are compatible with the semelfactive adverbials (4).

(4) The car *exploded* at 3 o’clock.

In (4), the adverbial overlaps with the entire unfolding of the events, which are, indeed, momentaneous. Semelfactives share this property with Achievements.

The adverbs like *suddenly/quickly* are compatible with Semelfactive predicates (5):

(5) Suddenly, the car exploded.

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<sup>13</sup> Semelfactives like *to knock* express iterativity in contexts with the adverbials of duration as *For X time*.

Non-durative situations, as Achievements (cf. previous paragraph) and Semelfactives ((6), (7)) do not show compatibility with either *to stop* nor *to finish*. They have an inherent internal boundary and hence cannot be interrupted or finished.

(6) \*The car stopped exploding.

(7) \*The car finished exploding.

Hence, *For X*, *from t<sub>x</sub> to t<sub>y</sub>* and *Until t<sub>x</sub>* are expressions of the simple duration. In the case of the former adverbial, the focus is set on the unfolding of the situation; in the case of the latter two, the boundaries are set within which the situation unfolded. States and Activities are compatible with the expressions of the simple duration.

*In X*, and *X ago* are completive expressions. These expressions convey that the situation must reach its inherent end-point within the given time frame. Hence, a certain period is necessary for the given situation to be performed. They are compatible only with telic predicates – Accomplishments and Achievements, whereas *X ago* is compatible also with Semelfactives. We expect *in X* adverbials to be incompatible with States, Activities and with Semelfactives: not only are the latter predicates atelic, but they do not presuppose any “preparatory process”.

### 1.2.2 Tense

Comrie (1986) defined Tense as “the grammaticalization of location in time.” Hence, according to morphological and semantic criteria, it is a formal grammatical category.

The notions of Tense and time differ substantially: the first is a linguistic concept, while the second is a physical one. Time can be measured using instruments, while Tense is the complex system of temporal relations that can be expressed linguistically.

In all natural languages, a sentence provides information that allows people to locate situations in time. By expressing a message, we anchor it to a particular moment: this moment becomes crucial for the localization of the situation in time. This way, the sequence of the relevant situation can be understood, conceptually establishing moments “before,” “during,” and “after”: this sequence is called “the timeline.” The label “Tense” and all the names for the Tenses will be capitalized here to oppose the linguistic concept to the physical one.

There are two ways of linguistically expressing the passage of time: temporal adverbials<sup>14</sup> and Tenses.

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<sup>14</sup> It is important to know that temporal adverbials gave origin to the Tenses (Kiparsky 1968).

In many languages – e.g., in Indo-European languages – Tense forms of the verb locate events in the Past, Present or Future, with respect to the moment of speech, with more or less precision.<sup>15</sup> Tenses must be defined and precisely situated on the temporal axis, especially since the temporal reference they convey is often ambiguous (see Present Tense, also used in some languages for both past and future). However, it is always possible to locate temporal reference within some boundaries. Temporal information is inherent to every language, and it is intertwined with the pragmatic notion of chronological time.

Research about Tense generally studied separately from actional and aspectual notions, is of significant importance in the default reading of aspectual and/or actional verb features.

### 1.2.2.1 The structure of Tense

Tense is a product of interaction between temporal reference, on the one hand, and verbal aspect—the particular perspective that the speaker takes towards the events—on the other. Tense is the grammaticalization of various nuances in meaning based on multiple possible combinations of temporal reference and verbal aspect.

The temporal axis, or timeline, is usually intuitively represented as a straight line. Once they are set on the temporal axis, various moments in time locate the event in time and set the structure of a particular Tense. In his 1947 framework, Reichenbach presented a set of crucial instruments for the investigations on the semantics of Tense. He offers a semantic model for describing each verbal Tense. This model comprises three time-points, combinations of which result in different Tenses:

- 1) Speech point (S) is when the given tensed verb is uttered or written.
- 2) Event point (E) is when the event introduced by the verb occurs.
- 3) Reference point (R) is an abstract point from which events are viewed. Klein (1994) described R as “the time to which a claim is constrained.”

S always coincides with the moment when the message is produced. The moment of utterance is the default orientation point: this deictic principle is fundamental to a language; it is a spatiotemporal zero-point (Lyons 1977: 638). Hence, S is a *hic et nunc* of deixis.

(1) Plaut. *Mil.* 1409/10: [viduam hercle esse censui,] / itaque ancilla *conciliatrix* quae *erat* (E1) *dicebat* (E2) mihi.

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<sup>15</sup> Many languages, as Chinese, do not express temporal relations through Tenses.

‘I supposed that she was a widow; and so her maid, who *was her go-between* (E1), *was telling* (E2) me.’

*Dicebat* is the point in time when the event happened, and it anchors the event on the temporal axis. The localization of *conciliatrix erat* on the temporal axis depends on *dicebat*. Since  $E2 \ni E1$ , the situation can be presented in the following way:

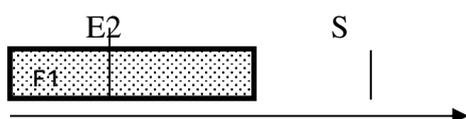


Figure 1. A Reichenbachian representation of the situations in *Plaut. Mil.* 1410

An examination of example (1) shows that the only elements needed to temporally localize the events are E and S. R is necessary only if a Tense expresses specific indications (Bertinetto 1986: 39). Reichenbach (1947) claimed that any temporal adverbial signals R for the phrase. For further discussion on this topic and the definition of Localization in Time, see Bertinetto (1986: 40–47; 55–74).

Temporal Distance indicates a distance from one of the poles of the imaginary temporal axis, E, and the opposite pole, S.

## 1.2.2.2 Grammatical Tenses

### 1.2.2.2.1 The Present

Present Tense is a grammatical tense whose principal function is to locate a situation in the current time (ex. 1 and 2; cf. Comrie 1985: 36–40). The Present Tense may have a variety of uses, not all of which refer to the present time. Some Present Tense forms refer to the situation that will occur in the future (ex. 5 and 6), while some refer to those located in the past (ex. 7–11).

Sometimes, this tense refers to situations that last much longer than the present moment and include the present moment within the period they cover. It is the case for the situations that hold at the present moment, which may continue after it, as (1). Nonetheless, as in English, some languages can grammatically specify the present moment within a more extensive period covered by the Present tense (2).

(1) *The River Tiber runs through the city of Rome.*

(2) *The father is washing the dishes.*

There are, on the other hand, some languages, as Serbo-Croatian and Latin, that do not possess a progressive, yet handle with this specification through knowledge of the world in which washing the dishes lasts more than for a moment such as Serbo-Croatian (3) and Latin (4).

(3) Serbo-Croatian: *Otac pere sudove*. ‘Father is washing the dishes’

(4) Latin: Ter. *Eun.* 326: *Quid factumst?* CH: *Rogas?* ‘What happened?’ CH: ‘You’re asking?’.

### Reference to the Future

The future reference of the Present Tense is, in most cases, triggered explicitly by the future-reference adverbial (5):<sup>16</sup>

(5) I am taking an exam *tomorrow*.

This prospective function of the Present is entailed when we refer to the inherently imminent situations (6) and/or situations that are doubtlessly about to happen in the future (5).

(6) Fire! The car is exploding!

In (6), the explosion has not yet occurred; due to the speaker’s knowledge of the world, the unfortunate event is imminently about to occur. In (5), the event might happen in the different temporal distances in respect to the Speech Moment (see the substitution of *tomorrow* with *next year*): what determines the possibility of using the *praesens pro futuro* is the personal conviction of the speaker in the ineluctability of the situation.

In both cases the use of the Present is strongly marked by the experiential component.

### Reference to the Past

Historical Present, also called *praesens pro praeterito*, is the Present tense used with reference to the Past. This Tense is used in several common situations, and it is highly stylistically marked and usually has a strong experiential component.

It is usually defined as a tense used instead of the Perfect for obtaining more vivid (Declerck 2006), eye-witness-like, or dramatic style in narration (7). This definition is frequently offered to us by the grammars of Classical languages (cf. Ernout & Thomas 1953: 221).

(7) He took me by the wrist and held me hard;

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<sup>16</sup> See also next paragraph, example (1) for the future time reference within the subordinate sentence.

Then *goes* he to the length of all his arm;  
And, with his other hand thus o'er his brow,  
He *falls* to such perusal of my face  
As he would draw it. (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 1.1)

Leech (1971: 7) states that the substitution of the (Present) Perfect and Present Tense is motivated by a shift in perspective: “the verbal meaning has been transferred from the initiating end to the receiving end of the message. The communication is still in force for those who have received it, and so the Present Tense is allowed.”

The historical present is characteristic of some types of text or speech. For example, in telling anecdotes, its function is to “increase the suspense and the immediacy of the joke-telling” (Chovanec 1984: 132) (8).

(8) And so he *parks* the car, *steps out* and *faints*.

The more particular type of this use of the Present is a so-called *praesens tabulare*, also used for the inscriptions and for the synthetic and solemn way of announcing the situations. *Praesens tabulare* is what we can nowadays find in the headlines; its label is also ‘Hot news’. This present, however, does not convey the solemnity of the events: it only has to make them “flash” in front of readers’ eyes, whereas the reference to the past is implicit (9), (10).

(9) Berkeley Protesters *Block* Freeway Over Killings (NYT, 9 Dec. 2014).

(10) Un anaconda lo *inghiotte*, ma il test estremo *fallisce* (La Stampa, 9 Dec. 2014).

The historical present is also found in the narration of the sequences of the past events (8). Usually, the anchorage to the past is explicit (e.g., time adverbials) or when the first event in the row is located in the Past tense and the subsequent set of the events in the Present. When past anchorage of the sentence is implicit, it refers to the Tense of the surrounding context.

The verbs of communication are particularly suitable for past evidential use (11). These verbs report the comments of the social actors as well as the relevant situations.

(11) Your mother *tells* me you’re off to Paris tomorrow. (From Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 131)

#### 1.2.2.2.2 The Perfect

The primary function of the Perfect tense cross-linguistically is said to be that of indicating the present relevance of a past situation (Comrie 1976: 52–53). The Perfect, as opposed to a general

Past tense, conveys the idea of Current relevance (see Bybee et al. 1994: 63–68, Dahl & Hedin 2000: 391).

The Proto-Indo-European Perfect has a synthetic formation. The attested confirmation of this seems to be Ancient Greek and Old Indic perfects. A copula-based perfect is the “*sum* Perfect” in the passive voice. The “*habeo* Perfect” is a typically possessive construction, very common in European languages.<sup>17</sup>

The Perfects prototypically convey two related, yet distinct meanings: the relevance of a past situation from the reference point, i.e., the so-called *current* or *present relevance*, and detachment from other facts, the non-narrativity (Lindstedt 2001: 774, Comrie 1976: 52–65, Dahl 1985: 129–153). Moreover, Perfects can express the universal perfective past situation and the recent past.

The perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a situation, and we can discern several functions, which, however, are not always characterised by the perfect in all languages (cf. e.g. Comrie (1976: 55–60), Johanson (2000: 106, 110, 112, 118, 120), Dahl & Hedin (2000: 390 ff.), Lindstedt (2000: 368, 369 ff.), Squartini & Bertinetto (2000, p. 404 ff.), Tommola (2000: 462, 467 ff.):

- 1) 1) “Current relevance” (as opposed to past tense)
- 2) “Experientiality”
- 3) “Resultativity”
- 4) “Anterior continuing” (or Perfect of the persistent situation)
- 5) “Perfect of recent past.”

Only the Perfect with Current Relevance indicates the relation of the situation to the reference moment. The other types of this Tense have functions of indicating anteriority. However, as Moser (2003: 235) notices, the common feature of all the uses is current relevance.

The Perfect developed in three directions (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 73–74):

- (1) with the involvement of the development of *evidential* function,
- (2) with involvement of the development into a *past* or *perfective* marker and
- (3) with involvement of the use of the Perfect to indicate *remoteness*.

### Current relevance

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<sup>17</sup> Transitive verbs with the auxiliary ‘*habeo*’ are rare outside of European languages (Lindstedt 2000: 776). On Latin transitive construction with *habeo*, cf. e.g. Drinka (2007) and Haverling (2016)

Current relevance indicates a special relationship between two situations that are located at different time intervals. The perfect indicating the Current relevance involves an experiential component. It describes a type of event that took place one or several times over an interval of time, typically one that extends up to the moment of speech (or whatever serves as the reference point). In (a), the event has particular relevance to the current moment (therefore, in fact, this Tense is a *Present Perfect*, whereas (b) lacks this relevance (Simple *Past Tense*).

(a) Mary has arrived.

(b) Mary arrived.

### Resultativity

When a situation exists as a result of some past action, we call it resultative. It is found with the verbs with “material bound” in Lindstedt (2000: 368), hence when inherently telic verbs reach their natural end-points. A resultative situation conveys the present state of affairs (cf. ‘He has gone to Rome’, expressing the current relevance and ‘He is gone’ as a result). By the comparison of the semantic field of an (ontologically) telic event as *to die* with an example of the Perfect indicating current relevance in (c) and in (d) its irreversible resultative state, we can draw the following conclusion. Given that Mary is dead, by all means, it will be true that Mary has died. Equally, if Mary is not dead, it will be true that Mary has not died. In other words, the expression of the resultative event includes the expression of the current relevance:

(c) Mary has died.

(d) Mary is dead.

There are several criteria for distinguishing the resultative from the perfects (see Dahl 1985: 133–135, Bybee *et al.* 1994: 63–69). The most important property of the resultatives is that only these situations can combine with the adverbials of unlimited ration, as *still* (f), whereas expressions indicating current relevance cannot (e):

(e) \*Mary has still died.

(f) Mary is still dead.

### Experiential Perfect

In Comrie's terms (1976: 58–59), “the experiential perfect indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present.”

There is often an apparent overlapping between the resultative and the experiential perfect due to the impossibility of many Indo-European languages to express overtly morphologically the difference between the two. Comrie (1976: 58–59) mentions the examples (g) and (h):

(g) Bill has gone to America.

(h) Bill has been to America.

In (g), the implication is that Bill is now in America or that he is on his way to America, and hence the sentence expresses the result of the previous action of *going to*. In (h), the result is not implicit, but the situation is true at least on one occasion up to the present. Thus, the experiential perfect includes current relevance.

### Perfect of the Recent Past

Comrie (1976: 60) claims that this Perfect is used when the current relevance of the past situation referred to is simply one of temporal closeness. This “temporal closeness”, or recentness, varies in its degree among the languages. The most famous attempt to establish a temporal limit in the past within which the Present tense is allowed is that of Lancelot and Arnauld (1660) for the Romance languages. The so-called rule of “twenty-four hours” states that the Perfect Tense can be used for all the situations located in past that held for not more than 24 hours before the present moment.

There has been an overall tendency to confound the Perfect with the general Past tense (cf. Comrie (1976: 61) and Abraham & Conradie (2001)). In many Indo-European languages, the Perfect Tense does not have perfect meaning, and it is used as the general past tense. Since the Perfect Tense includes both the past and the present, every language can set the limit between the past and the present within their forms of Perfect tense. The past tense's synthetic (or Simple past) forms have been supplanted by the compound forms of the past tense in many languages (see Romance and Slavic).

### 1.2.2.2.3 Synthetic preterites

A general scheme is adopted for the Indo-European non-future Tense categories (see Comrie 1976: 71). The usual “tripartite system” (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 83), with the omission of the Perfect Tense, is the following:

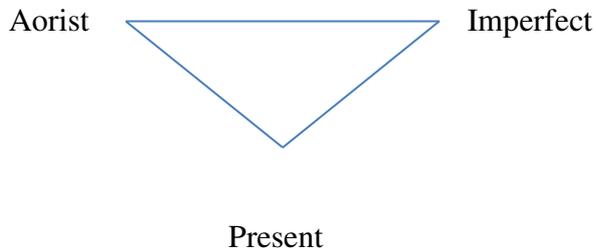


Figure 2: Tripartite system of the non-future Tenses

This system is tripartite because the Aorist, as the only prototypically perfective Past tense, opposes itself to the prototypically imperfective past and non-past tenses.

An overview of the Indo-European languages gives us the following picture: usually, the Present and the Imperfect are grouped since they are formed from the same present stem. For example, this is the case of Greek, Latin and Romance languages. Therefore, Dahl (1985: 82) suggests the following scheme, based on the prototypical aspectual values of the past, present and imperfect Tenses:

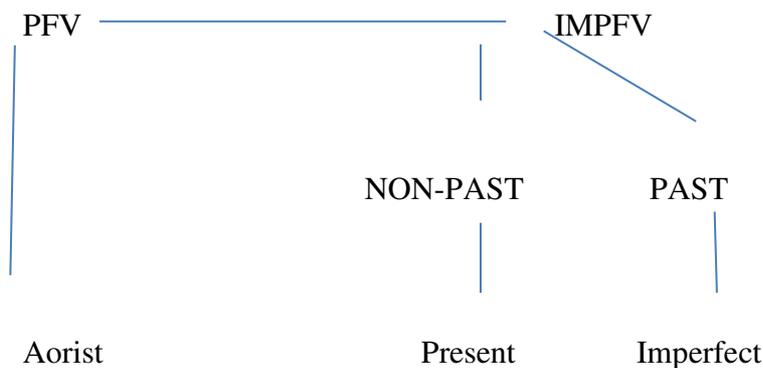


Figure 3: Bybee & Dahl's (1989) proposal on the tripartite Tense scheme

This proposal suggests that the Aorist and Imperfect are under no condition classified within the same group labelled “Past”. The Aorist is “simply perfective”, and its property of having the past time reference in most cases “is in accordance with the general tendencies for that category” (ibid.). However, the Aorist does not always show the past time reference.

As the authors themselves claim, figure 3 does not apply to Ancient Greek. I propose to add to this exception the Slavic languages, in which we still encounter the use of the Imperfect and the

Aorist as *preterites*, as, for instance, in Serbo-Croatian. In Greek, however, there is a common marker for both the Aorist and the Imperfect: the augment consistently marks the past reference. In Serbo-Croatian, the Imperfect and the Aorist share the same stem (also called “aorist stem”).

The manifestation of the past of the Greek Aorist applies to both telic and atelic situations. It is also true in Bulgarian that keeps this bi-aspectual property of both the Imperfect and the Aorist. However, Serbo-Croatian restricted the use of the Aorist to the telic and the use of the Imperfect to the atelic situations. We will discuss this further in § 3.2. In Latin, the Aorist merged with the Perfect, which we will discuss in § 2.2.2.; the Latin Imperfect, a new creation in Latin, will be addressed in § 2.2.3.

Bybee & Dahl (1989: 74) argue that the existence of the Imperfective past is the condition that decides whether the Perfect Tense will develop the perfective or the past marker. However, Thieroff (2000: 282) questions the universality of this claim. He points out that in Indo-European languages with the Imperfect: Aorist opposition, both developments occur. Bybee & Dahl’s example of French is undoubtedly true for what concerns the development of the Perfect tense into the Aorist. Thieroff (*ibid.*) claims that, on the other hand, in Slavic languages and Romanian, the Perfect also develops into the Imperfect tense. I would reconsider these claims by inverting the direction of the Tense development. For it is true that some Slavic languages still make use of the Perfect, the Aorist and the Imperfect Tenses; yet, in the process of gradual loss of synthetic preterites, it is the Aorist that develops into the “perfective” Perfect tense (hence, the Perfect of telic verbs). The Imperfect develops into the “imperfective” Perfect tense (thus, the Perfect of atelic verbs).

#### **1.2.2.2.4 The Pluperfect**

For the Pluperfect and Future Perfect (§1.2.2.2.6), I adopt Comrie’s non-traditional terminology in labelling these Tenses as absolute-relative (1985: 64–82). The absolute time reference locates a situation at, before or after the *present moment*. The relative time reference locates a situation before or after a *reference point*, usually given by the context. The absolute-relative Tenses share the properties of the Tenses with the absolute and with the relative time reference. Comrie disagrees with Reichenbach (1947) in claiming that the overlapping between the reference point and the present moment results in the absolute time reference; in Comrie’s opinion, also the situation located at a reference point in the past or future will result in being located in the absolute time reference (Comrie 1981).

The pluperfect expresses situations at a time point before some other time point in the past. The reference point of the Pluperfect is set in the past, while the situation is located before that reference point. It is usually obtained employing a temporal adverbial as in (a) and by another clause as in (b):

- (a) Mary *had left* the office by three o'clock last Monday.
- (b) When Mary *had left*, her colleagues had lunch.

The reference point in (a) is set by the adverbial *by three o'clock on last Monday*, while the event of Mary's leaving the office is set before that point. The reference point in (b) is the main clause, while the subordinate clause is in the Pluperfect.

However, the adverbials of time do not necessarily represent a reference point: they can also anchor the event to a specific time. The statement as *Mary had already left the office at three o'clock* can have two interpretations. One is that the reference point is precisely at three o'clock and that Mary had left before it. Another is that three o'clock is the specific moment when Mary left. In this interpretation, a reference point must be found in the broader context: (see *The important e-mail arrived at five o'clock, but Mary had already left the office at three o'clock*).

Many Indo-European languages possess the Pluperfect in their Tense system. However, in some languages as Russian, this Tense does not exist. It uses the word order in the sequence of the verbs and the adverbials as *uže* 'already' to express the time reference. Some languages possessing Pluperfect in their structure do not necessarily use it to locate the situation before some reference point; instead, they use it to locate the situation in the remote past. Comrie (1985: 68) explains this fact by the speakers' impression of the generic remoteness of the event since the reference point is located *before* some other past situation. However, the temporal reference point is not necessarily remote (see, *I have just turned around: he had fallen a second before*).

#### 1.2.2.2.5 The Simple Future

The Simple Future locates a situation after the present moment (Comrie 1985: 43).

There has been a substantial discussion about the location of the future on a time axis. It seems symmetrical to the past, usually presented on the left side, whereas the future is on the right side; the central point is the present moment. However, what happened in the past is not subject to change, while the future is less definite since it is subject to possible voluntary or involuntary interventions. Thus, with the particular insight to the Romance languages and Latin, Baldi (2002: 398) and Weiss (2009: 414–415) present the interaction between present and past on the one hand and the future time reference and *mood* on the other hand. Indeed, the pertinence of the future time reference to the tense or the mood is the matter of the empirical analysis with respect to the specific languages (Comrie 1985: 44).

In many Indo-European languages, the Future tense yields a precise prediction about some situation that will hold after the present moment (a); at the same time, it does not convey any expression of modality (b):

(a) Next year, I will become a mother.

(b) Next year, I might become a mother.

While statement (a) expresses the specific situation that will hold in the (specified) future, statement (b) expresses only a mere possibility of its realization.

Comrie (1985: 43) claims there be another reason for the asymmetry in the conceptualization of past and future. Most Indo-European languages make a clear-cut grammatical distinction between past and non-past, whereas the distinction between future and non-future is more blurred (c):

(c) Next year, I am becoming a mother.

Statement (c) shows the Present tense used with the future reference. In some languages that allow the *praesens pro futuro* (as Finnish), the Future tense is chosen only when there is a danger of misunderstanding the present time reference.

However, many Indo-European languages show historical evidence of modality within the Future tense. For example, the English auxiliary *will* is used not only for the expressions of the future. It has several modal uses which do not future time reference (Leech 1971: 77–78), as the expressions of volition and desiderativity. Latin *amabo* ‘I will love’ can be traced back to analytic *\*ama-bhwō*, with a form of the verb ‘be’ as auxiliary; also, Latin *dicam* shows traces of the earlier subjunctive (Baldi 2002: 398).

However, many languages do not use the same grammatical form to express present and future references. In these languages, as Dyirbal<sup>18</sup> and Burmese, the strict choice between the forms for the Future or Present is due to modal reasons. Namely, these languages have a primary distinction between *realis* and *irrealis*; the former is contained within the situations in past or present, and the latter – within the future (and hence, hypothetical) situations.

#### 1.2.2.2.6 The Future Perfect

As the Pluperfect (§1.2.2.2.4), the Future Perfect is an absolute-relative tense. The reference point of the situation expressed by Future Perfect is in the future, while the situation itself is located

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<sup>18</sup> Australian Aboriginal language, belonging to the family of Pama-Nyungan languages; it is spoken by about 29 speakers.

temporally before that reference point/ The Tense itself implies that there is some reference point; nevertheless, the reference point is to be deduced from a context.

This reference point could be expressed by the time adverbial ((a) – *by the end of this year*) or by the broader context, as a sequence of clauses (b).

(a) *I will have left* my job by the end of this year.

(b) When you arrive, *I will already have left* the house.

In the same manner as with the Pluperfect, contrarily to Reichenbach's (1947) claims, the adverbial of time can anchor the situation to the specific time instead of expressing a reference point. The example *Sue will have finished at five o'clock* can receive a twofold interpretation. In the first case, the adverbial anchors the situation of Sue's finishing precisely at five o'clock. In contrast, in the second case, the adverbial is the reference point in the future, before which Sue's finishing is located.

While with the Pluperfect, it is possible to deduce that the reference point is in the past, the time reference for the Future Perfect is not absolute. The Future perfect combines with a time adverbial of a future reference, indicating the situation's time rather than the reference point. This Tense is certainly modally nuanced since this formation was initially related to a subjunctive of the s-aorist (Greenough, Kittredge, Howard and D'Ooge (1903, §169); see also Baldi (2002: 399) and Weiss (2009: 379, 397–398)).

### 1.2.2.3 Classification of temporal adverbials

It is essential to establish a taxonomy of adverbials that locate events in time to develop the possible combinations of some particular adverbials and the specific Tenses.

According to Bertinetto (1986: 30), there are two fundamental criteria for the classification of temporal adverbials:<sup>19</sup>

1) (a) deixis, (b) anaphora, (c) calendar

2) (a) durativity, (b) semelfactivity, (c) frequentativity

Deictic adverbials (1a) are implicitly anchored to the *hic et nunc* of the S (*now, at this moment, two days ago, next month, soon, in an hour, tomorrow, then, etc.*). These adverbials maintain the same interpretation in any context, inseparable from S. Some deictic adverbials include the S within the

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<sup>19</sup> Setting aside the obvious question of localization in time as past, present, or future.

interval of time they refer to (see *today, now, this year*). In contrast, the rest exclude S from that interval.

Deictic adverbials can also be used in the anaphoric sense (1b): *afterwards, later, before, soon*. The same anaphoric adverbial can be anchored in the past and the future: see the examples of the adverbial *the following day* in combination with *last Sunday* or *next Sunday*.

Calendric adverbials (1c) convey localization in time using conventions for the measurement of time. They include adverbials such as *on August 3, at 7 o'clock, during the Christmas holidays*, and so on. The whole category can be divided into two sub-groups:

- i) Absolute interpretation – typically, dates and times of the day
- ii) Flexible (cyclic) interpretation – they depend on some other localization in time in the context, similarly to the deictic adverbials (ex. *in June* or *on Sunday* can be interpreted in the future with *of the year 2030* or in the past with *of the year 1914*). If the adverbials' localization in time is represented by *last* or *next*, the whole adverbial switches category and becomes deictic (*next week, last Monday*).

Category (2) will be explained in more detail in chapters 2 and 3, dedicated to Latin and Serbo-Croatian, respectively. Durativity and semelfactivity are two opposed categories of the verbs: the former is perceived as labelling situations that last in time, while the latter labels the situations perceived as instantaneous, lacking an internal structure (cf. § 1.2.1 above). Languages differ in their lexical semantics, and it would be premature to establish even a tentative classification based on the contrast between Latin and Serbo-Croatian.

### 1.2.3 Aspect

“Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” (Comrie 1976: 3).

The concept of Aspect has its origins in the Greek term *εἶδος, -εος, τό* ‘that which is seen: form, shape; kind, nature,’ used by ancient grammarians in the sense of ‘class derived from a major lexical category,’ and its Russian translation *vid*. We owe subsequent translation of this term in English to Reiff, who, in 1829, thus introduced this phenomenon into Western languages. For a long time, the linguists did not agree on the verbal aspect in all the languages. The discussion on Latin verbs starting around 1900 and continuing until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century reflects this situation. Since Agrell (1908) adopted this term, who wrote on Polish verbs, linguists have agreed about the existence of verbal Aspect within the structure of all the natural languages.

The aspectual properties of a specific event emerge if we examine the event from its internal structure and the modality of its performance. If we look at the same event from the point of view of its location in time and of the temporal relations it is part of, what emerges are its temporal properties. Hence, the Aspect deals with the temporal *structure* of the situation, while Tense deals with its temporal *location*. For example, we could focus on just a phase of the event, the lasting effects of its result or its habitual repetition in time, or the event in its totality.

Aspect, as well as Tense, is a category intrinsically related to time. However, the categories of Aspect and temporal reference must not be confused. Tense provides the localization in time and the placement of events on the temporal axis in tensed languages. In contrast, the Aspect offers information about viewing the situations or events (especially in the past). In tenseless languages, where temporal information is not expressed—obligatorily by the aspectual indicators or through adverbials—Aspect and Actionality provide keys to interpreting temporal location.<sup>20</sup>

Aspect brings out an event's specific semantic values, which are inherent to the Tenses, and depend on the point of view that the speaker adopts when referring to the event (Bertinetto 1986: 76–78).

(1) That night, John *was running* to the airport.

(2) That night, John *ran* to the airport.

Sentences (1) and (2) differ only in Aspect: Past Continuous and Simple Past. In (1), somebody could say that the event is observed while still going on. One could continue the sentence:

(1a) That night, John *was running* to the airport when he realized that he was late.

In (2), one can view the event in its totality. In both cases (1a) and (2), we focused on a particular moment included within it took for John to travel to the airport. In (1), the event was still ongoing at that moment, whereas the perspective implicit in (2) predicts a necessary conclusion of the event within a specific specified time. Hence, the event (1) is viewed from the point of view that is *internal* to or situated at some point through its performance, and the event in (2) is viewed from an *external* or *global* point of view. The internal point of view to the event indicated by the verb is labelled **Imperfective Aspect**, while the external point of view is labelled **Perfective Aspect**.

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<sup>20</sup> See the morphemes that convey the aspectual viewpoint in Mandarin (*-le*, *-guo*, *-zai* and *-zhe* (Smith 2001).

In the following aspectual classification,<sup>21</sup> I will adopt Bertinetto's (1986: 119) scheme here, representing it by a table.

ASPECT	Sub-categories	
<b>Imperfective</b>	Habitual	
	Progressive	
	Continuous	
<b>Perfective</b>	Perfect	
	Conclusive	Ingressive

Table 6. Bertinetto's aspectual classification

### 1.2.3.1 Imperfectivity

#### 1° Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect concerns the regular (habitual) repetition of a specific situation. It conveys the frequent repetition of a particular process with well-defined conditions (Bertinetto 1986: 140), as in:

- (a) During that period, *I went/would go* to work at 6 o'clock.
- (b) John usually *goes out* at sunset.

The repetition concerns the interval of time: hence, it is compatible with the adverbials like *every weekend, often, habitually* (c). When a definite number of times is indicated, the aspect is perfective (d). Still, when the precise number of times is turned into an expression of the indefinite frequency, the aspect is again imperfective (e):

- (c) Last year, it *rained* almost every weekend.
- (d) Yesterday, he *went* to the bar at least three times.
- (e) He went there three times every day.

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<sup>21</sup> This is an overall, generic classification. Further taxonomical considerations will be presented in the following chapters on Latin (2) and on Serbo-Croatian (3).

However, languages often make the distinction between the pluri-occasionality of different types of events. Some occasionally repeated events are part of the foreground, while some unfold as part of background situations. For example, Latin distinguishes between perfective overview and imperfective background description even in expressions indicating habituality: between *solitus est* ‘had a habit’ and *saepe fecit* ‘he did often’ on the one hand and *solebat* ‘was used to’ and *saepe faciebat* ‘he was often doing’ on the other (cf. Haverling (2010: 443 ff., 446, examples 302–304)).

In English, the periphrasis *used to* + Infinitive can detect the habitual aspect. It has some restrictions: it can be used only in the past tense (\*I *use to drink* a glass of wine every evening), and it can also be used with States (The car *used to be dirty* all the time during that period).<sup>22</sup>

It is only possible to use adverbials conveying frequency (*often, rarely, five times a day*) in phrases that imply habituality (*he often cried; he rarely cried; he cried five times a day*).

## 2° Progressive aspect

The progressive aspect is often confused with a more comprehensive group of imperfective aspects. This type of aspect conveys most fully the internal viewpoint of the Imperfective aspects. It shows the semelfactivity (a single occurrence) of the situation instead of the habitual aspect.

As English and Italian, some languages fully grammaticalize the progressive aspect with the progressive periphrasis (*to be/essere* + Gerund). Hence, they offer straightforward examples (e) and (f):

(e) John *was writing* a letter when Lin entered the room.

(f) Giovanni *stava scrivendo* una lettera quando Lin è entrata in camera.

However, even the languages without the morphological tool for evidencing the progressive aspect can express it differently. A language like Swedish, which usually does not express the imperfective aspect, is constrained to express it by a progressive periphrasis (e.g., *höll på att skriva* ‘he was writing’) instead of a Past Tense (*skrev* ‘he wrote’) in a case like (e) and (f).<sup>23</sup> Bertinetto, Ebert & De Groot (2000) propose the “progressive” questionnaire. It is composed of a set of sentences to be translated to establish whether the language has a specific form for expressing progressive and, if it does, whether it is possible to use this form in a set of particular cases. In this paragraph, I will refer to and discuss the results of their survey.

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<sup>22</sup> English has one further peculiarity regarding habitual periphrasis: it overtly combines with progressive periphrasis. (Comrie 1976: 30): “When I visited John, he *used to be reciting* his last poems.” See the next paragraph.

<sup>23</sup> Haverling, oral communication.

Blansitt (1975) proposes the following classification of features of the progressive. However, the results of Bertinetto, Ebert & De Groot's (2000) article show that European languages express progressive primarily by the complex verb phrases and, above all, with (i), (ii), and (iv) signals.

(a) Affixal progressive markers (found only in Turkish within the European languages);

(b) Complex verb phrases as the progressive signals:

(i) VPs with a copula as auxiliary — The subtypes of this formation are copula used with a gerund, copula with the infinitive or a related form such as supine, copula with a prepositional phrase containing a non-finite form of the verb, and copula used with the expressions as *to be busy*, *to be after*, *to be under way* and the like.

(ii) VPs with motion or postural verb as auxiliary — It is possible to use the motion verb as auxiliary; however, these constructions more often convey the future or ingressive meaning.

(iii) VPs with a pro-predicate (*do*-type) as auxiliary

(iv) VPs with a particular progressive auxiliary.

Swedish and Yiddish are the only European examples of the languages that use the specific verb *to hold* as the progressive auxiliary (Bertinetto, Ebert and de Groot 2000: 524).

In the languages of Europe, the progressive aspect is compatible with both durative (g) and non-durative (h) events, although the durative ones preferably express it:

(g) At this moment, John is sleeping.

(h) At this moment, John is sneezing.

In the case of durative events (g), the progressiveness is an inherent property of the event's unfolding. In the case of the non-durative events (h), the progressive aspect stretches the period during which the event unfolded repetitively or continuously.

Three main types of Progressive aspect may be distinguished in the languages of Europe:<sup>24</sup> *Focalized* (i), *Durative* (j), and the *Absentive* (k). The *focalized* event is viewed happening at a single moment we focus on within the overall unfolding of the situation. Bertinetto (ibid.: 527 ff.) calls this moment “focalization point.” It can be either overtly expressed or deductible from the context.

(i) When mother entered the room, John was sleeping.

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<sup>24</sup> Distinction between Focalized and Durative progressive aspect has also been pointed out in Blansitt (1975). The Absentive progressive aspect is found in at least eight European languages and hence is added to the group by Bertinetto, Ebert & De Groot (2000: 527).

The best strategy for individualizing the focalization point is the adverbials conveying the sudden change (*suddenly, all the sudden*).

The *durative* event is viewed as lasting for a broader period. However, in both Focalized and Durative progressive events, their actual duration is not specified. The eventual expressions of durativity will provide the information about the viewpoint from which the situation is observed, not the exact duration of the event:

(j) Yesterday, John was running a marathon.

These *absentive* progressive constructions yield the meaning of the event displaced from its deictic centre.

(k) John is not here. He is off running.

The adverbials *since X time* are compatible with the Progressive aspect (see Bertinetto 1986 and 1991):

(l) When his mother came in, he had already been watching TV for five hours.

### 3° Continuous aspect

The continuous aspect conveys the idea of the undetermined period covered by the situation (Comrie 1976: 33 and Bertinetto 1986: 170–171). Also, the lack of the focus point puts it into contrast with the prototypically progressive aspect.

(m) During the ballet, John was snoring.

The most efficient test for determining the Continuous aspect is combining the predicate with the phasal verb *to continue* or *to go on*:

(n) During the ballet, John continued to snore/went on snoring.

### **1.2.3.2 Perfectivity**

The perfective aspect is opposed to the imperfective aspect. The situation in the perfective aspect is represented as a whole, regardless of its internal temporal structure (i.e., the phases of the situation). Perfectivity has been described as a “totality” by Comrie (1976: 16) and “boundedness” (Dahl 1985: 74).

Following Bertinetto (1986 and 2001), the perfective aspect is divided into aoristic and perfect. These two subcategories imply the reaching of the end-point in telic predicates, yet with references to the different moments in time.

#### 1° Aoristic aspect

This subcategory of perfectivity yields a completed past action concerning the past. Aoristic aspect is typically conveyed by the simple past paradigm (o). In contrast, the Aorist aspect is expressed uniquely by the Aorist tense in the languages that still preserve the Aorist.

(o) At 7 o'clock, Mary left the office.

#### 2° Perfect aspect

This subcategory of perfectivity yields a completed past situation (Comrie 1976: 63). It contains current relevance as its main feature. This category is typically conveyed by the Perfect tense<sup>25</sup> (p).

(p) Mary has left the office by now.

### 1.2.3.3 Interactions between Aspect, Tense and Actionality

Aspect is not necessarily overtly manifested by specific morphological forms. This idea has emerged very slowly, after a long period during which the notion of Aspect was exclusively associated with languages that possess corresponding overt morphological oppositions. It is now evident that this category is universal and independent of any specific verbal system structure.

Ongoing uncertainties about the coherent, general definition of verbal Aspect owe much to the blurry definitions of Aspect and Actionality and the relations between these concepts. It is not uncommon to find that notions of Aspect and Actionality are not well delimited, and to some extent, even reciprocally contribute to each other's "fuzziness". Certain concepts, which are expressed by aspect in one language, may be defined by actionality in another.

It is of crucial importance to maintain a conceptual separation between the notions of Tense and Aspect, on the one hand, and between Aspect and Actionality, on the other hand. As I pointed out at the beginning of the section on Actionality, Aspect has morphological and semantic nature. It manifests itself through changes of Tense (e.g. (1) and (2)). Actionality, in contrast, is of a lexical and semantic nature.

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. above, p. 35 ff. in section 1.2.2.2.2.

However, there are many cases where the two interplay and overlap. In most Indo-European languages, Aspect is never manifested exclusively at the morphological level: it needs Tense, to which it is necessarily linked. In the same way, the Actionality of a verb can change depending on Tense and/or temporal adverbials used within the same clause.

#### *Interference between Aspect and Actionality*

In some languages, the aspectual morphology is weakened, and the functional focus is mainly shifted to the actional properties.

	Perfective	Imperfective
Telic	(1) +	(3) -
Atelic	(2) -	(4) +

Figure 4. Polarization of Actional and Aspectual classes

Hence, what is usually referred to in the traditional scholarship about the Slavic languages as to “perfective” and “imperfective” verbs, refers to telic and atelic actional components. In these languages, “perfective” : “imperfective” is the actional dichotomy overtly manifested at the lexematic level, with some aspectual connotations (see Bertinetto & Delfitto 1992, Bertinetto 1994). In Indo-European languages other than Slavic, the explicit lexematic oppositions are less developed; nonetheless, their verbal lexicon possesses the less overt actional categories. Bertinetto (1994: 128 ff.) argues that, although the devices differ, the “final products” are much more similar between them than it often has been assumed. In non-Slavic languages, the context specifies the actional properties of most verbs. Bertinetto (ibid. 126) gives an example of Italian *rompere* ‘to break’:

(1a) La casa *rompeva* la simmetria della piazza. (Imperfect)

‘The house *broke* the symmetry of the square.’

However, this verb can hardly recover its non-durative meaning in conjunction with an inanimate subject:

(1b) ?? La casa *ruppe* la simmetria della piazza. (Simple Preterite).

Slavic languages offer specific lexical choices in these two situations. Take the corresponding sentences in Serbo-Croatian:

(2a) *Kuća je prekidala simetriju trga.* (Perfect, durative)

(2b) *Kuća je prekinula simetriju trga.* (Perfect, non-durative).

(1a) and (1b) correspond as well as (2a) and (2b). Hence, in SC, the element that does convey the durativity (and, in this case, the telicity) is the lexical choice of the verb, not the Tense. The matter of interchangeability of Tense, more specifically between the Perfect tense in conjunction with the telic events and the Aorist, is the matter I will discuss in § 3.3.

### *Interplay between Aspect/Actionality and Tense*

In each language, the actional and aspectual setting creates an even more complex grid in combination with a set of the available temporal options. The aspectual distinctions are more observed within the domain of past Tenses (Comrie 1976<sup>26</sup> and Dahl 1985<sup>27</sup>). Lehmann (1974: 189–190) explains:

“In the course of syntactic change, a given feature may come to predominate, somewhat as a given phonological feature may change in sound. In late PIE, features of tense became predominant [...] The aspectual meanings thereupon were expressed lexically or by derivational processes. Forms in which the shift from a predominant aspectual to a tense meaning was not carried out to provide excellent evidence for the development. Thus, both PIE perfective aspect forms, the aorist and the perfect, were shifted to preterite tense forms as opposed to present-tense forms, which normally had their origin in imperfectives.”

One of the best-studied cases of the interplay in the domain of Tense and Aspect is the lack of semantic compatibility of the “perfective aspect” with the Present tense (see Comrie 1976, Bybee *et al.* 1994). Speaking of the “perfective aspect” (hence, in our view, referring in most of the cases to *telic* predicates), Malchukov (2008: 361–365) opposes the “bounded view of the situation” to the core meaning of the Present Tense.

By opposing the flectional languages, as Romance, in which values of Tense and Aspect are expressed “cumulatively”, and languages where these values are expressed “independently”, as Slavic, Malchukov (2008: 361–365) shows that the perfective Present is available in the Slavic group, but with either perfective or present interpretation. On the contrary, in Romance languages,

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<sup>26</sup> On pp. 71–72, Comrie gives an example of Romance languages, where the aspectual distinction between perfective and imperfective is restricted to the past.

<sup>27</sup> On p. 122, Dahl refers to a Carib language Hixkaryana, which lacks the future tense, and where the past is expressed with three degrees of remoteness: “the immediate past” – used for the events that happened in during the same day/the previous night, “the recent past, used for the events that happened on the previous day or any time prior to the period up to several months, and “the distant past”, used for the events that happened any time in the past.

this feature is available only with reference to the past time (Comrie 1976). In Comrie's terms (*ibid.*: 71–72), the aspectual qualification is less relevant for actions that have not occurred yet.

The more clear-cut example is offered by the tenseless languages, as Maltese Arabic or Lango. The latter is not inflected for tenses but is inflected for three aspects: perfective, progressive, and habitual (Noonan 1992: 136). The interpretation of the perfective aspect is analogous to the English past perfect, and hence this form never has reference to the present time.

### **1.3 The purpose of this work**

Here I will deal with Actionality, Tense and Aspect of both Latin and Serbo-Croatian. Specific importance will be given to Actionality, a feature often neglected in the research about both verbal systems. This decision imposes itself naturally after having studied recent works of scholars such as Bertinetto (in particular, 1986 and 2000), Haverling (in particular, 2000 and 2010), Pinkster (in particular, 1983 and 2015) and Kravar (1980). The notion of Actionality deals with the intrinsic meaning of verbal lexemes and consequently has an indispensable role in the semantics of Tense and Aspect.

I will also discuss matters of Tense and Aspect, leaving some space for modality when indispensably related to the other verbal features.

However, the purpose of this dissertation is to concentrate on the specific subcategories of Actionality, Tense and Aspect, which offer fertile grounds for the contrastive study between these two languages. Therefore, specific attention will be given to the modalities of the usage of the Past tenses, with the additional aim of presenting the updated results of the situation in current Serbo-Croatian: I will implement these data from Pušić (2013). Moreover, specific attention will be given to the semantics of the prefixes in contrast. I expect to find certain correspondences between the preverbal meanings and overlaps between the modalities of the prefixation. On the other hand, my goal is to find out the mismatches and try to establish the patterns and the singular facts about the prefixes.

#### **1.3.1 Terminology and methods**

Labels for the primary three concepts of our interest — Tense, Aspect and Actionality — will be capitalized, following Bertinetto (1986), as a way of highlighting them as purely technical concepts. Labels for each Tense will also be capitalized, following Comrie's (1976) suggestion, later adopted by Bertinetto (1986), to avoid the confusion between similar terms for temporal reference and

Tenses (e.g., “past” vs “Simple Past”). The aspectual markers “perfective” and “imperfective” will be written in double quotation marks when referring to Slavic languages' meaning traditionally assigned to them.

In the Indo-European languages, temporal reference is typically expressed by the verbal system. Verbs denote situations; nouns denote things. I agree with the generally accepted definition<sup>28</sup> of *situation* (Comrie 1976, Lyons 1977, Smith 1997) as a generic label that covers “states, events, processes and actions”.<sup>29</sup> Particular types of situations will be labelled as *actional classes*. In § 1.2.1, a taxonomic proposal for the set of actional classes is to be found.

The *corpus* used in this study belongs mainly to the pre-classical period, which scholars usually refer to as Early Latin (roughly 240–90 BC).<sup>30</sup> To collect sufficient examples in our striving to reach the sample of the spoken language in ideal terms, we chose to deal with theatrical pieces: Terence’s and Plautus’ comedies give us a good deal of samples needed for both lexical and syntactic verbal occurrences. Nevertheless, a given corpus-language period is sometimes impossible to respect when contrasting with a currently spoken language. Since it is not always possible to compare the features, we deal with due to evident morpho-syntactic divergences in two different languages, sometimes we will have to deal with the independent language samples. To supply for the inexistent lexical entries *per se* or in context-dependent constructions, we will rely on examples from the other periods of Latin literature. Serbo-Croatian samples will be taken from the literature, internet, and various current sources, taking advantage of the author’s native competence in this language. Translations into English are my own unless otherwise specified. The method of data collection used for the research about the Past in Serbo-Croatian was a questionnaire based on tempo-aspectual parameters set out in Östen Dahl’s *Tense and Aspect Systems* (1985).

The main problem about the contrastive approach between a currently spoken language and a corpus language is the matter of subjectively relevant features in the context. The presupposed native-speaker-like linguistic competence is naturally unavailable in corpus languages. Some tests that confirm or exclude specific morpho-syntactic behaviour in the given context, usually performed for the spoken languages, are not always possible for languages with a limited corpus. Moreover, when this corpus is restricted to occurrences from a certain period, the consequences of this problem become even more evident.

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<sup>28</sup> For a different approach, offered by functional grammar, where the term *situation* refers only to non-dynamic situations, see Dik 1997<sup>2</sup>, 1: 107–108. In that framework, it is included within the more comprehensive notion of a *state of affairs*, “used in the wide sense of ‘conception of something which can be the case in some world’” (ibid: 105).

<sup>29</sup> (Lyons 1977: 483): “There is, unfortunately, no satisfactory term that will cover states, on the one hand, and events, processes and actions, on the other. We will use the term *situation* for this purpose [...]”

<sup>30</sup> In datation of periods of Latin literature I refer to Löfstedt (1959) and Cuzzolin & Haverling (2009).

Latin examples are taken from the Brepolis Latin databases, and their translations into English are taken from Loeb's editions of Terence.

As shown later, definitions of Latin lexical entries will often be helpful but sometimes will lead us on the wrong track. Some word definitions will be proven untrue after close analysis, and hence the results leave the path open for further studies within the field of textual criticism.

### 1.3.2 Note about Serbo-Croatian translations

The only complete translation of Terence's comedies into Serbo-Croatian is from 1978. Until today, this translation by Vladeta Janković remains the only attainable translation. There has been another, more recent translation of *Phormio*, *The Self-tormentor* and *Andria* (B. Žganjer, 2008), published in Zagreb after the languages' formal division into Serbian Croatian (and Bosnian). This is the first reason why we will rely on Janković's translation. This choice has also been made to avoid various idiosyncratic phenomena provoked by the language of the different translators.

However, in my opinion, Janković's translation sometimes does present some liberties in the translation of the verbs, especially in the dialogues. I will carry out my translation in the occurrences I do not entirely agree with his translation. In these cases, Janković's translations have the abbreviations [VJ] next to them, while my translations are initialled [DP]. In the examples where there are no initials next to the Serbo-Croatian translation, I accept Janković's translation.

Regarding Plautus' comedies, the situation is more complex. Except for the Čajkanović's 1918 translation of *Menaechmi* and *Aulularia*, there are the contemporary translations into Serbo-Croatian of only four Plautus' works: *Pseudolus* (Nedeljković 1995), *Persa* (Milinković 2000), *Mercator* (Milinković 2004) and *Menaechmi* (Todorović 2009). My translation will follow each Latin occurrence for idiosyncrasy and the lack of 80% of the material translated.

## 2 Latin

### 2.1 The verbal system from Proto-Indo-European to Latin

Pre-classical or Early Latin is often supposed to embrace the period from 240 to ca. 90 BC. The evidence for the linguistic features standard for this period owes much to the inscriptions from the previous, archaic period (7<sup>th</sup> c.–ca. 240 BC).<sup>31</sup> Yet, the scarcity of epigraphic material dating from archaic and pre-classical Latin offers us a corpus with a limited range of examples.

The Latin verbal system differs from the Proto-Indo-European system. It preserved some of the previous features, while other features were lost: the dual from the numeral system, the optative from the system of moods, the middle from the voice system, and the distinction between past tense (aorist) perfect in the Tense system. The loss of the Aorist is undoubtedly not to be interpreted simply as the result of the reduction of the Tense system: its aspectual value was incorporated into the new system, which lost this Tense morphologically but not semantically. For example, the verb *pango* ‘to fix’ has three forms of Perfect attested in Classical Latin: *pepigi*, *pegi* and *panxi*; also, *parco* ‘to spare’ has two forms of Perfect – *peperci* and *parsi* (on this change see Meiser 2003: 97 and §171; also cf. Baldi (2002: 266–367) and Weiss (2009: 408–414). Pure aorist stem survived even in *feci* (*facio* ‘to do’), and especially in *-si* perfects, based on the Proto-Indo-European *s*-aorist (stems are (a) *-psi*: *scripsi* from *scribo* ‘to write’, (b) *-xi*: *dixi* from *dico* ‘to say’ and (c) *-ssi* and *-si*: *iussi* from *iubeo* ‘to command’ and *clausi* from *claudio* ‘to shut’ (see Haverling (2000: 9), Leumann (1977: §§ 391–392) and Baldi (2002: 366–367)). For the debate about the chronology of this and similar events, see Clackson & Horrocks (2007: § 5).

The Proto-Indo-European verb could express various features by particles that, in later stages of its development and in its daughter languages, often gave origin to the prefixes and the prepositions. In Latin and Slavic languages, these prepositions have developed into the preverbs that yield telicity, among other actional properties.

Latin has thus lost the opposition between the perfect and the aorist, but it has preserved the actional oppositions indicated by various suffixes, infixes, and prefixes. Actional features –telicity and atelicity – are incorporated within the perfective and imperfective aspects, expressed in turn by

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<sup>31</sup> Cuzzolin & Haverling 2009: 20.

the Perfect and Imperfect Tense. This image of the interplay between Actionality, Tense and Aspect shows exciting differences in contrast with the Serbo-Croatian verbal system (cf. §1.1.2.1).

Hence, the Early Latin prefixes, derived from the old Proto-Indo-European adverbial particles, usually encode the telicizing function. For instance, the prefixes *con-* and *ex-/e-* indicate completion (see *comedere* ‘to eat up’ and *ebibere* ‘to drink up’ in Ter. *Heaut.* 255).

Moreover, prefixes were expressing actional features other than completion, as ingressivity, egressivity and perdurativity. The Latin prefix's actional function is often related to the meaning conveyed by the corresponding preposition. Hence, the spatial component is a persistent feature of the prefixes, together with the actional one.<sup>32</sup> Naturally, this leads to a frequent overlap in the functions of the prefixes.

Latin generally needs a dynamic suffix or infix to create a verb indicating a change from a non-dynamic one. In this respect, Latin differs from Gothic, where no dynamic suffix is needed (cf. *taceo* / *conticesco* and *Þahan* / *gaÞahan* ‘be silent or not to speak’ / ‘stop talking’ discussed in Haverling (2000: 255) and (2010: 286).

The Latin verbal system is fully developed only in the indicative. In the subjunctive, it does not express Future by synthetic forms. However, many forms of the Simple Future in the indicative are old subjunctive forms, and the future perfect forms derive from old aorist subjunctive forms (cf. Haverling (2010: 394–395; 2013: 15–28); cf. also Binnick (1991: 12, 42, 467)). In the imperative, Latin has only forms for expressing future and present commands. Latin is also less rich in participles than Greek. Accordingly, having to supply the participles with subordinate clauses, Latin syntax is more complex than Greek.

Proto-Indo-European had a system of various affixes that later gave origin to Latin conjugations. These affixes encode multiple features, including dynamicity and causativity,<sup>33</sup> in the newly formed verbs. The verbal prefixes often have a telicizing function (Meillet 1897 calls it “perfectivising”, according to the theories which were not giving importance to Actionality as a distinct verbal feature). The affixes also convey a difference between stative and dynamic verbs: see the opposition between suffixes *-ē-* (*calēre* ‘be warm’) or *-ā-* (*cubāre* ‘be lying down’), used for the States and the suffix *-sco* (*calescere* ‘to warm up, be warming up’) and the nasal infix (*accumbere* ‘to lie down’), used for the activities and changes (Haverling 2010: 299). The suffix *-sco* frequently occurs in Latin

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<sup>32</sup> See Lehmann (1983).

<sup>33</sup> See the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation suffix *-ē-* in Latin, with various functions: (a) as dynamic verbs from roots in *\*-eHI-*, in *compleo* ‘fill up’, *neo* ‘spin’; (b) as statives formed from *\*-eHI-* and enlarged with thematic suffix *\*-ye/o-* in *habeo* ‘have’, *sedeo* ‘sit’; (c) as causatives formed from *\*-eye-* in *torreo* ‘make dry’ and *noceo* ‘injure’ or as a rare frequentatives in *mulgeo* ‘milk’ and *tondeo* ‘shave’ (for more examples, see Sihler 1995: §477).

verbs, and it has various semantic functions (see Haverling (2000: 138) and Haverling (2010: 284); cf. Keller (1992)).

In Early Latin, the actional system is still intact – the verbal affixes still had a clear-cut actional function. The usual bipartite system consisted of the unprefixated and atelic verb on the one hand, and the prefixated and telic on the other (*edo* ‘I eat’ and *comedo* ‘I eat up’). However, in Late Latin (from around 200 AD), the original opposition is often blurred and weakened (Haverling 2010: 331).

The Latin met with in official documents (e.g., inscriptions) shows a variety of morphological formations before the final language review performed during the last years of the Republic, which made a selection of certain preferred forms at the expense of others (cf. Meiser 1998, Poli 1999).

### 2.1.1 Previous studies on the Latin verbal system

The starting point for the research on the Latin Tense system is usually Varro’s taxonomy from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (*Ling.* 9, 96–101) introduced again into the discussion in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Meillet: 1897; 1952<sup>2</sup>; Meillet & Vendryes 1948, then reapplied by “the French school”: Guillaume 1929, Serbat 1976, Mellet 1988). It groups the verbs on account of their either *infectum* or *perfectum* stem.

The interest for the problems related to Latin aspect was initially raised in modern times in 1897 with an almost contemporary publication of Delbrück’s *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, as a chapter of the famous Brugmann’s and Delbrück’s *Grundriss* and of Meillet’s article *De l’expression de l’aoriste en latin* (1897). They have inspired Barbelenet (1913) and Meyer (1917), who pursued the research that considered the opposition between *simplex* and *compositum* as the principal aspectual opposition *imperfective* : *perfective*. This picture was being inspired by the Slavistic studies about Tense and Aspect. The analogy would have been the following one:

facere : **conficere** = činiti : **učiniti**

However, in 1908 Agrell introduced the notion of *Aktionsarten* in work on Polish. This overly comprehensive concept could not establish, neither conceptually nor typologically, a neat image of the intertwined yet separate notions of Tense, Aspect and Actionality.

The first critics of Barbelenet’s and Meyer’s approach are found in the works of Van der Heyde (1926) and Janáček (1936). The former author has questioned the standardized opinion about the aspectual character of the *simplex* : *compositum* opposition. The latter has proved the prevalence of

the unprefixing verbs in the Present tense and of the prefixed verbs in the Past tense. Janáček's conclusion was completed four decades later by Comrie (1976: 72):

“However, in some languages, we find other aspectual distinctions made in the past tense but not in other tenses, suggesting that it may well be a general characteristic of human languages to resort to greater aspectual differentiation in the past than in other tenses.”

Problems of Tense and Aspect in Latin verbal system have created extensive debates for the whole last century (for the overview of the evolution of this topic, see, e.g., Pinkster 1983, Mellet 1998, Haverling 2000). In many traditional handbooks and grammars, we can find the misleading elaboration of these concepts (see the bibliography in Rönkä 1997). The more recent results in theoretical linguistics have been applied to the evolution of the modern approach to Latin linguistics, particularly in the field of verbal morphology and semantics.

Some scholarly works are of considerable importance in dealing with the Latin verbal system with a focus on Actionality. In this dissertation, I will often refer to Pinkster (1983, 1995 and 2015) and Haverling (2010), who deal systematically with the interplay of Actionality, Aspect and Tense in Latin.

So far, there have been several studies about the affixes in Latin, but only a few dealt with their functions from the diachronic point of view. Haverling (2000) deals with the suffix *-sco* and with various prefixes from both a synchronic and a diachronic point of view: her *corpus* numbers over 700 verbs belonging to the time-span going from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to ca. AD 600. Lehmann (1983) deals mainly with the spatial functions of the prefixes concerning the corresponding prepositions.

Some of the works specifically focused on the Early Latin verbal system include Barone (1908) and Barbelenet (1902 and 1913), who still considered the prefixation as a means of “perfectivization”, Ricca (1993), discusses the deictic verbs and the difference in the actionality between the verbs like *eo* and *venio*. De Melo (2007) deals with the extra-paradigmatic verbs in Early Latin.

## **2.2 Tense and tense forms in Latin**

The Latin verbal stem is divided into two groups of stems, the *inflectum* and the *perfectum*. These formerly aspectual oppositions are interpreted as temporal (cf. Szantyr (1965, §178), Baldi 2002: 366–367, 377 ff, Haverling 2008: 82–83). The Latin Tense system is completely developed in the indicative:

	INFECTUM			PERFECTUM		
INDICATIVE	Present	Imperfect	Future	Perfect	Pluperfect	Future Perfect
Active	amo	amabam	amabo	amavi	amaveram	amavero
Passive	amor	amabar	amabor	amata sum	amata eram	amata ero

The main morphological residual of interest is the twofold perfect and aorist stem building the classical Latin Perfect tense. As previously mentioned, the Aorist became a part of the Latin Perfect, which presents a morphological mixture of the old Aorist (*scripsi* ‘I wrote’) and Perfect (*cucurri* ‘I ran’). The characteristic features of the Perfect tense are reduplication and suppletivism. At the same time, the Aorist is characterized by the sigmatic constructions and the suffix \*-s- (*scripsi* ‘I wrote’), or the root construction (*feci* ‘I did’), to mention some.<sup>34</sup> The coexistence of both stems in pre-classical Latin gave rise to a later uncertainty in the meaning of the Perfect. The stems were conflated, and, in early Latin, the past tense function of the aorist and the perfect tense function of the Proto-Indo-European perfect were no longer distinguished.<sup>35</sup> Even though the set of endings is single, the variety of stems within the Perfect reminds us of its origins. Some verbs show particularly striking reflexes of old roots and thematic aorists: this is the case of the verbs with such a present stem as *n-* infix presents (Sihler 1995: § 524).

The Latin Perfect Tense can be used as a past tense form (1) and as a Perfect indicating current relevance (2).

(1) Plaut. *Amph.* 514: Heri *uenisti* media nocte, nunc abis.

‘Yesterday, in the middle of the night, you came, and now you are going away.’

(2) Plaut. *Rud.* 358: Ea nunc *perierunt* omnia.

‘That has all gone to the bottom now.’

In Early Latin, especially in comedies, we find the *s*-futures, based on the construction of putative *s*-aorists (cf. the specific formations of *facio* ‘I do’, retained in the sigmatic future and subjunctive *faxo* ‘I will do’ and *faxim* ‘I would do’). Similar formations also exist in Greek. In Terence, in the

<sup>34</sup> Meillet (1933: 127 ff.), in connection with Armenian, Tocharian and Hittite data, rejects the hypothesis of the aoristic character of this feature; however, Kravar (1980: 48) gives the form of perfect *dixi* as the straightforward example of the aoristic origin.

<sup>35</sup> In Ancient Greek, the aorist is primarily a past tense in the Indicative Mood, although it has some non-past uses. In other moods and in nonfinite forms, this Tense conveys purely aspectual, not temporal semantic features. See also Andreas Willi (2018).

first and second conjugations, there are many verbs as *indicasso* and *prohibesso*. Some are called “desideratives” (cf. Meiser 1998 §121.8; Baldi 2002: 372, 398).

The twofold stem of the Perfect tense in Latin gave origins to problems in its interpretation. Meillet (1897) described the Latin Perfect as a “completed” present, hence as a Present Perfect, entailing current relevance. Serbat (1977) claimed that it is generally used as a past tense. The later research showed that both claims were correct, but the actual picture is more complex: the Latin Perfect has both functions (see Pinkster 1983: 287–288; Haverling 2010: 343–344, 353 ff.). This tense does not distinguish perfect from nonperfect meaning. *Necavi*, for example, means both ‘I killed’ and ‘I have killed’.

The forms that express the synthetic Future's third category enrich the standard Proto-Indo-European division between past and non-past. In some of its forms, this future derives from modal expressions (cf. Comrie: 45–48). The Latin Imperfect, as well, is a more recent formation, as opposed to the preterite formed by the merge of aorist and the perfective Perfect.<sup>36</sup>

There are two imperatives in Latin. In Early Latin, when the temporal sequence of the events was still systematically followed, there is a clear-cut temporal difference between the “Present” Imperative, (endings for Active *-e, -te*; Passive *-re, -mini*) and the “Future” Imperative, (endings for Active *-to, -tote*; Passive *-tor | mino(r)*). As shown in (3), the “Present” Imperative refers to the event commanded to happen immediately after the utterance (*accipe*). In contrast, the “Future” Imperative (*dato*) refers to the moment following the Present imperative.

(3) Plaut. *Pseud.* 647: tu epistulam hanc a me *accipe* atque illi *dato*:

‘receive his money, and pay it to him to whom he owes it’

In this paragraph, I group the material following the semantic functions in particular ways of using Tenses yet combining the functions of the Tenses in the verbal paradigm. This choice is made for the sake of the general Indo-European pattern described in Chapter 1, which I must follow to respect the pattern established for the contrastive setting. Hence, I will not group the Perfect with Current relevance and the resultative function under the paragraph about Present tense (although it is often used as a Present Perfect), but under the section about Perfect tense.

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<sup>36</sup> On the controversies regarding the formation of the Imperfect see Sihler 1995: 554–558; Meiser 1998: 197–198; Baldi 2002: 397–398).

### 2.2.1 The Present

The Latin Present Tense describes the situations unfolding at the present moment and, sometimes, future or past unfolding at the present moment and, sometimes, future or past situations.

The adverb *nunc* ‘now’ refers to the present time and often occurs with the Latin Present (1).

(1) Ter. *Ad.* 290: *Iam nunc times? quasi numquam adfueris, numquam tute pepereris!*

‘You are in a flight, now, just as though you had never been present on such an occasion!’

*Hodie* ‘today’ is found more frequently with the Perfect than with the Present tense since it refers to the immediate past or future confined by the boundaries of the current day.<sup>37</sup>

When referring to the present time, occurrences from Plautus and Terence show that this adverb conveys a rather generic reference to the broader span of the present moment as ‘nowadays’ (2) or reference to the situation lasting for (at least) the whole period indicated as ‘today’ ((3) and (4)).

(2) Plaut. *Aul.* 206: *Neque illo quisquam est alter hodie ex paupertate parcior.*

‘nor is there (nowadays) out of the whole class of paupers one more beggarly than he’

(3) Plaut. *Pseu.* 165: *Nam mi hodie natalis dies est.*

‘for today it is my birthday’

(4) Ter. *Eun.* 1031: *O mei populares, ecquis me hodie uiuit fortunatior?*

‘O fellow-townsmen, is there anyone alive more fortunate than me this day?’

However, this Tense can appear without any explicit temporal reference: this is the case of the gnomic present, used for the situations of general application (5) and (6).

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<sup>37</sup> With reference to past and present in main clauses, this adverbial occurs in Plautus 137 times, 105 of which with the Perfect Tense and 32 with the Present. In Terence, *hodie* occurs 74 times. In main clauses there are 24 occurrences with the Perfect and 12 with the Present Tense. Moreover, most of the occurrences in Present tense have reference to the future time. Generally, in Early and Classical Latin *hodie* is used with Past or Future tense.<sup>37</sup> However, in Plautus and Terence, in most of the cases when it occurs with the Present tense, the reference of Present is to the future, not past. In Plautus, from the 32 occurrences of Present Tense together with *hodie*, 12 examples refer to the wider Present tense (see (3)) and 20 to the Future. This result brings us to the preliminary conclusion that that in Early comedies, in occurrences with the adverbial *hodie*, the *praesens pro futuro* was more prominent than the Future tense. The same cannot be concluded for the occurrences of the *praesens pro praeterito*, since *hodie* neither in Plautus nor in Terence occurs with it: reference to the past bounded by the culturally established limits of ‘today’ occurs only with Past tenses (mostly Perfect).

(5) Ter.*Heaut.* 239: et mulierum nosti moras: / dum moliuntur, dum conantur, annus est.

‘you know the ways of women, while they are bestirring themselves, and while they are making preparations a whole year passes by.’

(6) Ter. *Heaut.* 538: magnarum saepe id remedium aegritudinumst:

‘it often is the remedy for great disturbances’

Latin uses the Present tense to show the activity going on at the present reference time. When in use with *postquam*, the Present tense usually indicates the ongoing situation (7) or the habitual event (8) (Haverling 2010: 346).

(7) Plaut. *Men.* 234: hic annus sextust, postquam ei rei operam damus

‘This is the sixth year that we've devoted our attention to this business’

(8) Plaut. *Truc.* 682: postquam in urbem crebro commeo, dicax sum factus

‘since I've been so many times backwards and forwards to the city, I've become quite a chatterer’

This meaning of the Present occurs in Latin when durative temporal adverbials (*multos annos, per annos, semper*) combine with atelic expressions: (9) – *multos annos*, (10) – *iam diu*.

(8) Plaut. *Aul.* 3: Hanc domum iam multos annos est cum possideo

‘It is now many years that I have been occupying this houses’

(10) Ter. *Ad.* 931: Parere iam diu haec per annos non potest: nec qui eam respiciat quisquam est: solast.

‘Through her years, she is long past child-bearing; There is no one to take care of her; she is a lone woman.’

From the cross-linguistic point of view, this function has been called “anterior continuing” (Bybee et al. 1994: 62, Tommola 2000: 447) and “aspetto ‘inclusivo’” (Bertinetto 1986). Many languages choose the Present tense in this function. Serbo-Croatian, like Latin, prefers the Present for anterior continuing. The Perfect tense is preferred in “typically perfective” languages, such as Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish and Estonian (for further discussion, see Dahl 1985: 447–448). Comrie (1976: 60) calls this Perfect Tense “Perfect of the persistent situation”, Tommola (1993) “Inclusive Perfect”.

Instead, in Latin and Serbian, where the Perfect is used with the durative adverbials, this Tense refers to the past situation that does not last any longer. The examples of this kind will be discussed

in § 2.2.2. When the Imperfect is combined with the durative adverbials, it indicates “anterior continuing” in the past (see Haverling 2010: 347; see also below, § 2.2.3).

Historical Present (*praesens pro praeterito*) is frequent in the narration: this is the register in which we often find the present with the reference to the past. However, the function of Past Tenses and the Historical Present are not interchangeable. Usually, the narration starts with the use of the Past tense and then unfolds with the sequence of Historical presents: in (11), it is the Imperfect Tense that introduces the Past event, and in (12), the opening of a sequence of the events is in a Perfect tense.

(11) Ov. *Met.* 7 : 833–4: Procris **erat** medio que tenens in pectore vulnus 'ei mihi!' conclamat. [...]

(12) Ov. *Met.* 7: 835–841: vox est ubi cognita fidae / coniugis, ad vocem praeceps amens que **cucurri**: / vulnera saeva ligo [...] / trahentem invenio [...] / corpusque attollo [...] / conor inhibere cruorem [...]

Yet, the convention of literary style has no fixed pattern in Classical Latin; sometimes, we can find a mixture of Tenses in the text (Pinkster 1995: 290–292).

It has to be highlighted that the Historical Present is only morphologically a Present Tense: from the semantic point of view, it is a Past tense. Thus, it is used both as the primary and secondary Tense in the Sequence of Tenses. The same is true for the historical infinitive in Plautus and Terence (De Melo 2007: appendix, 38).

### 2.2.2 The Perfect

As Comrie (1976: 53) observes, it is essential to distinguish the Latin label for the Perfect tense from the general Perfect.

In Latin, the Perfect Tense functions both as a perfect and as a past tense.<sup>38</sup> Hence, it embraces both the functions of the perfect indicating current relevance and the past tense, providing an overview of a past situation or event. However, distinctions of the original functions are visible in sequence of Tenses: The Perfect with perfect meaning is treated as a primary tense, whereas the Perfect with past tense meaning is not. This fact necessarily triggers the differentiated choice of tense in some subordinate clauses (Gildersleeve § Lodge 1895: 314–319).

The Latin Perfect resembles the Classical Greek Perfect because the Latin Perfect is sometimes used in a Present sense. Some verbs, like Latin *memini* ‘I remember’, *odi* ‘I hate’ and Greek *οἶδα* ‘I know’, *ἔοικε* ‘it is likely’ occur only in the Perfect although their meaning is that of the Present.

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<sup>38</sup> This is also property of the Romance languages (on Italian, see Bertinetto (1997)).

The occurrences of these verbs are not very frequent in Terence:<sup>39</sup> *odi* appears only five times, 2 of which in the Perfect subjunctive, 2 in the Perfect infinitive and just once in the Perfect Indicative (1):

(1) Ter. *Ad.* 523: et illud rus nulla alia causa tam male odi, nisi quia propest

‘and for no reason do I detest that farm so heartily as for its being so near town’

*Memini* is somewhat more frequent: it occurs only in the Perfect indicative:

(2) Ter. *Hec.* 822: nam memini abhinc mensis decem fere ad me nocte prima / confugere anhelantem domum sine comite

‘For I remember, that about ten months ago, at an early hour of night, he came running home to my house out of breath, without a companion’

(3) Ter. *Heaut.* 626: Meministin’ me grauidam esse et te maxumo opere edicere.

‘Do you remember me being pregnant, and yourself declaring to me, most peremptorily...’

Sometimes, this Perfect is used as the *praesens pro futuro* (4). In this case, it becomes evident that only the grammatical form of the Perfect remains as the morphological shell and that this verb yields exclusively the function of the Present tense.

(4) Ter. *An.* 976-977: tuos est nunc Chremes: facturum quae voles scio esse omnia / Memini: atque adeo longumst nos illum exspectare dum exeat.

‘I’ll remember you; and because it is tedious for us to wait for him until he comes out’

The remnant of the resultative function of the Indo-European Perfect is a so-called *perfectum praesens*. In these instances, the Perfect tense, usually expressing perfect, anterior, and past actions, functions as a paradigmatic present tense. We see it in the examples of the verbs as *odi* and *memini*. These verbs lack their Present forms and supply for them using the forms of Perfect, successors of the Proto-Indo-European resultative constructions.<sup>40</sup> This way, their simple present meaning is proved (Ernout & Thomas 1972: 223, Pinkster 1995: 300).

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<sup>39</sup> In Late Latin, however, they become rarer: for example, *odi* is replaced by *odio*.

<sup>40</sup> Conversely, these verbs show their perfect or past meaning by the Pluperfect forms: *memineram* ‘I remembered’ and *oderam* ‘I hated’ (cf. Andrason 2016).

### 2.2.2.1 Current relevance and Experiential Perfect

Latin often uses the Perfect Tense to express the relevance of the past event at the present moment. There is here a partial overlap with the *perfectum praesens* in the sense that *noui* (the perfect of *nosco*, ‘try to get to know’) is often taken into account as an example of Perfect used for present states of affair, where it means “I know” (5), but sometimes it means “I have made the acquaintance of” (6; see also next paragraph).

(5) Ter. *An.* 789: *Noui omnem rem.*

‘I know the whole affair.’

(6) Plaut. *Men.* 748–749: *noui cum Calcha simul: / eodem die illum uidi quo te ante hunc diem*

‘I knew him when I knew Calchas: / I saw him on the same day I first saw you’

Early Latin examples show the current relevance function of the Perfect Tense with the adverbs that anchor the past situation to the moment of speech (or the reference moment). Some of the most prominent adverbials are *nunc* ‘now’ (7), *iam* ‘already’ (8) and *nondum* ‘not yet’ (9).

(7) Ter. *Heaut.* 191: Nunc seruolum ad eam in urbem *misit*

‘He has just sent a servant into the city to her’

(8) Ter. *Ad.* 884: iam nunc haec tria primum *addidi / praeter naturam*

‘I have now for the first time used these three expressions contrary to my nature’

(9) Ter. *Hec.* 745: nondum etiam *dixi id quod te uolui.*

‘I have not yet said to you what I intended.’

Indeed, the examples (7), (8) and (9) are translated into English by the Perfect.

As mentioned in §1.3.2.2.1, one function in which Perfect is used is *experientiality* (Comrie 1976: 52–53; Bybee & Dahl 1989: 73–74). The feature of experientiality conveys that a certain situation took place at least once in the past that leads up to the present moment. Moreover, it entails certain familiarity with that situation as *I have been sick/I have been to Tokyo*. As Haverling (2010: 354) points out, the Latin Perfect *novi* ‘I have made acquaintance with, I have known’ often expresses this function cf. ex. 6 above).

According to the definition, repeated occurrences of a specific situation in the Past are related to experientiality. “The past perfective typically occurs with an explicit reference to a specific number of times whereas habit, or pluri-occasionality without specific, explicit reference to the number of times, is typically indicated by the imperfective” (Haverling 2010: 441). The Latin perfect is used

with explicit reference to a specific number of times in the perfect as well as in the past tense function (10):

(10) Plaut. *Most.* 375: Bis peristi?<sup>41</sup>

‘Have you died twice? / Did you die twice?’

The adverbials of frequency can be used both with the Perfect expressing current relevance and with the Perfect expressing resultative meaning. This feature has a parallel in Greek syntax: the corresponding adverbial in this language can be used both with the Perfect and with the Aorist, where the former conveys the perfective role of the current relevance in Latin. In contrast, the latter describes the past role of the resultative in Latin. In Terence, *bis* ‘twice’, *ter* ‘three times’ *identidem* ‘repeatedly’ and *crebro* ‘frequently’ always occur with the Present tense.<sup>42</sup> In Plautus, we found five occurrences of the Perfect with *bis*, and the same number of the occurrences with the Present.

Usually, in conditional sentences yielding eventuality, Latin uses the Perfect tense for concluded situations. However, in Early Latin and especially in Plautus and Terence (11), the Perfect is used when the result of the condition must be conveyed (cf. Pinkster 2015: 447):

(11) Plaut. *Asin.* 918–919: ni impetro, / regem perdididi

‘if I do not get that, I lose the king’

### 2.2.2.2 Resultativity

The resultative Perfect in Latin expresses a state existing as a result of a past situation. *Novi* is translated as “I know” as the present state of affairs, whereas “I have known” would indicate the current relevance of the event that happened in the past. Some Latin verbs have the possibility of expressing the resultative meaning in the Perfect: these are the verbs that inherently possess a “well-defined result-state as a part of their inherent meaning” (Haverling 2010: 356).

The morphological form sometimes shows the correspondence with a Proto-Indo-European system, where the perfect tense represents the resultativity. The verbs *memini*, *odi*, *novi* are evidence that present resultative states could still maintain the morphological forms of the Perfect tense, yet their meaning conveys the result in the present. These verbs also show that, in the balancing of the Perfect and the Present tense, the final tendency of Latin is to express resultativity with the Present, not with the Perfect Tense.

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<sup>41</sup> The same in Plaut. *Tr.* 46: Bis peri[i]t amator.

<sup>42</sup> Latin has several non-numeral frequency adverbials as *crebro*, *numquam* ‘never’, *raro* ‘rarely’ ... On the difference between numeral and nonnumeral frequency adverbials in Latin, see Haverling (2010: 441).

Only the resultatives are compatible with the adverbials like ‘still’ (Bybee et al. 1994: 54, Dahl 1985: 134, Tommola 2000: 462). It is the Latin *etiam nunc, nondum*, and its negatives (Lat. *iam diu*, ‘not anymore’).

The Latin Perfect cannot express resultativity as we find it in Greek (12).

(12) Hom. *Od.* 19: 222–223: ἤδη γὰρ οἱ ἑικοστὸν ἔτος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗ κείθεν ἔβη καὶ ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθε πάτρης:

‘It is now the twentieth year since he went thither and since...’

a) “...he left my country” (Resultative event)

b) “...he is not in my country anymore” (Resultant state)

Verbs of perception yield well the opposition between the Past and the Resultative meaning of the Perfect. Haverling (2010: 358) gives us the examples of *cognoscere* in Perfect: when used in the active voice, it means ‘got to know’ (13a); when used in the passive voice, it means ‘has become known’; instead, in the periphrastic constructions with *habere* ‘to have’, *cognoscere* acquires a resultative function and means ‘when you have acquired the knowledge and have full knowledge of’ (13b):<sup>43</sup>

(13a) Ter. *Hec.* 161–2: postquam et ipse se / et illam et hanc quae domi erat cognouit satis

‘after he had fairly examined (“got to know”) himself, and her, and the one that was at home’

(13b) Cic. *Fin.* 4.11: cum cognitum habeas quod sit summi rectoris ac domini numen

‘when you have acquired the knowledge of – and thus realize – what the will of the supreme god is’

In the passive voice of transitive expressions, we sometimes find the passive periphrastic constructions with the Resultative meaning:

(14) Ter. *An.* 282: etiam nunc mihi /scripta illa sunt in animo dicta Chrysidis

‘Chrysis’ words [about Glycerium] are still carved in my heart’

(15a) Plut. *Caes.* 32. 8: Ἀνερρίφθω κύβος

(15b) Suet. *Jul.* 33: iacta alea est

(15c) Eng. Let the die be cast! / The die is cast.

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. Haverling 2016; see also Haverling 2010: 357–360.

As the reinterpretation of the obvious exhortative meaning of the Greek original perfect imperative (15a) (the imperative was also used in the English translation (15c)), in Latin, we find the Perfect tense (15b), used to convey the result of throwing the die.<sup>44</sup>

In pre-classical and in classical Latin, the passive Perfect had a double function: to express resultativity (15b) and to express current relevance and the past tense function. In the active voice, the function was only to express current relevance and past tense function. At the same time, for the resultativity there was a need for the periphrasis with *habeo* ‘to have’ (ex. *habeo cognitum*). In the later stages of Latin, the passive Perfect is often interpreted as a passive Present. This semantic shift and the consequent ambiguous interpretation happen due to the use of the perfect participle as the adjective (15b); *iacta est* shifts meaning from ‘the die was/has been cast’ to ‘the die is cast’, cf. Haverling (2010: 371–372). This shift gave origin to the formation of compound Perfects in Romance (see Squartini & Bertinetto 2000: 404–419). However, cross-linguistically, the resultative expressions tend to lose their resultative component and shift the meaning expressing current relevance. In later Latin, the synthetic forms of passive Present are gradually being replaced by *esse* + the perfect participle, which in classical Latin expressed the functions of the Perfect tense and resultativity.

Some examples from Plautus and Terence show a lack of ambivalence in the interpretation of the Passive Perfect: it expresses the true meaning of the Perfect (16).

(16) Plaut. *Most.* 200: Nihilo ego quam nunc tu ... **amata** sum aequae uni modo gessi morem

‘No less than you are now, was I once beloved, and I devoted myself to one’

In some cases, the perfective meaning of the passive Perfect in Early Latin is even reinforced with its reference to the past (17).

(17) Ter. *And.* 104: ferme in diebus paucis, quibus haec **acta** sunt, Chrysis uicina haec moritur.

‘In about a few days after these things were done, Chrysis, this neighbour, dies.’

### 2.2.3 The Imperfect

The Imperfect and the Perfect Tense are used in Latin to express the states and the events in the Past. The Imperfect gives us a description of a past situation from within.

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<sup>44</sup> Hence, it is not impossible that Erasmus of Rotterdam was right when he imagined that the reading in Suetonius should be *iacta alea esto*. Cf. Haverling 2010: 359, n. 172).

According to one theory, the origin of the Latin imperfect indicative in *-ba-* was a periphrastic construction that eventually developed into a synthetic tense form after grammaticalization (Sihler 1995 § 498 and Baldi 2002: 397–398).

The Imperfect (1) and the Perfect (2) express different viewpoints within the same absolute time (cf. § 2.3).

(1) Ter. *Heaut.* 255: sed eccos uideo quos *uolebam*.

But look, I see the people I was wanting (to see).

(2) Ter. *An.* 221: fuit olim hinc quidam senex mercator:

‘There was formerly a certain old man of this place, a merchant’

Yet, these two Tenses differ substantially in the way they are used in Latin. While the Perfect conveys the situations that took place in the past and which are no longer valid (see (2): ‘there was formerly a certain old man’ implies that he is not alive now), the Imperfect is often used to express the situations that started in the past and that are still unfolding in the present (1). This Tense is, hence, used to describe the imperfective past.

The Imperfect expresses the background information and often has a progressive function. When the dynamic verbs in the Imperfect describe the progressive past situation, they are translated accordingly in English. In such a context, the verb in the Imperfect usually indicates the background situation, during which some other event happened in the foreground ((3) – cf. Haverling 2010: 439), usually shown by the Perfect or the Narrative Present (see Klein 1994: 102–103, 108; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 133–136; Bertinetto 2000: 563; cf. examples in Pinkster 1995: 288–290; Haverling 1998: 368; 2001: 355–362). Hence, in this context, the situation expressed by the Imperfect is perceived as still going on in the past moment referred to.

(3) Cic. *Fam.* 9,7,1: *cenabam* apud Seium, cum utrique nostrae *redditae sunt* a te litterae.

I was dining in Seius’s home when we both got letters from you.

When telic or momentaneous verbs combine with the Imperfect, the event is often perceived as interrupted before reaching its goal (4) (Haverling 2008: 97; also, cf. Haverling (2010: 467)).

(4) Cic. *Lig.* 24: *Veniebatis* in Africam prohibiti estis in provincia uestra pedem ponere

‘You were on your way to Africa, but you were not allowed to enter the province’

This tense often expresses pluri-occasionality. However, habitual and iterative situations are not necessarily indicated by the Imperfect in Classical Latin. Here we have the same opposition between

the overview typical for the Perfect tense and the description of the background situation typical for the Imperfect tense (see *fuit / erat* or *habuit / habebat*; cf. Haverling (2010: 443–446)).

#### 2.2.4 The Pluperfect

The Pluperfect expresses the absolute-relative time reference in the past, as the Future Perfect does for the future. It can occur both with the adverbials with general past reference (as *heri* ‘yesterday’) and with the adverbials with the relative past reference as *prius* (see Pinkster 1995: 301 ff.). Usually, the Pluperfect is used with a precise reference to the time interval that unfolded between two past situations with a standard reference (1).

(1) Ter. *Eun.* 254–255: *cetarii lanii coqui fartores piscatores, / quibus et re salua et perdita profueram et prosum saepe:*

‘fishmongers, butchers, cooks, sausage-makers, and fishermen, whom, both when my fortunes were flourishing and when they were ruined, I had served, and often serve still’

The pluperfect subjunctive indicates that a situation precedes another with the conjunction *cum* ‘when’ (2a) instead of the imperfect subjunctive, which indicates simultaneity (2b).

(2a) Cic. *Fam.* 13.29.4: *ibi eum Caesar cum uidisset, nihil aspere, nihil acerbe dixit, Romam iussit uenire*

‘as Caesar had seen him there, he did not utter a harsh word but bade him come to Rome’

(2b) ) Caes. *Gall.* 4.16.1: *... cum uideret Germanos tam facile impelli ut in Galliam uenirent, suis quoque rebus eos timere uoluit, cum intellegerent et posse et audere populi Romani exercitum Rhenum transire*

‘as he saw the Germans so easily induced to enter Gaul, he wished to make them fearful in turn for their own fortunes, by showing them that a Roman army could and durst cross the Rhine’

However, with other conjunctions, e.g., *postquam* ‘after’, we usually find the perfect indicative, although the situations described in such a clause precede the situation in the main clause (3). Still, the pluperfect, which becomes frequent in Late Latin, is already found in Terence (4). The pluperfect then underlines that the situation thus described is followed by another past situation (expressed in the Perfect tense).<sup>45</sup>

(3) Ter. *An.* 645: **Postquam** me amare dixi, complacitast tibi.

‘Since I told you that I loved her, she has become quite pleasing to you.’

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<sup>45</sup> However, *postquam* is usually followed by the Perfect tense. Ter. *Eun.* 20-21: *postquam aediles emerunt, / perfecit sibi ut inspiciundi esset copia.* (cf. Haverling 2010: §3.3.2, ex. 239-240).

(4) Ter. *An.* 175–176: qui **postquam** *audierat* non datum iri filio uxorem suo, numquam quoquam nostrum uerbum *fecit* neque id aegre tulit.

‘for, after he had heard that a wife would not be given to his son, he never uttered a word to any one of us, or took it amiss.’

With the adverb *paene* ‘almost’, we usually find the perfect in earlier Latin: in Plautus, ‘to forget’ is sometimes expressed with *oblitus fui* (5), instead of with *oblitus sum* (6).<sup>46</sup> The auxiliary verb in the Perfect tense shows the perception of this event to be before some other past event.

(5) Plaut. *Poen.* 118: Ehem, **paene** *oblitus sum* relicuom dicere.

‘Dear me! I had almost forgotten to say the rest.’

(6) Plaut. *Poen.* 40: Et hoc quoque etiam, quod **paene** *oblitus fui*:

‘And this, too, besides, which I had almost forgotten.’

Although the Pluperfect is generally the relative-absolute past tense, in several cases in Early Latin, it seems to overlap with the Perfect tense (7a–b, 8).<sup>47</sup>

(7a) Ter. *Hec.* 812–813: ... etiam: cognosse anulum illum Myrrinam/ gnatae suae fuisse quem ipse olim mi dederat

‘Yes. Say that Myrrina has recognised the ring as having belonged to her daughter, which he once gave me’

(7b) Ter. *Hec.* 845–847: ... sic te dixi opinor, inuenisse Myrrinam/ Bacchidem anulum suum habere ... eum quem olim ei dedi,/ eaque hoc te mihi nuntiare iussit ...

‘This is what I think you said. Myrrina has discovered Bacchis wearing her ring ... The one I gave her some time ago? And she told you to tell me the news?’

(8) Ter. *An.* 586–587: DA. Tandem cognosti qui siem? / SI. Non **fuerant** nuptiae futurae ...

‘**DA.** Have you found out at last what sort of a person I am? / **SI.** There was not going to be a wedding’

In the passive voice and with deponent verbs, there is an alternation of the Perfect Passive Participle with the Imperfect tense of *esse* (9) and the Pluperfect of *esse* (10, 11). This gives the specific idea of the transposition of the Passive in the past, which had undergone the switch in tense, due to its construction with the Participle, considered merely a verbal adjective, detached from its already perfective meaning. Hence, in Early Latin, especially in Plautus, the passive Perfect (in the

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<sup>46</sup> However, there was already tendency to use the pluperfect; this tendency grows in time (Haverling 2010: 410-411).

<sup>47</sup> See Hofmann & Szantyr (1965, § 179 Zus. a).

descriptions of the situations) was expressed with Passive Pluperfect. In contrast, the passive Pluperfect has been pushed even further to the past by using the Perfect Passive Participle with the Pluperfect of *esse*.<sup>48</sup>

(9) Plaut. *Pers.* 20: Miquidem tu iam **eras** mortuos, quia non te uisitabam.

‘As for myself, you were already dead to me, because I did not see you.’

(10) Plaut. *Amph.* 430: Eam ego, ut matre **fuerat** natum, uini | eduxi meri.

‘That I drew full of pure wine, just as it was born from the mother grape.’

(11) Plaut. *Most.* 487: Lucernam forte oblitus **fueram** extinguere: Atque ille exclamat derepente maximum.

‘By accident, I had forgotten to put out my lamp; and he, all of a sudden, called out aloud.’

### 2.2.5 The Simple future

The expression of future bears an inherent uncertainty factor since the situation that has not happened yet might change due to the intervening events. The Future tense has often been studied concerning modality since it is used “in a wider or narrower range of non-factive utterances involving wish, intention and desire” (Lyons 1977, 2: 816).

While the formation of the Future Tense for the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugations may be traced to the analytic formation (*cantabo* > *canta-bhwō*), the other construction, for the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> conjugations (*dicam*), may have its origins in the subjunctive. In some cases, the old subjunctive became a simple future in Latin: this seems to be the origin of the simple future in, e.g., *dicam*, *dices*, etc. Of the verb *esse*, the old subjunctive became the simple Latin future (*ero*, *eris* etc.) and the old optative the Latin subjunctive (*sim*, *sis*, etc.). Indeed, the Future tense in the indicative was used in the ways that are more suitable for the subjunctive (expressing wish, command, and exhortation) (Ronconi 1968: 116–118; Smith, C. 1991). Moreover, the Future tense and the subjunctive share the prospective semantics and the fact that they are related historically is not surprising.<sup>49</sup>

The future is anchored to future time by adjectives indicating posteriority, such as *cras* ‘tomorrow’ (1) and *hodie* ‘today’ (2).

(1) Ter. *Ad.* 840: ceterum ego rus cras cum filio cum primo luci ibo hinc.

‘tomorrow at day-break I shall be off with my son into the country’

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<sup>48</sup> For the cases of the anteriority expressed by the Perfect Passive participle and the Pluperfect of *esse*, cf. Haverling 2010: §3.3.3.

<sup>49</sup> Smith, G. (1996: 304) claims that in Plautus the Future is still a mood, not a Tense yet.

(2) Ter. *Ad.* 570: Scio ubi sit, uerum hodie numquam monstrabo.

‘I know where he is – but I shall not tell you at present.’

However, in Terence, *cras* is used only five times: four times with the Present tense and only once with the Future tense.

Hence, it does not come as a surprise that there is a certain correspondence between the meaning of the Present with the future reference and the Future tense itself (3).

(3) Ter. *Ph.* 46: Porro autem alio, ubi erit puero natalis dies;

‘and then again for another present when the child’s birthday comes’

The Simple future and the praesens pro futuro often convey the situations that are about to happen in the immediate future. The adverb *hodie* can trace the overlaps of the two Tenses. In Terence, in the main clauses, *hodie* is used 14 times with the Future Tense and 12 times with the Present tense. In 13 occurrences within the subordinate clauses, this adverb always yields future reference (7 times with the main verb in the Past tense (4), 5 times in the Present (5) and once in the Future tense (6)). In Early comedies, the statistical difference in the use of the Future and Present with the future reference is insignificant (cf. § 2.3.1, where data for Present tense are given).

(4) Ter. *Hec.* 814: nam **hodie** mihi potestas hau datast:

‘for I’ve not had the opportunity given me to-day’

(5) Ter. *Ph.* 626: Quid hic coeptat aut quo euadet **hodie**?

‘Or where is this to end at last?’

(6) Ter. *Ph.* 635-636: tria non commutabitis verba **hodie** inter uos’.

‘you’ll not have to exchange three words with him.’

In Early Latin, there is also a sigmatic formation indicating the Future Tense. In the introduction to § 2.2, we have already mentioned the *-s* Futures as *faxo* (7).<sup>50</sup>

(7) Ter. *Heat.* 340: Ademptum tibi iam faxo omnem metum

‘I’ll rid you at once of all fears’

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<sup>50</sup> *Faxo* sometimes corresponds to *faciam*, while sometimes it substitutes *fecero* (cf. Haverling 2010: 378 and Haverling 2000). Epistemic modality is related to the formation of future in Latin: especially in Early Latin, there are many expressions of future by the old subjunctive. Later, the periphrastic constructions replaced the synthetic Future.

There are also (rare) forms of, for example, the infinitives of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugations as *laccessere* (8) and *impetrassere* (9).

(8) Ter. *Eun.* 14: is ne erret moneo et desinat laccessere.

‘I recommend him not to be mistaken, and to refrain from provoking me.

(9) Plaut. *Mil.* 1128: Credo te facile impetrassere.

‘I think you'll easily prevail upon her.’

These infinitives are frequent in prohibitions, warnings and conditionals (Kühner 1912: 1: 798–800, de Melo 2007: 171–190). The indicative forms of these infinitives are called “desideratives” or “intensives” (Sihler §456). Since the indicative forms are the -s formations with completive meaning, accordingly, the infinitives have the prospective function.

De Melo (2007), who thoroughly examined the present and future infinitives in Early Latin, states that the present infinitive with future reference is frequent in Plautus and Terence (8,9), yet rare in Classical Latin where only the Future infinitive yields the function of posteriority.<sup>51</sup>

Present infinitive with future meaning is usually found with the governing verbs expressing statement – *verba dicendi* (as *aio* ‘I say’, *dico* ‘I say/I claim’, *iuro* ‘I swear’ and *promitto* ‘I promise’) and verbs expressing hope (in the future) and senses – *verba sentiendi et affectus* (*audio* ‘I hear’, *credo* ‘I believe’, *scio* ‘I know’). It occurs much more frequently with the verbs of a statement than with the verbs of hope and senses.<sup>52</sup>

The Future infinitive appeared later, and it seems that it was created after the present infinitives. After gradually introducing this form in Latin, the Present infinitive gradually restricted itself primarily to Present meanings (10) – the Future infinitive took over the functions with future reference (11).

(10) Ter. *Hec.* 519-520: credo ipsum **exire**: nulla sum.

‘I believe it is himself coming out to me: I'm utterly undone!’

(11) Plaut. *Mil.* 1196: nam illum hinc sat scio iam **exiturum esse** intus.

‘for I'm quite sure that he'll just now be coming out hence from in-doors.’

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<sup>51</sup> However, the sigmatic forms like *impetrassere*, ‘to achieve’ are rather rare in Plautus (only 13 occurrences: *impetrassere* – 4 times, *arcessere* – 3 times, *capessere* – 2 times and once *reconciliassere*, *oppugnassere*, *accessere*, *edissere*) and almost not existing in Terence (two occurrences of *laccessere*), only a generation later.

<sup>52</sup> I agree with de Melo (2007) in that, the frequency and the modality of usage of this form shows the improbability of this form being used in colloquial sense in Archaic Latin.

Yet, this substitution has been completed only for the atelic events (hence, not entirely for the verbs as *exire*, which is telic). The difference between simultaneity and posteriority is more pronounced. Instead, for the telic events, this process was not fully accomplished.<sup>53</sup>

### 2.2.6 The Future Perfect

The form that became the Future Perfect in Latin was created from the aorist stem by adding the Proto-Indo-European suffix *\*-is-*.<sup>54</sup>

This Tense is used for expressing the anterior and completed events, without any regard to the “Perfectiveness” of the verb. Being rare in the main clauses and much more frequent in the subordinate clauses, the Future Perfect is often considered an “absolute-relative tense”<sup>55</sup> (Future anterior). The Simple Future is then seen as its non-anterior counterpart. When found in main clauses, the Future Perfect often occurs in contexts with another explicit future reference. These two tenses are functionally different, but sometimes they are interchangeable, yet only in rare cases (see de Melo 2007: 34 ff.).

As an absolute-relative Tense, the Future perfect expresses the completed situations that preceded another future situation. The sequence of the future events is often emphasized by the conjunction *priusquam* (usually ‘*prius quam*’ in Plautus (1) and Terence (2)).

(1) Plaut. *Pers.* 291: Numquam ecastor hodie scibus prius quam <ego> ex te audiuero.

‘On my honor you shall never this day know before I’ve heard it of you’

(2) Ter. *Ph.* 1043: Neque ego ignosco neque promitto quicquam neque respondeo / Prius quam gnatum uidero;

‘I neither forgive nor promise anything, nor give any answer, before I see my son’

Early Latin has rare sigmatic futures (already mentioned in the previous paragraph): forms like *faxo* ‘I shall do’ often express the future anteriority combined with the completeness of the situation.

In cases like (3), (4) and (5) *faxo* means ‘I shall see to’ and is followed by a verb in the simple future too.

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<sup>53</sup> Within the constructions of Accusatives with Infinitive, the Infinitives with the *present* force are used with the atelic verbs (states and ongoing situations as ‘to be tired’) in 90% of all the cases, whereas the infinitives with the *future* force occur with telic verbs in 64% of all the tokens (de Melo 2007: 8).

<sup>54</sup> In Early Latin, telicity of the verb determines the usage of the Present infinitive with the future meaning in the construction with the Accusative with Infinitive. In Classical Latin, this function is taken over by the Future Infinitive. On this topic, see de Melo (2007).

<sup>55</sup> In fact, Comrie (1985: 125) states that in absolute-relative tenses “reference point is established relative to the present moment, and a situation is located in time relative to that reference point”.

(3) Ter. *An.* 854: Immo uero indignum, Chremes, iam facinus faxo ex me audies.

Nay but, Chremes, I'll let you now hear from me a disgraceful piece of business'

(4) Ter. *Ph.* 308 and 1055: Iam faxo hic aderit.

'I'll have him here immediately.' (i.e. "I shall see to it that he immediately comes here")

(5) Ter. *Eun.* 663: Iam faxo scies.

'I will let you know immediately' (i.e. "I shall see to it that you immediately know it")

In Early and Classical Latin, there is a particular use of the Future Perfect, indicating anteriority in the future and completeness. The traditional explanation for the sensitivity toward the relative sequence of the events is that in Archaic Latin, there probably existed an aspectual opposition which later was reinterpreted as the sequence of events (Kühner & Stegmann 1955 § 37; Hoffmann & Szantyr 1965: §180). It has, however, been observed (e.g., Sjögren 1906) that, on some occasions (or in some cases), the Simple Future and the Future Perfect may overlap. The third explanation (Risselada 2000) is that the Future Perfect is always an absolute-relative tense expressing in all occurrences an absolute-relative time.

Sometimes, the Future Perfect was used in the function of the absolute tense. In these instances, it is usually anchored to the future by the adverbials referring to posteriority (*cras*) (6).

(6) Plaut. *Most.* 1006: Verum cras, nisi <qui> prius / Vocauerit – me, uel apud te cenauero.

'But, tomorrow, unless any person invites me first, I'll even dine with you.'

Indeed, the absolute-relative function of the Future Perfect is not always transparent: these are the cases that Pinkster (1995: 295 n.20) considers as the occurrences of the Future Perfect "without anterior meaning":<sup>56</sup>

(7) Ter. *Ad.* 538: Fuge modo intro, ego uidero.

'You only be off in-doors, I'll see to that'

As Haverling (2010: 381) noticed, one of the very frequent verbs found in the Future Perfect is *uidero*, with the meaning 'I will see to it, I leave it aside right now' (see (7)). In fact, in Plautus and Terence, it occurs more frequently in the Future Perfect (Plautus: 8 times, Terence: 13 times) than in the Simple Future (Plautus: 4 times, Terence: 6 times).<sup>57</sup> However, there is a clear-cut pragmatic difference between the semantics of this verb yielded by the Future Perfect and the Simple Future:

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<sup>56</sup> However, when the absolute-relative function of this Tense is transparent.

<sup>57</sup> In Cicero it appears (in the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular) 52 times in the Future Perfect and 25 times in the Simple Future.

*uidebo* has the meaning ‘I will (physically) see’, whereas *uidero* means ‘I shall see to it, I leave it aside right now’.

The frequent occurrence of the Future perfect in the last position in verse, for the reasons of metrics, was often the argument for the overlap of these two Tenses (Pinkster 1995: 294–295). However, this cannot be the unique argument for this claim since the Future Perfect occurs in other positions.

In preclassical Latin, there are many examples of the Future perfect in which the function is other than an absolute-relative tense (cf. Haverling 2010: 380). In Post-Classical Latin, the initially more restricted functions of the Future Perfect started to expand: it is often used colloquially. It shows the constant development of the Future perfect in classical and postclassical Latin, where we encounter the non-dynamic forms *voluero* (8) and *potuero* (9) in a semantic function in which the absolute-relative function is not clear. It is not found in Early Latin (cf. also Haverling 2010: 382–383).

(8) Sen. *contr.* 7, 4, 2: Si matris exemplo pius esse voluero, etiam oculos patri debeo.

(9) Nep. *Pelop.* 1,1: itaque utrique rei occurram, quantum potuero

I will therefore, as far as I can, meet both difficulties.

In Late Latin, the Future Perfect is less common in some functions (for example, *priusquam*). At the same time, it becomes more common in other functions (it sometimes overlaps with the simple future, for instance). According to the Late Latin grammarians, the Future Perfect (which was described as such by Varro in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC) is not an indicative tense form but the subjunctive of the future (cf. Haverling (2010: 131–145) and Haverling (2013: 53)),

### **2.2.7. The Simple Future and the Future Perfect: differences conveyed by the actionality**

De Melo (2007: 47–48) points out that, in Archaic Latin, the difference between the Future Perfect and the Simple Future was conveyed by the perfective (aoristic) aspect of the former and the imperfective aspect of the latter Tense (*fecero* (F.P.) ‘I shall do’ vs. *faciam* (S.F.) ‘I shall be doing’). The lexical meaning of two different roots determined the implication of the end-point within the occurrence of the verbs in one or another Tense. The present root (\*H<sub>1</sub>es- > es-t, ἐσ-τί) does not imply an end-point, whereas the aorist (\*b<sup>h</sup>uH<sub>x</sub> > fu-i, ἔ-φϋ-v) does.

Some opinions involved actionality as the feature of significant impact for the prototypical use of one or another Tense. For example, Sjögren (1906: 133–195) believes that the difference between Simple Future and Future Perfect is related to the lexical meaning of the verbs – that the durative verbs should prefer the Simple Future, whereas the momentaneous verbs should prefer the Future

Perfect. Vairel (1978) states that anteriority combines with the verbal trait of ‘conclusion’: all the forms derived from the stem of *perfectum* have common semantic characteristics in all the Tenses concerned (Past Perfect, Perfect, and Future Perfect).

The Archaic opposition between *faciam* and *fecero* is an example of the initially significant aspectual difference. Indeed, the opposition between Simple Future and Future Perfect does not bound the verbs within the usual temporal opposition met with present and past Tenses that prototypically entails the aspectual opposition – imperfective vs perfective.

The temporal opposition (cf. Future Perfect *fecero* and Simple Future *faciam*) replaces binary aspectual distinction between the *perfectum* and the *infectum*. The Tenses outweigh the aspect also by expanding to participles and infinitives, which in Proto-Indo-European were nominal forms. Similarly, in Latin, the subjunctive appears in a temporal opposition between present and past, whereas in Proto-Indo-European, it was a modal formation, without any reference to tense distinction (Meillet 1948: 28; Viti 2015: 173).

### 2.3 Aspect in Latin

The impact of the *perfectum* and the *infectum* stems on the prototypical use of the Tenses has been the topic of debate in Latin linguistics for a very long time. Concerning the semantics of verbal stems, there are two different sets of opinions: Dressler (1968: 113–114), Hoffmann & Szantyr (1965: 317, 320, 323), and Serbat (1980: 4) claim that there is no correlation between the form and the meaning, whereas Meillet (1948: 28–30) and Pinkster (1983) claim that there are different semantic features that emerge from the opposition *infectum* vs *perfectum*. I will adopt the claim advocated by the latter two scholars. The semantic difference between the verbal forms based on Latin *infectum* and *perfectum* will also emerge in Serbo-Croatian.

Throughout the Latin verbal system history, we could notice the progressive change of the actional distinctions. The initial difference between *perfectum* and *infectum* indeed stays such. Still, it has to be taken into account that these stems progressively changed the features reflected through the functions of the Tenses. In classical Greek, the three aspectual stems of late Proto-Indo-European are still preserved, but that is not the case in Latin, where the perfect has merged with the aorist.

Archaic Latin had a more prominent aspectual than temporal distinction. Still, in Early Latin, we can observe more emphasis on temporal recognition (e.g., when the Aorist subjunctive becomes the

future perfect with *priusquam*). This fact is also due to the existing Aorists later incorporated lexically and semantically within the Perfect tense as a traceable stem.<sup>58</sup>

As Viti (2015: 173) points out, the fewer verbal formations remain, the more they lose their inherent aspectual values to subsume the temporal functions.

### 2.3.1 The aspectual difference between the Perfect and the Imperfect tense

As already specified in § 2.2.3, the Imperfect and the Perfect tenses express different viewpoints within the same absolute time. The situations expressed by the Perfect or the Imperfect tense in Latin resemble those collocated in the perfective or imperfective context in languages with the more prominent aspectual features.

The Perfect Tense is often used in narration regarding the past (as the adverb *heri* ‘yesterday’ is), which can be utterly specified (for example, by the adverbial *media nocte* ‘at midnight’ – example 3). In this function, the Latin Perfect corresponds to the Greek aorist. While it is used to express the events, the Imperfect describes past situations from the internal viewpoint.

Both past tenses can express states (1, 2) and events (3, 4).

(1) Ter. *Ad.* 221: uerum ego numquam adeo **astutus fui**

‘but I was never so cunning ‘

(2) Ter. *Eun.* 680-681: ille **erat honesta** facie ac liberali.

‘He was of a handsome and genteel appearance.’

(3) Plaut. *Amph.* 514: Heri **uenisti** media nocte, nunc abis.

‘Yesterday, in the middle of the night, you came, and now you are going away.’

(4) Plaut. *Ph.* 207: tum mi aedes quoque arridebant quom ad te **ueniebam**

‘Then even your house was smiling at me when I was on my way to you.’

While the Perfect conveys the situations that no longer persist (5), the effects of the situation expressed in the Imperfect are usually perceived in the present. The Imperfect is sometimes used in polite requests where the moment of utterance in the present would require the Present, not the past tense (6). In these situations, the Imperfect usually conveys a request or wish, the idea of which has started in the past, but the utterance of which takes place only at the present moment.

(5) Ter. *Hec.* 459-460: et qui sic sunt, haud multum heredem iuuant, sibi uero hanc relinquunt laudem

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<sup>58</sup> The Aorists are faithfully maintained in Indo-Iranian and especially in Ancient Greek.

'**uixit**, dum **uixit**, bene'.

'and those who are so, don't much benefit their heirs, but for themselves leave this commendation: 'While he lived, he lived well'.'

(6) Plaut. *Bacc.* 492: Istuc **uolebam** ego ex te percontarier.

'That I was wishful to enquire of yourself.'

However, the primary function of the Imperfect is to convey the background situation. In contrast, another verb in the Perfect tense or Historic Present expresses the event against that background (Haverling 2010: 429). The progressive function of the Imperfect (7) overlaps with the use of the atelic verbs in the Perfect Tense in Slavic languages (8).

(7) Ter. *Eun.* 119: ego cum illo, quocum tum uno rem **habebam** hospite, abii huc

'Thence I came hither with that stranger, with whom alone at that period I was connected'

(8) SC: **Čitala sam** knjigu kada je zazvonio telefon.

'I was reading a book when the phone rang.'

The Latin Perfect is commonly used to describe a sequence of events (9). It is, however, also used to provide an overview of a past state (10, 11). It is then in opposition with the background situation described by the imperfect tense (11) events (9). Latin Perfect is rendered in Serbo-Croatian by the Aorist or the telic or atelic Perfect tense (depending on the telicity of the verb).

(9) Suet. *Iul.* 37,2: trium verborum praetulit titulum '**veni, vidi, vici**'

'He displayed an inscription of but three words: "I came, I saw, I conquered"'

SC: *Pokazao je natpis od tri reči: 'dođoh, videh, pobedih'*

(10) Plaut. *Most.* 951: **Habitaui**: uerum emigrauit iam diu ex hisce aedibus.

'He used to live: he moved long time ago from this place.'

SC: *Živeo je. Još davno je otišao odavde.*

(11) Ter. *Eun.* 107-110: Mater mihi Samia fuit, ea **habitabat** Rhodi. [...] Ibi tum matri parvulam / puellam dono quidam mercator dedit / ex Attica hine abreptam.

'My mother was a Samian; she lived at Rhodes. [...] There, at that period, a certain merchant made present to my mother of a little girl, who had been stolen away from Attica here.'

SC: *Majka mi je bila Samljanka, živela je na Rodosu.*

Latin even distinguishes between perfective overview and imperfective background in permanent

states, such as the location of a building or a grove (12a–b), and in expressions indicating pluri-occasionality, such as *uentitare* ‘come often / frequently’ (13a–13b) (cf. Haverling 2010: 443–444, 459–460):

(12a) Verg. *Aen.* 1.441–444: *Lucus in urbe fuit media .../ quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni/ effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno/ monstrarat ...*

‘Amid the city *was* a grove ..., the spot where first the Phoenicians, tossed by waves and whirlwind, dug up the token which queenly Juno had pointed out’

(12b) Verg. *Aen.* 5.286–289: *Hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit/ gramineum in campum .../ ... mediaque in ualle theatri/ circus erat ...*

‘This contest sped, loyal Aeneas moves to a grassy plain ... where at the heart of the valley, *ran* the circuit of a theatre’

(13a) Nep. *Att.* 4.4: *nam et ad comitia eorum uentitauit et, si qua res maior acta est, non defuit*

‘he used to go to the meetings of their assembly and if some matter of major importance was dealt with he was never absent’

(13b) Cic. *Tusc.* 5.20.59: *cumque duas uxores haberet, Aristomachen ciuem suam, Doridem autem Locrensem, sic noctu ad eas uentitabat, ut omnia specularetur et perscrutaretur ante*

‘and since he had two wives, Aristomache of his own city and Doris of Locris, he used to visit them by night in such a way that the precautions were taken to have a thorough inspection and examination everywhere before he came’

While the Perfect tense usually occurs with the explicit reference to the number of times or items (14), the Imperfect conveys pluri-occasionality or habit without such a direct reference (15).<sup>59</sup> Translations into Serbo-Croatian show that the telicity of the verb triggers the use of the telic or the atelic Perfect tense.

(14) Plaut. *Most.* 375: *Bis peristi? qui potest?*

‘Have you perished twice? How can that be?’

SC: *Jesi li umro dvaput? Kako to?*

(15) Ter. *Haut.* 102–104: *cottidie accusabam: 'hem, tibi ne haec diutius licere speras facere me uiuo patre...'*

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<sup>59</sup> However, pluri-occasionality can also be expressed by 1) the frequentative (or iterative) verbs as *dictito* ‘to say often, keep saying: Ter. *Ph.* 742: *non obsecro es quem semper te esse dictitasti?* ‘Pray, are you not the person you always used to say you were?’; 2) the verb that indicates a habitual sense as *soleo* ‘to be used to’.

‘I was daily reproaching him--"Look you, do you expect to be allowed any longer to act thus, myself, your father, being alive;’

SC: *Svakog dana sam ga optuživao: “Ej, ne nadaš li se valjda da ćeš još dugo moći ovo da radiš dok sam ti ja, otac, živ?”*

When, however, there is no specific number of repetitions of an event, and hence the frequency is indefinite, Latin chooses Imperfect tense (16). Without using the Imperfect tense, Serbo-Croatian uses the atelic Perfect in translating the Imperfect Tense in Latin.

(16) Plaut. *As.* 207: Tum mihi aedes quoque arridebant, quom ad te **ueniebam**.

‘Then did your house even smile upon me when I used to come to you.’

SC: *Tada mi se tvoja kuća čak i smejala, dok sam kod tebe dolazio.*

Completive adverbials are usually combined with the Perfect tense since they imply the telicity of the situation in which a goal requires a certain amount of time to be reached (17). This Tense is also preferred with the durative temporal adverbials to show how long a past situation lasted (18). Telic Perfect in Serbo-Croatian corresponds to the Latin Perfect tense.

(17) Plaut. *Men.* 35: *Paucis diebus* post Tarenti **emortuost**.

‘he died a few days after at Tarentum.’

SC: *Umro je par dana kasnije u Tarantu.*

(18) Plaut. *Poen.* 1239: Quia *annos multos* filias meas **celauistis** clam me

‘Because for many years you have been concealing my daughters from me’

SC: *Jer si mnogo godina krio moju ćerku od mene.*

Instead, the Imperfect with the durative adverbials indicates “anterior continuing” (cf. Bertinetto, Ebert and de Groot 2000: 535–536; Haverling 2010: 447–448), implying that the situation was still going on at the moment referred to (19). Serbo-Croatian uses the atelic Perfect in this context.

(19) Liv. 25, 33, 1-3: in quibus *per tot annos* **militabat**

‘among which he had been campaigning for so many years’

SC: *Među kojima je toliko godina vojevao.*

## 2.4 Actionality in Latin

Since we necessarily link the actional classification to the features of dynamicity, telicity, and durativity, we examine the Early Latin verb in the function of these three subcategories. Naturally, some features are more prominent in reference to the present, and some emerge exclusively when the verb has a past reference. Hence, one of our goals in this paragraph is to categorize the verbs with different actional features and their functions in the *infectum* and the *perfectum*. By confronting the *infectum* and *perfectum* occurrences, we will attempt to draw preliminary conclusions about the expression of actionality in Early Latin.

We will show the actional properties of the Early Latin verb using the same methods as found in §1.2 about the generic actional features.

The same Latin affix sometimes has different semantic functions. The prefix *con-*, for example, is usually completive (*conficio* ‘to accomplish’) but can also have a spatial role (*congregior* ‘to meet’) or set the focus on the beginning of the situation and hence indicate the change of state, as in *conticesco* ‘to become silent’ (cf. Haverling 2010: 318-319). The suffix *-sco* also has several functions (cf. Haverling 2010: 284): transforming the transitive (*augeo* ‘to increase, intensify’) into the intransitive verbs (*augesco* ‘to increase, grow’), transforming the stative (*areo* ‘be dry’) into the dynamic verbs (*aresco* ‘to become drier, to be drying, to dry’) and forming the deadjectival verbs (*siccus* ‘dry’ – *siccesco* ‘to become dry’) as well as the denominal verbs (*silva* ‘forest’ – *silvesco* ‘to be like a forest, to bush out’).

### 2.4.1 Dynamicity

The presence or lack of internal development within the situation determines the value of the property [±] dynamicity.

States are prototypically non-dynamic: these verbs lack internal development. Activities, on the other hand, are dynamic: they express processes that prototypically change over time. However, both the States and Activities are durative, and they are compatible with the expressions of simple duration (Comrie 1976: 50; Smith 1997: 23–24, 27–28, 32, 41, 176; Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000: 199–201; Haverling 2000: 61–65; and Haverling 2010: 288–292). The expressions of this kind are Latin *diu* ‘for a long time,’ *multos dies* ‘for many days.’ Example (1) shows compatibility with a State, while example (2) shows compatibility with an Activity.

(1) Ov. *Met.* 9, 472: **silet** illa diu

She lies silent for long

(2) Ter. *Ad.* 620: “abi, abi iam, Aeschine, satis diu **dedisti** verba...” t

“Go away, go away, Aeschinus,” she shouted; “You’ve deceived us long enough....”

States are incompatible with the expressions of dynamism (for instance, the adverbials of speed) which convey some idea about the internal change. They are also incompatible with the expressions of agency (for example, the instrumental adverbials) and with the expressions of volition, such as the adverbials of manner and the imperatives (Smith 1997: 32–36, 40, 176, 182–184) (cf. §2.4.2).

In Early and Classical Latin, the affixes often yield the distinction between non-durative and durative expressions. The suffixes and the prefixes, as the derivational means, manage to change various actional properties of the verb. In the *inflectum*, this difference is expressed by the suffixes (*areo / aresco*) or the infixes (*cubo / accumbo*). In the *perfectum*, this difference is often defined by the prefixes (*tacui / conticui*).

The intransitive Indo-European suffix *\*eh<sub>1</sub>-* (Sihler 1995: § 452) (see the verbs as *calet* ‘to be hot’ (3), *senet* ‘to be old’, etc.) usually expresses Stativity.

(3) Plaut. *Bacch.* 105: aqua **calet**: eamus hinc intro, ut laues:

The water is warm: let us go in so that you might wash.

The first evidence of the main stative verbs dates at the archaic period, while the *-sco* verbs appear in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Most of the verbs in *-eo* which appear from 1st century CE are the retroformations created from the *-sco* verbs. They maintain the function of the process (see the chronology of the verbs in Haverling 2000: 394-449). While the *-sco* verbs continue their productivity, the verbs in *-eo* soon stop being productive in their prototypical, stative function. In Late Latin and Romance languages, the Early and Classical stative suffix *-e-* disappears, and the state is expressed by the adjective and the verb *esse* (*calet – calidum est* ‘it is hot’; *senet – senex est* ‘he is old’) (cf. Haverling 2010: 289, 321; Haverling 2018). The expressions like *calidum est* and *senex est* also exist in Early Latin (4).; in Classical Latin, however, the usual expression is *aqua tam calida est ut*.

(4) Plaut. *Most.* 610: **calidum** hoc **est**: etsi procul abest, urit male.

‘this is pretty hot. I am getting well singed even at this distance.’

The non-dynamic verbs are incompatible with the expressions of dynamism, whereas the dynamic verbs show compatibility with these expressions. (5) is an example of the adverbial of speed compatible with an Activity.

(5) Ter. *Eun.* 571: Tacitus *citius* **audies**:

‘Be quiet, and you shall hear the sooner.’

However, there are some expressions of dynamism compatible with the States. For example, some imperatives (6) and stative verbs (7) with adverbials signal sudden change. In these cases, the focus is set on the change of state, not on the State itself.

(6) Ter. *Ad.* 279: Reddetur: **ne time**

‘It shall be paid: do not fear.’

(7) Plaut. *Capt.* 122: Si dederis, **erit** *extemplo* mihi quod dem tibi

‘If you do so give yourself, I shall at once have something to be giving to you.’

Latin uses the phasal verbs *coepi*, *incipio*, usually with non-suffixed verbs, to express an entrance into a specific state. These expressions describe the entrance into a state (8) (cf. Haverling 2010: 292).

(8) Ter. *Eun.* 568: quid multa uerba? **amare coepi**.

‘What need of many words? I fell in love with her.’

One can also express the entrance into a state by combining prefixes and suffixes (9, 10).

(9) Plaut. *Tr.* 476-477: ho, Pithecium, Face ut **accumbam**, accede, adiuta:

‘Pithecium, help me to lay me down.’

(10) Cic. *Phil. In M. Antonium*, oratio 14, 33, 182: divinae virtutis testes sempiternae, numquam que de vobis eorum qui aut uidebunt uestrum monumentum aut audient gratissimus sermo **conticescet**.

‘And the tongues of those who shall see or hear of your monument shall never cease to talk of you in profound gratitude.’

Hence, we can conclude that the semantic opposition between states and activities/processes is indicated morphologically in Latin.

*Activities* are dynamic; moreover, they are durative and atelic, properties they share with the States. Like the States, the Activities are compatible with the expressions of simple duration (11a–b). They differ from the telic Accomplishments compatible with completive temporal expressions (12a–12b; cf. ex. 1 below, § 2.4.4).

(11a) Vitr. 5.12.4: ... eaque cum erit exstructa, relinquatur ne minus *duos mensis*, ut siccescat

‘and when it is finished, it is to be left to dry for at least two months’

(11b) Liv. 33.6.9: *Per diem totum*, quia colles perpetuo iugo intererant, nullo conspecta inter se loco agmina ierunt ...

‘The two columns marched all day, nowhere seeing each other, since there was a continuous range of hills between them’

(12a) Varro *Rust.* 1.32.1: frumentum dicunt *quindecim diebus* esse in uaginis, *quindecim* florere, *quindecim* exarescere, cum sit maturum

‘because they say that the grain is in the sheaf for fifteen days, blooms during a period of fifteen days, dries up in fifteen days, and is then ripe’

(12b) Nep. *Ages.* 4.4: Hac ergo mente Hellespontum copias traiecit tantaque usus est celeritate, ut, quod iter Xerxes anno uertente confecerat, hic transierit triginta diebus

‘Because of that feeling, then, he led his forces across the Hellespont, and showed such speed that in thirty days he completed the march which had occupied Xerxes for an entire year’

As opposed to the States, the Activities are compatible with the expressions of dynamism (for instance, the adverbials of speed). The expressions of dynamism convey some idea about the internal change (13). The activities are compatible with the expressions of agency (for instance, the instrumental adverbials) (14; cf. Haverling 2010: 290–291) and with the expressions of volition, such as the adverbials of manner and the imperatives (15) (cf. with States).

(13) Ter. *Eun.* 571: Tacitus *citius audies*:

Be quiet, and you shall hear the sooner:

(14) Cato *Agr.* 69.2: (sc. *dolium*) tepeat satis est; *lenibus lignis facito calescat* ...

‘it is sufficient for it to be luke warm, so heat it over a slow fire’ = ‘see to it that it grows warmer with slow fire’

(15) Ter. *Ad.* 352–353: **Propera** tu, mea Canthara, **curre**, obstetricem **arcesse**, ut quom opus sit ne in mora nobis siet.

Do you, my dear Canthara, run with all haste, and fetch the midwife, so that, when she is wanted, we may not have to wait for her.

## 2.4.2 Agency, voice and change of dynamicity

In Latin, the suffix *-sco* is often used to express dynamicity and, sometimes, intransitivity. Verbs suffixed with *-sco* describe ongoing processes rather than changes, e.g. *augesco* ‘to increase, grow’ (1b) and *inveterasco* ‘to grow old, age’ (2b). The causative verbs usually have the old Indo-European suffix *-ē-* as in *augeo* ‘to increase, intensify (1a),<sup>60</sup> or, in the alternative, *-ā-* as in *invetero* ‘to make old’ (2a).

(1a) Ter. *Ad.* 143-145: uerum si **augeam** aut etiam adiutor sim eius iracundiae, insaniam profecto cum illo.

‘but if I were to inflame, or even to humor his anger, I should certainly be as mad as himself.’

(1b) Ter. *Haut.* 423-424: nam mihi quidem cottidie **augescit** magis de filio aegritudo

‘in my case my sorrow for my son increases day by day’

(2a) Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,5: non tam stabilis opinio permaneret nec confirmaretur diuturnitate temporis nec una cum saeculis aetatibus que hominum **inueterari**<sup>61</sup> potuisset.

‘belief which is only strengthened by the passage of the ages and grows more deeply rooted with each successive generation of mankind’

(2b) Ter. *Hec.* 7-10: sinite exorator sim, eodem ut iure uti senem / liceat, quo iure sum usus adulescentior, / nouas qui ut **inueterascerent**, ne cum poeta scriptura euanesceret.

‘allow me to be a successful pleader, that in my old age I may enjoy the same privilege that I enjoyed when a younger man, when I caused new Plays, that had been once rejected, to come into favor’

In some pairs of verbs, without and with the suffix *-sco*, the only difference is different grades of dynamicity. In such verbs, the unsuffixed verb conveys the action, while its suffixed cognate indicates the progressivity of the action itself. In (3a), *labo* means ‘to totter, to waver, to be shaky’ while in (3b–3c) *labasco* means ‘to be shaking, wavering’.

(3a) Cato *agr.* 20, 1: caueat ni **labet** columella: si mouebitur, eximito;

‘it should prevent it from being shaky: if it moves, take it out’

(3b) Ter. *Eun.* 178: **Labascit** uictus uno uerbo quam cito!

‘How soon he wavers, overcome by a single sentence!’

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<sup>60</sup> For this and similar examples, see Haverling (2010: 293-294; 324-327). However, some *sco*-verbs are transitive or potentially transitive (cf. *nosco*).

<sup>61</sup> In the manuscripts there is a variation between the intransitive and late verb *inueterare* and the transitive *inueterari* from the Classical period.

(3c) Plaut. *Rud.* 1394: Saluos sum, leno labascit, libertas portenditur

‘Saved! The pimp falters! Freedom for me!’

Here, the suffix *-sco* reinforces the already dynamic function of the progressive verb.

Another Latin suffix conveying atelic dynamicity is *-tare*, (*-itare / -ssare*). The formations of the first conjugation, built on the base of a Perfect participle with these suffixes, are called *iteratives* or *frequentatives*. Together with the Inchoatives, Desideratives, Causatives and Meditatives, they belong to *verbalia*, a group of verbs derived from verbal stems. These verbs indicate iterativity or frequentativity by the suffixes *-tare/-itare/-ssare*.<sup>62</sup>

Donatus (*Ars Grammatica*: III, 12), writes about the frequentatives:

“sunt etiam frequentativa de nomine venientia, ut patrisat graecissat; sunt quasi diminutiva, quae a perfecta forma veniunt, ut sorbillo sugillo; sunt sine origine || perfectae formae, ut pitisso vacillo. et frequentativa saepe in tres gradus ducunt verbum, ut curro curso cursito, saepe in duos tantum, ut volo volito.”

Donatus and Priscian agree that the simple verbs and the corresponding frequentatives belong to the first conjugation (ibid: “sed frequentativa verba semper primae coniugationis sunt”). Priscianus (*Gramm.* III p. 514 I. 7.) adds a further explanation:

“scis autem, quod omnia frequentativa primae sunt coniugationis et plerumque a participio praeteriti solent fieri, versus verso versas, adversus adversor adversaris, exceptis in go vel in sco desinentibus. illa enim a praesenti faciunt frequentativa, ut ago agito et lego legito et scisco sciscitor et nosco noscito. viso enim visis et laccio laccessis et arcesso arcessis non primae sed tertiae coniugationis inveniuntur.”

In Gildersleeve and Lodge (1895: §191),<sup>63</sup> we can read:

“The simple verb presupposed by the frequentative or intensive is often out of use, as in the case of: *gus-tare, hor-tari*. The frequentative or intensive in *-tare* is often out of use: *actitare*, ‘repeatedly or zealously agitate (no *actare*), from *ago, actum*; *lectitare*, ‘read carefully’ (no *lectare*), from *lego, lectum*.”

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<sup>62</sup> Iterativity emerges when semelfactive verbs appear in the imperfective aspect and hence conveys a series of momentaneous events produced in a certain lasting time-span. (This topic belongs to the field about Aspect and will be further discussed in §2.5). See also Smith (1997: 24, 50) and Johanson (2000: 55).

<sup>63</sup> See also: Leumann (1977: § 412.B) e Weiss (2009: 401–402).

The *opinio communis* is that the frequentatives are markers of emphasis or expressivity characteristic of the popular language, similarly to intensives such as *educare* from *ducere* or *occupare* from *capere* (Viti 2015: 125).<sup>64</sup>

The explicit derivation of the frequentatives might be considered the reinforcement of the continuous or habitual function, initially expressed by the *infectum* of the unsuffixed verb. The traditional interpretation of the verbs with the suffix *-sco* was that they are focused on the beginning of the situation: *extimesco* is considered a synthetic form of *timere incipio* ‘to start fearing’. It is demonstrated (Viti 2015: 129) that the problem is more complex since it involves the actional functions of the prefixes. Especially in Early Latin, there was a difference between the prefixed and unprefixed verbs with the suffix *-sco-*: *aresco* ‘to become dryer, be drying’ is indeed dynamic but also atelic and expresses a gradual unfolding, without focusing at the beginning or end of the process. On the other hand, employing the prefixes *inaresco* and *exaresco* stress the beginning and the end of the process. *Inaresco* has an ingressive component, while *exaresco* has a completive and egressive component. However, the explicit features yielded by the frequentatives, on the one hand, and the prefixes in verbs with the suffix *-sco* on the other hand, became opaque in Later Latin. We witness the loss of semantic functions of the suffix *-sco* and the combined prefixes (Haverling 2000: 458).

In Terence, as well as in other works of Early Latin, there are many frequentatives. As Viti (2015: 170) recalls, already Meillet (1948: 172–173) and Palmer (1954: 77) consider frequentatives to be used in an emphatic context. Viti plausibly claims that, since the emphasis is a very subjective matter, it has often been thought that the frequentatives are automatically emphatic. However, since the emphatic function has to be expressed externally to the frequentative verb, on the sample of 130 tokens in Plautus, Viti (2015: 126) shows that only less than 10% of the cases have unambiguous evidence for the emphasis.

The frequentatives reinforce the imperfective aspect, especially with a continuous or habitual interpretation (Viti 2015: 129). Although Viti states that the frequentatives in Latin were primarily built from the verbs which were previously preverbated,<sup>65</sup> her corpus consists of tokens from Plautus. In contrast, we found that Terence uses more frequently the simple verb from which the frequentative is derived (cf. §4.4.1.2). The examples (4a) and (4b) show a couple of non-frequentative and frequentative verbs (in Terence, the ratio in the occurrences of the *rogare* and *rogitare* is 54:22).

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<sup>64</sup> Viti (ibid. 126-127) reminds of the common agreement about the innovative frequentatives: this formation traces back to common Italic.

<sup>65</sup> However, this claim is true for the general use of suffixes: a suffix, both in Latin and SC, is usually recruited by the imperfective context, if the prefixation (and the “perfectivization”, i.e. telicization, had previously occurred).

(4a) Ter. *Eun.* 326: Quid factumst? CH. **Rogas?** / patris cognatum atque aequalem Archidemidem nouisti n'?

‘What's the matter? Do you ask me? Do you know Archidemides, my father's kinsman and years'-mate?’

(4b) Ter. *Ad.* 526: nunc ubi me illi non uidebit, iam huc recurret, sat scio: / **rogitabit** me, ubi fuerim: 'ego hoc te toto non uidi die:' quid dicam?

‘Now, when he doesn't find me there, he'll come running back here, I'm quite sure; he'll be asking me where I have been, that I have not seen him all this day: what am I to say?’

### 2.4.3 Change of state

In Early and Classical Latin, the opposition between non-dynamic and dynamic verbs (as well as telic and atelic ones) is conveyed by using different affixes. According to Haverling's proofs based on the extensive *corpus* (2000: 208), Latin generally needs an infix or a suffix to construct a verb that means ‘to enter into state X,’ from a verb with the meaning ‘to be in the state X.’ At the overall diachronic level, the prefix less often indicates the actional change in the unsuffixed verb. In that case, it adds or modifies the spatial semantic component. This system differs from the system met within Gothic, where, in Haverling's words (2000: 255), the prefix alone can indicate the change of state (cf. *slawan* : *gaslawan* and *taceo* : *conticesco*).

(a) The suffixes *-e-* or *-i-* were the markers of stative verbs and the suffix *-sco* was marking the dynamic verbs (*caleo* ‘to be hot’ – *calesco* ‘to become warmer, to be warming up’ – *concalesco* ‘to become warm’, *dormio* ‘to be asleep’ – *condormisco* ‘to fall asleep’);

(b) The suffix *-e-* marks stativity, while the original reduplication is the marker of the dynamicity (*sedeo* ‘to be sitting’ – *sido* < \**si-sd-o* ‘to sink gradually to a lower level’ – *consido* – ‘to sit down’).

(c) The suffix *-a-* marks stativity, while the nasal infix expresses dynamicity (*cubo* ‘to be lying down’ – *accumbo* ‘to lie down’).

Early and Classical Latin usually needed a dynamic suffix, as *-sco*, together with a prefix, to express the change from one state to another (1).<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> On this topic, see Haverling (2000, 2010: 285-286).

(1) Ter. *Ph.* 153–154: Adeon' rem redisse, ut qui mihi consultum optume uelit esse, Phaedria, patrem ut **extimescam**

‘That things should have come to such a pass, Phaedria, that I should become utterly afraid of my father’

This suffix added dynamicity to the non-dynamic, prefixed verbs (*caleo – calesco*). It also had the function of changing the agentive properties of the verb.

With the dynamic verbs, prefixes convey many functions as completion, egressivity, ingressivity and perdurativity. With the stative verbs, the role of the prefixes is to indicate the change from one state to another. Usually, this change must be preceded by adding a dynamic suffix, for instance -*sco*. In (2), *condormisco*, as *obdormisco*, means ‘to fall fast asleep’.

(2) Plaut. *Cur.* 358-359: ille ebibit, caput deponit, **condormiscit**.

‘in return he drank it off, reclined his head, and fell fast asleep.’

When the stative verb is prefixed and not suffixed, the prefix does not convey a change of state but the intensity of the event (cf. Haverling 2000; 2010: 297). In (3), *condormio* means ‘to be fast asleep’.

(3) Hyg. *fab.* 125,15: cum Vlysses **condormiret**, socii inuolarunt pecus

‘while Ulysses was fast asleep, his comrades stole the sheep’

There are, however, some examples of the prefixed but unsuffixed verbs that express change of state and hence show the semantic contrast with the non-dynamic, unprefix verb. These examples are rare and occur in poetry from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards. (Haverling 2000: 252-267; Haverling 2010: 286, 300). In example (4),<sup>67</sup> *conticeo* means ‘to stop talking,’ just as *conticesco* (5).

(4) Calp. *ecl.* 4,97–98: *aspicis, ut virides audito Caesare silvae conticeant?*

‘do you see how the green woods are hushed at the sound of Caesar’s name?’

(5) Plaut. *Bacch.* 798: Sed **contiscam**: nam audio aperiri fores.

‘But I’ll hold my tongue, for I hear the door opening.’

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<sup>67</sup> *Conticeo* occurs in a poetic passage from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD and then occasionally in Late Latin passages from the 4<sup>th</sup> century onward (cf. Haverling 2010: 286, 300).

Sometimes the stative verbs occur within the expressions they generally are incompatible with: in these cases, the verb indicates the *change of state* and not the state itself (6) (cf. Haverling 2010: 291).

(6) Ter. *Eun.* 899: Au, **tace** obsecro.

‘Hush! Hush! Mistress, pray.’

Adverbials meaning ‘suddenly’ or ‘at once’ such as *repente* in (7) and (8) and *statim* in (9) announce a sudden shift in the type of situation – state (9) or event (7, 8).

(7) Plaut. *Cas.* 333: quasi tu nescias, *repente* ut **emorianitur** humani Ioues.

‘As if you didn’t know how suddenly your human Jupiters drop dead.’

(8) Ter. *Hec.* 356: dic mihi: an dolor *repente* **inuasit**?

‘Tell me; was she suddenly taken ill?’

(9) Caes. *Epist. frg.* 7: hoc uos *statim* **scire** uolui

‘I wanted you to know this at once’

#### 2.4.4 Telicity

The property [±] telicity is often expressed by the presence or lack of the prefixes in Latin.<sup>68</sup>

An essential function of the prefixes in Latin is to telicize the verbs. Their other functions are the spatial, completive, ingressive, egressive function, etc. While there exist the unprefixated verbs with the durative expressions (*For X time*) (1a), there are prefixed verbs with the completive temporal expressions (*In X time*) (1b).

(1a) Liv. 33, 6, 9: per diem totum...nullo conspecta inter se loco agmina **ierunt**.

‘the two columns marched all day, nowhere seeing each other’

(1b) Nep. *Ages.* 4.4: Hac ergo mente Hellespontum copias traiecit tantaque usus est celeritate, ut, quod iter Xerxes anno uertente confecerat, hic transierit *triginta diebus*

‘Because of that feeling, then, he led his forces across the Hellespont, and showed such speed that in thirty days he completed the march which had occupied Xerxes for an entire year’

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<sup>68</sup> However, this is not always the case: cf. *eo in litore* and *eo Romam*.

We can compare the unprefix and prefixed couples of the verbs in Early Latin. *Edo* means ‘to eat (of)’ (2a) and *bibo* ‘to drink (of)’ (2b), whereas the prefixed *comedo* means ‘to eat up’ and *ebibo* ‘to drink up, consume’ (3).

(2a) Plaut. *Trin.* 339: De mendico male meretur qui ei dat quod **edit** aut bibit

‘He deserves ill of a beggar who gives him what to eat or to drink’

(2b) Ter. *Eun.* 727: uicit uinum quod **bibi**.

‘The wine that I have drunk has got the upper hand.’

(3) Ter. *Heaut.* 255: Di boni, quid turbaest! aedes nostrae uix capient, scio. Quid **comedent!** quid **ebibent!**

‘Our house will hardly hold them, I’m sure. How much they will eat! How much they will drink!’

However, many unprefix verbs inherently yield telicity. One of the inherently telic verbs that is unprefix is *morior* ‘to die’ (4). These verbs and the other telic verbs are found in completive expressions (*X diebus*).

(4) Ter. *An.* 104: ferme in *diebus paucis*, quibus haec acta sunt, Chrysis uicina haec **moritur**.

‘In about a few days after these things had been agreed on, Chrysis, this neighbour dies.’

The verb *morior*, with the inherent end-point, stays telic with the addition of the prefix: in *emorior* the prefix *ex-* does not have the usual function of setting the end-point. This prefix transforms the verbs’ duration from the telic and durative *morior* to the momentaneous and telic *emorior*.

(5) Ter. *Eun.* 884–885: te mihi patronam capio, Thais, te obsecro: **emoriar**, si non hanc uxorem duxero.

‘I take you, Thais, as my protectress; I implore you; I shall die if I don’t have her for my wife.’

We can compare the semantic difference between the duration in *morior* and the difference between *librum facio* and *librum conficio*. An expression like *librum facio* is, like *morior*, inherently telic and durative too. *Librum conficio*, on the other hand, is telic and momentaneous (‘I finish the book’).

There are also prefixed verbs that in themselves may indicate atelicity but which combined with adverbials such as *aliquo* ‘somewhere’ (6) or *hinc* ‘from here’ (7) indicate telicity and set the focus on the end-point or the initial point of the situation:

(6) Ter. *And.* 327–328: saltem aliquot dies profer, dum **proficiscar** *aliquo*, ne uideam.

‘Put it off for some days at least, while I go elsewhere, that I may not be witness.’

(7) Ter. *And.* 935: Is *hinc* bellum fugiens meque in Asiam persequens **proficiscitur**:

‘He, flying from the wars, and following me to Asia, set out from here.’

The conjunction *dum* has a twofold meaning. It is perceived as ‘while, as long as,’ hence as a durative expression or as ‘until’ and hence as a completive expression. The following examples show that the unprefixd verbs with *-sco* convey the atelic meaning (8a), while the prefixed verb with *-sco* gives the telic sense (8b, 8c).

(8a) Ter. *Ad.* 785-786: *dum* hae **silesunt** turbae, interea in angulum aliquo abeam atque edormiscam hoc uilli.

‘I shall retire to a corner somewhere and sleep off this drop of whine while the storm is blowing over’

(8b) Plaut. *Amph.* 696: Paulisper mane, *dum* **edormiscat** unum somnum.

‘Stop a little while, until she has slept out this one sleep’

(8c) Plaut. *Mil.* 581–583: Numquam hercle ex ista nassa ego hodie escam petam;/ nam iam aliquo aufugiam et me occultabo dies,/ *dum* haec **consilesunt** turbae atque irae leniunt

‘For now, somwhither will I betake myself, and for some days will I lie concealed until this turmoil is hushed and their resentment is softened.’

#### 2.4.5 Momentaneousness and +/- durativity

*Accomplishments* are dynamic; moreover, they are durative and telic. These verbs express the events that last for a specific time before reaching the end-point. The period represented before the end-point is called the preparatory phase. This process is conceptualized as an integral part of the situation. These predicates are compatible with the expressions of duration (1):<sup>69</sup>

(1) Ter. *An.* 327–328 saltem *aliquot dies* profer, *dum* **proficiscar** aliquo, ne uideam.

‘Put it off for some days at least, while I go elsewhere, that I may not be witness.’

In (1), the adverb *aliquo* adds the physical end-point, conveying the telic component to the verb *proficiscor* ‘to set forward, to go.’

The Accomplishments are ambiguous when combined with the adverbial *paene* ‘almost.’ When found with this adverbial, it is not clear if the focus is set on the beginning of the preliminary phase or the reaching of the end-point (Pinkster 1983: 281, Vester 1983: 19–20, Haverling 2010: 308–

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<sup>69</sup> See Comrie (1976: 41-44), Smith (1997: 26-29, 44-47) and Haverling (2000: 61-65, 107-115).

310; cf. Haverling 2000: 114) (2). This fact differentiates them from the States and Activities, which have clear-cut semantics when found with the adverbials like *paene*.

(2) Ter. *Heaut.* 814: Quam *paene* tua me **perdidit** proteruitas!

‘You nearly ruined me with your brazen behavior.’

In Latin, the adverbials *X diebus/mensibus* (‘in X time’) are conveyed by the ablative meaning ‘in a certain time.’ They encompass the period during which the situation unfolded. Therefore, the function of the expression like (*in*) *diebus paucis* is answering the implicit question “how long a time?” (3). This expression refers to a limited period. The focus is set on the lasting of a period, however long or brief.

(3) Plaut. *Poen.* 1208: nos fore inuito domino nostro diebus paucis **liberas**.

‘that we’d be free against our master’s will within a few days.’

*Liberare* (3) is an Accomplishment. Completive adverbials have the function of adding the specific end-point to the durative, telic predicates.

*Achievements* are dynamic verbs; “they do not have parts” (Mittwoch 2019: 46) – hence, they are non-durative and telic. They last for only the duration of the end-point and therefore are considered non-durative. They result in a change of state and are noniterable. The preparatory phase (state or process), which is non-detachable from the end-point in the Accomplishments, is associated in the Achievements with the change of state. Still, it is detached from the end-point (and hence, the event itself). Often, they may concern only one occurrence of the event, and in these cases, they are therefore called semelfactive.<sup>70</sup>

The state change can be expressed by the phasal verbs, which, combined with various verbs in the complementary infinitive, indicate the beginning of a specific situation. If the verb in the complementary infinitive contains a suffix *-sco*, the verbal syntagm expresses the entrance into an event. In case the complementary infinitive is non-dynamic, the verbal syntagm describes the entrance into a state. Haverling (2010: 292) calls ‘inceptive’ the predicates focusing at the beginning of an event or process (*incipio...extimescere*), and ‘inchoative’ the predicates focusing at the entrance into a state (*incipio...timere*).

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<sup>70</sup> There is a conceptual blurring of the fifth actional category, *semelfactive verbs*. Since even in the updated literature regarding the problems of Latin actionality, these are included – and subcategorized – within the larger category of the Achievements, we will follow this currency (cf. Pinkster 1983, Haverling 2000 and 2010).

The Achievements can express the presupposed preparatory phase of a process associated with the end-point, defined as being within the event itself (5).

(5) Ter. *Heaut.* 274: *Iam primum omnium, ubi uentum ad aedis est, Dromo pultat fores.*

‘When we came to the house, Dromo knocked at the door.’

Achievements do not occur with the aspectual verbs as ‘to begin,’ ‘to continue’ (6), ‘to stop,’ ‘to finish’ since these verbs would imply an event protracted in time (Mittwoch 2019: 46). This fact differentiates them from the Activities and the Accomplishments.

(6) Ter. *Heaut.* 930: *nam si illi pergo suppeditare sumptibus...* (Activity)

‘For if I go on supplying his extravagance....’

### 2.4.5.1 Testing durativity

When we test the predicates for duration and focus, we should consider compatibility with the adverbials expressing simple duration and completion and the verb *desino/desisto*, ‘to stop.’

(1) Compatibility with the adverbials of simple duration (‘For X time’).

In Latin, the adverbials of simple duration are conveyed by the accusative of duration (*duos menses, multos annos* ‘for two months’, ‘for many years’), sometimes preceded by the preposition *per* (*per X menses, per X horas*, ‘for X months,’ ‘for X hours’). Adverbials of simple duration are compatible with states (1) and activities (2, 3).

(1) Ter. *Hec.* 420–421: *... dies triginta aut plus eo in nauis fui / quom interea semper mortem exspectabam miser.*

‘I was in the ship for 30 days or more, and during all that time I was expecting death’

(2) Plaut. *Stich.* 150–160: *Nam illa me in aluo menses gestauit decem: / At ego illam in aluo gesto plus annos decem.*

‘For in her womb, for ten months she bore me, whereas I have been carrying her for more than ten years in my stomach.’

(3) Plaut. *Cist.* 224–5: *Ita pater apud uillam detinuit / Me hos dies sex ruri continuos*

‘In such a way has my father detained me these six days running in the country, at his house’

All of the examples convey situations that lasted for a limited period (*for ten months, three nights, six days, thirty days, or more*) and that only terminated because the temporal boundary, and not the inherent nature of the situation, caused the end of the process.

## 2) Compatibility with *desino/desisto* 'stop'

Barbelenet (1913) and Hofman & Szantyr (1965: §168c) already used this test to determine the duration's verbal feature. *Desino* and *desisto* are compatible with verbs describing durative situations.

In the following list, I give all the occurrences of these two phasal verbs in Plautus and Terence. Group (a) encompasses examples of the phasal verbs in *infectum* Tenses, whereas group (b) does so for these verbs in the *perfectum* Tenses.

### (a) Infectum

#### - *Desino*:

Plaut. *Aul.* 523: Compellarem ego illum, ni metuam ne desinat/**memorare** mores mulierum;

Plaut. *Bacch.* 100: Prius hic adero quam te **amare** desinam.

Plaut. *Men.* 120: Virum **obseruare** desines.

Ter. *An.* 22: dehinc ut quiescant porro moneo et desinant / **maledicere**

Ter. *Eun.* 14: is ne erret moneo et desinat **laccessere**.

Ter. *Hec.* 810: Tua quod nil re fert, **percontari** desinas.

#### -*Desisto*:

Plaut. *Bacch.* 1170: Vt istuc delictum desistas tanto opere **ire** oppugnatum.

Plaut. *Epid.* 40: Desiste **percontarier**;

Plaut. *Men.* 245: Verum aliter uiuos numquam desistam **exsequi**:

Plaut. *Men.* 405: Iam, amabo, desiste **ludos facere** atque i hac me cum semul.

Plaut. *Rud.* 682: Desiste dictis nunciam miseram me **consolari**.

Ter. *Hec.* 104: **percontarier** desiste.

Ter. *Heaut.* 879: Ohe, desiste inquam deos, uxor, gratulando **optundere**...

(b) Perfectum

Plaut. *Cist.* 582: <non> hercle hoc longe destiti / **Instare** usque adeo, donec se adiurat anus / Iam mihi monstrare.

Ter. *An.* 660: numquam destitit / **instare**

Plaut. *Trin.* 1011: ne destiteris **currere**.

*Desisto* is used with the complementary verbs of motion (*instare* ‘to stand upon, take a position’ and *currere* ‘to run’). Both verbs appear in their durative, dynamic reading. Moreover, the only examples of the States are found in conjunction with *desino* (twice in Plautus, with *memorare* and *amare*). The rest of the complements to the phasal verbs ‘to stop’ are durative events.

### 2.4.6 Focus and Lexicon

One can set the semantic *focus* of an event on its beginning, on the course of its duration, or its end. Focus on the beginning involves telic and atelic expressions. This focus can be **inceptive**, conveying an entry into an event (cf. *horrescere coepit* ‘(s)he started to shake, shudder, or tremble for fear; (s)he started to become frightened, terrified’). The focus can also be **inchoative**, bringing a change and a subsequent State (cf. *incipio timere* ‘I start fearing’).

Different kinds of focus may be indicated by the prefixes as well. They emphasize the focus set at a particular phase of the situation. In the triad *albescere* ‘to grow white’ – the gradable *inalbesco* ‘to start becoming white and become white to a certain extent’ – *exalbescere* ‘turn white or pale’, the unprefixated verb focuses on the internal stage of the event. In contrast, *inalbesco* focuses on the beginning of the process of change, which becomes indefinite. *Exalbescere* indicates that the process of growing white has reached its ultimate phase.

A prefix like *ex* is always egressive in its actional function (as in *exarescere* ‘to become completely dry’ – as opposed to *arescere* ‘to be drying, getting drier’). In this, it resembles its spatial function (as in *egredior* ‘to go out of’).

The **completive** prefix *con* may, however, have its focus on the beginning as well as on end. It indicates the entrance into a new state in, for instance, *conticescere* ‘to stop talking (literally to start being silent)’ (as opposed to *tacere* ‘to be silent, not speak’). It indicates the end of an action in *comedere* ‘to eat entirely up, to eat, consume’ (as opposed to the atelic expression *edere* ‘to eat (of)’). In the former function, there is an overlap with the prefix *ob* (cf. *condormiscere* and *obdormiscere*, which both mean ‘to fall asleep’) and in the latter with the prefix *ex* (cf. *comedere* and *exedere*, which both mean ‘to eat up, devour’).

## 2.5 Lexical morphology

In Proto-Indo-European, the agency and the actionality were expressed by several verbal affixes. In Latin, affixes kept this role.

The formation of the prefixed and suffixed verbs depends on different principles. Accordingly, these verbs can be distributed into several groups formed by semantic principles.

### 2.5.1. Suffixes

#### 2.5.1.1. The suffix *-sco*

The suffix *-sco* frequently occurs in the Early and Classical Latin verbs and has various functions. Most of the verbs with this suffix are active and intransitive, although there are a few deponents and a few transitive verbs with the suffix *-sco*.

The main functions of *-sco* are (cf. § 2.4):

(a) Transforming a transitive verb into an intransitive one (1):

(1a) Ter. *Ad.* 143-145: uerum si **augeam** aut etiam adiutor sim eius iracundiae, insaniam profecto cum illo.

‘but if I were to inflame, or even to humor his anger, I should certainly be as mad as himself.’

(1b) Ter. *Haut.* 423-424: nam mihi quidem cottidie **augescit** magis de filio aegritudo

‘in my case my sorrow for my son increases day by day’

(b) Transforming a non-dynamic verb into a dynamic one (2):

(2a) Plaut. *Mil.* 707: Prius quam **luceat** adsunt, rogitant noctu ut somnum ceperim.

‘Before it’s light they’re present and ask me if I’ve slept well.’

(2b) Plaut. *Amph.* 543: Eamus, Amphitruo: **lucescit** hoc iam.

‘Let’s go, Amphitruo. Day’s dawning already.’

(c) Underlining the gradual character of a process (3):

(3a) Ter. *Ad.* 280–281: ne, si magis irritatus siet, aliqua hoc **permanet** ad patrem atque ego tum perpetuo perierim.

‘If he gets any angrier, news of this may leak to my father, and then I’m utterly ruined.’

(3b) Plaut. *Trin.* 152–153: me obsecrauit suo ne gnato crederem Neue quoquam, unde ad eum id posset **permanascere**.

‘he entreated me...that I shouldn’t entrust this to his son or to anyone from whom it could leak out to him.’

(d) Building denominal verbs (4: *vesper* ‘evening’ – *vesperascit* ‘it grows towards evening’); 5: *senex* ‘old’ – *senescere* ‘to grow older, to age’; 6: *sanus* ‘healthy’ – *sanescit* ‘to become healthy, to heal’)

(4) Ter. *Haut.* 248: et **uesperascit**, et non nouerunt uiam

‘Evening’s coming on and they don’t know the way’

(5) Var. *Lat.* IV, 11: Seclum spatium annorum centum vocarunt, dictum a sene, quod longissimum spatium **senescendorum** hominum id putarunt.

‘seclum ‘century’ was what they called the space of one hundred years, named from senex ‘old man,’ because they thought this the longest stretch of life for senescendi ‘aging’ men.’

(6) Plin. *Nat.* XVII, 35: diu dolent talia quoque ulcera et difficile **sanescunt**

‘as wounds facing in those directions too suffer for a long time and heal with difficulty’

The suffix *-sco* has usually been characterized as ‘inchoative’, setting the focus at the beginning of the event (Ernout & Thomas 1953: § 237, Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: §166b).

The stative verbs of the second conjugation (*calere* ‘to be hot’, *tacere* ‘to be silent’, *arere* ‘to be dry’) are non-dynamic. The addition of the suffix *-sco* renders them dynamic and atelic.

(1) Plaut. *Bacch.* 105: ... Aqua **calet**: eamus hinc intro ut laves

‘Water **is hot**: let us go inside so that you might wash’

(2) Ter. *Eun.* 83-85: ...PH. Totus, Parmeno, / tremo horreoque, postquam aspexi hanc. PA. Bono animo es: / accede ad ignem hunc, iam **calesces** plus satis

I’m trembling and shivering all over, Parmeno, at the sight of her. PAR. (to Phaedria) Don’t worry. Just go near the fire (indicating Thais), and **you’ll be** more than **warm** enough.

(3) Plaut. *Rud.* 573-578: CH. At vides me ornatus ut sim vestimentis uvidis: / recipe me in tectum, da mihi vestimenti aliquid aridi, / dum **arescunt** mea; ín aliquo tibi gratiam referam loco. / SC. Tegillum eccillud, mihi unum id **aret**; id si vis, dabo: / eodem amictus, eodem tectus esse soleo, si pluit. / Tu istaec mihi dato: **exarescent** faxo.

‘But do you see me, in what wet clothes I’m dressed? Do take me under shelter; lend me some dry clothes, while my own **are drying**; on some occasion I’ll return you the favor.

SC. See, here's my outer coat, which alone **is dry**; that, if you like, I'll lend you. Takes it off and holds it out to him. In that same I'm wont to be clothed, by that same protected, when it rains. Do you give me those clothes of yours; I'll soon **have them dried.**'

(11) Plaut. *Capt.* 480: ...Quasi muti **silent** ...

'Just like dumb men, they **were silent**...'

(12) Ov. *Trist.* 2.149-152: ac veluti ventis agitantibus aera non est / aequalis rabies continuusque furor, / sed modo subsidunt intermissisque **silesunt**, / vimque putes illos deposuisse suam

'As there's no steady rage, no constant fury, in the winds that agitate the air, but they subside to intermittent **silence**, and you'd think they'd set aside their power'

(13) Plaut. *Mil.* 581-583: numquam hercle ex ista nassa ego hodie escam petam; / nam iam aliquo aufugiam et me occultabo aliquot dies, / dum haec **consilesunt** turbae atque irae leniunt.

'faith, never will I be seeking a bait this day from out of that wicker-net<sup>7</sup>. For now somewhither will I betake myself, and for some days will I lie concealed until this turmoil **is hushed** and their resentment is softened.'

The unprefixated *-sco* verbs describe the non-terminative process (cf. Haverling 2000: 159–170), while the addition of the prefixes sets the focus to the different parts of the process or the change.

*Caleo* means 'to be hot' (8), while *calesco* means 'to become warmer, warm up' (9). The suffixed verb describes the temperature change. In (10), there are all the stages of the state and the process of *areo*, meaning 'to be dry'. *Aresco* means 'to be drier, be drying,' while *exaresco* means 'to be (finally / ultimately) dry.'

Also, one can gradually differentiate the change from sound to silence: *sileo* means 'to be silent' (11), *silesco* means 'to gradually cease to make noise, to grow (more) silent' (12), and *consilesco* means 'to become silent' (13).

### 2.5.1.2. The “iterative” suffix

Another frequent suffix, *-tare* (*-itare* / *-ssare*), is used for building *iterative* or *frequentative* verbs. Unlike the verbs with *-sco* (cf. 2.5.1.2 (d)), these strictly derive from the verbal stems, usually built from the first conjugation verbs.

In Early comedies, the intensives form from *verba dicendi*, *verba sentiendi*, *verba affectuum*, *verba agenda*, and *verba iubendi*.

The semantics of the iterative verbs is more thoroughly explained in § 2.4.2.

## 2.5.2. Prefixes

Prefixes have multiple functions. However, they are usually categorized within two main functional groups: the actional and the spatial.

The straightforwardly noticeable spatial function of the prefixes is found within the non-dynamic verbs (1) (cf. Lehmann 1983)

(1) Plaut. *Rud.* 101: Nam nunc **perlucet** ea quam cribrum crebrius.

‘for now it's shining through it, more full of holes than a sieve.’

Often, the prefixes emphasize the event's intensity as in (2), *deamare* ‘to be desperately in love with, to love dearly or passionately.’

(2) Plaut. *Epid.* 281: Cum illa quam tuos gnatus *annos multos deamat*, deperit...

‘With her whom your son has been loving and doting on for years...’

Prefixes can have a sociative function in verbs conveying collocation or simultaneity (3).

(3) Ter. *An.* 366: etiam puerum inde abiens **conueni** Chremi:

‘coming away from there I met the servant-boy of Chremes’

### 2.5.2.1 Con-<sup>71</sup>

*Con-* is one of the most frequent prefixes; it appears in three separate semantic functions:

- a) actional - when it changes the actional properties of the verb from atelic to telic (*edo* ‘to eat’ – *comedo* ‘to eat up’).

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<sup>71</sup> The list of the verbs with *con-* appearing in Terence: *cogo* (*coactus*), *compersit*, *comparo* (+ *comparatus*), *compreco*, *comperio*, *complector*, *complacet* (*complacita est*), *comprobo*, *comprendo* (*comprehendo*), *compono* (*compositum*), *comprimo*, *conqueror*, *conrado*, *corrumpo*, *corrigo*, *corripio*, *consuefacio*, *consisto*, *consuesco* (*consueui*), *consolo*, *constabilio*, *consumo*, *consulo*, *constringo*, *constituo*, *consector*, *conscindo*, *constringo*, *conspicor*, *consequor*, *considero*, *consusurro*, *conseruo*, *contineo*, *contero*, *contamino* (?), *contemno*, *contingo*, *conturbo*, *contemplo*, *contego* (*contexeris*), *conuenio*, *conuorto* (*conuerto*), *conuincio*, *conuiuariet*, *conuolo*, *conuado* (*conuasassem*), *concalesco* (*concaluit*), *concerto*, *concedo*, *concilio*, *concio* (*conciui*), *conclamo*, *concludo*, *concordo*, *concumbo* (*concupuisse*), *concrepo* (*concrepuit*), *concurro*, *conduco* (*conductus*), *condono*, *condecoro* (*condecorandi*), *conduplico*, *condonocoepti*, *coeo* (*coiimus*), *confero* (*contuli*), *conficio*, *confido*, *confio* (?), *conflict(r)*, *confore*, *confiteor*, *conflauo*, *confugio*, *confuto*, *confingo*, *confabulor*, *conglutino*, *congero*, *congruo*, *congregior*, *cohaereo*, *cohibeo*, *conicio* (*conieci*), *conlaudo*, *conlacrumo*, *conloquor*, *conloco*, *conligo*, *conlibet* (*conlubitum est*), *conlocupletio*, *conlucio*, *conmonstro* (+ *commonstro*), *committo*, *commendo*, *comminiscor* (+ *commenta est*), *commigro*, *commoueo*, *communico*, *commoneo*, *commemini* (*commemineram*), *commendo*, *commuto*, *committo*, *commemoro*, *commereo*, *commetare*, *commiserescit*, *commeo*, *commoro*.

b) sociative – when its function is related to the preposition *cum* (*duco* ‘to lead’ – *conduco* ‘to draw together, assemble, gather, unite’).

c) intensive – when it adds to the event's intensity (*condormire* ‘to fall quite asleep,’ *commorari* ‘to stop somewhere, to tarry, linger, abide, sojourn, remain’).

In Early Latin, the actional *con-* is more commonly used than the sociative *con-* (Rosén 1992), and hence, it is its primary function (cf. Barone (1908), Barbelenet (1913: 253-287)). The actional role of *con-* is completive, and hence it emphasizes neither the beginning nor the end of the situation.

#### **2.5.2.2 Ad-**

*Ad-* appears in two semantic functions: spatial and actional. Its spatial function is related to the preposition *ad-* ‘to, towards’ (*eo* ‘to go’ – *adeo* ‘to go to, approach’). This function is related to that of the preposition *ab-* ‘from, away’.

In its actional function, this prefix emphasizes the entrance into a process or action (*afficio* ‘to do something to someone, to affect someone, to bestow upon’, *adedo* ‘to eat away, consume’). Hence, it is also called ‘ingressive.’ In its ingressive function, it is often related to the completive function of *con-* (*adsuesco* ‘to accustom one to something, to habituate’ – *consuesco* ‘to get used to something’, *adedo* ‘to eat away, consume’ – *comedo* ‘to eat up’).

#### **2.5.2.3 In-**

In the same manner as *ad-*, the prefix *in-* has a spatial and an actional function.

According to the original, prepositional meaning, its spatial function yields the direction towards something (*infero* ‘carry into’) or the locative function (*inesse* ‘to be inside’, *illuceo* ‘shine on’).

Its actional, ingressive function indicates or underlines the beginning of a dynamic situation (*incipio* ‘to begin’, *tono* ‘to make a loud noise’ – *intono* ‘to thunder, to make a loud, thundering noise,’ *lucresco* ‘to be growing lighter’ – *illucesco* ‘to grow light, to begin to shine’).

#### **2.5.2.4 Ob-**

In the same manner as *ad-* and *in-*, the prefix *ob-* has spatial and actional functions.

Its spatial function, according to the original, prepositional meaning ‘in front of, in the face of,’ yields the direction opposed to something or someone (*offero* ‘bring before, offer,’ *obticeo* ‘to be silent in the face of somebody, to refuse to answer questions’).

Its actional function indicates the beginning of the dynamic event. *In its ingressive function, ob-* emphasizes the change from one state to another (*occipio* ‘to begin,’ *obliviscor* ‘to forget’).

#### **2.5.2.5 Ex-**

*Ex-* appears in two semantic functions: spatial and actional. Its spatial function is related to the semantics of the corresponding preposition, indicating the direction away from something (*effero* ‘bring out forth, carry away,’ *exstillo* ‘to drip away, emit drops’).

In its actional function, *ex-* yields the exit from a dynamic event or end of a process; hence, it is also called ‘egressive’ (*morior* ‘to be dying,’ *emorior* ‘perish, die’).

#### **2.5.2.6 De-**

*De-* has three semantic functions.

The spatial function relates to the preposition *de* ‘from, away, down’ (*decedo* ‘to go away, depart,’ *defluo* ‘to flow down’).

The privative function (*desipio* ‘lose or lack intelligence’) can sometimes yield the reversal of the process (*defervesco* ‘to cease boiling, to cool off’).

The intensive function emphasizes the degree of a situation (*deamo* ‘to love thoroughly’) and the actional function - the completion of a change (*defetiscor* ‘to become exhausted’). These functions can be considered related.

#### **2.5.2.7 Ab-**

The prefix *ab-* has two semantic functions.

The spatial function relates to the preposition *ab* ‘away, from’ (*aufero* ‘carry away’).

The actional function expresses egressivity (conclusion of the process or development) in the same fashion of the prefixes *ex-* and *de-* (*aborior* ‘die, be lost’).

According to Haverling (2000: 348), this prefix is not very productive, and it is of modest importance in the development of the Romance languages.

#### **2.5.2.8 Per-**

*Per-* occurs in three semantic functions.

Its spatial function is related to the meaning of the preposition *per* ‘through, thorough’ (*perduco* ‘to lead through’ *percurro* ‘to run through,’ *perluceo* ‘to shine through, be transparent’).

Its perdurative function means ‘thorough a period’ (*peruigilo*; *perdormisco* ‘to sleep through’).

In its completive function, *per-* sets the focus on the completeness of an event (*pernego* ‘to deny flatly’; cf. Early Latin *pertimesco* ‘become very scared (of),’ *perprurisco* ‘itch all over with lust,’ *persentisco* ‘become fully aware of’).

However, the categorization of the verbs with *per-* is not always straightforward.

For example, *perhibeo* ‘present, bestow, afford, give; regard, repute, call; ascribe, attribute’ and *permitto* ‘to let pass, let go, let loose,’ change their semantics thoroughly through the prefixation.

The actional and the spatial functions are often blurred: both in *perpetior* ‘experience or undergo hardships or sufferings to the full, put up with to the end’ and *perspicio* ‘inspect thoroughly, look or see through, discern, perceive,’ the end-point can be viewed spatially or actionally-temporally (‘completely, through, to the full’). On the other hand, in *percontor* ‘make inquiries about, to ask particularly, interrogate, question strictly’ and *percutio* ‘land a blow on, strike forcibly, strike dead’, the intensivity is perceived as a potential for reaching a definite end-point, again viewed spatially or actionally-temporally.

The same kind of ambiguity regarding the perception of the end-point applies to the verbs as *persoluo* ‘pay in full money, pay off, fulfil’, *percipio* ‘earn, reap, acquire possession of, acquire, take in or grasp with the mind’ and *perturbo* ‘throw into confusion or disorder, upset, perturb’.

The spatial endpoint in *venio* ‘come’ is underlined in *pervenio* ‘reach, arrive’. The transitive verbs of motion, as *quatio* ‘to shake, set in motion’, get the intensive component by the prefixation with *per-*: *percutio* ‘land a blow on, strike forcibly, strike dead.’

### 2.5.2.9 Other prefixes (*Pro-*, *trans-* etc.)

*Pro-* and *trans-* are not very productive prefixes in Latin.

Depending on the type of the verb it modifies, *pro-* means ‘for, in favour of’ (*prosum* ‘to be in favour of’), or ‘forward, in a certain direction’ (*procedo* ‘go or move forward’) or ‘from’ (*prognatus* ‘born, produced from’).

*Trans-* means ‘across, beyond, on the other side of’ (*transeo* ‘go across, cross over, pass over’).

### 2.5.2.10 The interrelation between the prefixes

Prefixes can be grouped into broader semantic categories, determined by the spatial meaning of the prepositions from which the prefixes derive. The spatial orientation of the prefix determines its actional function: while the direction towards shifts the actional focus towards the beginning of the situation, the direction from or away shifts the actional focus towards the ending of the situation.

There are the prefixes with the ingressive property (*ad-*, *in-*, *ob-*): verbs with these prefixes emphasize the beginning of the event. There are the prefixes with the egressive property (*ex-*, *de-*, *ab-*): verbs with these prefixes express the end of the specific event.

There is also a very common prefix with the completive, sociative, and intensive property, *con-*.

In Early and Classical Latin, *agnosco* means ‘to understand, recognize’, where the focus is at the beginning of the process; *cognosco* means ‘to learn, to get to know, to find out’, where verb expresses a terminative process without focusing on its beginning or end. The unprefixated cognate, *nosco*, means ‘to try to find out or learn about’.

In Early Latin, the unprefixated verb *aresco* means ‘to grow drier’ and describes a process without focusing on its beginning or its end, while its prefixated cognates are *inaresco* ‘to start becoming dry’ and *exaresco* ‘to dry out’. There is also the possibility of enhancing the period necessary for the process to reach its end: *peraresco* ‘to become thoroughly dry’.

The interrelationship between the prefixes is complex. One prefix can occur in several functions (see the completive and sociative functions of *con-* in § 2.5.3.1; the contemporaneous actional and spatial functions of many prefixes). Some prefixes often interrelate, as *ad-* and *con-* (*agnosco* ‘to get to know gradually’ and *cognosco* ‘to get to know’). While *con-* sets the focus on the change from one to another state, *ad-* sets the focus on the gradual change.

Hence, every prefix interrelates with some other prefixes due to the overlapping of their functions.

## 2.6 Summary

The division into three verbal stems (the present, the aorist, and the perfect) found in ancient Greek has in Latin been reduced to two (the *inflectum* and the *perfectum*). As a result, the difference between the past tense function of the Aorist and the perfect function of the perfect was blurred, and the Latin perfect tense can express both semantical functions.

There was also a reduction in the number of moods – ancient Greek has four (indicative, subjunctive, optative and imperative), whereas Latin has only three (indicative, subjunctive and imperative). During this change, some formerly modal forms became temporal instead – the *futurum exactum* in Latin derives from the aorist subjunctive and seems to have developed the absolute-relative function in, for instance, clauses introduced by the conjunction *priusquam* ‘before’.

Actional features – telicity and atelicity – are incorporated within the perfective and imperfective aspect, expressed in turn by the Perfect and Imperfect Tense. Latin has a very rich and subtle system of indicating various actional properties.

In Latin, the suffix *-sco* is often used to express dynamicity and, sometimes, intransitivity. Verbs suffixed with *-sco* describe ongoing processes rather than changes (e.g., *augesco* ‘to increase, grow’, *inveterasco* ‘to grow old, age’). In Early and Classical Latin, the suffix *-sco*, together with a prefix, express the change from one state to another (*extimesco* ‘to become utterly afraid’). The causative verbs usually have the old Indo-European suffix *-ē-* (*augeo* ‘to increase, intensify’), or *-ā-* (*invetero* ‘to make old’). The dynamicity is shown by suffixation (*calet* ‘is hot’ – *calescit* ‘is warming up’); the telicity is demonstrated by prefixation (*calescit* ‘is warming up’ – *concalescit* ‘becomes warm’) as well as the momentaneousness (*librum scripsit* ‘has written/wrote a / the book’ – *librum conscripsit* ‘(has) finished writing a / the book’). Prefixes can, furthermore, indicate the difference between a beginning of a change and its end (*inarescit* ‘starts to dry, dry to a certain extent’ – *exarescit* ‘becomes dry, dry out’).

## 3 Serbo-Croatian

### 3.1 The verbal system from Proto-Indo-European to Serbo-Croatian

Initially, there were four tenses in the Proto-Slavic language:<sup>72</sup> Present, marking current events; Aorist, describing semelfactive, completed events; Imperfect, referring to the long-lasting or habitual events that were not completed; and Perfect, used for past events with current relevance.

The Old Church Slavic Perfect corresponds to the cross-linguistic definition of this Tense in terms of Maslov (1990, 372). It is “an aspecto-temporal form of the verb, expressing a present state as a result of a preceding action or change, and/or a past action, event or state which is somehow important to the present and which is being considered from the present point of view, detached from other past facts.”<sup>73</sup>

The semantic field of the Perfect tense gradually came to coincide with that of the Aorist and the Imperfect. Simultaneously, the Aorist and the Imperfect suffered a similar fate: The Perfect tense gradually replaced them in the Slavic area, especially in North-South, except for South Slavic.

Nowadays, the category of reportive (“non-testimonial”) mood represents a crucial typological difference between eastern South Slavic and western South Slavic languages. While the former has two distinct categories, “remoteness” and “anteriority”, which underline the distinction between reportive and indicative, in the latter, these two categories have progressively come to overlap. On the one hand, Bulgarian and Macedonian are particular for their total preservation of the Aorist and the Imperfect in the original semantic functions, while Serbo-Croatian preserves them partially. Still, the latter has never developed the reportive mood as a morphological category (Gvozdanović 1995, 181–183). Slovenian has lost both synthetic preterites from the western South Slavic group, while Sorbian is an exception among North Slavic languages, having preserved them.

The South-Slavic group of languages is composed, on the one hand of Slovenian and Croatian parts (the Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects), and on the other hand, of different dialectal varieties of Croatian and Serbian, based on the Štokavian dialect.<sup>74</sup> This dialect is spoken in parts of Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia (Gvozdanović 1995, 183). The Croatian variant has been standardized based on Jekavian Štokavian, and the Serbian variant is based on Ekavian

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<sup>72</sup> The imperfective future and the pluperfect tense were later inventions.

<sup>73</sup> Translation by Lindstedt (1994; 2000).

<sup>74</sup> These dialects received their names based on their word for ‘what’: *kaj*, *ča*, and *što/šta*.

Štokavian. These dialects have undergone mutual migratory influence and interference over the centuries, and the grammatical and accentual resemblances between these two variants essentially suffice for them to be considered as the same language, with some lexical differences. Serbian and Croatian variants preserve the same scheme of past tenses, as shown in Table 3.

Tense / Verb	Perfect	Pluperfect	Aorist	Imperfect
doći <sup>telic</sup> 'to come'	došao/-la sam 'I came' (m./f.)	bio/-la sam došao/-la 'I had come' (m./f.)	dođoh 'I came' [Aor.]	[dođah] <sup>75</sup> 'I was coming' [Impf.]
ići <sup>atelic</sup> 'to go'	išao/-la sam 'I went' (m./f.)	bio/-la sam išao/-la 'I had gone' (m./f.)	[idoh] 'I went' [Aor.]	[iđah] 'I was going' [Impf.]

Table 3. Overview of Serbian and Croatian Past Tenses

Compound tenses, Perfect and Pluperfect, are formed with the help of the Present tense of the verb *biti* 'to be' and the active 1-participle of a verb (telic or atelic). Simple preterites denote a definite limited and/or completed past event (Aorist) or definite uncompleted past event (Imperfect).

In Serbo-Croatian, the Perfect tense has mostly taken over the semantic functions of the Aorist (for telic events), the Imperfect (for atelic events), and the Pluperfect (for both types of events). However, narrative preterites still survive as evidentially and aspectually marked alternatives to the Perfect tense (Piper *et al.* 2005: 424).

Several studies focusing on Serbo-Croatian have attempted to trace the disappearance of the functionally more unstable combinations: The Imperfect tense in perfective situations and the Aorist in imperfective situations. The Imperfect tense seems to have been out of use for a longer time than the aorist: the *terminus ante quem* for the former, in its use concerning perfective situations, is the 16th century (Vaillant 1977 for Čakavian dialects). Belić (1956) already considers the Imperfect tense limited to some regional versions of Štokavian, southern Serbian, and some Montenegrin dialects. Debates over the 20th century did not lead to a consensus about the syntactic and semantic

<sup>75</sup> Square brackets indicate here the possibility, yet the scarcity in the use of these terms.

value because they had focused only on its use in popular speech. This fact, indeed, has limited the data available to us for identifying patterns in the distribution of the imperfect across situations and registers. Piper *et al.* (2005: 429–433) affirm its status as a preterite with a limited use domain in contemporary Serbo-Croatian. In agreement with them, we assume that the use of the imperfect is rare.

Croatian has gone further in its restriction of Tenses, with the imperfect being eliminated and, similarly to Serbian, the semantic field of the Aorist restricted (Gvozdanović 1995: 188).<sup>76</sup> However, because recent data is lacking in the literature, an updated study is needed.

The Aorist, which traditionally has often been considered an absolute past tense, denoting events completed in the past, often also expresses the current relevance for events completed just before or after the point of the speech, as pointed out by Reichenbach (1947). This tense is still used in current everyday spoken and written communication (see Stanojević and Geld 2011). Here are some interesting parallels with Latin, with a similar blurring of the perfect and the past tense functions (cf. § 2.2 examples 1 and 2).

The impoverishment of the Tense system of eastern and western North Slavic languages is partially a result of the abandonment of aspectual morphology. Only eastern South Slavic languages can express, on the one hand, the contrast between perfective and imperfective situations employing the Aorist and the Imperfect, and on the other, the contrast between telic and atelic events, commonly via the lexical choice of the predicate. The synthetic preterites in these languages are still preserved in their original semantic functions, along with the perfect tense. However, as Bertinetto (2001: 205) writes, “The extreme richness of this system hides a possible danger of instability”.

The polarization of telic and perfective, on the one hand, and of atelic and imperfective, on the other (as shown in Table 4) leads speakers of Serbo-Croatian to avoid not only combination (3) but also combination (2).

	Perfective	Imperfective
telic	(1) +	(3) –
atelic	(2) –	(4) +

Table 4. Polarization of Actional and Aspectual Classes

<sup>76</sup> “The aorist, highly marked, if at all used: for unavoidable events, mainly as a threat, as in:  
 Propade ti!  
 fall\_through<sub>AOR.2SG</sub> you<sub>NOM.SG</sub>  
 ‘It is all over for you’”

This leads to a redundant system, in which actional and aspectual morphology, “instead of reinforcing each other deplete each other” (Bertinetto 2001: 205). Although Serbo-Croatian has not yet wholly developed such a redundancy; there has been a progressive evolution in this direction: the functional focus has been almost entirely moved onto lexical oppositions, while the previous aspectual morphology has been gradually abandoned (as already happened in Russian, Polish, and Czech). Telic events are described in perfective contexts (1) and atelic events in imperfective contexts (4) since these categories are semantically more correlated.

This semantically driven restriction to cases (1) and (4) leads to a default reading of past tenses. In Smith’s (1997) terms, the **focus** of the aorist is at the final point of the event, while the focus of the imperfect is on its duration.

### **3.1.1 Previous studies on the Serbo-Croatian verbal system**

Due to the entity of the language, studies on the Serbo-Croatian verbal system are not as many as those on Latin and discussions about Tense and Aspect offer a narrower range of the adopted frameworks. The works that distinguish the concepts of Actionality and Aspect are few and very recent.

Some works have been written on Serbo-Croatian Tenses and aspectology, historically significant for the debate on verbal Aspect when actionality was kept in the shadow. These works are Musić (1925), Belić (1925), and Grubor (1953). The more up-to-date results in respect to the relatively recent theories that highlight the importance of the distinction between the Aspect and the Actionality are the following: Stevanović (1967), Kravar (1981), Ašić (2000), Stanojević & Geld (2011). On this topic, there are mostly contrastive studies (for English, see: Novakov 2005, 2009; Bodrič 2006; Milivojević 2007; for Romanian, see Lazović & Lazović 2011; for French, see Vilić 2007).

For a long time, the only research on the current distribution and use of the Tenses in Serbo-Croatian used to be Savić (1992). However, this research presented some problems, as the lack of diatopic and diaphasic components. In Pušić (2009), I expanded the research diatopically, whereas in Pušić (2013), I restricted it to the Belgrade area, yet had many more informants who made the results more statistically attainable. These studies contributed significantly to the clear-cut image of the current modalities of use of the Tenses, intertwined with the features of the Actionality and Aspect.

### 3.1.2 The semantic categories expressed by the verb<sup>77</sup>

Verbal systems encompass a specific combination of four categories: actionality, temporal reference, aspect and modality. These four categories are conceived and expressed in drastically different ways in different natural languages.

In traditional approaches to the study of Aspect and Tense, we deal with a misleading concept based on confusing terminology. There is the “perfective-telic confusion”, to use the words of Bertinetto (2001). This confusion arises because atelic events are unavoidably described in the imperfective aspect, while telic events are described in the perfective aspect. Traditionally, lexical pairs in Slavic languages have been designated as “perfective” and “imperfective”: this terminology involves *confusion* between the actional – i.e., lexical – and the aspectual opposition. As previously mentioned, this conceptual confusion has been extended to Classical languages. In particular, the research about the Latin verbal system, which lacks the Aorist tense, but has great possibilities of building lexical pairs, borrowed a model from research on current Slavic languages for many decades. The semantic opposition that remains the most frequently referred to in Serbo-Croatian and Latin is precisely “perfective” vs “imperfective”. This overly broad notion somehow manages to constantly overshadow the importance of actional features firmly embedded in Slavic languages and Latin's lexical fund.

I will follow Bertinetto in his view that this issue should be handled within the framework of the typological diversity of natural languages (2001: 203): an event may have an end-point either by being **telic**, in which case the end-point is inherent, or **perfective**, where the end-point is external. Our approach is generally close to that advocated by Dahl (1985) and Bertinetto (2000) in that we hold that derivatively connected verbs in the Slavic lexicon mainly differ in terms of actional class. However, actionality is inseparable from the category of aspect. Slavic languages primarily distinguish between derivatively related but different lexical entries through overt actional contrasts. Hence, the aspectual pairs of Slavic languages may be referred to as “grammaticalized lexical categories” (Dahl 1985: 89).

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<sup>77</sup> In this chapter, I will mostly provide examples in English; English will be used for the translation of the Latin examples as well. I have chosen not to include Slavic languages here in order not to contribute to the confusion created by the fact that the Aspect is often taken to be specific to these languages.

### 3.2 Tense and tense forms in Serbo-Croatian

In the following paragraphs, I propose a broader diatopic overview of the distribution and use of Tenses in current Serbo-Croatian, compared to the previous research on this topic (Savić 1992).<sup>78</sup> However, since my research is, for the most part, oriented towards the diaphasic narrative level, it mainly focuses on the variations in the use of Past Tenses and the Historical present.<sup>79</sup>

Statistically, the perfect tense strongly predominates in the narration of past events; this fact does not imply that other past tenses are disappearing, as has often been claimed in earlier scholarship.

In spoken language, the effect of the epistemic immediacy (Stanojević and Geld 2011) of events was tested using the aorist, on the one hand, and of the perfect and present tenses, on the other. “Epistemically immediate” events are events in the recent past and immediate future. The perfect tense can be expected to be overwhelmingly predominant in the narration of events at a relatively great temporal distance; in epistemically immediate contexts, both in narration and in spoken language, increased use of the narrative present and the aorist is likely.

The narrative present also confers a particularly vivid tone on the narrative register when used for situations with a mixture of long and short temporal distances:

- a) “Upravo od turskog pohoda u avgustu 1388. obe strane *pokazuju* više pomirljivosti.” (‘It is since immediately after the Turkish invasion in August 1388 that the two sides *show* a more conciliatory posture’)<sup>80</sup> – from the daily *Politika*;

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<sup>78</sup> This research was a part of the EUROTYP project.

<sup>79</sup> Initially, I had expanded the territory of the research in order to collect and contrast data diatopically: four major Serbian cities (Novi Sad, Beograd, Kragujevac, and Niš) and one region (Montenegro) were involved. But since the number of informants was not homogeneous across the locations and in some cases not large enough to provide sufficient statistical power, a decision was made to use only data from informants in the capital city. For the results on data obtained from various cities (and one region) I will refer to Pušić (2009), whereas for the results on data from Belgrade I will refer to Pušić (2013). In the 2013 article, the focus was set on the native speakers from the Belgrade area. The sample consisted of 56 informants. Questionnaires from informants who had been living in Belgrade for less than five years (more than 20% of the initial set of informants: mostly students from central Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina) were not included in the analysis. The task given to survey participants here was radically different than the one in Savić (1992): while in that questionnaire the blank fields were to be completed by the Serbo-Croatian translation of an English verb, here the whole text was in Serbo-Croatian, including the verbs to be conjugated. This reduced lexical inhomogeneity in responses. Moreover, the 1992 questionnaire was based only on the “The Snake Story” – no data were collected for contextually unconnected phrases, unlike in the questionnaire used here. For the contextually connected phrases, we retold “The Snake Story” and called it “The Slap Story”. All the phrases are available in the Appendix.

<sup>80</sup> Idiomatic equivalent: [Ever since immediately after the Turkish invasion in August 1388, the two sides *have taken* a more conciliatory stance.]

- b) “Taj običaj *dobiva maha* u doba Renesanse i *prenosi se* postepeno na građanski stalež.” (‘That custom *develops*<sup>81</sup> during the Renaissance and it gradually *spreads*<sup>82</sup> through the middle class’) – from the scholarly journal *Južnoslovenski filolog*;
- c) “*Sedim* ja tako juče za stolom i *slušam* prve vesti.” (‘So *I am*<sup>83</sup> *sitting* yesterday at the table and *listening* to the radio news’) – spoken language (examples taken from Piper *et al.* 2005: 376).

The adverbial marks temporal distance with the narrative present (*Od turskog pohoda u avgustu 1388.*, ‘since immediately after the Turkish invasion in August 1388’; *u doba Renesanse* ‘during the Renaissance’; *juče*, ‘yesterday’). In the narration of sequences of events, we often find sequences of the narrative present or the alternation of the past tense with the narrative present. The latter is typically used as a narrative device to increase the hearer’s (or reader’s) sense of involvement in the story. In this way, narrated events appear more vivid: hearers/readers are intended to feel like they are taking part in a particular present (Piper *et al.* 2005: 377). It is also used to highlight important events or shift the focus toward a specific event.

Moreover, this tense marks the narrator’s involvement in the events of the story. Hence, where the narrator was a protagonist of the story, the narrative present in story-telling should be expected. This tense should particularly be favoured when the flow of narration suddenly changes – i.e., either with a different type of event (as in a shift of focus) or a change in the performer of the actions (as in changes in the level of involvement here). Two instances that allow the use of the narrative present are the verbs *sresti* ‘to meet’, preceded by the adverbial *odjednom* ‘suddenly’, and *lupiti šamar* ‘to slap’ – including both essential parameters, a switch of subject and a sudden change in the flow of narration.

Temporal distance is conceptualized as a distance from one of the poles of the imaginary temporal axis: E and S. The notion of the point of reference (R), placed on the temporal axis right after E and before S, and concerning which the events are presented as concluded, is essential in many Serbo-Croatian contexts. Nowadays, in deictic contexts, both the perfect tense and the aorist are characterized by the coincidence of R and E. We can show this by the adverb *sad(a)* (‘now’):

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<sup>81</sup> [*developed*].

<sup>82</sup> [*spread*].

<sup>83</sup> [*was*].

(1) a. Sad **sam stigla.** (perfect)

Now arrive.TEL.PERF.1SG

‘I have just arrived.’

b. Sad **stigoh.** (aorist)

Now arrive.TEL.AOR.1SG

‘I have just arrived.’

In contexts lacking any deixis, as in the case of omni-temporality, the situation is ambiguous: it varies based on the telicity of the event (and of the perfectivity or imperfectivity of the situation). In the case of atelic events, only the perfect can be used:

(2) a. Ko **je lagao,** neka se izvini. (perfect)

Who lie.ATEL.PERF.3SG shall REFL. apologize.TEL.PRES.3.SG

‘The one who was telling lies shall apologize.’

b. \*Ko **laga,** neka se izvini. (aorist)

\*Who lie.ATEL.AOR.3SG shall REFL. apologize.TEL.PRES.3.SG

The one who lied shall apologize.

In the case of a telic situation, on the other hand, it is possible to use both tenses:

(3) a. Ko **je slagao,** neka se izvini. (perfect)

Who tell a lie.TEL.PERF.3SG shall REFL. apologize.TEL.PRES.3.SG

‘The one who told a lie<sub>TEL</sub> shall apologize.’

b. Ko **slaga,** neka se izvini. (aorist)

Who tell a lie.TEL.AOR.3SG shall REFL. apologize.TEL.PRES.3.SG

‘The one who told a lie<sub>TEL</sub> shall apologize.’

This fact leads us to conclude the default use of tenses for the past: the aorist is prototypically limited to telic events.

Furthermore, the perfect is used more often than the aorist whenever R is an integral part of the situation. This conclusion does not apply to specific registers: for example, in narration, sudden changes of dynamicity can trigger increased use of the aorist. In spoken language, a temporal

interval that includes R by means of a temporal adverb (for example, *now*) may lead to more frequent use of the aorist.<sup>84</sup>

### 3.2.1 The Present

The present tense in Serbo-Croatian offers a good overview of temporal functions that the different actional classes of predicates can perform in a phrase.

In most cases, the present tense is used in imperfective contexts, with atelic events: it can be (a) referential, for situations set in the S and (b) non-referential, for situations not current in S, but valid in it (omnitemporal).

(a) Marko sada **spava**.

M. now sleep.ATEL.PRES.3SG

‘Marko is sleeping now.’

(b) Marko rado **spava**.

M. gladly sleep.ATEL.PRES.3SG

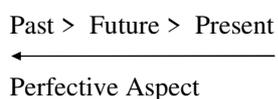
‘Marko sleeps gladly.’

Yet, in cases of temporal transposition, either in the future or the past (narrative present), the present tense can be used in both imperfective and perfective situations – and hence with atelic and telic events, respectively. The latter case was particularly pointed out by Malchukov for Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian (in contrast to other Slavic languages), as the exception to the usual “semantic incompatibility of perfective aspect with present tense” (2008: 361).<sup>85</sup> Telic events in the present tense in Serbo-Croatian never denote a situation that is current at S (Ašić 2000): instead, they occur in reference to future (c) or past (d) events:

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<sup>84</sup> Barensen (1980), however, observes in relation to the adverb *now* in a phrase from Reichenbach 1947 that “I shall leave *now*” could be wrongly understood as a case of temporal coincidence of R and E. In fact, he notes that *now* refers to the moment right after it, and it works exactly as any other future adverb, such as, for example, *tomorrow*. On this topic, see also Bertinetto (1986: 71).

<sup>85</sup> Malchukov, basing his conclusions on observations from Comrie (1976: 73) and Dahl (1985: 80) about the perfective grammeme not being equally compatible with different tenses, draws the following figure giving a tense hierarchy for perfective aspect (2008: 369):



(c) Ako **popijem** vino, zaspáću.

if drink up.TEL.PRES.1SG wine fall asleep.FUT.1SG

‘If I drink up wine, I will fall asleep.’

(d) **Odem** ja tako odande zauvek.

GO.TEL.PRES.1SG I like that from there for good.

‘So, I went away from there for good.’

In (d), we see an example of the narrative present, where the present tense is used to refer to past events in a narration, “with retention of the aspectual distinction usual in the Past Tense” (Comrie 1976: 69). References to habitual actions can also be made in the perfective present in Serbo-Croatian (e):

(e) Obično ih **iznenade** na spavanju i **pohvataju** kao piliće.

Often they.ACC surprise.TEL.PRES.3PL at sleep and catch.TEL.PRES.3PL like chickens.

‘They usually surprise them while they are asleep and catch them like chickens.’ (I. Andrić, *Na Drini ćuprija*).

But, overall, the narrative present is more frequently used for sequences of atelic events, in imperfective contexts (f), rather than for isolated ones (“imperfective sequences”, in the words of Radovanović 1969).

(f) **Sedim** ja juče, **jedem** i **razmišljam**.

sit.ATEL.PRES.1SG I yesterday, eat.ATEL.PRES.1SG and think.ATEL.PRES.1SG

‘Yesterday, I was sitting there, eating and thinking.’

In narration, sequences of atelic events described in the present tense start or end with a telic event in the present tense. The present tense is frequently substituted with the aorist or perfect tense in describing this isolated event. In fact, in perfective situations, the present tense is interchangeable with both past tenses. In cases where it represents a conclusive event, the present<sub>PFV</sub> is used to shift the focus from the imperfective sequence towards the end of that same sequence. The present<sub>PFV</sub> thus makes the narration more dynamic.

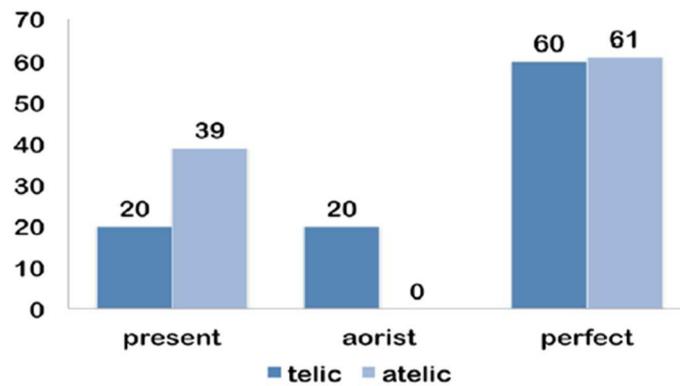


Figure 1: Frequency of Tenses – telic and atelic verbs

The frequency of use of the present tense slightly decreases for events that happened a day before the S, while the use of the aorist does not vary significantly. When the narrated events belong to a more distant past, the frequencies of the present and aorist decrease, and the use of the present tense declines more rapidly than that of the aorist.

The frequency of the use of the narrative present is inversely proportional to the temporal distance of the event and directly proportional to the narrator’s level of involvement: the more recent the event and the greater the narrator’s involvement in it, the more frequent is the use of this tense; consequently, its use makes narration more vivid and dynamic.

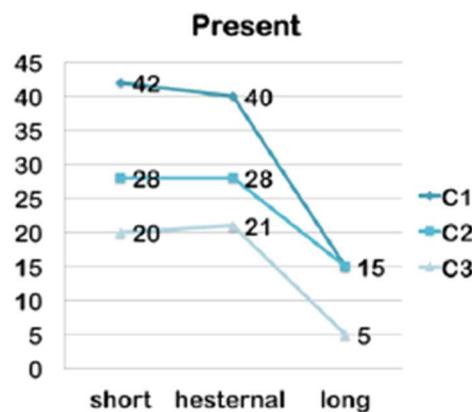


Figure 2: Present. Levels of Involvement (C1-immediate, C2-narration, C3-listener) Crossed with Temporal Distances

### 3.2.2 The Perfect

The perfect is the tense most frequently used to refer to the past situation (69.9%).

In contemporary Serbo-Croatian, there is no significant difference in the use of past tenses between short and hesternal temporal distances.<sup>86</sup> When the narrated event is very remote from the S, the use of the perfect tense significantly increases, to the detriment of the present and, to an even greater extent, the aorist. At this point, we can conclude that the frequency of the use of the perfect increases with temporal distance (Figure 3).

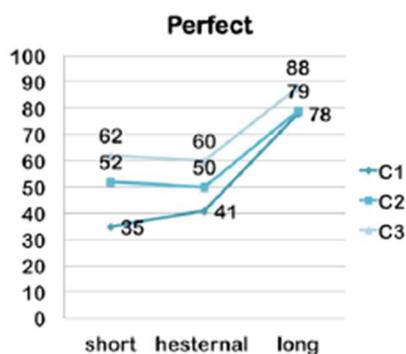


Figure 3: Perfect. Levels of Involvement (C1-immediate, C2-narration, C3-listener) Crossed with Temporal Distances

The less involved the subject is in the event, the more the perfect tense is used; the temporal distance of the described events is not relevant for this result.

Hence, the tendency to use the perfect tense is inversely proportional to the subject's level of involvement, while the reverse is valid for the present tense. Despite an apparent but non-significant slight tendency to increase with increasing involvement, the frequency of the use of the aorist is homogeneous across all levels of involvement.

Tendencies in the present and perfect frequencies stand in an inverse relationship, while those of the aorist remain constant across such variations, as shown in Figure 4.

<sup>86</sup> In many languages, bipolar modality in the use of past tenses is triggered by the cut-off point between *today* and *before today*. As Dahl (1985: 125) notes, in Castilian, Catalan, and Occitan, events which happened *this morning* and *yesterday* trigger a different choice of tenses. For Romance languages, this opposition established “the twenty-four-hour rule”: the period needs to pass from **hodiernal** to **pre-hodiernal** past in order to trigger a switch in the applicable past tense. Comrie (2004: 93) gives a more precise definition: the distinction is not based on a fixed temporal distance, but rather is situated at the (culturally defined) border between *today* and *yesterday* (*hodiernal* vs. *hesternal* temporal distance). In Serbo-Croatian, the opposition between hodiernal and hesternal does not exist. Crucial changes appear when the situation takes place at a temporal distance greater than that of hesternal. The use of the Perfect tense increases significantly, to the detriment of both the present and the aorist.

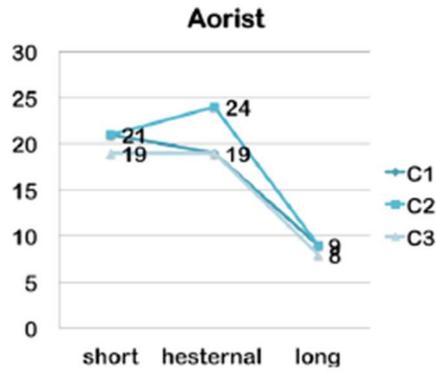


Figure 4: Aorist. Levels of Involvement (C1-immediate, C2-narration, C3-listener) Crossed with Temporal Distances

The use of the perfect tense is directly proportional to the time elapsed between S and E and inversely proportional to the narrator's level of involvement: the less recent the event and the lower the narrator's level of involvement in it, the higher the frequency of the perfect.

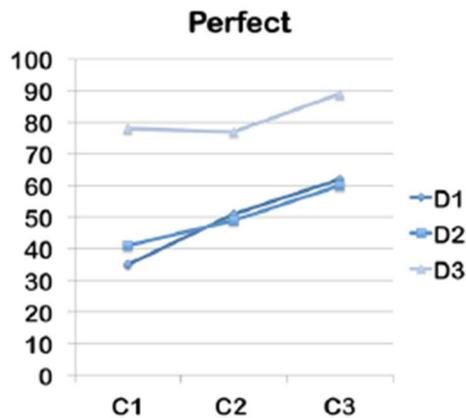


Figure 5: Perfect. Temporal Distance (D1-short, D2-hodiernal, D3-hesternal) Crossed with Levels of Involvement

Only in situations with personal involvement is there no significant statistical difference between the frequencies of the narrative present and perfect tenses. Thus, the results for these two tenses show that they are interchangeable only in the case of personal involvement on the part of the narrator.

The perfect has never been used for accomplishments. Furthermore, the fact that this type of event is the last one in “The Slap Story” (see Appendix) makes it impossible to draw an unambiguous conclusion, since the change in narrative rhythm towards the conclusion of the story could have led to the exclusive choice of narrative present and aorist.

### 3.2.3 Preterites

#### 3.2.3.1 The Aorist

The aorist is used only in perfective contexts, both in narration and spoken language, due to the default reading of this tense. Its frequency is constant across levels of involvement, while it is inversely proportional to the time elapsed between the moment of speech and the event itself. In this respect, the aorist follows the tendency of the present.

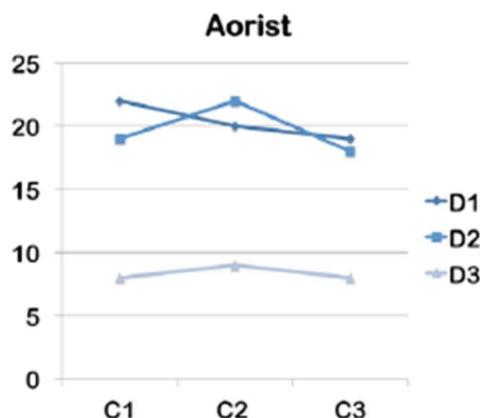


Figure 6: Aorist. Temporal Distance (D1-short, D2-hodiernal, D3-hesternal) Crossed with Levels of Involvement

In spoken language, the aorist is interchangeable with the present tense for inevitable future actions. At the same time, for the very recent past, its frequencies are statistically significant, but preference is given to the perfect tense. This shows that it continues to be used in these modal contexts and that there is no reason to label it as a tense close to disappearance.

Radovanović (1969) states that for telic (“perfective”) events in narration, the narrative present is used with a significantly higher frequency than the aorist for first-person subjects, while for third-person subjects, the use of aorist is more frequent than the present tense. My results did not confirm this. On the contrary, the aorist was sometimes used in the story-independent sentence with the *ego narrans* as the subject (its frequency did not differ statistically from that of the perfect). In contrast, with a third-person subject, it did not occur.

The most glaring – and expected – evidence of the default reading of the aorist is the complete absence of its use for atelic events, as shown by Figure 1. The default reading of the aorist requires it to be used only for the telic events. The frequency of the perfect for telic events was higher than the frequency of the aorist.

There is no statistically significant difference between the use of the perfect and aorist in the cases with the subject in the third and first persons. In the second case (*ego narrans*), the use of the aorist decreased, but the chi-squared test we performed does not license the conclusion that this tense is significantly less preferred in this context, as Figure 7 shows.

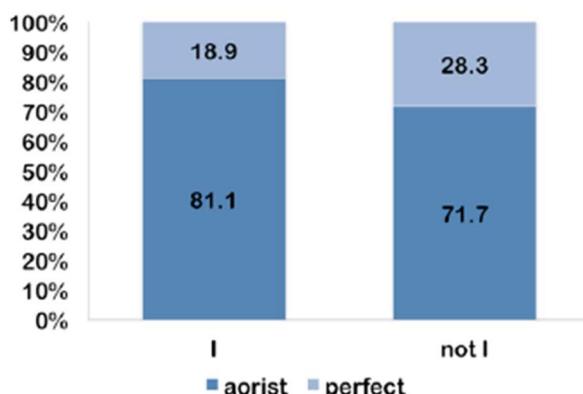


Figure 7. Different Subjects and Choice of Tense

### 3.2.3.2 The Imperfect

My results show that imperfect is vanishing from all registers in Serbo-Croatian. It appeared only four times in 56 questionnaires. The informants were asked to complete a phrase from a novel (M. Crnjanski, *Seobe*), and the only already given event was described in the pluperfect with the auxiliary in the imperfect: this fact influenced the choice of tense. An indication of the informants' inability to use the imperfect is their frequent transposition of the durative (*nestajati* 'to vanish'<sub>DUR</sub>) to the non-durative telic event (*nestati* 'to vanish'<sub>NON-DUR.</sub>) and the subsequent use of the aorist. This fact shows that the sensitivity to the semantic difference between the two synthetic preterites has been lost and that the ability to conjugate the imperfect tense has been lost.

An atelic event was intentionally used to favour the use of the imperfect: however, its frequency is confirmed to be extremely low. The aorist emerges in this case as a substitution for the imperfect tense. On the one hand, this fact highlights the semantic interchangeability of the two simple preterites and, on the other hand, the default reading of the aorist, as shown by the event's spontaneous transformation from accomplishment to achievement.

We could define the attraction of tenses in this case as “the attraction of synthetic preterites”. With a high statistical significance, when confronted with a synthetic preterite that is no longer part of the repertoire of contemporary Serbo-Croatian speakers, subjects felt a need to use another preterite that they still know how to construct. Hence, the third person plural of the aorist (*nestaše* ‘they vanished’) or, erroneously, the third person singular of the imperfect (*nestajaše* ‘he/she/it was vanishing’)<sup>87</sup> are used instead of the third person plural of the imperfect (*nestajahu* ‘they were vanishing’).

### 3.2.4 The Pluperfect

The Pluperfect is a tense that conveys the situation concluded in the past before some other past situation took place, or, in the alternative, a state deriving from some completed event. In our questionnaire, it was used both for the events anchored in the past by the adverb *već* ‘already’, but also for events that have just been introduced and/or sudden events anchored in a distant past. Its use pattern is unclear, but it is perceived as a means of referring to very remote events. The use of the pluperfect is inversely proportional to the subject’s level of involvement in the event and directly proportional to its temporal distance.

### 3.2.5 The Simple Future

In its simple use, this tense conveys the situation that will take place after the moment of speech (absolute use) or after some other moment (relative use). In relative use, the moment of reference is either expressed by the Past tense itself or indicated by a temporal adverbial (*Izgledalo je da će poći očevim stopama*. ‘It seemed as though he would follow his father’s footsteps.’).

In this use, the Simple Future can also shift into the category of Narrative Future. Narrative Future conveys the future situation relative to the other situation, expressed in a Past Tense. This use of the Future corresponds to the Perfect or Aorist Tense (*Dugo je ćutala, pa će odjednom reći* ‘She was quiet for a while, and then suddenly she spoke<sup>FUT</sup>’).

In its modal use, the Simple Future expresses the attitude of the speaker towards the unrealized situation. Modal functions can be:

- (a) Jussive: *Izaći ćeš napolje!* ‘You shall go outside!’

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<sup>87</sup> The latter occurs due to the analogy with the aorist, since the ending for the third person singular of the imperfect is the same as the ending for the third person plural of the aorist.

(b) Final: *Nosim knjige koje ću čitati u vozu.* ‘I am carrying the books which I will read on the train.’

(c) Concessive: *Iako će se pomučiti, sigurno će pobediti.* ‘Although he will struggle, he will certainly win.’

(d) Gnostic: *Ko prst da, i ruku će dati.* ‘The one who gives a finger will give a hand as well.’

### 3.2.6 The Future Perfect

The Future Perfect conveys the unrealized situation that the speaker supposes will happen after the moment of speech but before some other future situation.

(a) *Ako bude morao da ostane, neće moći da odgovara za svoje postupke.* ‘If he shall have to stay, he won’t be able to be responsible for his actions.’

Another possibility is that the speaker supposes that the action will happen contemporarily with some other future action.

(b) *Učiniću za vas sve što budem mogao.* ‘I shall do for you anything I will be able to.’

Often this Tense is anchored to the moment before the other future situation by the temporal conjunctions (*kad* ‘when’, *čim* ‘as soon as’).

(c) *Kad budemo završili posao, ručaćemo.* ‘When we will have ended the work, we shall have lunch.’

## 3.3 Aspect in Serbo-Croatian

Serbo-Croatian aspectology has for a long time been following the trail of the opinion of the traditional Slavic aspectologists. The aspect was (and often still is) treated as an over-comprehensive concept enclosing overtly actional properties (see §1.1.2.1). This view, found in various articles and monographies (Belić 1925/26, 1926/27, etc.; Stevanović 1979, 1981; Grubor 1953; Riđanović 1976), is based on the dichotomy “imperfective verbs” vs “perfective verbs”, often substituting what is more recently shown to be the dichotomy *telic* vs *atelic*. This overlapping between the aspectual and actional features is often nothing else than the confusion between the external end-point (“terminated” event; cf. Bertinetto 2001: 203) and the internal, inherent end-point (“bounded” event; cf. *ibid.*). Ideally, languages could have distinguished modalities of expressing the presence or absence of two end-points. Indeed, within the group of Slavic languages, Bulgarian is the most

conservative one. It preserves both the Aorist and the Imperfect in addition to the Perfect and the Pluperfect tenses, together with the systematic distinction between “perfective” and “imperfective” (i.e. telic and atelic) predicates.

Serbo-Croatian still preserves the structure similar to Bulgarian, although the Imperfect tense is vanishing from the current language. Also, the use of the Aorist is often reduced to some strictly modal contexts. Indeed, while in Bulgarian there is a possibility of lexical articulation of the contrast *telic* + Imperfect (an inherently imperfective tense) and *atelic* + Aorist (an inherently perfective tense), in Serbo-Croatian, it is impossible to lexicalize these aspectual-actional contrasts. In fact, in Serbo-Croatian, telic predicates are implemented within perfective contexts, while atelic predicates are implemented within imperfective contexts.

As with the other Slavic languages, Serbo-Croatian often overtly marks the aspectual distinction. It also marks the actional contrast *telic* : *atelic* by the morphological mechanisms, as the prefixation. Hence, there is a systematic existence of the lexical pairs marked actionally (*raditi* – *uraditi* ‘to do – to finish doing’; *ići* – *otići* ‘to go – to go away’), along with the aspectual distinctions expressed mostly by the prototypical reading of the Tenses: the Imperfect with the imperfective aspect, the Aorist with the perfective aspect and the Perfect tense both with the perfective and the imperfective aspect, according to the telicity of the verb.<sup>88</sup> Also, these prefixed verbs can be suffixed (or their stem could be changed) and thus gain the habitual meaning (*zatrpa<sup>v</sup>ati* ‘to bury systematically’, *prel<sup>a</sup>mati* ‘to break of habitually’) (Novakov 2005: 45). However, besides their grammatical function, the prefixes have also lexical functions: not seldom, in addition to the telicizing role, they change the semantics of the verb. The prefixation and the other modalities of change of the actional, intertwined with the aspectual properties, will be analysed in Chapter 4.

As Bertinetto notices (2001: 205), systems of this kind tend to be unstable and indeed, Serbo-Croatian shows the absolute sovereignty of the actional features over the aspectual features. In this language, “the lexical choice of the predicate unavoidably involves a specific actional meaning.” (ibid.). Although Serbo-Croatian has not yet reached the stage of Polish, Russian and Czech in their complete abandoning of the aspectual morphology, it is slowly simplifying the system of tenses by the loss of Imperfect and the restricted use of Aorist. Therefore, the lexical oppositions in Serbo-Croatian still do not entirely take over the role of the inflectional, aspectual morphology.

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<sup>88</sup> Considering verbs in Perfect to be either “imperfective” or “perfective” according to the lack or presence of the telic component is yet another reason for acknowledging that the system is prevalently Actional, due to the overlap of the categories perfective-telic and imperfective-atelic.

### 3.3.1 Aspect or actionality? The case of [+/-] Durativity

Already in the traditional research on Serbo-Croatian aspectology, it was clear that the duration of the situation expressed by the predicate impacted the “aspect”. Stevanović (1979: 528–529) states that the “imperfective” verbs imply the unlimited duration of the process, while the “perfective” verbs indicate that its duration is limited in time. However, Comrie (1976: 16) clarifies that the shorter duration is not related to the perfectivity, nor is the longer duration related to the imperfectivity. As also Riđanović (1976: 78) states, the durativity is not linked with the (im)perfectivity.

The traditional view is wrong both from the point of view of the lexical semantics and from the point of view of the semantics of the verbal lexemes. First, durativity is an actional, not an aspectual property. As such, it is related to telicity and dynamicity. As already stated, there is a need to constantly be aware of the importance of keeping the concepts of actionality and aspect apart, with the implicit attribution of the actional properties to the category of actionality, not to the domain of aspect (as it kept being done repeatedly for the Slavic languages).

Many telic (“perfective”) verbs indeed express the situations that do not last in time (*reći* ‘to say’, *sesti* ‘to sit down’, *kucnuti* ‘to knock’). These verbs are incompatible with the expressions of simple duration (1), while they show compatibility with the semelfactive adverbials (2). Also, many atelic (“imperfective”) verbs express the situations that last in time (*pevati* ‘to sing’, *voleti* ‘to love’). These verbs are compatible with the expressions of simple duration (3) and the semelfactive adverbials (4).

(1) \*Rekao sam sve *tri dana*.

\*I said everything *for three days*.

(2) *Odjednom* sam rekao sve.

*Suddenly* I said everything.

(3) Volela sam te *tri godine*.

I loved you *for three years*.

(4) Volim te *sada*.

I love you *now*.

However, this tendency does not constitute a rule since there is also the possibility that some telic verbs are durative (5). Yet, no atelic verb is non-durative (6).<sup>89</sup>

(5) Napisala je knjigu *za dve godine*.

She wrote a book *in two years*.

(6) \*Pisala je *odjednom*.

\*She was writing *suddenly*.

Limits of a duration of both atelic (7) and telic (8) situations can be conveyed by the specific adverbials of time.

(7) Pisala je *dva minuta*.

She was writing *for two minutes*.

(8) Napisala je pismo *za dva minuta*.

She wrote the letter *in two minutes*.

When testing the duration of a predicate, we consider its compatibility with the adverbials expressing (9) simple duration, (10) completion, (11) semelfactivity and (12) with the verb *prestati* 'to stop'.

The adverbials of simple duration, *X sati/dana* ('for X time'), are compatible with States (9a), Activities (9b) and the Accomplishments (9c).

(9a) *Trideset dana* **sam bio** na tom brodu.

*Thirty days* I was on board that ship.

(9b) *Deset meseci* me **je nosila** u nedrima.

She bore me in her womb *for ten months*.

(9c) **Probdeo sam** *tri noći*.

I stayed awake through *three nights*.

The adverbials *za X sati/dana* ('in X time') encompass the period needed to complete the process. Completive adverbials are compatible only with the telic predicates since they imply that the situation reaches its end-point. However, the interpretation of the focus set by this adverbial is

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<sup>89</sup> When compatible with the semelfactive adverbials with the anaphoric reference (cf. *Pisala je u tom trenutku* 'She was writing *at that moment*'), the situation represented is one in which the time-point yielded by the adverbial represents only one of several points in time conveyed by the verb itself (i.e. ...*and she was writing before and after it.*).

twofold: it could be either set on the unfolding of the process when found with an Accomplishment (10a), or on its end-point when found with an Achievement (10b).

(10a) **Stizao je** *za tri dana*.

He was arriving *in three days*.

(10b) **Stigao je** *za tri dana*.

He arrived *in three days*.

The semelfactive adverbials, *odjednom* ('suddenly'), show compatibility only with the non-durative verbs. Having these adverbials an inherent property to set focus on the *moment* of the happening of the situation, it can only be compatible with the momentaneous verbs (11 (a), (b)).

(11a) *Odjednom* **je stigao** paket.

*Suddenly*, a package arrived.

(11b) Auto **je odjednom eksplodirao**.

The car suddenly exploded.

The phasal verb *prestati* 'to stop' has the property to externally set the temporal limit to the verb expressed by the complementary infinitive (Croatian variant) or by the construction *da + present* (Serbian variant). Since the limit can only be set to the situations that last in time, this verb is compatible only with durative verbs — (12a) States, (12b) Activities and (12c) Accomplishments, and it is incompatible with the (12d) Achievements.

(12a) *Prestajem da ga volim*.

I stop loving him.

(12b) *Prestajem da kupujem novine*.

I stop buying newspapers.

(12c) *Prestajem da pišem pismo*.

I stop writing the letter.

(12d) \**Prestala sam da dostizem vrh planine*.

\*I stopped reaching the top.

These tests showed the compatibility of (a) adverbials of simple duration and the verb 'to stop' with the durative verbs, (b) completive adverbials with telic verbs and (c) the semelfactive adverbials

with semelfactive verbs. Hence, while completivity and semelfactivity are properties of specific actional categories, durativity encompasses more than one actional category independently from the property [ $\pm$ telic]. Perhaps this was the reason why the durativity has often been perceived as an aspectual and not an actional property – its domain is wider, and it embraces both telic and atelic verbs.

### 3.4 Actionality in Serbo-Croatian

Some relatively recent works apply Vendlerian patterns to the Serbo-Croatian verbal system (Cochrane 1978 and Opačić *et al.* 1978, both in Filipović 1978). The more recent work that does apply Vendlerian categories to the Serbo-Croatian, considering the contrast with the English verbal system, is Novakov (2005).

Welcoming these views, as well as the opinions of some of the works related to the study about Tense (Savić 1992, Radovanović 1995 and Pušić 2013), we can perform a more in-depth analysis about the actional features in the Serbo-Croatian verbal system. We can also give the clear-cut categorization of the verbs according to the already standardized parameters.

#### 3.4.1 Dynamicity

The semantic opposition between the dynamic and non-dynamic verbs is, by default, verbal properties, based on the presence or lack of the development inherent to the situation.

The only non-dynamic verbal category is that of *States*, which express the lack of internal development (1).

(1) **Volela sam** sladoled celog života.

I liked ice cream for my whole life.

The stative expressions as *caleo* ‘I am warm’, *seneo* ‘I am old’ etc. have no direct counterparts in Serbo-Croatian: as in English, the stative expressions with an adjective and the verb meaning ‘to be’ are used: *toplo mi je* ‘I am warm’ and *stara sam* ‘I am old’.

*On the other hand, activities* are dynamic since they express the processes conveying inherent development (2).

(2) **Trčao je** sve brže i brže.

He was running faster and faster.

The non-dynamic verbs are incompatible with dynamism (3), whereas the dynamic verbs are compatible with this kind of expression (4).

(3) \***Spavala sam** *brzo*.

I was sleeping/I slept *quickly*.

(4) **Zaspala sam** *brzo*.

I fell asleep *quickly*.

However, some prototypically non-dynamic verbs are compatible with the expressions of dynamism: some imperatives, e.g. (5) and (6), and the adverbials expressing sudden change (7) can combine with the States. However, these cases imply that the focus of the situation is set on the change of State.

(5) **Ne boj se!**

Do not be afraid!

(6) **Spavaj!**

Sleep!

(7) U junu **ću odjednom imati** puno posla.

In June, I shall *at once* have many things to do.

Serbo-Croatian uses the phasal verbs as početi ‘to start’ to create the inchoative expressions to express a gradual process. Latin verbs with the inchoative meaning as *calesco* ‘to become warmer, to be warming up’ and *senesco* ‘to become older, age’ (Haverling 2000: 215) (8) are translated with the unprefixal verbal complement. In the Croatian variant, this complement is the infinitive (8a), while in the Serbian variant, it is a construction *da* with the verb in the Present tense (8b).

(8a) Tog dana *sam počeo* **stariti**.

On that day I started getting older.

(8b) Tog dana *sam počeo* **da starim**.

From that day I started getting older.

Hence, in Serbo-Croatian, a process is expressed by the unprefixal, atelic verbs, compatible with *početi* ‘to start’.

### 3.4.2. Transitivity, voice, and change of focus

In Serbo-Croatian, within every predicate, there is at least a verbal element (auxiliary verb or semi-copulative verb), if not a verb. Therefore, we deal with transitive or intransitive verbs, not predicates (Piper 2005: 611). Hence, the intransitive verbs cannot form the passive construction, in contrast to Latin (*sic itur ad astra* – SC. *tako se ide ka zvezdama*), whereas the transitive verbs can form both the active (*Često su navodnjavali njive*. ‘They were often irrigating the fields.’) and the passive constructions (*Polja su često navodnjavana*. ‘The fields are often irrigated.’).

In Serbo-Croatian and other Slavic languages, verbal transitivity is a binary category within which the passive expressions are opposed to the expressions that can show both passive and agentive features, depending on the lexical content of the predicate and the argument. The passive is formally marked and has the form of the perfect passive participle (*Auto je brzo prodat* ‘The car was quickly sold’) or, alternatively, the reflexive verb (*Auto se brzo prodao* ‘The car was quickly sold’).

Transitivity in Serbo-Croatian is often encoded by more delicate phonological units, which are parts of the suffixes. The alternation of the vowels (-i/-e-) within the suffixes (-iti/-eti) is consistent with the deadjectival verbs and coincides with the transitive/intransitive alternation. The suffix -iti- has a generic meaning of giving to someone/something the characteristics yielded by the adjective the verb derives from. Hence, this suffix is a marker of transitivity. The suffix -e- has a generic meaning of receiving the characteristics conveyed by the adjective the verb derives from. Hence, this suffix is marker of intransitivity.

(i) a. *beliti* ‘to whiten’ — *beleti* (se) ‘to become/be white’

b. *izluditi* ‘to drive crazy’ — *izludeti* ‘to become/be crazy’

The alternation of the vowels within the suffix can mark causative sense as well (with deadjectival verbs):

(ii) a. *crveneti* (se) ‘to blush’ — *crveniti* ‘to make something become red’

b. *oslepiti* ‘to become blind’ — *oslepiti* ‘to blind someone’

The intransitive verbs that convey the colour property are usually reflexive. Reflexivity is expressed using the reflexive pronoun: *crveneti se* ‘to blush, keep being red’, *zeleneti se* ‘to be green, to persist in state of being green’, *beleti se* ‘to be white, to persist in the state of being white’.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> There are three categories of the reflexive verbs: cf. *rubere* or *albere* in Latin.

While the transitive verbs can omit their direct objects when they are unprefixes (1),<sup>91</sup> once they become prefixed, they need the explicit direct object – (\*2a) and (2b).

(1) Mihajlo **je pisao**.

‘Mihajlo was writing.’

(2a) \*Mihajlo **je napisao**.

\*‘Mihajlo wrote.’

(2b) Jelena **je napisala** pismo.

‘Jelena wrote a letter.’

The *focus* of verbs can change both by their prefixation (see paragraph 3.5.2) or in verbal syntagms, by using the verbs with the ingressive (*početi* ‘to start’) or the egressive (*prestati* ‘to stop’) *focus*. The complements of the ingressive *početi* can determine different *foci* (3a – inchoative, 4a – ingressive, 5a – change of state). However, the focus on the end-point of the process is usually expressed by the prefix (3b, 4b and 5b).

(3a) Počela sam da *sédim*. ‘My hair started becoming white.’

(3b) *Qsedela sam*. ‘My hair turned white.’

(4a) Počela sam da *jedem*. ‘I started eating.’

(4b) *Pojela sam*. ‘I ate up.’

(5a) Počela sam da *bivam stara*. ‘I started being old.’

(5b) *Qstarila sam*. ‘I became old.’

### 3.4.3 States, activities, and prefixes

Prefixes can have actional and spatial functions. Their specific morpho-semantic function is the addition of the telic property to the verb (*spavati* ‘to sleep’ – *odspavati* ‘to sleep for a while’).

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- (a) True reflexive verbs – the subject performs the event on herself or himself (*kupati se/sebe* ‘to take a bath’, *brijati se/sebe* ‘to shave’).
  - (b) Untrue reflexive verbs – the event is not truly reflexive (*veseliti se* ‘to rejoice’, *smrznuti se* ‘to freeze’).
  - (c) Reciprocal reflexive verbs – various subjects perform the same action on the subject other than themselves (*rukovati se* ‘to shake hands’, *svađati se* ‘to quarrel’).

<sup>91</sup> Some verbs have an “optional direct object” (Piper 2005: 617), when the object is omitted, and it is contextually determined. See *pevati* ‘to sing’ or *pušiti* ‘to smoke’, where the object is implicit.

Another function within the domain of telicity is the addition of the spatial end-point (*trčati* ‘to run’ – *dotrčati* ‘to run to’).

Specifically, spatial meaning is visible within the verbs of motion (1).

(1) **Istrčala sam** iz kuće što sam brže mogla.

‘I ran out of the house as quickly as I could.’

Prefixes can have a sociative function that conveys simultaneity (2), partnership or company (3) or enclosure (4):

(2) **Sastavljam** delove slagalice.

‘I am putting together pieces of the puzzle.’

(3) **Sastajemo se** kod bioskopa.

‘We meet at the cinema.’

(4) Pogledom **obuhvatam** celu poljanu.

‘I behold with my gaze the whole field.’

By adding an end-point to the verbs, a prefix adds the dynamic component to the States. If, however, the verb is an Activity, the prefix adds an end-point obligatorily to it.

### 3.4.4 Change of state

*States*, being the only non-dynamic category of verbs, do not imply any internal change. Hence, they are incompatible with any expression yielding change or development, as are the expressions of dynamism (1), the expressions of agency (2) and the expressions of volition (3).

(1) \***Znao je** odgovore *brzo*.

?He knew the answers *quickly*.

(2) \***Znao je** odgovore *telefonom*.

?He knew the answers *by phone*.

(3) \***Znao je** odgovore *namerno*.

?He knew the answers *on purpose*.

Example (1) shows that the adverbials of speed (*brzo* ‘quickly’, *sporo* ‘slowly’) are incompatible with the States; example (2) shows that the instrumental adverbials as *telefonom* ‘by phone’ are also incompatible with the States, as well as the adverbials of manner as *namerno* ‘on purpose’ (3).

States are atelic since their situation neither tends towards an end-point nor can be utterly segmented into a set of dynamic situations of various kinds.

(4) \***Znao je** odgovor *za dva sata*.

?**He knew** the answer *in two hours*.

Example (4) shows the incompatibility with the completive durative adverbials as *za X vreme* ‘in X time’, a test that classifies the States within the atelic verbal category.

Moreover, the States are durative, and they are compatible with the expressions of simple duration as *X vreme* ‘for X time’ (5).

(5) **Znao je** odgovor *dva meseca*.

**He knew** the answer *for two months*.

With the dynamic verbs, prefixes convey many functions as completion, egressivity, ingressivity and perdurativity. With the stative verbs, the function of the prefixes is the same as with the dynamic verbs, as well as to indicate the change from one state to another (6 – *spavati* ‘to sleep’, *zaspati* ‘to fall asleep’; 7 – *znati* ‘to know’, *saznati* ‘to get to know’; 8 – *ćutati* ‘to be silent’, *ućutati* ‘to become silent, to hush’).

(6a) **Spavala sam** mirno.

‘I was sleeping quietly.’

(6a) **Zaspala sam** brzo.

‘I fell asleep quickly.’

(7a) **Znala sam** odgovor.

‘I knew the answer.’

(7b) Ubrzo **sam saznala** odgovor.

‘Soon, I got to know the answer.’

(8a) **Ćutali smo** dugo.

‘We were silent for a long time.’

(8b) Odmah **smo ućutali**.

‘We hushed immediately.’

### 3.4.5 Telicity

*Activities* are dynamic since they imply a change inherent to the situation and hence express processes. Therefore, they are compatible with expressions yielding change or development: with the expressions of dynamism (1), with the expressions of agency (2) and with the expressions of volition (3).

(1) **Veslao je** *brzo*.

**He rowed** *quickly*.

(2) **Veslao je** *veslima*.

**He rowed** *with oars*.

(3) **Veslao je** *pažljivo*.

**He rowed** *carefully*.

Example (1) shows that the adverbials of speed (*brzo* ‘quickly’, *sporo* ‘slowly’) are compatible with the Activities; example (2) shows that the instrumental adverbials as *veslima* ‘with oars’ are also compatible with the Activities, as well as the adverbials of manner as *pažljivo* ‘carefully’ (3).

The Activities are atelic since the dynamic situation represented by them does not tend towards an end-point.

(4) \***Trčao je** *za dva sata*.

\***He ran** *in two hours*.

In fact, in the same manner as the States, the Activities are incompatible with the complete expressions as *za X vreme* ‘in X time’ (4).

Moreover, the Activities are durative verbs, and they are compatible with the expressions of simple duration as *X vreme* ‘for X time’ (5).

(5) **Trčao je** *dva sata*.

**He ran** *for two hours*.

*Accomplishments* are dynamic, as the Activities. They express processes. Hence, they are compatible with expressions yielding change or development (cf. (1), (2) and (3)).

Accomplishment expresses telic events since they imply the end-point (6).

(6) **Prešla je** ulicu *za dve sekunde*.

**She crossed** the street *in two seconds*.

This category of verbs is even durative: the completive adverbials of *za X vreme* 'in X time' focus on the preparatory phase as the indivisible part of the event, which eventually leads to the end-point (6). If, however, the focus is set on the end-point as the final (and momentaneous) phase of the complete event, the same verb is interpreted as an Achievement.

Most of the prefixes (*po-*, *za-*, *na-*, *do-*, *od-*, etc.) and some suffixes (*-nu-*) are the means that yield telicity. We can compare some unprefixed (7a-c) and prefixed (8a-c) lexical couples. The unprefixed verbs are usually States (7a) or Activities (7b), (7c). When these verbs become prefixed, they gain the end-point and become Achievements (8a) or Accomplishments (8c).

(7a) Ana je mislila.

*Ana was thinking.*

(7b) Mihajlo je pisao.

*Mihajlo was writing.*

(7c) Jelena je pisala pismo.

*Jelena was writing a letter.*

(8a) Ana je smislila.

*Ana has conceived an idea.*

(8b) \*Mihajlo je napisao.

*\*Mihajlo wrote.*

(8c) Jelena je napisala pismo.

*Jelena wrote a letter.*

There are also the unprefixed verbs that inherently yield telicity (9).

(9) *Bacila sam loptu.*

*I threw the ball.*

All atelic and some telic verbs are compatible with the expressions of simple duration – States (10a), Activities (10b) are compatible, while the Achievements (10c) and Semelfactives (10d) are incompatible with them.

(10a) Spavala sam *tri dana*.

I slept *for three days*.

(10b) Igrala sam *tri sata*.

I danced *for three hours*.

(10c) \*Bacila sam *loptu tri sata*.

\*I threw the ball for three hours.

(10d) \*Auto je eksplodirao *tri sata*.

\*The car exploded for three hours.

The completive expressions are incompatible with the atelic verbs in (11a) and (11b), while they are compatible with the telic verbs in (11c) and (11d).<sup>92</sup>

(11a) \*Spavala sam *za dva dana*.

\*I slept *in two days*.

(11b) \*Igrala sam *za dva dana*.

\*I danced *in two days*.

(11c) Stižem *za dva sata*.

I am arriving *in two hours*.

(11d) ?Baciću *loptu za dva minuta*.

?I will throw the ball *in two minutes*.

Telic verbs can be transformed into atelic (or telic and frequentative) verbs by the prefix *-va-* (§3.5.1.1). This secondary step in detelicization (hence, not by simply taking of the morphological feature that contributed to the initial telicization) is usually called “secondary imperfectivization” (12).

(12a) *dati* ‘to give’

(12b) *izdati* ‘to give away, to betray’

(12c) *izdavati* ‘to give away constantly, to keep betraying’

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<sup>92</sup> However, the examples of this kind with the Achievements are ambiguous: the adverbial *za dva sata* ‘in two hours’ expresses the time needed for the event to reach its end-point. Since the Achievements contain only the end-point, this completive adverbial sets the focus to the phase that precedes the event, which is conceptually detached from it.

In the Slavic linguistic literature, it is traditionally assumed that the semantic contribution of the prefixes can be of different degrees and that secondary imperfectivization depends on the semantic drift following the derivation of the prefixed base. It is possible to agglutinate several prefixes to it (13).

(13) iz- + “imperfective” prefixed stem

(13a) is-pre-turati ‘jumble up completely’

(13b) is-pod-vlačiti ‘underline completely, all of’

### 3.4.6 +/- Momentaneousness

The prefix can set the focus of the dynamic events as *pevati* ‘to sing’ onto its initial moment *zapevati* ‘to start singing’.

These inceptive verbs are non-durative. They express the events that do not last since they express the momentaneous situations that end as soon as they start. Hence, they are compatible with the semelfactive adverbials (1).

(1) **Zapevao je** u tom trenutku.

*At that moment he started to sing.*

The semelfactive suffix *-nu* alternates with the other suffixes (*-a*, *-e*, *-i*) (2, 3) and with the derivational suffix *-va* (4). The specific function of these suffixes is explained in §§ 3.5.1.1 and 3.5.1.2).

(2) *štucati* ‘to hiccough’ – *štucnuti* ‘to hiccough once’

(3) *kucati* ‘to knock’ – *kucnuti* ‘to knock once’

(4) *duvati* ‘to blow’ – *dunuti* ‘to blow once’

### 3.4.7 Focus and lexicon

As stated in § 2.4.6, the focus on the beginning involves telic and atelic expressions. This focus can be **inceptive**, conveying a change and a subsequent process (hence, the actional group of the verb Achievement) (*zabeliti* ‘to start being white’ vs. *beliti* ‘to make white’; *ućutati* ‘to stop talking, to become quiet’ vs. *ćutati* ‘to be silent’). This focus can also be **ingressive**, conveying a change and a subsequent State (*pobeleti* ‘to become white’ vs. *biti beo* ‘to be white’).

Focus on the internal stages of the situation - the **internal** focus - involves the atelic expressions (*beliti se* 'to be whitening).

Focus on the event's final stage involves telic expressions; this focus is **egressive** (*otići* 'to go away').

The prefixes are the principal means of the transformation of the semantic functions of the verbs. They emphasize the focus set at the specific phase of the situation. In the triad *beleti se* 'to grow white' – *zabeleti se* 'to become white to the certain extent' – *pobeleti* 'turn white or pale', the unprefixated verb focuses on the internal stage of the event. In contrast, *zabeleti se* focuses on the change and the subsequent state. *Pobeleti* indicates that the process of growing white has reached its ultimate phase.

The unprefixated verbs usually indicate the ongoing process. The verbs with the prefix *po-* typically have a completive function and often show the change from one state to another, without focusing on the process's beginning or end.

When testing the predicates for the duration and focus, we should consider compatibility with the adverbials expressing simple duration and completion and with the verb *prestati*, 'to stop'.

#### Compatibility with *prestati* 'to stop'

Novaković (2005) used this test for determining the verbal feature of duration. *Prestati* is compatible with verbs describing durative situations.

1a) *Prestala sam da pevam.*

'I stopped singing.'

1b) \**Prestala sam da zapevam.*

'I stopped to start singing.'

1c) \**Prestala sam da otpevam.*

'I stopped to finish singing.'

The verb *prestati* is incompatible with the verbs expressing the inceptive (1b) or the egressive focus (1c). However, it is always compatible with the durative expressions, even when telic (2b).

2a) \**Prestala sam da dodjem.*

'I stopped to come' (telic, non-durative)

2b) *Prestala sam da dolazim.*

'I stopped coming' (HABITUAL)

### 3.5. Lexical morphology

In studies about the derivational morphology of Serbo-Croatian, scholars often tended to keep together the concepts of the composition and the derivation. As a direct consequence of this conceptual and terminological fusion, they disregarded the verbal affixes or limited their interest in the suffixes. Indeed, as also Klajn (2002: § 1.1) cites as evidence to this claim, Maretić (1899: 292 ff.) limits the study of the derivational morphology of verbs to the stem and the ending, without even mentioning the affixes. Belić (1949: 2) and Stevanović (1964: 401 ff.) considered lexical composition as bonding of the words in “some kind of petrified syntagm“ (Klajn 2000: 6), the opinion leading to a conviction that the composition is a syntactic mechanism, while the lexical derivation is only the affixation.

#### 3.5.1 Suffixes

Derivation of the verbs has to do with the nouns, adjectives, adverbs, sounds, or another verb from which the verb in question is derived, consequently, with the suffixes added to them. Most of the suffixes serve as the means for the ‘imperfectivization’ (detelicization) of the ‘perfective’ (telic) verbs, except for the suffix *-nu* (§ 3.5.1.2).

- (a) *-a-*: used in the verbs derived from *nouns* (*glasati* ‘to vote’, according to *glas* ‘voice’), from *adjectives* (*brzati* ‘to hasten’ from *brz* ‘quick’), *sounds* (*zujati* ‘to buzz’ from *zu*, the sound ‘buzz’) and *verbs* (*vraćati* ‘to give back’, *vratiti* ‘to keep giving back’).
- (b) *-i-*: used in the verbs derived from *adjectives* (*beliti* ‘to make white’ from *beo* ‘white’), *numbers* (*dvojiti* ‘to make double’ from *dva* ‘two’) or *nouns* (*biberiti* ‘to put pepper’ from *biber* ‘pepper’)
- (c) *-e-*: used in the verbs derived from *adjectives* (*beleći* ‘to become white’ from *beo* ‘white’)
- (d) *-isa-/ira-*: used in the verbs derived from *nouns* usually of the non-Serbo-Croatian origin (*telefonirati* ‘to make a phone call’ from *telefon* ‘telephone’, *telegrafisati* ‘to use telegraph’ from *telegraf* ‘telegraph’).

##### 3.5.1.1 The suffix *-va-*

In Serbo-Croatian, telic verbs (originally telic or telicized by the prefixation), are transformed into atelic (or, in the alternative, telic and frequentative) verbs by the prefix *-va-*. Historically, this suffix had the iterative function – “habitual meaning” (Dahl 1985: 89).

Most of the verbs suffixed by *-va-* are derived from the “secondary” telicized verbs – verbs that were telicized by the prefixes or reinforced one of the prototypically telic actional components by the prefixes. Hence, this suffix is usually called “secondary imperfectivizing” (1 and 2).

(1) Čitam knjigu. (*čitati* – ATELIC)

‘I am reading a book.’

(2) Iščitavam knjigu. (*iščitavati* – TELIC, FREQUENTATIVE)

‘I am reading through the book.’

The verb in (2), *iščitavati*, is both prefixed (*iz-*) and suffixed (*-va-*). The prefix conveys completion: the verb would express only the telic, completive meaning without the suffix. Instead, the suffix adds the frequentative component to the telicized verb without detelicizing it. Hence, while *-va-* gives the sense of repetition or the constancy in the iteration, *iz-* offers the completion for each repetition. We can identify the semantic drift in terms of the aspectual properties discussed above. Namely, if the interpretation of the derived perfectives is telic and the prefix denotes the actual endpoint of the event (which would presuppose that the actual end point is conceptually attainable, as in the case of the Incremental themes) secondary imperfectivization is blocked.

1. I baciti ‘to throw’ → *iz-baciti* ‘to throw out’

2. II izbaciti ‘to throw out’ → *izbaci-vati* ‘to throw out repeatedly<sup>93</sup>’

However, in Serbo-Croatian there are some unprefixated, telic verbs which become imperfective by adding the suffix *-va-* (3 and 4).

(3) Daću ti knjigu. (*dati* – TELIC)

‘I will give you the book.’

(4) Davaću ti knjige. (*davati* ATELIC, IMPERFECTIVE)

‘I will keep giving you the books.’

### 3.5.1.2 The suffix *-nu-*

This suffix appears in the formations of the verbs that express single acts (Janda 2007: 619). While the imperfectivizing suffixes provides the verbs which correspond to the imperfective aspect, the suffix *-nu-* yields the instantaneous verbs, delimited to the perfective situations.

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<sup>93</sup> Cf. the unsuffixed verb *sciscito*.

*štipati* ‘to pinch’ – *štipnuti* ‘to pinch once’

*kijati* ‘to sneeze’ – *kinuti* ‘to sneeze once’

The verbs become perfective by delimiting the occurrences to one single act or focusing on the singular object of the event.

*vikati* ‘to shout’ – *viknuti* ‘to shout once, to shout one thing’

### 3.5.2 Prefixes

Attributing the prefixation as the exclusive property of the verbs led to an early categorization of the affixes, especially the prefixes in Serbo-Croatian. Maretić (1899: 382) lists sixteen prepositions that, together with the verbs, create compounds. These are *do*,<sup>94</sup> *iz*, *na*, *nad*, *o(b)*, *od*, *po*, *pod*, *pre*, *pri*, *pro*, *raz*, *s(a)*, *u*, *uz*, *za*, as well as *mimo* (present only in two verbs *mimoilaziti* and *mimoići* ‘to go by: TEL and ATEL’) and *pred* (created, in his opinion, in analogy with Latin or German: cf. SC *predvidjeti* : Lat. *praevidere* / Ger. *voraussehen*, ‘forsee’). Leskien (1914: 480) adds some allomorphs as *iz(a)-* and *ob(a)-*. Belić (1949: 295–296) and Stevanović (1964: 452–468) also follow the previous authors, giving to *pred-* and *mimo-* different functions, if mentioning them at all. Barić *et al.* (1979) added *pred-* and *mimo-*; he also made distinction between *o-* and *ob-* (see also Kantor 1984). To these, Babić (1986) added other seven prefixes: *pa-*, *naj-*, *protu-*, *suprot-* (all used very rarely) and the prefixes of other origin *de-*, *dis-*, *re-*. He also distinguished allomorphs.

The main function of the prefixes in Serbo-Croatian is adding telicity to the verb. While telic verbs stay telic when the prefix is added to them (1), the atelic and unprefixated verbs become telic by prefixation (2).

(1a) **Bacila je** loptu.

She threw the ball.

(1b) **Zabacila je** kosu.

She tossed her hair.

(2a) **Pisala sam** pismo.

I was writing a letter.

(2b) **Napisala sam** pismo.

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<sup>94</sup> Maretić lists the prepositions without a dash.

I wrote a letter.

In fact, in (1b), the prefix adds spatial, not actional component to the meaning of the unprefixated verb *baciti* 'to throw': *zabaciti* means 'to throw back, to toss'; on the other hand, while *pisati* 'to write' (2a) has the externally set boundary (*pismo* 'letter'), *napisati* 'to complete writing' (2b) has the internally set boundary. Hence the atelic verbs gain telicity by the prefixation, while the telic verbs stay such when they acquire the prefixes.

The exceptions to this rule represent the prefixes *pre-*, *su-*, *mimo-*, *naj-* and *pa-*,<sup>95</sup> since their frequency is too low for concluding about their actional function.

Babić (1986: 487) reckons that in Serbo-Croatian, there are no prefixed "imperfective" verbs since the "imperfective" verbs with the prefix are built by adding the suffix or by changing the stem of the prefixed, "perfective" verbs. However, Klajn (2002: 241) points out the incompleteness of this claim: many atelic verbs could not have this modality in the derivational process, since they do not have a corresponding telic verb. For example, the atelic *nastojati* 'strive, endeavor' does not correspond to the telic verb *nastati* 'originate, ensue', which has the corresponding atelic verb *nastajati* 'to become, emerge'. Also, the atelic *postojati* 'to exist' does not correspond to telic *postati* 'to become: TEL', which has the corresponding atelic verb *postajati* 'to become: ATEL.' There is also the group of verbs with the ending in *-stojati* (from 'standing') as *sastojati se* 'to consist' and *postojati* 'to exist' as well as the verbs as *prethoditi* 'to precede', *saosećati* 'sympathise, feel for', *ogovarati* 'to slander, badmouth' that do not follow this pattern.

Prefixes convey functions other than telicizing: spatial and social are the most frequent ones. It is not always easy to make a clear-cut distinction between these functions, which often occur within the same prefixed verb (3):

(3a) *crtati* 'to be drawing: ATEL'

(3b) *nacrtati* 'to draw: TEL'

(3c) *ucrtati* 'inscribe'

(3d) *iscrtati* 'to plot'

The examples (3b), (3c) and (3d) show a telic function of the verb. However, *nacrtati* (3b) has a spatial function since the prefix *na-* implies that the drawing is performed on some surface (and not,

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<sup>95</sup> Klajn (2002: 240) adds to this group also the prefixes of a foreign origin that are borrowed together with the endings *-irati*, *-isati* and *-ovati*.

for example, within the borders or under some surface). *Ucrtati* (3c) conveys both telic and spatial meaning, as well as *iscrtati* (3d).<sup>96</sup>

The primary function of the prefixes is to telicize verbs, along with their prepositional (and hence, spatial) role.

### 3.5.2.1 PO-

#### (a) Actional function

*Po-* is an Old Slavic prefix with the completive function: it telicizes the atelic verbs, usually Activities. By adding *po-*, the Activities can become Accomplishments. The prefix yields the boundary to the process that becomes completed.

The process could be simple (*jesti* ‘to eat’, *pojesti* ‘to eat up’ (1 and 1a); *piti* ‘to drink’, *popiti* ‘to drink up’):

(1) *Jede jabuku.*

‘He eats / he is eating an apple.’

(1a) *Svaki dan pojede jednu jabuku.*

‘Every day he eats an apple.’

However, the process could be iterative (*pisati* ‘to write’, *popisati* ‘write down one by one, everything’ (2 and 2a); *vaditi* ‘take out’, *povaditi* ‘take out one by one, everything’), case in which the verbs become the Achievements or semelfactive Semelfactives (*gledati* ‘to watch, look’, *pogledati* ‘to watch/look once, one thing’) (3 and 3a, 3b).

(2) *Pisala sam pismo.*

‘I was writing the letter.’

(2a) *Popisala sam sve brojeve telefona’.*

‘I wrote all the phone numbers.’

(3) *Gledala sam film.*

‘I was watching the movie.’

(3a) *Pogledala sam film.*

‘I finished watching the movie’

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<sup>96</sup>On this topic, see Grickat (1966/1967).

(3b) *Pogledala sam ga.*

‘I looked at him once.’

### (b) Intensive / delimitative function

Its secondary, delimitative function is possible with some verbs that indicate posture change with durative meaning like *ležati* ‘to be reclined’, *sedeti* ‘to be sitting’ (and not *leći* ‘to lie down’, *sesti* ‘to sit down’). In these cases, what becomes bounded is not the telic component of the verb but rather the temporary validity of the inherently stative situation. Hence, the prefix does not add dynamicity to the situation; it somewhat limits its duration in time. When prefixed, these verbs convey that the state lasted for a while (*ležati* ‘to be reclined’, *poležati* ‘to lie for a while’; *sedeti* ‘to sit’, *posedeti* ‘to sit for a while’).<sup>97</sup> The same boundary is added to some events as *igrati se* ‘to play’, *poigrati se* ‘to play for a while’.<sup>98</sup> This temporally bounded form of the atelic verb, emphasizes that the situation is terminated by reaching its externally imposed boundary.<sup>99</sup>

#### 3.5.2.2 NA-

(a) **Spatial function** (cf. § 4.4.4.4 (a I)).

The main function of the prefix *na-* is spatial.

The verb *gaziti* ‘to step, to trample’ is an Activity. *Nagaziti* ‘to step on’ means that the stepping is directed towards the surface of the object stepped on. Moreover, it triggers a shift of the actional class by modifying both the properties of telicity and durativity (1c–1e).

(1a) *Gazila je travu dve sekunde.*

She trampled the grass for two seconds.

(1b) \**Gazila je travu za dve sekunde.*

She trampled the grass in two seconds.

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<sup>97</sup> In Smith’s view (1997: 230), this kind of bounds in Russian must be explicit unless they are intrinsic to the event. However, in her opinion, this event can only be seen as perfective, not telic in a strict sense (ibid. 244). On the other hand, see also the perspective expressed by Šeljakin (1984: 50) who states that various prefixes have exclusively the functions of creating the “modification – actional meanings”. His view is based on the traditional viewpoint, often pleaded by the Slavic scholars, claiming that there are the aspectual (or actional) pairs as (1) *čitati : pročitati* ‘to read a book’ on the one hand and (2) *čitati : počitati* ‘to read a book for a while’ on the other hand: the verb *čitati* is supposedly a different lexical entry in (1) – ‘to read’ and in (2) – ‘to be engaged in reading’, and therefore the possibility of different modifications of actional meanings by means of different prefixes.

<sup>98</sup> On delimitative verbs with *po-*, see Budja (2010). However, this article uses the Croatian štokavian corpus; the updated research on this topic lacks for the Serbian variant.

<sup>99</sup> Quantifying the time by the verbal morphemes seems to be the common feature in other Slavic languages without the articles (except for Bulgarian), as Russian, Polish, and Czech (Di Sciullo & Slabakova 2005: 63).

(1c) \*Nagazila je bubu dve sekunde.

\*She stepped on a bug for two seconds.

(1d) ?Nagazila je bubu za dve sekunde.

?She stepped on a bug in two seconds.

(1e) Nagazila je bubu u tom trenutku.

She stepped on a bug at that moment.

In some cases, the Achievements can combine with the spatial *na-*: the result is the verb with the unmodified actional class, yet with the addition of the spatial component (2). The Achievement *baciti* 'to throw' and the prefixed Achievement *nabaciti* 'to throw on' both have the ambiguous interpretation with the adverbials *In X time* ((2b) and (2e)). The reason for the twofold reading lay in the twofold interpretation of the adverbial *In X time*, as explained for (2d) in the paragraph about the spatial function of the prefix *na-*. Both verbs are compatible with the semelfactive adverbials (2c) and (2f) and incompatible with the adverbials of *For X time* type (2a) and (2d):

(2a) \*Bacila je kaput dva minuta.

\*She threw the coat for two minutes.

(2b) ?Bacila je kaput za dva minuta.

?She threw the coat in two minutes.

(2c) Odjednom je bacila kaput.

Suddenly, she threw the coat.

(2d) \*Nabacila je kaput na leđa dva minuta.

\*She threw the coat on her back for two minutes.

(2e) ?Nabacila je kaput na leđa za dva minuta.

?She threw the coat on her back in two minutes.

(2f) Odjednom je nabacila je kaput na leđa.

Suddenly, she threw the coat on her back.

**(b) Actional function** (cf. §4.4.2.4 (v))

Prefix *na-* also has completive function.

(1a) Pisala je pesmu dva dana.

She was writing a poem for two days.

(1b) \*Pisala je pesmu za dva dana.

\*She was writing a poem in two days.

(1c) \*Napisala je pesmu dva dana.

\*She wrote a poem for two days.

(1d) Napisala je pesmu za dva dana.

She wrote a poem in two days.

While *pisati* 'to write' is an Activity and hence compatible with the adverbial of *For X time* type (1a) and incompatible with the adverbial of *In X time* type (1b), *napisati* is an Achievement – it is compatible with the adverbial of *In X time* type (1c) and incompatible with the adverbial of *For X time* type (1d). The process that leads to its accomplishment is left intact in its durativity, yet the end-point has been set by the prefix *na-*.

Sometimes, the prefix *na-* also conveys momentaneousness (2a–2e).

(2a) Smešila se pola sata.

She was smiling for half an hour.

(2b) \*Smešila se za pola sata.

\*She was smiling in half an hour.

(2c) \*Nasmešila se pola sata.

\*She smiled: TEL for half an hour

(2d) ?Nasmešila se za pola sata.

?She smiled: TEL in half an hour.

(2e) Odjednom se nasmešila.

Suddenly, she gave a smile: TEL.

While *smešiti se* 'to smile' is an atelic process (2a), *nasmešiti se* 'to smile once, to give a smile' implies momentaneousness and/or semelfactivity. It is incompatible with the adverbials of *For X time* (2c) and *In X time* (2b) type, and it is compatible with the semelfactive adverbials as *odjednom* 'suddenly' (2e). The interpretation of (2d) is ambiguous because of the twofold definition of the adverbial *In X time*: it usually expresses the period needed for the situation, already evolving, and hence having a preparatory phase, to come to its end. The only definition in which it could be

compatible with the verb *nasmešiti se* is ‘after half an hour’, implying that there was some other situation going on for half an hour, at the end of which the person smiled.

### 3.5.2.3 U-

#### (a) Spatial function (cf. § 4.4.4.4. (a II))

In Serbo-Croatian, if the unprefixated verb expresses the momentaneous situation (1), the verbs prefixed with *u-* can be momentaneous.

Both *baciti* ‘to throw’ and *ubaciti* ‘to throw in’ are only compatible with the semelfactive adverbials (1c and 1f). On the other hand, they are incompatible with the adverbials of the *For X time* type (1a, 1d) and *In X time* type (1b, 1e). Hence, the prefix *u-* does not trigger the change in actional class; it only adds the spatial component.

(1a) \*Bacio je loptu dva sata.

\*He threw the ball for two hours.

(1b) \*Bacio je loptu za dva sata.

\*He threw the ball in two hours.

(1c) Bacio je loptu u 15h i 30 minuta.

He threw the ball at 3.30.

(1d) \*Ubacio je loptu dva sata.

\*He threw in the ball for two hours.

(1e) \*Ubacio je loptu za dva sata.

\*He threw in the ball in two hours.

(1f) Ubacio je loptu u 15h i 30 minuta.

He threw in the ball at 3.30.

#### (b) Actional function

The prefix *u-*, in its actional function, adds completion to the verb. Verbs prefixed with *u-* can stay durative when the durative event expressed by the unprefixated verb gains the end-point (2a–2d). (For the other actional functions of *u-*, cf. § 4.3.5.3 (b)).

(2a) Mesila je kolač dva sata.

She was baking the cake for two hours.

(2b) \*Mesila je kolač za dva sata.

\*She was baking the cake in two hours.

(2c) \*Umesila je kolač dva sata.

\*She baked the cake for two hours.

(2d) Umesila je kolač za dva sata.

She baked the cake in two hours.

Verbs prefixed with *u-* in their actional function can be momentaneous when the unprefixated verb is an Activity that loses duration by the prefixation (3).

*Gledati* 'to watch, to look' is an Activity (3a–3b). Combining it with a semelfactive adverbial conveys that at the moment X, the event was being performed (3c); however, it certainly does not imply that the event did not last for a longer time in the past and/or in future. On the other hand, *ugledati* 'to see' is a momentaneous verb: it is compatible with the adverbial *At X time* type (3f). In the allowed reading of (3e), it is implicit that it took them two hours to achieve the result – seeing the lightning. Hence, in this case, the adverbials refer to the phase that immediately precedes the event itself.

(3a) Gledali su film dva sata.

They were watching the movie for two hours.

(3b) \*Gledali su film za dva sata.

\*They were watching the movie in two hours.

(3c) ?Gledali su film u 5h i 30 minuta.

?They watched the movie at 5.30.

(3d) \*Ugledali su munju dva sata.

\*They saw the lightning for two hours.

(3e) ?Ugledali su munju za dva sata.

They saw the lightning in two hours.

(3f) Ugledali su munju u 5h i 30 minuta.

They saw the lightning at 5.30.

### 3.5.2.4 ZA- (c.f. §4.4.4.4 (a III))

The Serbo-Croatian verbs with the prefix *za-* frequently express the beginning of the event (*zamrzeti* ‘to start hating’) or the change of state (*zabeleti se* ‘start getting white’). This prefix, hence, adds an ingressive component to the primary verb.

Usually, the category of States combines with this prefix, giving as the result of combining the ingressive verbs:

(8) *voleti* ‘to love’ : *zavoleti* ‘to fall in love, to start loving’

(9) *spavati* ‘to sleep’ : *zaspavati* ‘to fall asleep’

This prefix adds the final endpoint to the event (9, 10, 11 and 12).

(10) *grejati* ‘to warm’ : *zagrejati* ‘to warm up’

(11) *pečatirati* ‘to stamp’ : *zapečatiti* ‘to seal with stamp’

(12) *šiti* ‘to sew’ : *zašiti* ‘to sew up’

Tests from section 1.2.4. (a) help to determine the actional class of the following lexical couples:

(a) On je grejao/pečatirao/spavao/šio 2 sata.

He was warming/stamping/sleeping/sewing *for 2 hours*.

(b) \*On je grejao/pečatirao/spavao/šio za 2 sata.

\*He was warming/sealing/sleeping/sewing *in 2 hours*.

(c) \*On je zagrejao/zapečatirao/zaspao/zašio 2 sata.

\*He warmed up/sealed/fell asleep/sewed up *for 2 hours*.

(d) On je zagrejao/zapečatirao/zaspao/zašio za 2 sata.

He warmed up/sealed/fell asleep/sewed up *in 2 hours*.

The examples above show that the unprefixes verbs are compatible with the adverbials of *For X time* (2 sata) type (a) and incompatible with (b) the adverbials of *In X time* type (*za 2 sata*): they belong to the category of Activities. On the other hand, the prefixed verbs show the inverted tendency: they are compatible with the adverbials of *In X time* (d) type and incompatible with those of *For X time* type (c): they belong to the category of Achievements.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> In this case we are disregarding the interpretation of the adverbial *for 2 hours* as period in time during which the situation lasted and after which it should be re-established (for example, in the sentence *He fell asleep for 2 hours, and then he woke up abruptly* the adverbial *for 2 hours* will be translated in Serbo-Croatian as *na 2 sata*. Cf. with Serbo-

In some verbs, this prefix also adds the durative component to the unprefix verb (cf. Lat. *adedo* ‘eat into, nibble’).

(13) *gristi* ‘to bite’ : *zagrستي* ‘make/have a bite’

(14) *viriti* ‘to peep’ : *zaviriti* ‘to peek, to have a look’

(13a) *Grizla je sendvič dva sata.*

She was biting a sandwich for 2 hours.

(13b) \**Grizla je sendvič za dva sata.*

\*She was biting a sandwich in 2 hours.

(13c) \**Zagrizla je sendvič dva sata.*

\*She had a bite for 2 hours.

(13d) *Zagrizla je sendvič za dva sata.*

She had a bite in 2 hours.

Since the prefixed verb is compatible with the *In X time* type adverbial (13d) and incompatible with the *For X time* type (13c), it belongs to Achievements.

(14a) *Virila je dva sata.*

She was peeping for 2 hours.

(14b) \**Virila je za dva sata.*

\* She was peeping in 2 hours.

(14c) \**Zavirila je dva sata.*

She had a look for 2 hours.

(14d) \**Zavirila je za dva sata.*

\*She had a look in 2 hours.

Since the adverbial as the *In X time* is compatible only with telic verbs, (14d) shows that a dynamic verb as *zaviriti* ‘to have a look’ is atelic. Hence, in this case, the prefix *za-* transformed an Activity into a Semelfactive verb.

In the case of the change of state, the verbs prefixed with *za-* are Achievements (13), and when they express an irreversible situation, they are Semelfactives (14).

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Croatian in (a) and (c)). We only consider the situation in which the period expressed by the adverbial is antecedent to the event and leads to its end-point.

When the original verbs are Achievements, there is neither an endpoint to add nor a durative component to cancel. Therefore, the prefix *za-* adds other, minor actional features to the primary verb. These could be the direction (15) or time limit (16). Hence, Achievements do not change the actional category when they are prefixed.

(15) *baciti* ‘to throw’ : *zabaciti* ‘to toss, to throw back’

(16) *stati* ‘to stop’ : *zastati* ‘to stop for a while’

### 3.5.2.5 DO- (cf. §4.4.3.4 (a))

If the unprefix verb is an Activity, *do-* transforms it in either an Accomplishment or an Achievement. In the case of the prefixed Accomplishment, *do-* can yield the result/completion of the process expressed by the unprefix verb (1). In the case of the prefixed Achievement, *do-* specifies the physical limit of the achieved goal, already expressed by its unprefix couple (2). This occurs especially when *do-* combines with the verbs of motion (3).

(1) *pisati* ‘to write’ : *dopisati* ‘to add by writing’

(2) *baciti* ‘to throw’ : *dobaciti* ‘to throw to’

(3) *leteti* ‘to fly’ : *doleteti* ‘to fly to’

If the unprefix verb is a State, it also changes its actional class by adding the prefix. The following results show the example of *doznati* ‘to get to know’ as the prefixed couple of *znati* ‘to know’, tested with specific adverbials.

(4a) *Za pet minuta sam doznao sam da je dobar.*

In five minutes, I got to know that he was good.

(4b) *\*Pet minuta sam doznao da je dobar.*

\*For five minutes, I got to know that he was good.

*Doznati*, from a State, becomes an Achievement: it is compatible with the adverbial of the *In X time* type (4a) and incompatible with that of *For X time* type (4b).

With some verbs of motion (*plivati* ‘to swim’), there is a certain ambiguity in determining if the prefixed verb is an Accomplishment or an Achievement.

This fact is due to the existence of the prefixed and suffixed verbs as *doplivavati* ‘to be reaching by swimming, to repeatedly reach by swimming’ (without the corresponding unprefix, but suffixed verb as *\*plivavati*). In this case, the verb is an Accomplishment: *do-* sets the focus both on

the preparatory phase of the process and at the reaching of its result. *Doplivavati* shows incompatibility with the adverbial of *In X time* (5a) type but, in its iterative sense, compatibility with the adverbials conveying frequency (5b). Moreover, it shows compatibility with the phasal verb ‘to finish’ (cf. paragraph 1.2.4 (b) (5c)). In the case of *doplivati* ‘to swim to, reach by swimming’ (6) *do-* focuses exclusively on the moment when the result/goal is reached. In fact, tests with the adverbials of *In x time* show compatibility (6a), while the adverbials of *For X time* are incompatible with *doplivati* (6b)

(5a) \**Doplivavao je do obale za pet minuta.*

\*He was reaching the shore in five minutes.

(5b) *Doplivavao je do obale svakih pet minuta.*

He was reaching the shore every five minutes.

(5c) *Završio je da dopliva do obale.*

He finished reaching the shore.

(6a) *Doplivao je do obale za pet minuta.*

He swam to the shore in five minutes.

(6b) \**Doplivao je do obale pet minuta.*

\*He swam to the shore for five minutes.

Prefix *do-* does not trigger the actional change of the unprefixated Achievement (*stići* ‘to arrive’: *dostići* ‘to arrive to, to achieve’):

(7a) \**Stigao je na/dostigao je cilj dva sata.*

\*He arrived/reached (cut) the finish line for 2 hours.

(7b) *Stigao je na/dostigao je cilj za dva sata.*

He arrived/reached (cut) the finish line for 2 hours.

*Stići* and *dostići* are both compatible with the *For X time* type of adverbials (7a), whereas they are incompatible with the *In X time* type of adverbials (7b). Hence, *dostići* is also an Achievement.

The states prefixed with *do-* show the same behaviour in the tests with the specific adverbials. They do not change the actional category when they become prefixed.

### 3.5.2.6 OD- (with allomorphs *ot-*, *o-*)

#### (a) Spatial function (cf. §4.4.7.4. (a))

In the spatial function, the Serbo-Croatian prefix *od-* adds to the verb the semantic component initially yielded by the corresponding preposition ‘from, off’. It not only causes a spatial function; its main function remains the actional function that telicizes the predicate (2).

(2a) Grizao sam jabuku pola sata.

I was biting at an apple for half an hour.

(2b) \*Grizao sam jabuku za pola sata.

\*I was biting an apple in half an hour.

(2c) \*Odgrizao sam parče jabuke pola sata.

\*I bit off a piece of apple for half an hour.

(2d) Odgrizao sam parče jabuke za pola sata.

I bit off a piece of apple in half an hour.

(2e) Odgrizao sam parče jabuke.

I bit off a piece of apple.

*Gristi* ‘to bite’ is an Activity – see its compatibility with the *For X time* adverbial (2a) and its incompatibility with *In X time* adverbial (4b). *Odgristi* ‘to bite off’ is telic – it is incompatible with *For X time* adverbial (2c). However, it can be regarded as a durative telic event (2d) and a momentaneous event (2e). Hence, the spatial *od-* transforms Activities into Accomplishments or Achievements, with the addition of the spatial component of separation.

Many Achievements can combine with this prefix in its purely spatial function. In these cases, the prefix does not trigger the shift of verb’s actional class (3).

(3a) \*Bacila je knjigu dva minuta.

\*She threw the book for two minutes.

(3b) ?Bacila je knjigu za dva minuta.

?She threw the book in two minutes.

(3c) Odjednom je odbacila knjigu.

Suddenly, she threw away the book.

(3d) \*Odbacila je knjigu dva minuta.

\*She threw away the book for two minutes.

(3e) ?Odbacila je knjigu za dva minuta.

?She threw away the book in two minutes.

(3f) Odjednom je nabacila je kaput na leđa.

Suddenly, she threw away the book.

The Achievement *baciti* 'to throw' and the prefixed Achievement *odbaciti* 'to throw away' both have the ambiguous interpretation with the adverbials *In X time* ((3b) and (3e)). The reason for the twofold reading lay in the twofold interpretation of the adverbial *In X time*, as explained for in the paragraph about the spatial function of the prefix *na-* (§3.5.2.2 (a)). Both verbs are compatible with the semelfactive adverbials (3c) and (3f) and incompatible with the adverbials of *For X time* type (3a) and (3d).

#### **(b) Actional function (cf. §4.4.5.3 (II))**

In strictly actional function, *od-* usually transforms unprefixes Activities in the prefixed Accomplishments (1).

*Rasti* 'to grow' is incompatible with the adverbial of *In X time* type (2b), and it is compatible with the adverbial of *For X time* type (2a). *Odrasti* 'to grow up' is an Accomplishment, and it is compatible with the adverbial of *In X time* type (2d) and incompatible with the adverbial of *For X time* type (2c).

(2a) Rasla je na selu deset godina.

She was growing up in the countryside for ten years.

(2b) \*Rasla je na selu za deset godina.

\*She was growing up in the countryside in ten years.

(2c) \*Odrasla je na selu deset godina.

\*She grew up in the countryside for ten years.

(2d) Odrasla je na selu za deset godina.

She grew up in the countryside in ten years.

Sometimes, *od-* transforms States into Accomplishments (3). *Patiti* 'to suffer' is a State (3a–3b), and it receives an end-point by the prefixation. *Otpatiti* 'to finish suffering' is an egressive verb in

which the prefix telicizes the state yet does not modify its duration. The prefixed *otpatiti* is an Accomplishment (3c–3d).

(3a) *Patio je dve godine.*

He suffered for two years.

(3b) \**Patio je za dve godine.*

\*He suffered in two years.

(3c) \**Otpatio je dve godine.*

\*He finished suffering for two years.

(3d) *Otpatio je za dve godine.*

He finished suffering in two years.

### 3.5.2.7 IZ-

#### (a) Spatial function (cf. § 4.4.6.3)

In Serbo-Croatian, with the verbs of motion, the prefix *iz-* yields a strictly spatial function – ‘out, from’. However, the interpretation of the (lack of) durativity is often twofold. Therefore, these verbs can be interpreted as Accomplishments or as Achievements (1).

(1a) *Virio je tri sata.*

He was peeking for three hours.

(1b) \**Virio je za tri sata.*

\*He was peeking in three hours.

(1c) \**Izvirio je tri sata.*

\*He peered out for three hours.

(1d) *Izvirio je za tri sata.*

He peered out in three hours.

(1e) *Izvirio je u 15h.*

He peered out at 15 o'clock.

*Viriti* ‘to peek’ is an Activity ((1a) and (1b)). *Izviriti* is incompatible with the adverbials of *For X time* type (1c), the result that signals its telicity. On the other hand, it is compatible with both *In X*

*time* adverbial (1d) and with the semelfactive adverbial *At X time* (1e). Hence, it can be interpreted as an Accomplishment in (1d), where the preparatory phase is intact, or as an Achievement, where the adverbial implies its momentaneity.

When the unprefix verb is already an Achievement, as *baciti* ‘to throw’ is, the twofold interpretation of the prefixed *izbaciti* is also possible.

(2a) \*Bacio je đubre tri sata.

He threw the garbage for three hours.

(2b) \*Bacio je đubre za tri sata.

\*He threw the garbage in three hours.

(2c) Bacio je đubre u 15h.

He threw the garbage at 15h.

(2d) \*Izbacio je đubre tri sata.

\*He threw out the garbage for three hours.

(2e) Izbacio je đubre za tri sata.

He threw out the garbage in three hours.

(2f) Izbacio je đubre u 15h.

He threw out the garbage at 15h.

Whereas *baciti* ‘to throw’ allows only the momentaneous interpretation (2a–2c), *izbaciti* ‘to throw out’ is compatible with both adverbials of *In X time* and *At X time* type. Hence, an Achievement, when prefixed with the spatial *iz-*, can become an Accomplishment (2e), or it can stay an Achievement (2f), with the addition of the spatial component (‘out’).

### **(b) Actional function**

In Serbo-Croatian, the prefix *iz-* transforms the unprefix Activities into the Accomplishments (2).

(2a) Zgrada je gorela tri sata.

The building was burning for three hours.

(2b) \*Zgrada je gorela za tri sata.

\*The building was burning in three hours.

(2c) \*Zgrada je izgorela tri sata.

\*The building burned down for three hours.

(2d) Zgrada je izgorela za tri sata.

The building burned down in three hours.

### 3.5.2.8 PRO- (cf. §4.4.6.3. (iii))

#### Actional function

Serbo-Croatian *pro-* usually telicizes the predicates. It also expresses delimitativity, hence that the situation is being performed ‘to the certain extent, for some while, a little bit’. Most of the verbs that combine with this prefix are Activities, which become Accomplishments (1).

(1a) Čitala sam knjigu dva dana.

I was reading the book for two days.

(1b) \*Čitala sam knjigu za dva dana.

\*I was reading the book in two days.

(1c) \*Pročitala sam knjigu dva dana.

\*I read the book for two days.

(1d) Pročitala sam knjigu za dva dana.

I read the book in two days

*Čitati* ‘to read/to be reading’ is an Activity (1a–1b). *Pročitati* ‘to read the whole of: TEL’ is an Accomplishment since it is compatible with the adverbial of *In X time* type (1d), and is incompatible with the adverbial of *For X time* type (1c).

### 3.5.2.9 SA- (with allomorph *s-*) (cf. § 4.4.7.4 (a))

#### (a) Spatial function

The prefix *s(a)-* indicates separation or removal and means ‘from, away, off’. *Sa-* usually combines with the Activities (1a): it transforms them in the Accomplishments (see the sociative function of *con-* in §4.4.2.3) or the following Achievements (1e).

(1a) Jahao je konja tri sata.

He was riding the horse for three hours.

(1b) \*Jahao je konja za tri sata.

\*He was riding the horse in three hours.

(1c) \*Sjahao je sa konja tri sata.

\*He dismounted from the horse for three hours.

(1d) \*Sjahao je sa konja za tri sata.

\*He dismounted from the horse in three hours.

(1e) Sjahao je sa konja u 15h.

He dismounted from the horse at 15h.

The event *sjahati* ‘to dismount’ not only includes the end-point of the process, but it is also momentaneous. Both changes are triggered by the prefixation of the initially atelic process, *jahati* ‘to ride’. *Sjahati* is incompatible with both the adverbials of For X time (1c) and In X time type (1d). It is only compatible with the adverbial of semelfactive kind, At X time (1e). Hence, in combination with the verb *jahati* (and *gaziti* ‘to step’ – *zgaziti* ‘to step on’; *čekati* ‘to wait’ – *sačekati* ‘to wait for with the positive exit’; *guliti* ‘to peel’ – *zguliti* ‘to peel off’), this prefix not only adds the telicity to the initial atelic process, but it also annuls the preparatory phase. In this case, the prefix influences both the durativity and the telicity.

### 3.5.2.10 PRE- (cf. § 4.4.9.4 (II))

#### a) Spatial function

Semantics of the prefix *pre-* is related to the meaning of the preposition *preko* ‘over, across’.

In the majority of the verbs, this prefix adds the end-point to the originally unprefixated verb and hence influences the shift of the actional class. At the same time, it also yields the spatial component. Since the prepositions explicitly express the spatial goal, the prefix *pre-* produces the direction of the motion verbs.

*Pre-* has the spatial function only with verbs that do not shift their actional class by getting prefixated. This is the case of Achievements, which do not shift the actional class, even after the prefixation by *pre-* (1).

(1a) \*Bacio je loptu u dvorište dva sata.

\*He threw the ball in the yard for two hours.

(1b) \*Bacio je loptu u dvorište za dva sata.

\*He threw the ball in the yard in two hours.

(1c) Bacio je loptu u dvorište u 7.

\*He threw the ball in the yard at 7 o'clock.

(1d) \*Prebacio je loptu u dvorište dva sata.

\*He threw over the ball in the yard for two hours.

(1e) \*Prebacio je loptu u dvorište za dva sata.

\*He threw over the ball in the yard in two hours.

(1f) Prebacio je loptu u dvorište u 7.

\*He threw over the ball in the yard at 7 o'clock.

Both *baciti* 'to throw' (1a–1c) and *prebaciti* 'to throw over' (1d–1f) are the Achievements: the only adverbial they are compatible with is *At X time* (1c) and (1f). The verb *prebaciti*, in comparison with *baciti*, only determines with precision the direction of throwing – over or across some barrier. The prefix, hence, does not modify neither the telicity nor duration of the unprefixated verb but only adds the spatial component to it.

## b) Distributive function

This Serbo-Croatian prefix, apart from evident actional function, can also yield a distributive component if accompanied by the quantified object (2).

(2a) Brojao je ovce tri sata.

He was counting sheep for three hours.

(2b) \*Brojao je ovce za tri sata.

\*He was counting sheep in three hours.

(2c) \*Prebrojao je ovce tri sata.

\*He counted: TEL the sheep for three hours.

(2d) Prebrojao je ovce za tri sata.

He counted: TEL the sheep in three hours.

*Brojati* 'to count' is an Activity. *Prebrojati* 'to count all, one by one' has a distributive meaning. It is also an Accomplishment since it is compatible with the adverbials of *In X time* type (2d) and incompatible with *For X time* (2c) type.

### 3.6 Summary

The division into three verbal stems (the present, the aorist, and the perfect) found in ancient Greek has in Slavic languages reduced to two (the present and the aorist). The difference between the universal Indo-European and the Slavic verb is that the two stems in Slavic languages always have the same aspectual or actional value (Bošković 2007: 171). The Slavic Aorist corresponds to the IE imperfect without the augment (Slav. *padъ* < \**pado-n*; Ind. *bhāram*, *bhārat*; Gr. *φερον*, *φερε*). The Imperfect, a young Slavic formation, oscillates between the two stems. The narrative preterites still survive as evidentially and aspectually marked alternatives to the Perfect tense (Piper *et al.* 2005: 424, 430). While the Aorist is specific in the syntactic and the stylistic use, the Imperfect vanishes from the current language (see Pušić 2013).

There was also a reduction in the number of moods. Ancient Greek has four moods (indicative, subjunctive, optative and imperative), Latin has three (indicative, subjunctive, and imperative), whereas Serbo-Croatian has indicative, optative, and imperative. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *futurum exactum* was treated as modal verbal form, later established as the tense with relative and causal function (Piper *et al.* 2005: 443).

The impoverishment of the Tense system of eastern and western North Slavic languages is partially a result of the abandonment of aspectual morphology. In the development from Proto-Indo-European, Slavic languages have often lost the aspectual oppositions indicated by the past tense forms of the verb. The functional focus has been almost entirely moved onto lexical opposition. Sometimes, we can still see that the actional opposition, indicated by the opposition unprefixated – prefixated, overlaps with the aspectual opposition (cf. *rasla je* ‘was growing up’ vs. *porasla je* ‘grew up’ and *čitala je knjigu* ‘was reading a book’ and *pročitala je knjigu* ‘read a book’). In most cases, the polarizations telic–perfective and atelic–imperfective reflect the actional opposition unprefixated–prefixated (cf. e.g., *brojati ovce* ‘count sheep’ and *izbrojati ovce* ‘count the sheep’). The primary function of the prefixes is telicizing, along with their prepositional role (e. g., spatial – *jahao je* ‘he was riding the horse’, *sjahao je* ‘he dismounted the horse’). Prefixes can, furthermore, indicate the difference between a beginning of a change and its end (*zabeleti* ‘become somewhat white’ and *pobeleti* ‘turn white’).

In Serbo-Croatian, the prefix-*va-* transforms telic into atelic (or telic and frequentative) (*čitam knjigu* ‘I am reading a book’ vs. *iščitavam knjigu* ‘I am reading through the book’). Historically, this suffix had the iterative function – “habitual meaning” (Dahl 1985: 89). This suffix is usually called

“secondary imperfectivizing” since most verbs suffixed by *-va-* are derived from the “secondary” verbs in which prefixes telicize or reinforce prototypically telic actional components.

## 4 Verbal Lexicon and Morphology in Latin and Serbo-Croatian<sup>101</sup>

There are noticeable differences in expression of tense, actionality and aspect between the genetically related Indo-European languages. On a diachronic level, there have been considerable differences between the verbal system of Early Latin and the Proto-Indo-European system and, on the other hand, between the Early Latin and Late Latin systems. In the same way, the Proto-Slavic verbal system had undergone some changes in its development from Proto-Indo-European. These changes have become even more evident in the later Slavic languages.

This chapter will compare the Latin verbs' lexical semantics with the Serbo-Croatian verbs' lexical semantics and the relationship between lexical semantics and the expression of tense and aspect. In Latin and Serbo-Croatian, derivational morphology is often the tool for switching from one semantic category. In this work, I shall compare the Latin met with Terence's translation into Serbo-Croatian. I will primarily rely on Janković's translation (1978), but I will present my translations in some cases.

### 4.1 Verbal affixes

In Proto-Indo-European, various verbal affixes expressed different spatial and/or actional features. On the one hand, there were suffixes and infixes, which indicated, for instance, dynamicity vs non-dynamicity, transitivity vs intransitivity, causativity or iterativity, which eventually yielded the five conjugational classes met with in Latin.<sup>102</sup> On the other hand, some particles developed into prefixes that encoded the spatial features (e.g. direction to or from something) and various actional features as dynamicity and causativity.<sup>103</sup>

The differences in actionality, expressed in Proto-Indo-European by the affixes, developed somewhat differently in Slavic languages than in Latin. Proto-Slavic, together with the more

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<sup>101</sup> An overview of the history (before 1980) of the intellectual work dedicated to problems of verbal Tense and Aspect in Latin, mostly in contrast with the corresponding problems in Slavic languages, is given in a very systematic way in Kravar's monograph (1980).

<sup>102</sup> See Beekes (1995: 220 ff.), Sihler (1995: §497), Szemerényi (1996: 266–280).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. the 2<sup>nd</sup> conjugation in Latin, which consists of (a) verbs formed from roots in *\*-eHI-*, as *compleo* 'fill up' and *neo* 'spin'; (b) statives formed from *\*-eHI-* and enlarged with thematic suffix *\*-ye/o-*, as *habeo* 'have' and *sedeo* 'sit'; and (c) causatives formed from *\*-eye-*, as *torreo* 'make dry' and *noceo* 'injure' or as a rare frequentatives in *mulgeo* 'milk' and *tondeo* 'shave' (for more examples, see Sihler (1995: § 477).

conservative modern languages as Bulgarian and Macedonian, and some varieties of Serbo-Croatian, combines the already complex verbal system and the verbal affixes. The actional differences and the relationship between these and aspect developed are not entirely similar in Latin and the Slavic languages.<sup>104</sup> In Latin, the perfect and the aorist merged into the *perfectum*. In contrast, early Slavic and the more conservative modern Slavic languages, such as Bulgarian and Macedonian and some varieties of Serbo-Croatian, combine the three aspectual stems (present, perfect and aorist), where the aorist is still used for telic situations and the present and the imperfect for atelic situations, with a complex system of verbal affixes.

The first occurrence of *praeverbium*, referring to a verbal particle, is found in Varro (*Ling.* 6.38 and 6.82).<sup>105</sup> Some scholars use the term “preverb” for those prepositions (prefixes) which specifically combine with the verbs. Indeed, a “preverb” is always placed before the verbal lexeme to build a compound one. This is the derivational pattern, which allows the verbs to acquire new semantic components or add the nuances to the already existing semantic features contained within the simple (unprefixed) verbs. In this work, however, I use the term “prefix” and not “preverb”.

The original prepositional component of the prefixes is visible in Latin through the constituents connected to the verb: the spatial component of the prefix in *adloqui aliquem* or *inire urbem* is also yielded by the accusatives *aliquem* and *urbem*. The essential point seems to be the semantic relation between the prefix and the verb (Kyrilowicz 1977, III, 3: 155–156).

The research on Slavic languages, presenting a similar behaviour in verbal lexicalization and semantics to Latin (and Greek), was a starting point for detecting the semantic differences between the unprefixed and the prefixed verbs. The works on Serbo-Croatian aspectology follow the general tendency, present in scholarship about Slavic verbal semantics, to link the aspect with the prefixation (cf. Grubor 1953, Riđanović 1976). One of the most common examples in the traditionally called “Slavic aspectology” is the lexical pair *pisati* ‘to write: ATEL.’ vs *napisati* ‘to write: TEL.’, where the first member is considered to be “imperfective” and the second member is considered to be “perfective”. Similarly, the suffixation (also called “secondary imperfectivization”) often detelicizes the originally prefixed verb instead of rendering it “imperfective”. This is the case of *trpati* ‘to fill, jam: ATEL.’ – *zatrpati* ‘to fill in: TEL.’ – *zatrpayati* ‘to fill in: ATEL.’

There is a particular affinity between telicity and perfectivity on the one hand and atelicity and imperfectivity on the other. The atelic and imperfective expressions are, for example, incompatible with the completive adverbials of time, whereas the telic and perfective expressions are compatible

<sup>104</sup> Cf. some works about the differences in use of the prefixes in Greek and Latin (Romagno 2004, Haverling 2006).

<sup>105</sup> *A quibus iisdem principiis antepositis praeverbis paucis immanis verborum accedit numerus, quod praeverbis mutatis, additis atque commutatis aliud atque aliud fit; ut enim processit et recessit, sic accessit et abscessit.*

with these adverbials. However, the approach, which considers the morphologic means of affixation as belonging to the domain of aspectology, is outdated. The need for keeping apart the concepts of aspect, as the grammatical category, and actionality, as the lexical category, has, however, constantly been highlighted (some of the most emblematic works on the topic are Comrie 1976, Dahl 1985, Smith 1997, Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000). However, the relationship between actionality and aspect differs from one language to another. I will therefore pay particular attention to the differences in the functions of the prefixation and the use of other verbal affixes between Latin and Serbo-Croatian.

Following the theories that emphasize the importance of keeping separate notions of actionality and aspect (cf. Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000), some more recent works give results on the actional function of the prefixes and their role in Latin (Lehmann 1983; Haverling 1994, 1996, 2000; van Laer 1998; Brachet 2000) and in Serbo-Croatian (Klajn 2002: 239–300, Novakov 2005).

The actional functions of the affixes in Serbo-Croatian overlap considerably with the functions of actional affixes in Latin. The primary function of the prefixes is to telicize the predicate. The most frequent functions are (1, 2) completion; (3) change of state; (4) ingressivity — focusing on the starting point of a situation; (5) egressivity — focusing on the final point of the situation; and (6) perdurativity — focusing on the whole period of the unfolding of a situation.

	Verbs without prefixes		Verbs with prefixes	
	Latin	Serbo-Croatian	Latin	Serbo-Croatian
<b>1</b>	edere	jesti ‘to eat’	<b>comedere</b>	<b>pojesti</b> ‘to eat up’
<b>2</b>	bibere	piti ‘to drink’	<b>ebibere</b>	<b>popiti</b> ‘to drink up’
<b>3</b>	dormire	spavati ‘to sleep’	<b>condormiscere</b>	<b>zaspiti</b> ‘to fall asleep’
<b>4</b>	albere	biti beo ‘to be white, light, pale’	<b>inalbescere</b>	<b>zabeleti</b> ‘to become somewhat white’
<b>5</b>	albere	biti beo ‘to be white, light, pale’	<b>exalbescere</b>	<b>pobeleti</b> ‘to turn white or pale’
<b>6</b>	vigilare	bdeti ‘to watch over’	<b>pervigilare</b>	<b>probdeti</b> ‘to stay awake for a certain period of time’

Other frequent functions are to intensify the meaning of the predicate as well as to add the spatial component: in the latter case, the compound verb encompasses the expression of the physical endpoint (e.g. *ingredior* ‘to advance, proceed’ and *egredior* ‘to go out, come forth’). Since the prefixes are reflexes of the prepositions, the fields of their semantic functions will often overlap within the same languages. Naturally, this will lead to inevitable redundancies and the shift of correspondences

in comparing the two languages. The semantic fields covered by the prefixes with similar functions in these two languages do not perfectly correspond.

In Serbo-Croatian, the verbal suffixes have several different functions, some of which correspond to the functions of the verbal suffixes in Latin. Both Latin and Serbo-Croatian have, for instance, transitive and intransitive suffixes (Latin has the suffix *-sco*: *augeo* ‘to increase, intensify’ is transitive, while *augesco* ‘to increase, grow’ is intransitive; Serbo-Croatian has the alternation *-e- : -i-*, as in intransitive *beleti* ‘to become white’ and transitive *beliti* ‘to make white, whiten’). Serbo-Croatian has, however, a suffix (*-va-*) which is used to “imperfectivize” the predicate. Prefixes usually indicate telicity in Serbo-Croatian, but there are also telic verbs without a prefix (for instance, *baciti* ‘to throw’) and verbs with a twofold interpretation depending on the context (for instance, *telefonirati* ‘to telephone’). These context-dependent bi-aspectual verbs (*dvovidski glagoli*) are subject to both actional and aspectual modification. Here, it is evident that two homonymous verbs contain the same semantic information, yet different from telicity and/or duration and the (im)perfectiveness.

The semantic opposition between non–dynamic and dynamic verbs is based on either the situation's presence or lack of internal development. States, as the only non-dynamic category, are incompatible with the dynamic, agentive, or completive expressions; simultaneously, this category of verbs is compatible with the expressions of duration and semelfactivity (cf. § 3.4.1). On the other hand, Activities, Accomplishments and Achievements are dynamic and compatible with dynamic and agentive expressions. States and Activities are incompatible with the completive expressions, while Accomplishments and Achievements are compatible with the completive expressions. Only Achievements are compatible with the expressions of semelfactivity since these are momentaneous.

## **4.2 Actionality, agency, and morphology**

The material discussed in this section is organized according to the shift of the semantic categories in which the affixation is involved. Latin verbs present the starting point for the analysis. Hence, three main changes in the categories will be presented: non-dynamicity – dynamicity (4.2.1), atelicity – telicity (4.2.2) and durativity – momentaneousness (4.2.3). The comparison with Serbo-Croatian is described in translation, along with the discussion about the Latin verbs.

#### 4.2.1 Non-dynamicity vs dynamicity

States, representing non-dynamic situations are characterized by the lack of any internal development of the situation. States are, therefore, compatible with the expressions of simple duration (*duos menses* ‘for two months’) and the expressions of semelfactivity (at noon). They are also incompatible with the expressions of dynamism, agency, volition, completion, and speed.

States and Activities are compatible with the adverbials of simple duration as (*multos*) *annos* ‘for many years’ and *diu* ‘for a long time’. Hence, both non-dynamic verbs as *possideo* (1a) as well as *perduro* (1b) are compatible with these expressions.

(1a) Plaut. *Aul.* 3: Hanc domum iam *multos annos* est cum **possideo**

‘It is now many years that I have been occupying this house’

SC: Sada već mnogo godina **posedujem** ovu kuću

(1b) Plaut. *Curc.* 241–242: Quin tu *aliquot dies perdura*, dum intestina exputescunt tibi:

‘Well, then, do you hold out for some days until your intestines become putrid.’

SC: Dakle, ti **izdrži** nekoliko dana, dok ti se utroba ne ubuđa.

At the same time, States are, as opposed to Activities, incompatible with the expressions of dynamism as *cito* (2a) or *celeriter* (2b) ‘quickly’, or the expressions which indicate the sudden change as *subito* (2c) or *repente* (2d) ‘suddenly’ (cf. Haverling 2000: 44–45). On the verbs compatible with this kind of expressions, see § 4.2.3 (b):

(2a) Ter. *Hec.* 779: *cito* ab eo haec ira **abscedet**.

‘his anger on that account will speedily subside.’

SC: Ta će ga srdžba brzo **proći**.

(2b) Plaut. *Stich.* 723: **Suffla** *celeriter* tibi buccas quasi proserpens bestia.

‘quickly puff out your cheeks, just like a reptile serpent’

SC: Brzo **naduvaj** obraze, kao zmijolika zver.

(2c) Ter. *Eun.* 642: sed quid hoc, quod timida *subito* **egreditur** Pythias?

‘But how's this, that Pythias is suddenly hurrying out in such a fright?’

SC: Ali, šta bi Pitiji **da istrči** u tolikoj žurbi?

(2d) Ter. *Hec.* 356: Quid fuit tumulti? dic mihi: an dolor *repente* **inuasit**?

‘What meant that confusion? Tell me; was she suddenly taken ill?’

SC: Kakva je ono gužva bila? Reci mi: da **nije iznenadan napad bolova**? [VJ]

SC: ...da **je nije** odjednom **napala** bolest? [DP]

Latin sometimes uses stative verbs when Serbo-Croatian must use a stative periphrasis. The stative, unsuffixed expressions as *caleo* ‘to be warm’ (3a–b) et *areo* ‘to be dry’ (4) are translated into Serbo-Croatian by the stative periphrases of type ‘to be’ + Adj. - *biti topao* ‘to be warm’ and *biti suv* ‘to be dry’:

(3a) Plaut. *Bacch.* 105: aqua **calet**: eamus hinc intro, ut laues.

‘The water's warm; let's go in, that you may bathe.’

SC: Voda **je topla**: hajde da uđemo, da se opereš.

(3b) Plaut. *Rud.* 1326: Os **calet** tibi: nunc id frig[id]efactas.

‘Your face is warm: you should cool it down.’

SC: Lice ti **je toplo**: treba da ga ohladiš.

(4) Plaut. *Rud.* 576: Tegillum e<c>cillud, mihi unum id **aret**: id si uis, dabo.

‘See, here's my outer coat, which alone is dry; that, if you like, I'll lend you.’

SC: Evo onog mog kaputa, samo on **je suv**. Ako hoćeš, daću ti ga.

Stative expressions used in Serbo-Croatian (*toplo je* ‘it is warm’, *suvo je* ‘it is dry’) correspond morphologically to the Latin periphrases: *calidum est* and *aridum est*. As Haverling reports (2010: 290), in the corpus *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina*, while there are several occurrences of verbal forms as *calet*, *friget* ‘is cold’, *tepet* ‘is warm’, there are no corresponding forms as *\*aqua calida est*.<sup>106</sup> The adjectives of this kind appear only as of the parts of the nominal syntagms (*aqua calida*), never within the nominal predicates. However, in Later Latin, the formations as *aqua calida est* are common and often substitute stative expressions as *calet*.<sup>107</sup> Hence, the Serbo-Croatian stative periphrasis morphologically resembles the Late Latin formation.

In other cases, however, a Serbo-Croatian non-dynamic verb corresponds to a non-dynamic Latin verb. In some instances where dynamic verbs are formed from non-dynamic ones, in Latin, there is a semantic opposition between an unprefixated, non-dynamic verb and a prefixated dynamic one: *cubo* ‘to be lying down’ (5a) and *accumbo* ‘to lie down’ (5b).<sup>108</sup> Non-dynamic *cubo* is rendered in Serbo-

<sup>106</sup> What we find are the constructions of the following type: *acqua tam calida est ut...* ‘the water is so warm that...’

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Haverling 2018 and the forthcoming paper in the edition by Roland Hofmann.

<sup>108</sup> *Accumbo* is always found with the nasal infix -m-. *Cumbo* is only found once, in Late Latin (Euty chius Proclus, *Gramm.* V 468. 8: et a verbo *cumbo*, quod simplex non in usu est, composita, incumbo incumbis...). Cf. Haverling 2000: 207-208.

Croatian with the suffixed *ležati*, whereas dynamic *accumbo* is rendered with the unsuffixed and unprefixated *leći*.

(5a) Plaut. *Cas.* 37-38: Est ei quidam servos qui in morbo **cubat**, / immo hercle vero in lecto...

‘He has a certain slave, who with disease is confined--aye, faith, to his bed’

SC: Ima nekog roba koji zbog bolesti **leži**, bogami u krevetu

(5b) Plaut. *Bacch.* 81: ...ubi ego tum **accumbam**? / Apud me, mi anime, ut lepidus cum lepida **accubet**

‘where, then, should I take my place?/ Near myself, my life, that with a she wit a he wit may be reclining at the repast.’

SC: Gde da legnem? Kod mene, dušo, da bi vicko mogao **da legne** sa vickom.

The fundamental function of the suffix *-sco* is to indicate dynamicity. In Early Latin, many unprefixated verbs with *-sco* indicate the process rather than the change from an initially stative situation indicated by a verb without a suffix. The verbs indicating such States often belong to the second conjugation and indicate an inherent or a temporary property.

In Latin, prefixes convey different parts of the process. While the unprefixated verbs with the suffix *-sco* describe the atelic, ongoing processes, the prefixed *sco*-verbs sometimes describe the completion (prefix *ex-*) or the beginning and the following unfolding of the process (*in-*). *Areo* means ‘to be dry’, *aresco* ‘to be drying, become drier’, while *exaresco* means ‘to become totally dry, dry up’ (cf. Haverling 2000: 160–161). Serbo-Croatian uses the stative expression for the verbs like *areo*: *suv je* ‘he is dry’; it uses dynamic, unprefixated verbs for *aresco*: *suši se* ‘he is drying’ and prefixed verbs for *exaresco*: *osuši se* ‘he dries up’ (6).

(6) Plaut. *Rud.* 573–578: CH. At vides me ornatus ut sim vestimentis uvidis:/ recipe me in tectum, da mihi vestimenti aliquid aridi/ dum **arescunt** mea; in aliquo tibi gratiam referam loco./ SC. Tegillum eccillud, mihi unum id **aret**; id si vis dabo:/ eodem amictus, eodem tectus esse soleo, si pluit./ Tu istaec mihi dato: **exarescent** faxo.

‘Do take me under shelter; lend me some dry clothes, while my own are drying; ... See, here's my outer coat, which alone is dry; that, if you like, I'll lend you. ... Do you give me those clothes of yours; I'll soon have them dried.’

SC: Primi me u sklonište, daj mi nešto suve odeće, dok **se** moja **suši**. ... Evo onog mog kaputa, samo on **je suv**. Ako hoćeš, daću ti ga. ... Daj mi tu odeću; učiniću da **se osuši**.

There are some verbs in which the perception of the dynamism and, consequently, the morphosemantic structure in Latin and Serbo-Croatian does not correspond. In Serbo-Croatian, if

the verb is expressed by the stative periphrasis (*biti* + adj.) it is perceived as a State, yielding the inherent property of the verb: *biti topao* ‘to be warm’. On the other hand, verbs like *ardeo* ‘to be burning, on fire’, morphologically treated as a Stative in Latin, are perceived as dynamic in Serbo-Croatian. *Goreti* is an Activity: probably the absence of the stative periphrasis in Serbo-Croatian causes the shift into the dynamic category. Hence, *caleo* : *biti topao* ‘to be hot’ (7a) and *ardeo* : *goreti, biti upaljen* ‘be catching fire, burn more and more’ (8a).

In Latin, the verbs with the suffix *-sc-* express the gradual process: thus, we have *calesco* ‘to be warming up, become warmer’ and *ardesco* ‘to burn more and more’ corresponding to *caleo* ‘be warm’ and *ardeo* ‘be on fire’. In Serbo-Croatian, there is a stative expression corresponding to *caleo* and a verb indicating activity corresponding to *ardeo*; the suffixed verb corresponding to *calesco*, i.e., *grejati se* (7b), then adds dynamicity, whereas the suffixed and prefixed verb corresponding to *ardesco*, i.e. *zagoreti* (8b), adds telicity. The prefixed verbs found in Latin, i.e. *concalesco* ‘become warm’ and *exardesco* ‘to catch fire’ (cf. Haverling 2000: 165), are also translated with the prefixed verbs in Serbo-Croatian: *concalesco* : *ugrejati se* and *exardesco* : *izgoreti*. The reason for this discrepancy between the formation of the gradual process verbs and the prefixed verbs in Latin and in Serbo-Croatian is to be found in the different functions conveyed by the prefixes in Serbo-Croatian (*za-* indicates the partial process, while *u-* and *iz-* indicate the totality of the process).

(7a) Plaut. *Bacch.* 105: Aqua **calet**; eamus hinc intro ut laves.

‘The water's warm; let's go in, that you may bathe.’

SC: Voda **je topla**; hajde da uđemo da se opereš.

(7b) Ter. *Eun.* 84: Bono animo es: accede ad ignem hunc, iam **calesces** plus satis.

‘Be of good heart; only approach this fire, you'll soon be warmer than you need.’

SC: Budi dobrog srca; samo priđi ovoj vatri, brzo ćeš **se grejati** i više nego dovoljno

(8a) Ter. *Ad.* 309: uix compos sum animi, ita **ardeo** iracundia.

‘I am scarcely master of my senses; I am so inflamed with anger.’

SC: Jedva gospodarim sobom – tako **plamtim** od besa! [VJ]

....**gorim**... [DP]

(8b) Plaut. *Pers.* 801: Da illi cantharum: extingue ignem, si cor uritur, caput / Ne **ardescat**.

‘Give him a goblet, then; put out the fire, if his heart's in flames, that his head mayn't be burnt.’

SC: Daj mu vrč, ugasi vatru, ako mu srce gori, da mu glava **ne zagori!**

Also, the state of being silent is expressed by the simplex *sileo* ‘to be silent’, while the gradual process of falling silent (as the change from sound to silence, as specified by Haverling (2000: 166)), is expressed by the suffixed verb *silesco* ‘to grow more silent, to stop making noise gradually’. In Serbo-Croatian, *sileo* is ‘ćutati’(9a-9b) while its suffixed cognate *silesco* is translated as *primiriti* ‘to grow quiet’ (9c). This prefixed verb does not have an unprefixated cognate and is used to express the dynamic, terminative event.

(9a) Plaut. *Capt.* 480: quasi muti **silent**, neque me rident.

‘Just like dumb men, they were silent, and didn't smile at me.’

SC: **Ćute** kao nemi, i ni ne smeju mi se.

(9b) Ter. *Ph.* 778: Argentum inuentumst Phaedriae; de iurgio **siletur**;

‘The money's been got for Phaedria; it's all hushed about the lawsuit;’

SC: Novac za Fedriju je obezbeđen; o parnici **se ćuti**.

9c) Ter. *Ad.* 784–786: quid ego nunc agam? / nisi, dum hae **silescent** turbae, interea in angulum / aliquo abeam atque edormiscam hoc uilli. sic agam.

‘What am I to do now? Why, even get into some corner while/for time that this tempest is lulled, and sleep off this drop of wine. That's my plan.’

SC: Šta ja sad da radim? Ništa drugo nego da se zavučem u neko ćoš, dok *se* sva ova gužva **ne smiri**, da u međuvremenu i da odspavam. Tako ima da uradim. [VJ]

...Dok *se* **ne primiri** bura.... [DP]

By adding the suffix *-sco* (1c), the verb becomes dynamic: *calesco* means ‘to grow warmer’ (7b; cf. ex. 7a and 3) and *aresco* ‘to grow drier’ (6) and *silesco* means to ‘calm down, grow more and more silent’ (9c). We can compare the activity indicated by *arescent* to the accomplishment indicated by *exarescent* ‘they will become dry’ (6). In this case the opposition atelic – telic indicated in Latin corresponds to a similar opposition in Serbo-Croatian:

However, while *aresco* is rendered by the Activity *sušiti se* ‘to become drier’, *calesco* is rendered by an Accomplishment or an Achievement with the completive prefix *za-*: *zagrejati se* ‘to become warmer;’ (7b). Similarly, *silescent* (9c) and *ardescat* (8b) are translated by prefixed verbs indicating telicity in Serbo-Croatian.

Early and Classical Latin has non-dynamic verbs translated into Serbo-Croatian with the stative periphrases *biti topao* ‘to be warm’ (ex. 3, *calere*) and *biti suv* ‘to be dry’ (ex. 4, *arere*): in some such cases Latin thus uses non-dynamic verbs instead of expressions with adjectives and a verb meaning ‘to be’ often found in later European languages. However, there are the examples when

Serbo-Croatian expresses properties by dynamic predicates, as in (ex. 8ac) Lat. *ardere* – SC. *goreti* ‘to be inflamed’ and in (ex. 9a) Lat. *silere* – SC. *ćutati* ‘to be silent’.

In Latin, dynamicity is usually added to a stative verb with the help of the suffix *-sco*: the examples *caleo: calesco* (ex. 7a and 7b), *sileo: silesco* (ex. 9a, 9b and 9c), *areo: aresco* (ex. 6) and *ardeo: ardesco* (ex. 8a and 8b) show that the first verb of each pair expresses the state of being, while the second, suffixed verb expresses the process of gradually growing into / becoming or getting the same property.

In Serbo-Croatian, dynamicity is conveyed by the prefixes in the translation of the corresponding Latin dynamic predicates: (*z*a)*grejati* (ex. 7b), *pr*i*miriti* (ex. 9c), (*o*)*sušiti* (ex. 6), *z*a*goreti* (ex. 8b). Hence, the encoding of the dynamicity is conveyed in two different yet coherent modalities in Latin and Serbo-Croatian: while in Latin the suffix *-sco* is the primary means for adding dynamic properties, in Serbo-Croatian, the corresponding means are only sometimes the suffixes (cf. *ležati* ‘to be lying’ – *leći* ‘to lie down’) and in other cases the prefixes (cf. *goreti* ‘to be burning’ – *zagoreti* ‘be catching fire’).

#### 4.2.2. Atelicity vs telicity

Prefixes are often used to telicize the events (ex. 1: *edere* ‘to eat (of)’ – *comedere* ‘to eat up’).

(1a) Plaut. *Capt.* 77: Quasi mures semper *edimus* alienum cibum.

‘like mice, [we] are always eating the victuals of another person’

SC: Kao miševi, uvek *jedemo* tuđu hranu. [DP]

(1b) Ter. *Heaut.* 255: quid *comedent!* quid *ebibent!*<sup>109</sup>

‘How much they will eat! how much they will drink!’

SC: Šta će *tek da pojedu!* Šta će *tek da popiju!*

In these cases, the absence or presence of a prefix indicates definiteness – i.e., unprefix verb indicates indefiniteness. Articles in some languages show such things – and by the case in others (e.g., by the partitive genitive and the accusative in Homeric Greek; cf. Haverling 2010: 304, 332–333).

This is the origin of the Slavic distinction between the “imperfective” and “perfective” verbs. While the telic verbs stay telic even when they get the prefix (ex. 2: Lat. *facio* ‘to do, make’ vs. *conficio* ‘to complete’, Serbo-Croatian. *činiti* ‘to do/make’ – *učiniti* ‘to conclude’), atelic verbs often

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<sup>109</sup> Note also the correspondence between the Lat. *ebibent* and SC. (*će*) *popiti* ‘drink up’.

become telic employing prefixation (ex. 3: Lat. *aresco* ‘be drying’ – *exaresco* ‘become totally dry’, SC *sušiti* – *osušiti*); *edo* ‘eat (of)’ – *comedo* ‘eat up, consume’; SC.: *trčati* ‘to run’ – *pretrčati* ‘to run over’: TEL, *topiti* ‘to melt’ – *istopiti* ‘to melt down’: TEL, *kuvati* ‘to cook’ – *skuvati* ‘to cook’: TEL, *pisati* ‘to write’ – *napisati* ‘to write’: TEL).

(2a) Ter. *Heaut.* 961: quidquid ego huius feci, tibi prospexi et stultitiae tuae.

‘Whatever I have done in this matter, I had a view to you and your imprudence.’

SC: Šta god da *sam činio* tim povodom, imao sam u vidu tebe i tvoju ograničenost.

(2b) Ter. *Heaut.* 803: et simul *conficiam* facilius ego quod volo

‘and at the same time I shall effect more easily what I wish.’

SC: I istovremeno *ću* to *učiniti* lakše nego što hoću

(3) Plaut. *Rud.* 573–578: CH. At vides me ornatus ut sim vestimentis uvidis:/ recipe me in tectum, da mihi vestimenti aliquid aridi/ dum **arescunt** mea; in aliquo tibi gratiam referam loco./ SC. Tegillum eccillud, mihi unum id **aret**; id si vis dabo:/ eodem amictus, eodem tectus esse soleo, si pluit./ Tu istaec mihi dato: **exarescent** faxo.

‘Do take me under shelter; lend me some dry clothes, while my own are drying; ... See, here's my outer coat, which alone is dry; that, if you like, I'll lend you. ... Do you give me those clothes of yours; I'll soon have them dried.’

SC: Primi me u sklonište, daj mi nešto suve odeće, dok **se** moja **suši**. ... Evo onog mog kaputa, samo on **je suv**. Ako hoćeš, daću ti ga. ... Daj mi tu odeću; učiniću da **se osuši**.

Hence, often the verbal pairs, i.e., consisting of an unprefixated and atelic verb on the one hand and a prefixated and telic verb, on the other hand, correspond in Latin and in Serbo-Croatian. This correspondence is both morphological and semantical. However, we cannot expect a constant morphological correspondence. Yet, the semantic one is often confirmed.

The function of the suffixes as the markers of different actional features is also interesting when comparing the two languages. In Serbo-Croatian, if the prefixated, telic verbs get a suffix *-va-*, they become atelic without losing the prefix (*ispitati* ‘to examine’ – *ispitivati* ‘to examine’: ATEL). The same happens with the heteroclitic verbs, where there is a specific stem for the expression of atelicity (*pre-vesti* ‘to translate’: TEL vs. *pre-voditi* ‘to translate’: ATEL).<sup>110</sup>

<sup>110</sup> There are also the verbs with so-called ‘linked stem’ (Belić 1949: 297 and Babić 1986: 477–478). These are the verbs that must always be prefixated as *po-četi* ‘to begin’, *za-četi* ‘to conceive’, *na-četi* ‘to cut into, to bite into’; *do-neti* ‘to bring’, *na-neti* ‘to inflict’, *iz-neti* ‘to bring out’; *iz-valiti* ‘to blurt, to crack’, *na-valiti* ‘to rush, to crowd’, *pro-valiti* ‘to break in’, etc. See the complete list in Klajn (2002: 242–243).

In Latin, the primary function of the suffix *-sco* is to indicate dynamicity and atelicity. It also focuses on the process of becoming or growing into a particular property (*caleo* ‘to be warm’ vs. *calesco* ‘to grow warmer’; cf. § 4.2.1).

Latin dynamic predicates *silesco*, meaning ‘to become still, fall silent, grow calm’ (4a) and *ardesco* (5a) ‘be catching fire, to be on fire, to burn’ were formed from non-dynamic *sileo* and *ardeo*. From these verbs subsequently derive, by prefixation, telic verbs such as *consilesco* ‘to stop making noise, become silent’ and *exardesco* ‘to burst out in blaze, take fire’.

Dynamic, atelic verbs (hence, suffixed and unprefixated) in Latin are, however, rendered in Serbo-Croatian by the prefixed verbs *primiriti se* (4a) and *zagoreti* (5a). For *silesco* and *consilesco*, the difference in Serbo-Croatian is expressed by the cognates with two different prefixes: *primiriti* and *smiriti* (4a and 4b). Similarly, *ardesco* and *exardesco* are rendered by differently prefixed cognates: *zagoreti* (5a) and *izgoreti* (5b).

(4a) Ter. *Ad.* 785: quid ego nunc agam? nisi, dum hae **silescent** turbae, interea in angulum aliquo abeam atque edormiscam hoc uilli. sic agam.

‘What am I to do now? Why, even get into some corner while/for the time that this tempest is lulled, and sleep off this drop of wine. That's my plan.’

SC: Šta ja sad da radim? Ništa drugo nego da se zavučem u neko ćoš, dok **se** sva ova gužva ne **smiri**, da u međuvremenu i da odspavam. Tako ima da uradim. [VJ]

...Dok **se** ne **primiri** bura.... [DP]

(4b) Plaut. *Mil.* 581–583: Numquam hercle ex ista nassa ego hodie escam petam;/ nam iam aliquo aufugiam et me occultabo dies./ dum haec **consilescent** turbae atque irae leniunt

‘For now, somewhither will I betake myself, and for some days will I lie concealed until this turmoil is hushed and their resentment is softened.’

SC: Sada ću, bogami, da se sklonim i nekoliko dana ću da se krijem dok **se** ne **smiri** gužva i bes ne smekša.

(5a) Plaut. *Pers.* 801: Da illi cantharum: extingue ignem, si cor uritur, caput / Ne **ardescat**.

‘Give him a goblet, then; put out the fire, if his heart's in flames, that his head mayn't be burnt.’

SC: Daj mu vrć, ugasi vatru, ako mu srce gori, da mu glava ne **zagori**!

(5b) Cic. *Lael.* 100: ex quo **exardescit** sive amor sive amicitia...

‘as a result love or friendship leaps into flame’

SC: zbog ćega ljubav ili prijateljstvo **izgore**.

Sometimes, in Latin, there is a corresponding semantic opposition between the prefixes. For instance, *aresco* describes the ongoing process 'to get drier'; the prefix *ex-* creates the egressive verb (ex. 3: *exaresco* 'to become totally dry', while the prefix *in-* creates the ingressive verb (ex. 6: *inaresco* 'to start getting dry'). Again, this difference may sometimes be rendered into Serbo-Croatian by the same morphologic components. Still, they do not match in some cases, although the actional features correspond (*exaresco* – 'osuši', *inaresco* – SC. 'početi da se suši').

(6) Vitr. 2.3.4.7: calx commixta propter vehementiam non potest sine rimis **inarescere**

'that brings about a strong reaction when used with plaster which cannot dry without cracking'

SC: Jer zbog krutosti kreč ne može **da počne da se suši** bez pukotina

Egressive verbs indicate that the action is brought to its end and finishes; ingressive sense shows that "the action begins and goes on for a while" (Haverling 2000: 122). The difference between ingressivity and egressivity concerns also gradability. An expression is gradable when there may be more or less of it (ibid. 122). Returning to the example of the verbs *inarescere* and *exarescere*, something can make progress in the process of *inarescere*, while it cannot make any more progress in *exarescere*.

#### 4.2.3 Durativity vs. momentaneousness

When the predicate is an Activity, it represents the event that lasts for a certain period. The Accomplishment represents a durative event that embraces the preparatory phase and the end-point, both integral parts of the event. If the preparatory phase is eliminated, the verb will express only the final point of the event – it becomes a momentaneous Achievement. In examples (1–3) we can compare the different functions of the durative and the momentaneous events.

In (1a), the Accomplishment in Latin is rendered by the unprefix and unaffixed verb *fugere* (+ the adverbial *intro*); in Serbo-Croatian, the corresponding verb is *bežati*. In (1b), the Achievement in Latin is a prefixed verb, *confugere*. In Serbo-Croatian, the corresponding verb is prefixed and has a shortened stem – *pobeći*: while the shortened stem shows that the preparatory phase is eliminated, the prefix adds the end-point to it.

(1a) Plaut. *Aul.* 405 - 406: **Fugiam** intro, ne quid turbae hic itidem fuat.

'I'll run in-doors, lest there may be any disturbance here for me as well.'

SC: **Bežaću** unutra, da ni za mene ovde ne bi bilo ikakve pometnje.

(1b) Ter. *Hec.* 384: nunc huc **confugit**, te atque alios partum ut celaret suom

‘Now, she took refuge here then, that from you and others she might conceal her labor.’

SC: Ona **je** sada ovde **pobegla** da bi sakrila svoj porođaj od tebe i drugih.

In (2) the opposition between the Activity and the Achievement verbs is conveyed in Latin by the prefix *con-*: the two verbs are (2a) *facio* and (2b) *conficio*. In Serbo-Croatian, the corresponding opposition is also conveyed by the prefix *u-*: (2a) *činiti* and (2b) *učiniti*. Both Latin and Serbo-Croatian prefixes add the end-points to the previously unprefixed verbs.

(2a) Ter. *Heaut.* 961: quidquid ego huius **feci**, tibi prospexi et stultitiae tuae.

‘Whatever I have done in this matter, I had a view to you and your imprudence.’

SC: Šta god da **sam činio** tim povodom, imao sam u vidu tebe i tvoju ograničenost.

(2b) Ter. *Heaut.* 803: et simul **conficiam** facilius ego quod volo.

‘and at the same time I shall effect more easily what I wish.’

SC: I istovremeno **ću** to **učiniti** lakše nego što hoću.

In (3), the opposition Activity vs. Achievement is, in Latin, *scribo* : *conscribo* and, in Serbo-Croatian, *pisati* : *napisati*. Again, the Latin prefix *con-* adds the end-point to the verb, while the corresponding prefix in Serbo-Croatian is *na-* (3b). In Latin, the actional category is determined by the prefix, but also by the use of indefinite (*novas* (3a)) or definite (*tabellas* (3b)) object.

(3a) Ter. *Heaut.* 43: nam nunc novas qui **scribunt** nil parcunt seni.

Those who write new plays nowadays have no concern for my old age.

‘Oni koji **pišu** nova dela ne štede me, starog.’

(3b) Plaut. *Bacch.* 984: tacitus **conscripsit** tabellas, / opsignatas mi has dedit.

‘Quietly, he wrote this letter, sealed it, and gave it to me.’

SC: Tiho je **napisao** ovo pismo, zapečatio ga i dao mi ga.

Prefixes often convey the difference between the Activities or the Accomplishments on the one hand, and the Achievements on the other hand: *con-* is one of the prefixes that frequently yields a component of momentaneity, where the focus is set on the very moment of change which is brought about (Smith 1991: 55–58).

The adverb *nunc* precedes *confugit* in (1b). It clearly expresses the moment in which the telic event happened, contrary to the non-momentaneous *simplex*, which does not bear, neither syntactically nor morphologically, the marker of the specific point in time of the change. The verb

is also preceded by the preposition *huc*, which gives the spatial delimitation. In Serbo-Croatian, *fugias* ‘to run away’: NON-momentaneous, is expressed by the unprefixated and inherently telic verb, which expresses durativity by the suffix – *bežati*. On the other hand, *confugit* is expressed in Serbo-Croatian by the prefixated verb, without the suffix yielding the durativity – *pobeći*. The stem shows momentaneousness, while the prefix expresses the specific moment of the event.

As already shown in §4.2.2 (examples 1a and 1b), the opposition between the corresponding atelic and telic verbs in Latin and Serbo-Croatian often overlaps completely in the modality of formation.

(4a) Plaut. *Bacch.* 645–646: nunc amanti ero filio senis, / quicum ego **bibo**, quicum **edo** et amo...

‘To my lovesick master, the old man’s son, with whom I drink, with whom I eat and love...’

SC: Mom zaljubljenom starčevom sinu, sa kojim **pijem**, sa kojim **jedem** i volim...

(4b) Ter. *Heaut.* 255: quid **comedent!** quid **ebibent!**

‘How much they’ll eat! How much they’ll drink!’

SC: Šta će tek **da pojedu!** Šta će tek **da popiju!**

The completion, but also the stress on the final phase of the event, is expressed in both languages by the prefixes: *edo*: *comedo* = *jedem* : *pojodem*; *bibo* : *ebibo* = *pijem* : *popijem*.

Even with the already suffixed verbs, Latin needs a prefix to indicate change in duration of a telic event (cf. *calesco* ‘to grow warmer’ and *concalesco* ‘to become warm/hot’). This fact is reflected not only in certain passages, but also in the circumstance that the prefix is needed to create verbs that indicate a change of state (cf. *dormio* ‘to sleep’ vs. *condormisco* ‘to fall asleep’). In theory, the perfect *concaluit* could be formed both from the state *concaleo* ‘to be thoroughly warm’ (rare; cf. § 4.4.1.7) and from *concalesco* ‘to become warm/hot’ (cf. Haverling 2000: 262). However, the occurrences confirm that *concalui* corresponds to *concalesco*.

Early and Classical Latin verbs often need a prefix to indicate the completion of the process (cf. section 4.4.2.1 on *calesco* ‘to grow warmer’ and *concalesco* ‘to become warm/hot’; *silesco* ‘to grow more silent’ and *consilesco* ‘to become silent’). To change the focus of the event, the tendency to add the prefix to the verbs with the suffix -sco- weakens over time. In Early Latin, there are many such verbs; by the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, however, the telicizing function of many prefixes, e.g. *con-*, is blurred (cf., e.g. Haverling 1994, 2000 and 2010). For example, a very frequent verb in Early Latin as *taceo* ‘to be silent, say nothing’ does not occur in the same period along with the suffix -sco. The form *tacesco* is not found before the 7<sup>th</sup> century (Virg. *Gramm. Epist.* 3.9). In

contrast, the corresponding verb with the prefix *con-* occurs from Early Latin onwards: *conticisco* ‘to become silent, to stop talking’ (5):

(5) Plaut. *Bacch.* 798: Sed **conticiscam**: nam audio aperiri fores.

‘But I’ll hold my tongue, for I hear the door opening.’

SC: Ali, **ućutaću**, jer čujem da se vrata otvaraju.

In Serbo-Croatian, as already mentioned in § 4.2.2, the translations of the suffixed and unprefixes verbs (e.g., *silesco* in ex. 4a) and suffixed and prefixed verbs (e.g. *consilesco* in ex. 4b) are very similar (*primiriti* – *smiriti*) – the presence or lack of the preparatory phase is external to the verbal morphology and lays within the broader context.

#### 4.2.4 State and change of state

Latin generally needs an infix or a suffix to construct a verb that means ‘to enter into state X’, from the verb with the meaning ‘to be in a state X’ (see Haverling 2000: 208). In Early Latin, the change from one state to another is usually triggered by a dynamic suffix, as *-sco*, together with a prefix, as in (1), (2) and (3). In Serbo-Croatian, with the stative verbs, the function of the prefixes is to indicate the change from one state to another (1 – *spavati* ‘to sleep’, *zaspati* ‘to fall asleep’; 2 – *ćutati* ‘to be silent’, *ućutati* ‘to be silent, to hush’ 7 – *plašiti se* ‘to be afraid’, *preplašiti se* ‘to become afraid’).

(1) Plaut. *Cur.* 358-359: ille ebibit, caput deponit, **condormiscit**.

‘in return he drank it off, reclined his head, and fell fast asleep.’

SC: On **je** popio, spustio glavu i **zaspao**.

(2) Plaut. *Bacch.* 798: Sed **conticiscam**: nam audio aperiri fores.

‘But I’ll hold my tongue, for I hear the door opening.’

SC: Ali, **ućutaću**: čujem da se vrata otvaraju.

(3) Ter. *Ph.* 153–154: ut qui mihi consultum optume uelit esse, Phaedria, patrem ut **extimescam**

‘Phaedria, that I should become utterly afraid of my father’

SC: Fedrija, da je trebalo da **se preplašim** svog oca.

In fact, in Latin, when the stative verb is prefixed and not suffixed, the prefix does not convey the change of state but the intensity of the event. In (4), *condormio* means ‘to be fast asleep’.

(4) Hyg. *fab.* 125,15: cum Vlysses **condormiret**, socii inuolarunt pecus

‘while Ulysses was fast asleep, his comrades stole the sheep’

SC: Dok je Odisej **čvrsto spavao**, njegovi drugari su ukrali stoku.

In **Serbo-Croatian**, *condormiret* is translated as *spavati čvrsto* ‘to be fast asleep’: the intensity is expressed by the adverbial and never with a prefix or suffix.

This seems to be also the function in *concaleo*, which in this case means ‘be really warm’ and not ‘become warm’ (a; the OLD gives the definition ‘to be or become warm’), and *commadeo*, which then means ‘be very tender or sodden’ (b; and not, as suggested by the OLD, ‘to become tender or sodden’):

a) Plaut. *Persa* 87–88: *Commisce mulsum, struthea coluteaque appara, / bene ut in scutris concaleat, et calamum inice*

‘Mix the honied wine; get ready the quinces and the junkets, that they may be nicely warmed upon the dishes, and throw in some scented calamus’

b) Cato *Agr.* 156.5: *coquito (scil. brassicam) usque donec commadebit bene*

‘They should and boil (the cabbage) until it is quite soft.’

For a long time, it has been claimed that the prefixes distinguish a dynamic from the non-dynamic verbal forms in some perfect tense forms (Ernout & Thomas §238; García-Hernández 1985: 528; Berrettoni 1971: 156–157). These assertions derive from the belief that the prefixes as *ex-* in *extimescere* derive from *ex-* in the form *extimui* (opposed to the corresponding *timui*). Haverling (2000: 8) showed this claim to be wrong by giving two proofs: (a) that the prefix *ex-* has its function in *extimescere* as well and (b) that verbs like *timescere* do generally not occur before the Late Latin period, except for a few instances in poetry, and that they in Late Latin mainly occur in grammarians.<sup>111</sup>

To form a verb indicating a change of state from a stative verb, earlier Latin needs both a prefix and a dynamic suffix such as *-sco* (*conticiscere* ‘stop talking’), the nasal infix (*accumbere* ‘lie down’) or original reduplication (*considerere* ‘sit down’; cf. § 4.2.1).<sup>112</sup> Typical verbs lack dynamicity and are unprefixated as *cubo* ‘be lying down’ or *sedeo* ‘be sitting’. Utilizing the prefixes, together with a dynamic suffix or infix, the focus is on the state change: *accumbo* ‘to lie down’ and *consido*

<sup>111</sup> We can confront the Classical form *habui* ‘I had; I was in possession of’ of the clearly non-dynamic semantics with the Late Latin *habui* ‘I got’ with the dynamic function. According to Haverling (2000), the earliest dynamic examples of the type *tacui* ‘I stopped talking’ are from the 4<sup>th</sup> century. There is, however, some evidence of this development in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD; also, around 200, Ulpian uses *conticui* in the sense of *tacui*.

<sup>112</sup> However, there are some occurrences of the states with the expressions implying speed: these cases represent the *change* of state, and the focus is not set on the state itself. This is also the case when the states occur in the imperative (be silent!). These expressions are possible when the change of state is under the control of the subject (Smith 1991: 76–78).

‘to sit down’. These, prefixed cognates indicate not processes or activities, but instantaneous changes and a ‘leap’ into a new state (Haverling 2010: 207). When there is no suffix, the non-actional function of the prefixes emerges (*accubare* ‘be lying, reclining close to somebody’):

(5) Ter. *Eun.* 728: At dum **accubabam** quam videbar mi esse pulchre sobrius!

‘though when I was reclining at the table I seemed beautifully sober.’

SC: Iako, dok **sam ležao** za stolom, činio sam se sebi vrlo trezno.

In Serbo-Croatian, the shift from the verb expressing state into the verb expressing the *change* of state is expressed by the heteroclitic stems: *ležati* vs *leći* = ‘to be lying down’ vs ‘to lie down’ and *sedeti* vs *sesti* = ‘to be sitting’ vs ‘to sit down’. It can also be expressed only by the prefixes, as in case of *ćutati* vs *ućutati* ‘to be silent’ vs ‘to become silent’ (note that Latin here uses both the suffix and the prefix: *taceo* vs *conticesco*).

In Early Latin, the opposition between *tacui* and *conticui* shows that in the perfectum the prefix alone indicates change of state. As already discussed in §4.2.3, *taceo* in Early Latin means ‘to be silent, say nothing’ (6a). *Conticesco* occurs from Early Latin (6b); the poetic verb *conticeo* ‘to stop talking, to become silent’ emerges from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD onwards (Calp. *ecl.* 4,97–98 in §2.4.3).

(6a) Plaut. *Truc.* 817: **tacui** ad<huc>: nunc <non> tacebo, quando adest necse indicat.

‘I’ve been silent till now; now I won’t be silent because he’s present and doesn’t show himself.’

SC: Do sad **sam ćutao**: sad neću ćutati, pošto je prisutan i neće da se pokaže.

(6b) Plaut. *As.* 447: Tandem, opinor, **conticuit**.

‘At last he’s fallen silent, I think.’

SC: Mislim da **je** napokon **ućutao**.

On the other hand, there are verbs that, in Latin, are related from the point of view of the actional phases of the semantically same kind of event and yet are not derivatively related. The example of *habui* vs. *accepi*, in the Perfect tense, yields this peculiarity of the same category of the events. *Habui* means ‘I had’ and *accepi* means ‘I got’, both in the Perfect tense: the latter (7b) expresses the change of state expressed by the former verb (7a).<sup>113</sup> Serbo-Croatian also expresses the change of state with the morphologically unrelated verb: *imati* (7a) : *dobiti* (7b) = *habui* : *accepi*.

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<sup>113</sup> However, in Late Latin, in Gregory of Tours and Fredegar – we can find the examples in which *habui* conveys change of state (cf. Haverling 2019).

(7a) Ter. *Heaut.* 94-95: filium unicum adolescentulum **habeo**. at quid dixi **habere** me? immo **habui**, Chreme.

‘I have a one and only son, a young lad. But why did I say, have? Had, rather, Chremes.’

SC: Ja imam jedinog sina, adolescenta. Ali, šta ja to rekoh, imam? Bolje reći - **imao sam**, Hremete.

(7b) Ter. *Eun.* 139-141: ait, si fidem habeat se iri praepositum tibi / apud me ac non id metuat ne ubi **Acceperim** sese relinquam...

‘He said that, if he was convinced he would be preferred to you in my eyes and if he wasn’t afraid I would abandon him once I’d got the girl ...’

SC: Rekao je da, ako bi se pouzdao, da bi u mojim očima bio ispred tebe, i da se ne boji da ću da ga ostavim kada **dobijem** devojku...

In Late Latin *habui* sometimes gets the sense ‘I got’ (just as *tacui* in Late Latin got the sense ‘I stopped talking’ as opposed to the sense ‘I was/have been silent’ which it has in earlier Latin); cf. Haverling (2010: 479–480; 2018). See § 4.5.5. on Ingressivity).

## 4.2.5 Shift in actional properties

### 4.2.5.1 Focus on different stages

In Early Latin<sup>114</sup> and Serbo-Croatian, prefixes vehicle the focus on the different stages of the verbal process.

- a) **Completion.** The Latin prefixes *con-* and *per-* usually have a completive function (*pertimesco* ‘jako se uplašiti’). *Con-* may occur within verbs with the ingressive and egressive character; its primary function, however, is to mark telicity: *conticiscere* ‘ućutati, zaćutati’.

Some prefixed verbs emphasize the beginning of the process (b), while some emphasize the end of the process (c). However, the prefixes that indicate the initial or the final phase of the event can also be used with the other verbs in other functions: showing intensity (see § 4.2.5.2) or, more commonly, spatial component (see § 4.2.5.3). However, since the event's initial and final phase is related to the event itself, these verbs and the corresponding prefixes have usually been described together. The terminology, however, varies: for instance, Haverling refers to those verbs as “ingressive” and “egressive” (2000: 122), while Johanson makes the opposition between “fini-terminative” and

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<sup>114</sup> However, in the later centuries, the major properties of system fade away: the differences in the actionality between the prefixed and the suffixed verbs are often blurred, the semantic functions of the prefixes decrease, as well as the original functions of the suffix *-sco-* (Haverling 2010).

“initio-terminative” (2000: § 5.2.1 and § 10.2.1.5), a terminology later on also adopted by Haverling. We assume here the labels “ingressivity” and “egressivity” indicate two focuses of completivity.

- b) **Ingressivity.** The Latin prefixes *ad-* and *in-* often signal the beginning of a process or entrance into a state. The Serbo-Croatian prefixes *za-*, *po-*, *do-* often correspond to the Latin prefixes in the ingressive function: *adamaui* (Perf. of *adamo*) – *zavoleo sam* ‘fell in love with’, *illucescere* – *zasvetleti* ‘to start shining’, *agnoscere* – *doznati* ‘to get to know’<sup>115</sup>
- c) **Egressivity.** The Latin prefixes *ex-* and *de-* set the focus on the final phase, or the utmost degree of the development of the event. The Serbo-Croatian prefixes corresponding to the Latin prefixes in the egressive function are *od-* (*ot-*, *o-*), *po-* and *iz* (*is-*): *exarescere* – *osušiti sel* *isušiti se* ‘get completely dry’, *ebibere* – *popiti/ispiti* ‘drink up, empty the glass’, *comedere* – *pojesti, izjesti* ‘to eat all, everything’.
- d) **Progressivity.** Sometimes, the Latin prefix *per-* expresses perdurativity, the actional function by which the verbs indicate duration. The corresponding Serbo-Croatian prefixes are *pre-* and *pro-*: *pervigilo* – *probdeti* ‘stay away whole night’, *transfero* – *preneti* ‘to carry or convey across or over’.

#### 4.2.5.2 Delimitation and intensity

In Latin, some prefixes set either the temporal or the quantitative boundary to the situation. The latter kind of events suggests that the event reached one of its internal phases. Haverling (2010: 387–388) also calls this function “attenuative”. For example, Early and Classical Latin *sub-*<sup>116</sup> and Serbo-Croatian *od-*:<sup>117</sup> *subaresco* ‘become somewhat dry’; *odstajati* ‘to stand for a while’. This function is frequently expressed in the earlier periods of Latin (Ovid – *sublucere* ‘to shine faintly, glimmer’ (*Am.* 1.5.5.) and *subrubere* ‘to be reddish’ (*Ars* 2.316 and *Am.* 2.5. 36)).

In Serbo-Croatian, more often than by the prefixes, this attenuation is expressed by the “diminutive” suffixes *-uc-* and *-ka*: *svetluckati* is the translation of *sublucere*.

Prefixes can also be used to describe the intensity of state, action or process. This function of the prefix is usually attested among the prefixed but unsuffixed relatives of the *sco-* verbs (cf. Haverling 2000: 261–262; see also §4.2.4). The prefix *con-* is often used to express the intensity of the event. For example, *concaleo* means ‘to be really warm’, showing the state's intensity (1a).

<sup>115</sup> Lat. *nosco* = SC. *znati* ‘to know’; Lat. *agnosco* = SC. *doznati* ‘to get to know’; Lat. *cognosco* = SC. *saznati* ‘to know’ (resultative).

<sup>116</sup> According to Beekes (1995: 222), Latin prefix *sub-* derives from Indo-European \**upó*.

<sup>117</sup> For the delimitative prefix *po-* in Croatian, see Budja (2010).

(1a) Plaut. *Per.* 86-87: calidam appara, bene ut in scutris **concaleat**, et calamum inice.

‘prepare hot water, so that it gets really hot in the pans, and put in the sweet flag.’

SC: Spremi toplu vodu **da bude jako topla** u šerpama, i stavi iđirot.

The intensity added by the prefix is evident if we compare *concaleo* with *caleo* (1b).

(1b) Plaut. *Rud.* 531-532: ut fortunati sunt fabri ferrarii qui apud carbones assident! semper **calent**.

‘How fortunate blacksmiths are, who sit next to hot coals! They’re always warm.’

SC: Što su srećni kovači koji sede pored uglja! Njima **je** uvek **toplo**.

Serbo-Croatian renders the difference *caleo* vs. *concaleo* only by adding the adverbial *jako* ‘very’ to the state *biti topao/-la* ‘be warm’: *biti topao* vs. *biti jako topao*.

The same intensity is evident if we compare *commoror* with *moror* (2a and 2b). However, the choice of the verbs in translation into SC does not show the corresponding lexical units (see *gubim vreme* and *oklevam*).

(2a) Plaut. *Ps.* 1131: me nunc **commoror**, quom has fores non ferio

‘Now I’m wasting my time by not knocking at this door’

SC: Sad **gubim vreme** jer ne kucam na ova vrata.

(2b) Ter. *Eun.* 461: Ubi vis, non moror.

‘When you like. I’m ready.’

Kad hoćeš. Ne **oklevam**.

*Condormire* means ‘to be fast asleep’ (3): hence, the prefix only adds intensity to the unprefix *dormio* ‘to sleep’. On the other hand, the prefixed and suffixed *condormiscere* means ‘to fall asleep’ (4): in this case, the suffix indicates the change of state (cf. § 4.2.4). Serbo-Croatian uses the verb prefixed by *za-*: *zaspati*.

(3) Suet. *Aug.* 78: Sic quoque saepe indigens somni, et dum per vicos deportaretur et deposita lectica inter aliquas moras **condormiebat**.

‘Even so, he often suffered from want of sleep, and he would drop off while he was being carried through the streets and when his litter was set down because of some delay.’

SC: I tako **bi**, često lišen sna, **duboko spavao**, dok bi bio nošen kroz ulice i dok bi mu nosiljka bila spuštена u nekim pauzama.

(4) Plaut. *Mil.* 827: qui[d] lubitum est illi *condormiscere*?

‘How could he see fit to fall asleep?’

SC: Kako on misli da je pristojno **da zaspi**?

The fundamental difference in the morphologic expression of the intensive events between Latin and Serbo-Croatian is that Latin uses the prefixes in the intensive function, while Serbo-Croatian does not. Indeed, the translations of the Latin “intensive” verbs is always rendered by the adverbial expression stating the intensiveness of the event itself.

### 4.2.5.3 Spatial functions

The spatial functions of the prefixes are semantically connected to the prepositions they derive from. Naturally, the same prefixes also express functions other than spatial; yet, once they become the part of the verb involving motion, they add the prepositional meaning to it. The spatial function is often linked to “the entrance into or the exit from a process of change” (Haverling 2000: 250).

For example, Latin *in-*, *ad-* and *ob-* have, on the one hand, the actional function expressed by ingressive meaning added to the verb; on the other hand, they have the spatial function by indicating the direction towards something (*infero* ‘to carry into’) or the location (*inesse* ‘to be in’). Also, the Serbo-Croatian prefixes follow this pattern: *do-*, *u-* and *za-* have the actional meaning, but can convey the direction towards (*uneti* ‘to carry into’).

There are also Latin prefixes *ex-*, *de-* and *ab-*, indicating the actional function – egressivity – but also the spatial function – expressing the direction away from something (*effero* ‘to bring out or forth’). Serbo-Croatian has the prefixes with the corresponding meaning: *iz-* *sa-*, *od-* (*izneti* ‘to bring out or forth’).

Another type of Latin prefixes with the spatial, besides the actional (durative), function are the progressive prefixes as *trans-* ‘over’, *per-* ‘through’ and *pro-* ‘in front of, before’. The corresponding Serbo-Croatian prefixes are *pre-* and *pro-* (Lat. *perfero* = SC. *preneti* ‘to carry through, across’; Lat. *pervigilo* = SC. *probdeti*).

We will comment on the spatial functions of the prefixes in paragraph 4.4.1 – *On the functions of prefixation*, and in further sections, on the correlation of the actional and the spatial functions of each Latin prefix, in comparison with the corresponding prefixes and verbs in Serbo-Croatian.

### 4.2.6 Voice and Agency

Latin verbs can change the type of agency with the addition of morphological markers. There is a specific group of Latin transitive verbs that become intransitive with the addition of the suffix *-sco*.

Namely, the unsuffixed verb is usually transitive and causative (while its suffixed cognate expresses the intransitive and medial action (cf. Berrettoni 1971). As Haverling (2000: 149–150) observed, while the passive form of the causative (and unsuffixed verb) expresses the change, the verbs with the suffix *-sco* express the gradual character of the process. Hence, the lexical couples express the semantic opposition between the transitive ‘to make’ and the intransitive, suffixed ‘to become’.

In Serbo-Croatian, the same shift in the agency, i.e., transitivity – intransitivity, is conveyed by the suffix *-e-*. This is evident in the situations involving colours. The verb *beliti* ‘to make white’ is intransitive; its cognate, *bele<sup>ti</sup>* ‘to become white’ is intransitive and medial. Also, *crveniti* ‘to make red’ becomes intransitive with this suffix: *crvene<sup>ti</sup>* ‘to become red’. The medial character of the intransitive verbs is expressed sometimes by the reflexive *se* ‘oneself’.

In Terence, there are only a few lexical couples of this kind. Unfortunately, there are no verbs involving passive or active colouring: hence, the comparison with the Serbo-Croatian translation does not give a symmetrical result.

The unprefixated verb *augeo* ‘to increase, intensify’ is causative (1a): the poet should intensify his effort; this verb is rendered in Serbo-Croatian by the prefixed *uvećati*. On the other hand, the suffixed *augesco* ‘to increase, grow’ is intransitive. In fact, in (1b), the intransitive function is emphasized by *mihi*. Janković translates *augesco* into Serbo-Croatian by the verb *patiti* ‘to suffer’, using the synthetic form for the periphrasis *augescit mihi aegritudo*. However, this translation is imprecise, and hence I render it with the *raste moj nemir*, where *rasti* ‘to grow’ corresponds to *augescit*.

(1a) Ter. *Ad.* 24: Facite, aequanimitas / poetae ad scribendum **augeat** industriam.

‘Do you cause your impartial attention to increase the industry of the Poet in writing?’

SC: Budite dobronamerni prema pesniku, ne biste li ga podstakli da i dalje piše. [VJ]

SC:....ne bi li **uvećao** svoj spisateljski trud. [DP]

(1b) Ter. *Heaut.* 423: nam mihi quidem cottidie **augescit** magis / de filio aegritudo

‘For really my sorrow about my son increases daily.’

SC: Iz dana u dan **sve više patim** što mi sina nema. [VJ]

SC: Svakodnevno sve više **raste** moj nemir oko sina... [DP]

There is one occurrence of *inveterasco* ‘to grow old, improve with age, mature’ (2b), derived from *invetero* ‘make old, allow becoming old’ (2a).<sup>118</sup> *Invetero* is transitive, while *inveterasco* is not: it is translated in Serbo-Croatian by the Achievement *propasti* ‘to become ruined’ by Janković, whereas I find the gradual Accomplishment *zastarevati* ‘to grow old gradually’ more appropriate. The duration of this verb is expressed by the suffix *-va-*, whereas the prefix *za-* expresses the end-point.

(2a) Cic. *Nat.* 2.5: opinio permaneret nec confirmaretur diuturnitate temporis nec una cum saeculis aetatibusque hominum **inveterari** potuisset.

‘A belief which is only strengthened by the passage of the ages and grows more deeply rooted with each successive generation of mankind.’

SC: Mišljenje koje je ne posustaje prolaskom vremena i nije moglo da **zastari / bude učinjeno starim** niti jednom ljudskom generacijom.

(2b) Ter. *Hec.* 10–13: sinite exorator sim, eodem ut iure uti senem / liceat, quo iure sum usus adulescentior, / nouas qui ut **inueterascerent**, / ne cum poeta scriptura euanesceret.

‘Allow me as an old man enjoy the same privilege as I did in my younger days when I ensured that new plays which had been driven off the stage became established and that the scripts did not vanish from sight along with the playwrights’.

SC: Dopustite mi da u tome budem uspešan, / pa da tako i kao starac izvedem ono što mi je u mladosti polazilo za rukom / vraćao sam život komadima koji **su propali** i / činio da sa pesnikom ne iščezne i delo. [VJ]

...oživljavao bih dela koja **bi zastarevala**... [DP]

The modality of detransitivisation by the suffixes often overlaps in Latin and in Serbo-Croatian: in Latin by the addition of suffix *-sco* (cf. (1a, 1b) to *augeo* ‘to increase, intensify’ we get *augesco* ‘to increase, grow’), and in Serbo-Croatian by addition of the suffix *-va-* (cf. (2b) *zastarevati* ‘to grow old gradually’). Suffixation in both languages transforms transitive and causative into the intransitive verbs, which express medial action (cf. Berrettoni 1971) and a gradual character of the process (Haverling 2000: 149–150).

Moreover, the opposition transitive/intransitive in Early and Classical Latin is often expressed by the active/passive diathesis. For instance, the passive voice sometimes expresses the same thing

<sup>118</sup> There is also one occurrence of *veterasco*: It is much older, having been found in a fragment of Cicero (Cic. *Epist. Frig.* 6.3 in Non. P. 437.23–29: ‘*Vetustiscere*’ et ‘*veterascere*’. *Quid intersit, Nigidius Commentariorum Grammaticorum lib. X deplanavit: “Dicemus quae vetustate deteriora fiunt, ‘vetustiscere’; ‘inveterascere’, quae meliora.”* Also: M. Tullius ad Hirtium lib. VII: “*Cum enim nobilitas nihil aliud sit quam cognita virtus, quis in eo, quem veterascentem videat ad gloriam, generis antiquitatem desideret?*”)

as the intransitive verb: *calescere* (4a) and *calefieri* (4b) ‘become warmer, be warming up’ in Early and Classical Latin, and *inveterare* (intrans.) ‘to grow old’ and *inveterari* (trans., pass) in Late Latin. In fact, in Serbo-Croatian, both *calescere* and *calefieri* are translated as *zagrejati se*. As its Greek middle cognate, this verb shows reflexive properties, *thermainomai* (cf. Haverling 2000: 6, Keller 1992: 439, Berrettoni 1971).

(4a) Plaut. *Eun.* 85: accede ad ignem hunc, iam **calesces** plus satis.

‘Just go near the fire (indicating Thais), and you’ll be more than warm enough.’

SC: Samo pridi ovoj vatri, brzo ćeš **se zagrejati** i više nego dovoljno

(4b) Plaut. *Ep.* 656: abi intro ac iube huic aquam **calefieri**;

‘Go inside and have water warmed up for her.’

Uđi unutra i naredi **da se zagreje** voda za nju.

(4c) Ter. *Heaut.* 349: **concaluit**. quid vis?

‘That’s raised his temperature.’

**Ugrejao se.**

However, in one of the occurrences from Terence (1b), the same shift in the transitivity is conveyed by different means in Latin and Serbo-Croatian: while Latin uses the suffix *-sco*, Serbo-Croatian uses a separate lexical entry for the gradual process of growing — *rasti* ‘to grow gradually’.

### 4.3 Suffixation

This section will examine the functions of the most frequent suffixes that are productive in earlier Latin and the most frequent suffixes in Serbo-Croatian by categorising the semantic transformations they trigger within the verb.

We will not focus on the cases of mixed prefixation and suffixation.<sup>119</sup> However, we will mention the prefixation and suffixation’s joined effect when the suffixed verb derives from the prefixed verb. Section 4.4 focuses on prefixation and involves the discussion on the prefixed *and* suffixed verbs.

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<sup>119</sup> From some 700 verbs with the *-sco* suffix in Latin, a slight majority is also prefixed (cf. Haverling 2000).

### 4.3.1 Dynamicity

The use of a dynamic suffix seems mandatory for creating a dynamic verb from a non-dynamic and unsuffixed verb. Both the nasal infix and the suffix *-sco* transform a non-dynamic into a dynamic verb.

The nasal infix is one of several means of formation of the athematic Present tense. This infix appears in Greek, Latin and Slavic languages, but not in Gothic (e.g., Baldi 2002: 372, Weiss 2009: 406–407).

(1a) Plaut. *Cas.* 37–38: Est ei quidam servos qui in morbo **cubat**, / immo hercle vero in lecto...

‘He has a certain slave, who with disease is confined--aye, faith, to his bed’

SC: Ima nekog roba koji zbog bolesti **leži**, bogami u krevetu

(1b) Plaut. *Bacch.* 81: ...ubi ego tum **accumbam**? / Apud me, mi anime, ut lepidus cum lepida accubet

‘where, then, should I take my place? / Near myself, my life, that with a she wit a he wit may be reclining at the repast.’

SC: Gde **da legnem**? Kod mene, dušo, da bi vicko mogao da legne sa vickom.

Latin *cubare* ‘to lie, be lying down’ corresponds to the SC *ležati* (1a) with the stative suffix *-ati* (IE \*-*ēti*). These are stative verbs. The dynamic counterparts to these verbs are the Lat. *accumbere* and the SC *leći* (IE \**legti*) ‘to lie down’, which, in the present stem, also has the nasal infix *-n* (1b – *legnem*) (cf. Derksen 2008: 270–272).

The suffix *-sco* is polyfunctional. However, its primary function is to add the dynamic component to an otherwise non-dynamic verb. In the earlier periods of Latin, the semantic role of the unprefixated *sco-* verbs are dynamic and atelic.<sup>120</sup> *Niteo* (2a) describes the actual state of Lysidamus, who, since in love, is “better groomed” or “shines” with an interior sparkle. On the other hand, *nitesco* (2b) expresses the glow of the shoulders after they had been anointed, hence, the temporary and externally provoked property, visible to all. In Serbo-Croatian, *niteo* is ‘sijati’, while *nitesco* is ‘sijati se’. These two related verbs assume the same pattern as the verbs indicating colours – *rubeo* : *rubesco* = *crveneti* : *crveneti se* ‘to be red’ vs ‘to redden’.

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<sup>120</sup> As Haverling observes (2000: 52), Sittl was wrong when he stated that the unprefixated relatives as *niteo* : *nitesco* and *splendeo* : *splendesco* do not differ at all. We now know that *niteo* and *splendeo* are States, while *nitesco* and *splendesco* are Activities.

(2a) Plaut. *Cas.* 225: qui quom amo Casinam, magis **niteo**, munditiis Munditiam antideo:

‘Now that I’m in love with / Casina, I’m better groomed, I surpass Neatness herself in neatness.’

SC: Sad kad volim Kasinu, više **sijam**, prestižem Lepotu u lepoti.

(2b) Verg. *Aen.* 5. 134-135: cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus / nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa **nitescit**.

‘the rest of the crews are crowned with poplar wreaths, and their naked shoulders glisten, moist with oil.’

SC: Ostatak posade je krunisan topolinom krošnjom, i gola ramena **se sijaju**, namazana uljem.

Some occurrences of the *-sco* have the progressive function (cf. Haverling 2000: 103–105, 155–157, 170–171; 2010:294). Latin thus often employs the old Indo-European suffix *-sco* to indicate dynamicity and sometimes to indicate intransitivity. However, in a few relatively early verbs of this type, the semantic opposition is between different degrees of dynamicity. In such cases, the unsuffixed verb describes the action generally, whereas the unprefixated *sco*-verb emphasizes the ongoing nature of that action. *Labo* means ‘stand unsteadily, be shaky, totter, waver’ (3a) and *labasco* ‘be shaking, wavering’ (3b).<sup>121</sup>

(3a) Cato *Agr.* 20,1: caueat ni **labet** columella: si mouebitur, eximito

‘it should prevent it from shaking; if it moves, take it out’

SC: Treba da se pazi da se stub ne **klati**. ako se mrda, neka se izvadi

(3b) Plaut. *Rud.* 1394: leno **labascit**, libertas portenditur

‘the pimp falters! Freedom for me!’

SC: Svodnik **posrće**! Sloboda za mene!

By the prefixation of a suffixed (dynamic) verb, it becomes terminative (cf. also § 4.2.4). However, in Early Latin, some verbs do not behave according to this pattern: they have to be both prefixed and suffixed to express dynamicity. For example, the Stative verb (cf. § 4.2.3), *taceo* ‘to be silent, say nothing’ in Early Latin had the dynamic and terminative relative *conticisco* ‘to become silent, to hold one’s tongue’; there is no attested example of *tacesco* until the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Hence, the State *taceo* ‘to be silent’ becomes terminative when prefixed and suffixed: *conticesco* ‘to fall silent, to stop talking’ emphasizes the completion of the change. Serbo-Croatian translates *conticisco* with the prefixed *ućutati*.

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<sup>121</sup> See Haverling (2000: 155–157, 170–173).

(4a) Ter. *Ph.* 387: quid nunc **taces**?

‘Why the silence?’

SC: Zašto sad **ćutiš**?

(4b) Plaut. *Merc.* 271: sed **contiscam**, nam eccum it uicinus foras.

‘But I’ll fall silent: look, my neighbour is coming out.’

SC: Ali, **ućutaću**, jer evo mog komšije, izlazi napolje.

### 4.3.2 Frequentativity and intensivity

As already mentioned in §2.1.4.1 (B), which is based on Viti’s article (Viti 2015), frequentatives such as *educare* from *ducere* or *occupare* from *capere* emphasize the semantics of the verb or add expressivity to it, similarly to intensives. Although Meillet (1948: 172–173) and Palmer (1954: 77) consider frequentatives to be emphatic, Viti (2015) claims that, since the emphasis is subjective, it has to be expressed externally to the frequentative verb and that it only rarely can be documented for within the verb.<sup>122</sup>

Latin also expresses atelic dynamicity through the productive suffix *-tare* (*-ssare*, *-itare*), which yields frequentativity and intensivity (cf. Haverling 2010: 294). The frequentative meaning usually involves the repetition of the same event, as in *rogito* ‘to ask repeatedly, to inquire’ (cf. (a) – *rogo* ‘to ask’). Iterativity is related to pluri-occasionality, which, as opposed to iterativity, is involved in telic events viewed imperfectively.<sup>123</sup>

In Serbo-Croatian, these suffixes are labelled as frequentative, diminutive and iterative – they express the frequency or intermittence in the evolving of the situation (Klajn 2005: 194). The most frequent of these suffixes are *-ka-* (as in *pipkati* ‘to touch a little, to touch several times’), *-uc-* (as in *kašljucati* ‘to cough a little bit’), the combination of *-uc-* and *-ka-* (as in *pijuckati* ‘to take a sip several times, to drink a little bit frequently’). Also, the suffix *-va-*, generally used for detelicizing the verb or adding durativity, is used to express habituality with some prefixes that focus on the frequentative situation.

In Terence, there are many frequentatives. We will focus here on *verba dicendi*, verbs that frequently obtain the frequentative/intensive suffix in Terence.

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<sup>122</sup> On the sample of 130 tokens in Plautus, Viti (2015: 171) shows that only in less than 10% of the cases there is unambiguous evidence for the emphasis.

<sup>123</sup> On the relationship between iterativity, habituality and aspect, see Smith (1997: 24, 50), Johansson (2000: 55), Bertinetto & Lenci 2010).

The frequentatives often reinforce the imperfective aspect, most commonly with a continuous or habitual interpretation (Viti 2015: 129). Viti states that the frequentatives in Latin were primarily formed from the verbs which were previously prefixed. Her corpus consists, however, of examples from Plautus. In Terence, I have found that the frequentative verbs were more often formed from a simple verb.

Here follows the list of the specific verbs and the frequency of their occurrences as well as the contrast between the use and interpretation of the suffixed and unsuffixed cognates.

(a) *rogo/rogitare* ('to ask'/'to ask repeatedly')

Terence uses these two cognates 76 times: *rogo* 54 and *rogito* 22 times. In most cases, when in the finite forms, the simplex is used in Present Indicative Active, or Present Subjunctive Active, in the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular.

The typical use of the simplex is in dialogues, as an anaphoric question in answer to some previously asked questions:

(1) Ter. *Eun.* 326: Quid factumst? CH. **Rogas?** / patris cognatum atque aequalem Archidemidem nouisti n'?

'What's the matter? Do you ask me? Do you know Archidemides, my father's kinsman and years'-mate?'

SC: Šta se dogodilo? CH. **Još pitaš?** / Znaš li onog Arhidemida, poznanika i vršnjaka očevog? [VJ]

(2) Ter. *Eun.* 436: Quor? GN. **Rogas?** / scin, siquando illa mentionem Phaedriae / facit aut si laudat, te ut male urat?

'Why so? Do you ask me? Don't you see, if on any occasion she makes mention of Phaedria or commends him, to provoke you----'

SC: Što to? GN. **Još pitaš!** / Znaš kako tebe peče kad ona pomene Fedriju / ili ga neko hvali? [VJ]

In some languages, this kind of anaphoric question takes an intensifying particle (Eng. 'even', SC. 'još') used to accentuate the question. In Latin, no intensifier is used, neither as a morpheme internal to the verb nor as a separate morphological unit. The initial position of this verb is anaphoric; hence, the verb in this position enhances the *pathos* of the conversation, where the question could equally be answered without the initial *Rogas?*. Moreover, it can also be interpreted as a rhetorical question: it is sometimes translated in Serbo-Croatian as an exclamatory and sometimes as an interrogative sentence.

*Rogitare* is often found in the same position as *rogare*:

(3) Ter. *Eun.* 1008: Quid ita? PY. **Rogitas?** / numquam pol hominem stultiorem uidi nec uidebo.

‘Why so? Do you ask? Upon my faith, I never did see, nor shall see, a sillier fellow.’

SC: A što? PY: On **još pita?** / Poluksom se kunem da nikad nisam videla glupljeg čoveka od tebe, niti ću. [VJ]

(4) Ter. *Ph.* 156: quid istuc? AN. **Rogitas?** / qui tam audacis facinoris mihi conscius sis?

‘What's the matter? Do you ask the question? You, who have been my confederate in so bold an adventure?’

SC: Pa šta sa tim? To me **pitaš** ti, / koji si mi bio saučesnik u onako drskom poduhvatu! [VJ]

Translations into Serbo-Croatian of (1) and (2) on the one hand, and of (3) and (4) on the other hand, are identical: *pitaš* ‘you ask, you are asking’. Hence, Serbo-Croatian does not distinguish between the suffixed *rogitas* and the unsuffixed *rogas* in the anaphoric question.

Different is the case of *rogitare* in other syntactic positions:

(5) Ter. *Ad.* 526: nunc ubi me illi non uidebit, iam huc recurret, sat scio: / **rogitabit** me, ubi fuerim: 'ego hoc te toto non uidi die:' quid dicam?

‘Now, when he doesn't find me there, he'll come running back here, I'm quite sure; he'll be asking me where I have been, that I have not seen him all this day: what am I to say?’

SC: **Pitaće** me gde sam bio: “Danas te čitavog dana nisam video”. Šta da mu kažem? [VJ]

(6) Ter. *Ad.* 618: **rogito**, Pamphila quid agat, iam partus adsiet, / eo ne obstetricem arcessat.

‘How is Pamphila?’ I inquired; ‘is her delivery at hand? Is it for that she is sending for the midwife?’

SC: **Pitam** kako je Pamfila, da li je počeo porođaj i ide li po babicu. [VJ]

(7) Ter. *And.* 83: **rogitabam** 'heus puer, / dic sodes, quis heri Chrysidem habuit?’

‘I used to make inquiry, "Here, my lad, tell me, will you, who had Chrysis yesterday?’

SC: **Upitam** jednog: “Hej, momče, / budi dobar pa mi kaži ko je juče bio Hrisidin ljubimac? [VJ]

**Pitao sam** jednog:... [DP]

(8) Ter. *And.* 748: Satin sanu's, qui me id **rogites?**

‘Are you quite right in your senses, to be asking me that?’

SC: Jesi li ti sasvim čitav, kad me to **pitaš?** [VJ]

...**zapitkuješ?** [DP]

(9) Ter. *Eun.* 553–556: sed neminem ne curiosum interuenire nunc mihi, / qui me sequatur quoquo eam, **rogitando** optundat, enicet, / quid gestiam aut quid laetus sim, quo pergam, unde emergam, ubi siem / uestitum hunc nactus, mihi quid quaeram, sanus sim ane insaniam!

‘But is there now no inquisitive person to be intruding upon me, to be following me wherever I do, to be deafening me, worrying me to death, with asking questions; why thus transported, or why so overjoyed, whither I’m going, whence I’m come, where I got this garb, what is my object, whether I’m in my senses or whether downright mad?’

SC: I još nema nijednog radoznalca koji bi me sada / proganjao i dosađivao mi **zapitkivanjem**... [VJ]

(10) Ter. *Heaut.* 942: ME. Id mirari te simulato et illum hoc **rogitato** simul, / quam ob rem id faciam.

‘Pretend that you wonder at this, and at the same time ask him the reason why I do so.’

SC: Pravi se da si zapanjen I ozbiljno se **raspituj** kod njega / zašto sam to učinio. [VJ]

In examples (5), (6) and (7), the reported and direct speech are triggered by the verb *rogitare*. My translation of these occurrences, all in the different Tenses of the indicative, is the *simplex* verb *pitam*. In example (8), the verb *rogitare* is the part of the question directly put to the addressee. My translation into Serbo-Croatian differs from previous examples, and I use the frequentative *zapitkivati*. In example (9), the verb stands alone. This Latin gerund is rendered into Serbo-Croatian by the deverbal noun *zapitkivanje*: INSTR. In example (10) *rogitare* triggers the indirect question to the addressee: since this verb is in the future imperative, it is rendered into Serbo-Croatian by the prefixed and suffixed *raspitivati*. Hence, the opposition is *rogito* ‘zapitkivati’ : *rogo* ‘pitati’.

Hence, in the indicative, the Serbo-Croatian translation of *rogitare* depends on its syntactic function in Latin. If it is the main verb (and thus, triggers the reported speech or is followed by the direct speech), it is not perceived differently from the unsuffixed *rogare*. On the other hand, when *rogitare* occurs in the gerund or in the future imperative, it is perceived as frequentative (9) or intensive (10).

One should be careful in the interpretation of the semantic nuances between the *simplex* and its *compositum* cognate. The frequency of both occurrences in the different positions leaves space for further research and their semantic differences, influenced by their position. Our data show that:

- 1a) there are 15 cases of *rogare* in a rhetorical question, alone in the phrase, plus 4 cases with just the addressee me specified;
- 1b) there are 13 cases of *rogitare* in the same position;
- 2a) there are 34 cases of *rogare* with a (in)dependent question;
- 2b) there are 8 cases of *rogitare* in the same position.

Statistical elaboration shows exciting results: There is a significant difference between the frequencies of the use of *rogare* in cases (1a) and (2a). On the other hand, there is no statistical significance between the cases (1b) and (2b).

Cross-analysis between *rogare* and *rogitare* shows that there is no statistical difference between the frequencies in the positions previously indicated as (1a) and (1b) and that there is a significant statistical difference between frequencies in the positions indicated as (2a) and (2b).

We can draw some initial conclusions of the cross-analysis at this point:

- a) *rogare* is used markedly more in statements than in rhetorical questions;
- b) *rogitare* is used equally in these two cases;
- c) *rogare* is used significantly more often than *rogitare*;
- d) verbs *rogare* and *rogitare* are used equally in the interrogative sentences.

Hence, Terence's choice of the *simplex* or *compositum* is syntactically driven in most cases. In contrast, in the rhetorical question, the interchangeability of these verbs is probably driven by the reasons of metrics.

Overall, the syntactic function of the *simplex* is more stable, and it is semantically more delineated than the syntactic function of the frequentative: the use of the former is preferred in the position of (in)dependent phrase, where it is also used significantly more frequently than the frequentative.

(b) *dicere/dictitare* ('to say'/'to say repeatedly')

Terence never uses this simplex; the frequentative is used only three times:

- (1) Ter. *Heaut.* 22–23: tum quod maliuolus uetus poeta **dictitat**, /repente ad studium hunc se adplicasse musicum...

'Then, as to a malevolent old Poet saying that he has suddenly applied himself to dramatic pursuits'

Što se pak tiče **optužbi** izvesnog starog i pakosnog pesnika / da se ovaj autor naprećac posvetio dramskom pesništvu...[VJ]

A ono što izvesni stari i pakosni pesnik **govorka**... [DP]

- (2) Ter. *Ph.* 4–5: Qui ita **dictitat**, quas antehac fecit fabulas, / Tenui esse oratione et scriptura leui:

'for he is wont to say to this effect,--that the plays which he has hitherto composed are poor in their language, and of meagre style;'

SC: On **stalno priča** da su sve komedije koje je naš autor do sada postavio / slabe u dijalogu i loše napisane. [VJ]

**Govorka** [DP]

(3) Ter. *Ph.* 742–743: Quid? non obsecro es / Quem semper te esse **dictitasti**?

‘Why? Pray, are you not the person you always used to say you were?’

SC: Šta? Zar ti, molim te, nisi / onaj koji si **uvek govorio** da si? [VJ]

**govorkao** [DP]

Apart from the apparent repetitive component yielded by the suffix *-itare*, these first two frequentatives also have a pejorative connotation. However, this semantic *nuance* is triggered by the inherent semantics of the verb *dicere* ‘to say, tell’, which (as it is characteristic for the other *verba dicendi*) can obtain various additional idiomatic meanings. In Serbo-Croatian translations, the frequency is rendered by the suffix *-ka-*. This suffix also conveys a diminutive component in addition to the frequentative meaning. Hence, the verb it means ‘to often tell, around’ but also ‘to tell a little bit’, which conveys a pejorative component related to the circumstantially imposed limit (‘a little bit’) to tell the fact in its entirety.

There is a clear distinction between these two *simplices* and the suffixed frequentatives. On the one hand, the former expresses global truth (also called “gnomic use”), while the frequentative expresses the repetitive action of lying on various occasions. The latter are both times referred to Pythia, who is listing various events, false in the eyes of her interlocutors.

(d) *quaeror/quaeritor* (‘to ask’/‘to ask repeatedly’)

In Terence, there are 65 occurrences of the simplex *quaeror* and five occurrences of the frequentative *quaeritor*. Occurrences of the frequentative are the following:

(1) Ter. *Ad.* 81: DE. Ehem opportune: te ipsum **quaerito**.

‘Oh, opportunely met; you are the very man I was looking for.’

SC: E, baš dobro: upravo tebe **tražim**. [VJ]

Za tobom **tragam** [DP]

(2) Ter. *Ad.* 321–322: GE. Vbi east? te ipsam **quaerito**, / te expeto: oppido opportune te optulisti mi obuiam.

‘Why, where are you? You are the very person I am looking for. I was in quest of you; it's very fortunate you have met me.’

SC: Gde je? Baš tebe **tražim**, / tebe čekam. Baš dobro što sam te sreo. [VJ]

Baš za tobom **tragam**. [DP]

- (4) Ter. *Ad.* 361–362: atqui hercle hic de grege illost: si me senserit / eum **quaeritare**, numquam?

‘But, i ‘faith, he is one of the gang; if he perceives that I am looking for him, the rascal will never tell me.’

SC: Pa i on je iz iste te bande! Ako oseti da / **Tragam** za Ktesifonom, neće mi ništa reći – zlikovac. [VJ]

- (4) Ter. *And.* 73–74: Primo haec pudice uitam parce ac duriter / agebat, lana ac tela uictum **quaeritans**;

‘At first, in a modest way, she passed her life with thriftiness and in hardship, seeking a livelihood with her wool and loom.’

SC: Iz početka je živela skromno, oskudno i teško, / zarađujući za život preslicom I razbojem. [VJ]

...vunom I razbojem **tragajući** za životom. [DP]

- (5) Ter. *Eun.* 521–523: postremo, ecqua inde parua periisset soror; / ecquis cum ea una; quid habuisset, quom perit; / ecquis eam posset noscere. haec quor **quaeritet**?

‘Finally, “Had I lost a little sister from there? Was there anyone with her? What did she have on her when she disappeared? Was there anyone who could recognise her?” Why should she keep asking these questions?’

SC: Čemu sva ta pitanja? [VJ]

Zašto o tome **zapitkuje**? [DP]

This Latin frequentative has two meanings: (1) ‘to look for, to search insistently’ and (2) ‘to ask frequently, to keep asking’. The first meaning is expressed in examples (1), (2), (3) and (4), while the second is expressed in (5).

While in the first four examples, the verb is translated into Serbo-Croatian with *tragati* ‘to search insistently’,<sup>124</sup> in (5) it is translated with *zapitkivati* ‘to ask continuatively/frequently’ (cf. (a) *rogitare*, examples (8), (9)). The *simplex* related to this verb in Serbo-Croatian is *pitati* ‘to ask’. The verb has been both prefixed by *za-* and suffixed by *-ki-* (*-ka-*) and *-va-*. In Serbo-Croatian, the prefixed and unsuffixed *zapitati* (se) ‘to ask oneself’ is attested. There is no possibility of using only one of the two given suffixes together with the prefix *za-*: if we want to make the verb habitual, we have to use all of the three given morphemes (cf. (a) *rogitare*, example (10)). The suffix *-va-* is the one that commonly expresses durativity or habituality, whereas *-ki-* enhances habituality. On the

<sup>124</sup> *Tragati*, in fact, is a frequentative related to the *simplex* *tražiti* ‘to look for’. *Quaeritor* relates to *quaerito* in the same way: the former is a frequentative related to the latter *simplex*.

other hand, the prefix *za-* yields ingressivity; hence, *zapitkivati* expresses the ingressive and habitual act of asking, where the event's focus is set at the beginning of every single occurrence repeated contained within one lexical entry.

(e) *canere/cantare/cantitare* 'to sing'/'to sing repeatedly'

In Terence, there are two occurrences of *cantare* (1), (2) and only one occurrence of *cantitare* (3).

(1) Ter. *Ad.* 902–903: Cupio; uerum hoc mihi moraest: / tibicina et hymenaeum qui **cantent**.

'So I wish to do; but I am waiting for the music-girl and people to sing the nuptial song.'

SC: Ma hteo bih ja, ali sad se čeka / na sviračicu i pevače da **otpevaju** svatovac. [VJ]

(2) Ter. *Heaut.* 259–260: qui harum mores **cantabat** mihi, / monuisse frustra

'that he who used to lecture me about the manners of these women, advised me in vain'

SC: kajem se kad se setim kolike mi je lekcije držao o takvim ženama! [VJ]

...on, koji mi je **pevao** o karakteru takvih žena... [DP]

(4) Ter. *Ad.* 748–749: Ita me di ament, ut tuam ego uideo ineptiam, / facturum credo, ut habeas quicum **cantites**.

'So may the Gods prosper me, I now see your folly; I believe you are going to do so that you may have somebody to practice music with.'

SC: Tako mi božije pomoći, ja shvatam tvoju ludost: / Verujem da tako radiš da bi imao s kim da **pevaš**. [VJ]

...da **pevuckaš** [DP]

In (1) and (2) *cantare* 'to sing', already suffixed with *-tare* and formed from the simple verb *canere* 'sing', is translated differently into Serbo-Croatian. In (1), the final clause with the Latin Present subjunctive requires the ingressive or egressive interpretation: it can either be translated as *da otpevaju* 'to end singing' (egressive) or *da zapevaju* 'to start singing' (ingressive). However, employing the prefixes, this verb only changes its focus compared to the unprefixated *pevati* 'to sing' (as found in (2)).

In (3), *cantitare* gains the habitual interpretation, yielded by the suffix *-itare*. Its translation into Serbo-Croatian requires adequate suffixation, which can be obtained by the union of two suffixes -*uc-* and *-ka-*: *pevuckati* (cf. *lažuckati* in (c)).<sup>125</sup> Since the *simplex*, *pevati*, does not have a negative

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<sup>125</sup> The similar effect can be obtained through the suffix *-uši-*: *pevušiti* 'to sing in a low voice'.

meaning, this verb only gains the habitual interpretation through the suffix *-ka-*, enhanced by the diminutive suffix *-uc-*.

(f) *clamare /clamitare* ('to shout'/'to shout repeatedly') and *noscito*

In Terence, there are three occurrences of *clamitare* (1), (2) and (3) and nine of *clamare*.

(1) Ter. *And.* 144-146: Venit Chremes postridie ad me **clamitans** / indignum facinus comperisse...

'Chremes comes to me next day, exclaiming: "Disgraceful conduct!"'

SC: Idućeg dana, evo ti Hremeta. **Žali se**: / Sramna rabota! [VJ]

Dode sutradan meni Hremet **uzvikujući** / da je saznao sramnu rabotu... [DP]

(2) Ter. *And.* 767: MY. Au, quid **clamitas**?

'Why are you bawling out so?'

SC: Šta ti je, što **vičeš**? [VJ]

(3) Ter. *And.* 814-815: **clamitent** me sycophantam, hereditatem persequi, / mendicum

'They would cry out that I am a sharper; that, a pauper, I'm hunting after an inheritance;'

SC: Svi **bi graknuli** da sam varalica I da se, kao prošnjak, / tužakam oko nasledstva. [VJ]

Svi bi **uzvikivali**... [DP]

The Latin suffixed *clamitare* is interpreted habitually in all three occurrences.

Serbo-Croatian shows a certain inconsistency in the translation since the Serbo-Croatian *simplex vikati* 'clamare' could also be used habitually, hence as the translation of *clamitare*. On the other hand, there is a specific verb, prefixed and suffixed, expressing the accentuated habitual meaning: *uzvikivati*. This verb is also ingressive, a property yielded by the prefix *uz-* and habitual, since containing the suffix *-iva-*.

In (2), the Latin verb clearly expresses the repetition of the event. However, in Serbo-Croatian, it is impossible to translate it with the corresponding *uzvikivati* if the context does not provide the specific object of shouting. Hence, we use here *vikati*, in its habitual interpretation.

This is only one example of the incomplete overlap between the suffixes expressing the same Latin and Serbo-Croatian features due to the different semantic fields covered by the corresponding verbs.

Moreover, the suffix *-sco* can combine with the suffix *-tare*, as in *noscitare* 'to investigate', 'to inquire', 'to mark', 'to recognize'.

(1) Plaut. *Cist.* 682: Nunc uestigia hic siqua sunt **noscitabo**.

‘Now I’ll mark if there are any footsteps here.’

SC: Sad ću **obeležiti** tragove, ako ih ovde ima.

(2) Plaut. *Ep.* 537: **Noscito** ego hanc: nam uideor nescio ubi / me uidisse prius.

‘I recognize her; for I think I have seen her before’

SC: **Prepoznajem** je: ćini mi se da sam je negde već video.

As also claimed in Viti (2015: 181), the frequentatives reinforce the imperfective aspect in Latin. This claim is also valid for Serbo-Croatian. In Latin, the continuous or habitual interpretation is yielded by the suffix *-tare* (*-ssare*, *-itare*) (cf. Haverling 2010: 294). In Serbo-Croatian, the frequentatives are formed by the suffixes *-uc* and/or *-k(a)/-k(i)*, as well as by the suffix *-va*, for the habitual interpretations (cf. (e3) Lat. *cantitare* and SC. *pevuckati*).

While in Plautus the frequentatives were primarily built from the previously prefixed verbs, in Terence we found that the frequentatives are mostly made from the unprefixated verbs, which gain frequentative interpretation only through the addition of the suffix. This fact is in contrast with the Serbo-Croatian formation of the frequentatives. In addition to the suffix, in Serbo-Croatian, the frequentatives often obtain the prefix as well (cf. (f3) Lat. *clamitare* and SC. *uzvikivati*; also (d5) Lat. *quaeritari* and SC. *zapitkivati*).

Hence, while in Terence, the frequentatives with continuous and habitual interpretation are produced in the same way, in Serbo-Croatian there is a difference between strictly continuous interpretation (expressed by the suffix only) and the frequentative interpretation, given more specifically to the verb by the prefix. Moreover, the verbs suffixed by *-va-* are often prefixed; however, this suffix can sometimes combine with the frequentative suffix *-k* (cf. (d5)).

### 4.3.3 Conclusions

The Latin suffix *-sco* covers some of the most important (and frequent) functions responsible for shifting the situations from one semantic category. It makes the stative situations (*calere* ‘to be warm’, *silere* ‘to be silent’) dynamic (*calescere* ‘to grow warm’, *silescere* ‘to grow more/ silent’). This function of the Latin suffix *-sco* is expressed in Serbo-Croatian by the unprefixated verbs instead of the stative periphrasis: SC. *grejati* = Lat. *calescere* and SC. *sušiti* = Lat. *arescere*, and by the prefixed verbs, focus on SC's already dynamic event. *primiriti* = Lat. *silescere* and SC. *zagoreti* = Lat. *ardescere*.

Prefixes often coerce the shift in focus of the event suffixed with *-sco*. In Early Latin, many verbs are prefixed and suffixed with *-sco* indicating the change of state. Instead, the unprefixed verbs suffixed with *-sco*, indicating the gradual or progressive change of state (*aresco*, *senesco*) or the change of state (*conticesco*) are found more seldom.<sup>126</sup> (only one occurrence of *calescere* in Ter. *Eun.* 85; cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 798: *conticisco* ‘to become silent’, vs *tacesco* (first found in the 7th century). Serbo-Croatian expresses this Latin twofold affixation by the prefixes (*ućutati* – *conticescere*).

The stative Latin verbs that indicate qualities like dry or warm (*areo*, *caleo*) are translated into Serbo-Croatian by the stative periphrases *biti suv* and *biti topao*. However, some other stative verbs (e.g., *sileo* and *ardeo*) are translated into Serbo-Croatian by the unprefixed *ćutati* and *goreti*.<sup>127</sup>

The suffix *-sco* is sometimes added to the already dynamic event: it triggers a shift between two actional classes with dynamic properties. The prefixation usually renders this shift in Serbo-Croatian.

Some transitive verbs, when suffixed by *-sco*, become intransitive. These suffixed verbs express the gradual character of the process: the intransitive ‘to become’ is opposed to the transitive ‘to make’. Hence, *augere* ‘to increase’ and *augescere* ‘to grow’; also, *inveterare* ‘to make old’ and *inveterascere* ‘to grow old’. This shift in the agency is evident in the Serbo-Croatian verbs expressing the events involving colours. The suffix *-e-* changes the verb from transitive (cf. *beliti* ‘to make white and *beleti* ‘to become white’).

The suffix *-tare* (*-ssare*, *-itare*), also very productive, yields frequentativity as the reinforcement of the imperfective aspect. The verbs with this suffix are dynamic and atelic, most commonly with a continuous or habitual interpretation. (Viti 2015: 129).

In Serbo-Croatian, the Latin frequentative suffix in most of the cases corresponds to the suffixes *-uc-* and *-ka-*; this Latin suffix also corresponds to the prefixed verbs with the suffix *-va-*.<sup>128</sup> The latter is a recurrent suffix in Serbo-Croatian that yields both the actional and the aspectual changes within the predicate. It usually occurs within the prefixed (hence, “perfectivized”) verb, and in the coalescence with it, the suffix adds the component of the repetition (cf. Progovac 2002: 204–205).

<sup>126</sup> The occurrences of the verbs with the suffix *-esc-*: *Tabesco* – *Ad.* 602; *Horresco* – *Ad.* 633; *Silesco* – *Ad.* 785; *Quiesco* – *Andr.* 22, *Andr.* 598, 691, *Ph.* 669; *Calesco* – *Eun.* 84; *Cresco* – *Heaut.* 28, 688, *Ph.* 780; *Augesco* – *Heaut.* 23; *Miserescit* – *Heaut.* 1024.

<sup>127</sup> The use of the stative verb or of ‘to be’ + adjective is a typological matter. Latin is closer to the pole of *esse* + adjective, however keeping the archaic features that express the active structure. On this matter, cf. Lehmann, C. 1995. Latin predicate classes from an onomasiological point of view. In D. Longrée (ed.), *DE USU: Études de syntaxe latine offertes en hommages à Marius Lavency* [Publications linguistiques de Louvain], 163–173. Louvain-La-Neuve: Peeters.

<sup>127</sup> *-(a)va-*, *-(e)va-*, *-(i)va-*.

<sup>128</sup> *-(a)va-*, *-(e)va-*, *-(i)va-*.

This suffix also has a frequent function as a durative (Josephson 2008: 137).<sup>129</sup> *Obećati* ‘to promise: NON-DUR’ – *obećavati* ‘to promise: DUR’, *primorati* ‘to force, coerce: NON-DUR’ – *primoravati* ‘to force, coerce: DUR’. This suffix has often been referred to as the ‘the suffix for the secondary imperfectivization’ (Belić, Vaillant, Savić), where the primary “imperfective” verb would have been the one without the prefix and the suffix.

The suffix *-va-* is sometimes combined with the iotation, by which the verbs are rendered durative. However, since the iotation happens within already prefixed, and hence telic verbs, usually their telicity is left intact by the iotation. See *ispuniti* ‘to fill in: NON-DUR’ – *ispunjavati* ‘to fill in: DUR’ *opkoliti* ‘to besiege, surround: NON-DUR’ – *opkoljavati* ‘to besiege, surround: DUR’.

My analysis in § 4.4.1.2 shows that, while in Terence the frequentatives with both the continuous and the habitual interpretation are produced with the suffix *-tare* (*-ssare*, *-itare*), in Serbo-Croatian, there is often a difference in the formation of these two features. While only the suffix (*-uc*, *-k(a)* / *-k(i)*) triggers the strictly continuous interpretation, the frequentative interpretation is triggered both by the suffix and the prefix. Moreover, the verbs suffixed by *-va* are often prefixed; however, this suffix can sometimes combine with the frequentative suffix *-k* (cf. (d5)).

From the analysis of the frequentative *verba dicendi* and their translations into Serbo-Croatian, we can conclude that in Serbo-Croatian, the difference between a *simplex* and the frequentative is not perceived if the verb is used in the anaphoric question (*rogas* ‘pitaš’, *rogitas* ‘pitaš’). However, in other, less specific syntactic positions, Serbo-Croatian uses the suffix *-va-* which detelicizes the verb and adds a habitual component, together with the prefixes, focusing on the specific phases of the situation. Both Latin suffix *-itare* and Serbo-Croatian suffixes *-uc-* and *-ka-*, in addition to the frequentative meaning, add a diminutive component.<sup>130</sup> This component, depending on the inherent verbal semantics, can convey either a pejorative (Lat. *dicitare* – SC. *govorkati* ‘to tell often, around, tell a little bit, frequently’) or a childlike meaning (Lat. *mentitari* – SC. *lažuckati* ‘to lie often, to lie a little bit, frequently’, Lat. *cantitare* – SC. *pevuckati* ‘to sing a little bit, frequently’).

It seems that the presence or absence of the specific object, involved with some Latin frequentative *verba dicendi*, influences the modalities of affixation. If the object of *rogitare* is expressed, this verb is translated into Serbo-Croatian *zapitkivati*; also, if the object is expressed with *clamitare*, it is translated *uzvikivati*. Also, if these Latin frequentatives do not express the object (as in the anaphoric questions with *rogitare*), the Serbo-Croatian verbs do not contain any affixes.

<sup>129</sup> The functions of this suffix should be related to the correspondent suffixes in Bulgarian, where the suffix *-va-* expresses frequency, iterativity or interval (Dimitrova-Vulchanova 1999: 13–14) and in Russian, language in which the suffix *-ivaj-* expresses iterativity, distributivity and activity, as opposed to action (Nørgard-Sørensen 1997).

<sup>130</sup> For Serbo-Croatian, see Grickat, I. “Deminutivni glagoli u srpskohrvatskom jeziku”, *Južnoslovenski filolog*, 21 (1955/6).

In Serbo-Croatian, the other, less frequent derivational suffixes used for expressing duration are:

- a) Suffix *-ja-*, added between the stem and the ending for the infinitive: *ustati* ‘to get up: NON-DUR’ – *ustajati* ‘to get up: DUR’, *piti* ‘to drink up: NON-DUR’ – *ispijati* ‘to drink up: DUR’ (see the examples in § 4.3.4.3);
- b) Suffix *-i-*, incorporated within the stem: *umreti* ‘to die: NON-DUR’ – *umirati* ‘to die: DUR’, *isprati* ‘to wash out: NON-DUR’ – *ispirati* ‘to wash out: DUR’;
- c) Alternation between the thematic vowel *-o-* in the non-durative verb and the vowel *-a-* within the durative verb: *stv $\acute{r}$ iti* ‘to create: NON-DUR’ – *stv $\acute{r}$ ati* ‘to create: DUR’, *zam $\acute{r}$ iti* ‘to tire out: NON-DUR’ – *zam $\acute{r}$ ati* ‘to tire out: DUR’.

The suffix *-nu-* (*-n-*) yields the time boundary(s), which indicates momentaneousness or semelfactiveness. Anyhow, this suffix telicizes the verb and eventually transforms its meaning into non-durative.<sup>131</sup>

## 4.4 Prefixation

### 4.4.1 On the functions of prefixation

The prefixes are often polyfunctional: they are often used to telicize the events (*edere* ‘to eat’ – *comedere* ‘to eat up’). Sometimes they indicate a change of state (*tacui* ‘was silent’ – *conticui* ‘stopped talking’). They focus on different stages of an event (*inarescere* ‘start growing dry, grow somewhat dry’ – *exarescere* ‘become totally dry’). They have functions connected to the function of the corresponding preposition such as spatial functions (*ingredior* ‘I go into’ – *egredior* ‘I go out from’ or *transfero* ‘to carry across or over’) or perdurativity (*pervigilo* ‘stay awake the whole night’). And they can intensify and de-intensify the sense of a verb (cf. e.g. *condormire* ‘be fast asleep’ and *subrubere* ‘be reddish’).

Sometimes the same prefix can modify verbs by setting the focus at the initial phase of an event as well as at the final phase of an event: *Condormisco* means ‘to fall asleep’ and expresses entrance into a state, whereas *comedo* means ‘to eat up’ and expresses completion of a process). We encounter the same polyfunctionality with some of the Serbo-Croatian prefixes, which in the translation are, naturally, sometimes symmetric with the Latin ingressive-egressive pairs: *conticesco* – *u $\acute{c}$ utati* means ‘to become quiet’ (entrance into a state), whereas *concalesco* – *ugrejati* means ‘to

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<sup>131</sup> However, there are the verbs which have incorporated this suffix into the stem: these verbs can be also durative and/or atelic. See *tonuti* ‘to sink’, *venuti* ‘wither’, *čeznuti* ‘yearn’, *brinuti* ‘worry’ (Klajn :107).

warm up’ (completion). The same prefix can also yield a distinction between an unprefixing Accomplishment and a prefixed Achievement (cf. 4.5.2). In this case, the prefix is a marker of momentaneity, where the *simplex* expresses a non-momentaneous yet telic event.

Hence, the same prefixes can yield different actional functions (focus, momentaneity and change of state) and spatial functions. The spatial functions (cf. the previous section) express the original meaning of the prepositions, which, once transformed into the prefixes, in synergy with the verbal semantics, often changed their functions into actional modifiers.

#### 4.4.2 CON-

##### 4.4.2.1 The actional function

The actional function of the prefixes emphasizes the *completion* of a particular ongoing process without setting specific emphasis on its beginning or ending. The completive *con-* was often compared to the Gothic prefix *ga-* (Josephson 1976) and the Hittite particle *kan* (Boley 2000; Goedegebuure 2007; Josephson 2008, 2013: 383–411). Indeed, the Latin *con-* shares similar functions and has probably the same origin as the etymologically related Gothic *ga-* and the Hittite *kan*<sup>132</sup> (Josephson 1976: 171–175).<sup>133</sup> In Serbo-Croatian, for most of the completive functions, the prefix *po-* corresponds to the Latin *con-*.

In Latin, the opposition between the unprefixing verbs and the verbs prefixed with *con-* (*edo* ‘to eat (of)’ (1a) and *comedo* ‘eat up’ (1b) morphologically corresponds to the opposition between Gothic pair *mattjan* ‘eat’ and *gamattjan* ‘eat up’, also corresponding to the opposition between Serbo-Croatian pairs *jesti* ‘eat’ (1a) and *pojesti* ‘eat up’ (1b).

(1a) Plaut. *Capt.* 77: Quasi mures semper *edimus* alienum cibum.

‘like mice, [we] are always eating the victuals of another person’

SC: Kao miševi, uvek **jedemo** tuđu hranu. [DP]

(1b) Ter. *Heaut.* 255: quid *comedent!* quid *ebibent!*<sup>134</sup>

‘How much they will eat! how much they will drink!’

SC: Šta će tek da **pojedu** Šta će tek da **popiju!**

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<sup>132</sup> Josephson (2013: 139) provides the following proof about the correlation of the Hittite and Latin particles: the prefix *ka-* (supposedly, a shorter ablaut form of *kan*, as the Gothic *ga-* is) is encountered in the Hittite verb *kappuwai-*. This verb corresponds morphologically and semantically to Latin *computare*.

<sup>133</sup> The historical relation between these particles has been much discussed (cf. Haverling 2000: 251).

<sup>134</sup> Note also the correspondence between the Lat. *ebibent* and SC. (*će*) *popiti* ‘drink up’.

A non-dynamic, unsuffixed and unprefixed *caleo* means ‘to be warm’, while the dynamic verb *calesco* means ‘to grow warmer’ (cf. examples in § 4.2.1). Since the primary function of the suffix *-sco* is to indicate dynamicity and atelicity, it also places the focus on the process of growing of the specific property: *calesco* means ‘to grow warmer’ (2a) and *concalesco* ‘to become warm/hot’ (2b). In theory, a Perfect like *concaluit* could be formed both from the state *concaleo* ‘to be thoroughly warm’ (rare; cf. § 4.2.1) and from *concalesco* ‘to become hot’ (cf. Haverling 2000: 262). However, the occurrences confirm that *concalui* usually corresponds to *concalesco*.

(2a) Ter. *Eun.* 84: Bono animo es: accede ad ignem hunc, iam **calesces** plus satis.

‘Be of good heart; only approach this fire, you’ll soon be warmer than you need.’

SC: Budi dobrog srca; samo priđi ovoj vatri, brzo ćeš **se zagrejati** i više nego dovoljno.

(2b) Plaut. *Amph.* 513: Prius abis quam lectus ubi cubuisti **concaluit** locus.

‘You leave me before the spot in the bed where you have been lying has well grown warm.’

SC: Ostavljaš me pre nego što **se ugrijalo** mesto u krevetu na kom si ležao. [DP]

Another example is *silesco* ‘to grow more/completely silent, to calm down’ (3a) and its prefixed cognate *consilesco* ‘to become silent, calm’ (3b; on the difference between *silesco* and *consilesco*: cf. Haverling 2000: 103 f., 166, 254 f.).<sup>135</sup>

(3a) Ter. *Ad.* 785: quid ego nunc agam? nisi, dum hae **silescent** turbae, interea in angulum aliquo abeam atque edormiscam hoc uilli. sic agam.

‘What am I to do now? Why, even get into some corner while/for the time that this tempest is lulled, and sleep off this drop of wine. That’s my plan.’

SC: Šta ja sad da radim? Ništa drugo nego da se zavučem u neko ćoš, dok **se** sva ova gužva **ne smiri**, da u međuvremenu i da odspavam. Tako ima da uradim. [VJ]

SC: Šta sad da radim? Osim, dok **se** ne **stiša** bura, da u međuvremenu odem u neko ćoš i da prespavam. To ću da uradim. [DP]

(3b) Plaut. *Mil.* 582: me occultabo aliquot dies, dum haec **consilescent** turbae atque irae lenient

‘for some days will I lie concealed until this turmoil is hushed and their resentment is softened.’

SC: Nekoliko dana ću se skrivati dok **se** ova bura ne **stiša** i bes ne smiri. [DP]

<sup>135</sup> On the verb *sileo*, cf. § 4.2.1.

In Gothic, the prefix *ga-* may transform an unprefixated, non-dynamic verb into a verb indicating change of state. In Latin and Serbo-Croatian, however, the prefixes *con-* and *po-* seldom transform a non-dynamic into a dynamic verb alone; in most cases, they add the component of completion to an already dynamic verb. An example is the opposition between *dormio* ‘to sleep, to be asleep’ (4a) and the prefixated and suffixed verb *condormisco* ‘to fall asleep’ (4b). The examples of *condormio* are post-classical and have an intensive sense (‘to be fast asleep’: cf. Haverling 2000: 262).

(4a) Ter. *Heaut.* 730: **Dormiunt**: ego pol istos commouebo.

‘They’re asleep--I’faith, I’ll rouse them.’

SC: **Spavaju**, sad ću da ih probudim.

(4b) Plaut. *Curc.* 358: ille ebibit, caput deponit, **condormiscit**.

‘he drank it off, reclined his head, and fell fast asleep.’

SC: Popio je, naslonio glavu i **zaspao**. [DP]

Latin *dormio* and Serbo-Croatian *spavaju* (4a) are both stative verbs. By means of prefix *con-* and with the help of the dynamic suffix *-sc-* the Latin verb becomes an Achievement (4b).

Sometimes *con-* indicates momentaneousness as opposed to durativity. An example of this is *confugio*: Lat. *fugio* – Serbo-Croatian. *bežim* ‘to flee’ (5a), opposed to Lat. *confugio* – Serbo-Croatian. *pobegnem* ‘to flee away (and hence take refuge)’ (5b):

(5a) Ter. *Heaut.* 1000: senex exit foras: ego **fugio**.

‘the old man’s coming out of doors; I’ll be off.’

SC: Starac izlazi napolje. **Bežim** ja.

(5b) Ter. *Hec.* 384: nunc huc **confugit**, te atque alios partum ut celaret suum.

‘Now, she took refuge here then, that from you and others she might conceal her labor.’

SC: Sad **je** ovde **pobegla**, da sakrije porođaj od tebe i drugih.

Another example is Lat. *turbo* – Serbo-Croatian. *remetim* ‘to cause disturbance’ (6a), opposed to Lat. *conturbo*<sup>136</sup> – Serbo-Croatian. *poremetim* ‘to confound’ (6b):

(6a) Ter. *Hec.* 634: Dum ne redducam, **turbent** porro quam uelint.

‘So long as I don’t take her back, let her cause as much disturbance as she pleases.’

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<sup>136</sup> *Conturbo* means ‘to throw into disorder or confusion, to confuse, derange’, and hence expresses also the sociative nuance of *con-*.

SC: Sve dok je ne dovedem, neka **remete** koliko god hoće. [DP]

(6b) Ter. *Eun.* 867: ita **conturbasti** mihi rationes omnis, ut...

‘you have so confounded all my plans, that...’

SC: Toliko **si** mi **porematio** planove da ...

Haverling (2000: 254 and 271) claims that, in the earlier periods of Latin, the actional functions (hence, completive and intensive) of the prefix *con-* are by far the most common among the verbs with the suffix *-sco*. On the other hand, in Terence, among 95 different verbs prefixed with *con-*, there are 13 occurrences of *cognosco* (*Eun* – 7; *Hec.* - 2; *Ph.* – 1; *Heaut.* – 1; *And.* – 2) and only two other verbs with the suffix *-sco* (7a) and (7b).

(7a) Ter. *Heaut.* 674: quid agam? aut quid **comminiscar**?

‘What am I to do? Or what shall I think up?’

SC: Šta sad da radim? Ili šta **da smislim**?

(7b) Ter. *Hec.* 125: ut ipsam Bacchidem, si adesset, credo ibi eius **commiseresceret**.

‘that I do believe if Bacchis had been present, even she would conceived feelings of pity for him.’

SC: Verujem da bi **se sažalila** i sama Bahida – da se nešto ovde našla.

While *comminiscor* (7a) occurs neither in Plautus nor in Terence without the prefix and the suffix *-sco*,<sup>137</sup> there is an occurrence of *miseresco* ‘to take compassion’ (7c), as the unprefixated cognate of *commiseresco* ‘to ‘conceive feelings of pity’ (7b). Haverling (2000) suggests that the difference between *me miseret* and *me miserescit* is between ‘I am sorry for, I have pity (on)’ and ‘I am moved to pity, I am feeling sorry for’.<sup>138</sup>

(7c) Ter. *Heaut.* 1024: obsecro, eius ut memineris atque inopis nunc te **miserescat** mei:

‘I beseech you to remember it, and now feel sorry for me in my distress.’

SC: Preklinjem te da se setiš toga i da **se sažališ** na mene u bedi koja me je snašla.

In Early Latin, the prefixed and unaffixed verbs expressed significant variations of the actional features than the verbs in the later phases. In the earlier periods of Latin, the actional system functioned remarkably well. The essential differences in verbal semantics are blurred from the late

<sup>137</sup> *Comminiscor* ‘to think up, contrive, invent’, as well as *eminiscor* ‘think up, invent’ and *reminiscor* ‘remember’ are all found in the Early Latin; on the other hand, the unprefixated *miniscor* is mentioned only in the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD, in Paulus Diaconus’ *Epitome Festi* (Haverling 2000: 147).

<sup>138</sup> I modified the translation from Loeb edition since I agree with Haverling’s translation of the verbs.

2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The telic function of some prefixes is not clear-cut anymore. By the 4<sup>th</sup> century, even the suffix *-sco* does not always have a dynamic role. The partitive expressions slowly take the place of the suffixation for indicating the opposition telic-atelic, and the new verbs that substitute the function of the suffix *-sco*. The further intransitive use of *inveterare* ‘to become old’ replaces the older *inveterascere* (Haverling 2000: 454). There is also a change within the prefixes. The prefixes *in-* and *ad-* become increasingly crucial as dynamicity markers (Haverling 2000: 456): *addormiscere* and *indormiscere* replace the earlier verbs *obdormiscere* and *condormiscere*.

#### 4.4.2.2 The intensive function

Completion and intensity are two intertwined functions. Completion is an integral part of the more comprehensive intensity function since the event, being “intensified,” implicitly reaches its inherent or externally set limit (hence, the verb becomes telic). For instance, *concalesco* ‘to become hot’ is related to *concaleo* ‘to be very hot/warm’.

We will show that these two functions may have distinct expressions; however, we cannot always establish a clear-cut limit. Whenever possible, we shall try to keep this distinction clear.

In fact, to the verbs with the suffix *-sco* (*calesco* ‘to grow warmer’ vs. *concalesco* ‘to become hot’), the prefix *con-* adds completion.

When dealing with the unsuffixed verbs in early comedies, the prefix *con-* sometimes conveys the *nuance* of the intensity. The prefixed verbs as *condormio*, derived from the unprefixed states (cf. *dormio*), are rare in Early Latin; they remain rare in the later periods.<sup>139</sup> According to Haverling (2000: 262), the semantic function of *con-* in this case is to convey the intensity of the situation – *condormio* ‘be fast asleep’ (cf. Haverling: 2000, ex. (52a), (52b) and (52c)).

*Con-* also appears in the non-dynamic unsuffixed verbs (*caleo* ‘to be warm’ vs. *concaleo* ‘to be very hot’). Forms such as *concaleat* (8) and *commadebit* (9) are found in Plautus and Cato (cf. Haverling 2000: 262). However, the prefixed verbs indicating states such as *concaleo* are found seldom in the Present tense in Terence (cf. *commoro* and *commoror*).

(8) Plaut. *Persa* 87–88: Commisce mulsum, struthea coluteaque appara, / bene ut in scutris **concaleat**, et calamum inice

‘Mix the honied wine; get ready the quinces and the junkets, that they may be nicely warmed upon the dishes’

SC: Spremi dunje i krem, tako **da budu dobro zagrejani**, i ubaci idiroi.

<sup>139</sup> Some verbs formed along that pattern indicate change in poetry – (for example, *conticeo* overlaps with *conticesco*; cf. Haverling 2000: 256, 266).

(10) Cato *Agr.* 156.5: coquito (scil. *brassicam*) usque donec **conmadebit** bene

‘boil until it (the cabbage) is quite soft’

SC: Kuvati sve dok **ne bude vrlo mekan.**

Non-dynamic Latin verbs prefixed with *con-* convey the intensity of the process. In Serbo-Croatian, these verbs are translated with the stative expression to which the intensity is added by the adverb ‘very, much’ (*biti dobro zagrejan* (8) and *biti vrlo mekan* (9)).

#### 4.4.2.3 The sociative function

The sociative function of *con-* resembles that of the preposition *cum* ‘with, together with’. The sociative component can express (1) the collective or joint participation in the situation or (2) its simultaneity, as well as (3) the enclosure or containing. As Haverling (2000: 272) states, sociative *con-* is less frequent in earlier periods, and its frequency grows in time.

In Terence, two sociative functions (1) and (2) of *con-* are often blurred since the collectiveness usually implies simultaneity in the situation's unfolding. See, for example, *lacrumare* ‘to cry, weep’ and *conlacrumare* ‘to cry, to weep, together or very much, to bewail; to weep together in condolence’ in (10);<sup>140</sup> *loqui* ‘to speak’ and *conloqui* ‘to speak with someone, to converse’ in (11); *sequor* ‘to follow, come after’ and *consequor* ‘to follow, go after, accompany’ in (12) and *venire* ‘to come’ and *convenire* ‘to come together, meet’ in (13).

(10a) Ter. *Hec.* 354: quid tu igitur **lacrumas**?

‘Why, then, do you weep?’

SC: zašto, dakle, **plačeš**?

(10b) Ter. *And.* 108: tristis interim, non numquam **conlacrumabat**.

‘sorrowful, in the meantime, he sometimes wept with them in condolence.’

SC: tužan u međuvremenu, nekad **je sa njima plakao.**

(11a) Ter. *Hec.* 453: Hic quem ego audiui **loqui**?

‘Who was it I heard speaking here?’

SC: Koga sam to ovde čuo **da govori**?

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<sup>140</sup> The sociative interpretation of the verb *conlacrumare* is given by the context of the collective display of emotions. However, Rosén (in ‘Die Komposita mit *co(n)-* in funktioneller und vergleichender Sicht’, *Latein und Indogermanisch: Akten des Kolloquiums der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Salzburg, 23.–26. September 1986*, ed. by O. Panagl and T. Krisch, Innsbruck 1992) claims that this verb, having also sometimes transitive meaning, has strictly actional ‘to burst out in tears’ and not sociative component.

(11b) Ter. *Hec.* 130: *ubiquomque datum erat spatium solitudinis, ut conloqui mecum una posset*

‘Whenever opportunity was afforded for us being alone, so that he could converse with me’

SC: Kad god se pružila prilika da budemo sami, da bi mogao sa mnom **da razgovara**.

(12a) Ter. *And.* 412: *id propterea nunc huc uenientem sequor.*

‘for that reason, I have now followed him as he came hither.’

SC: Stoga ga sada, dok odatle dolazi, **pratim**.

(12b) Ter. *Hec.* 358: *i sodes intro, consequar iam te, mea mater.*

‘Go in the house, please, mother; I’ll follow you immediately.’

SC: Majko moja, uđi u kuću, a ja ću te odmah **pratiti**.

(13a) Ter. *Ad.* 231: *nisi eo ad mercatum uenio, damnum maxumumst.*

‘If I don’t get there to the fair, my loss will be very great.’

SC: Ako ne **dodem** na pijacu, biće meni velike štete.

(13b) Ter. *Eun.* 232: *conueni hodie adueniens quendam mei loci*

‘As I was, coming along to-day, I met a certain person of this place’

SC: Dolazeći danas, **sreo sam** nekog lika iz svog mesta

Considering the Serbo-Croatian translations of the Latin verbs prefixed with the sociative *con-*, we found no corresponding morphological behaviour in the prefixation (cf. § 4.4.2.4. (1c)).

Very few unprefixated Achievements stay within their actional category when combined with this prefix.

#### 4.4.2.4 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian

##### (a) The completive function

###### (i) PO-<sup>141</sup>

The Serbo-Croatian prefix *po-* mostly has the completive function: it adds the component of telicity to the unprefixated verbs, usually Activities, a category of verbs that lack a natural end-point. When prefixed, the Activities can evolve in two directions (cf. § 4.3.1):

- (a) They become Accomplishments. The prefix yields the boundary to the process that becomes completed. The process could be simple (*jesti* ‘to eat’, *pojesti* ‘to eat up’; *piti* ‘to drink’, *popiti*

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<sup>141</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.1.

‘to drink up’ (for the corresponding verbs in Latin, see Plaut. *Capt.* 77: *edimus* and Ter. *Heaut.* 255: *comedent* and *ebibent*). The process could be iterative (*pisati* ‘to write’, *popisati* ‘write down one by one, everything’; *vaditi* ‘take out’, *povaditi* ‘take out one by one, everything’).

- (b) They become Achievements. In this case, usually, the original verb conveys a process of growing or intensifying a particular property with the goal of change. At the same time, its prefixed pair yields the achievement in a shift in the property (*beleti* ‘to grow white’, *pobeleti* ‘to turn white’ (cf. ex. 2a–2b)). Otherwise, the focus is on the initial moment of the situation, and hence the prefix yields the ingressive component (*vikati* ‘to shout’, *povikati* ‘to begin to shout’).
- (c) They become Semelfactives. The focus is on the specific moment that does not last in time. The prefix *po-* yields a component of semelfactivity (*zvoniti* ‘to ring’, *pozvoniti* ‘to ring once’, *gledati* ‘to look’, *pogledati* ‘to look once’).

## (ii) U-<sup>142</sup>

The Serbo-Croatian prefix *u-* usually has a completive function.

In translation into Serbo-Croatian, Latin *con-* does not always correspond to *po-*. While, for example, *aresco* is rendered by the Activity *sušiti se* ‘to become drier’ and its prefixed cognate *exaresco* is rendered by an Accomplishment or an Achievement *osušiti se* ‘to dry out, become dry’, both *calesco* (2a) and *concalesco* (2b) (see § 4.4.2.4 (a)) are rendered in Serbo-Croatian by an Accomplishment or an Achievement with the completive prefix *u-*: *ugrejati se* ‘to become warm; to grow warm’.

- (3) Plaut. *Amph.* 513: Prius abis quam lectus ubi cubuisti **concaluit** locus.

‘You leave me before the spot in the bed where you have been lying has well grown warm.’

SC: Ostavljaš me pre nego što *se ugrejalo* mesto u krevetu na kom si ležao. [DP]

## (iii) SA-<sup>143</sup>

Some Latin verbs with *con-* are translated into Serbo-Croatian with the prefix *sa-*. *Commiseresco* ‘to ‘conceive feelings of pity’ (ex. 4a) and *miseresco* ‘I am moved to pity, I am feeling sorry for’ (ex. 4b) are translated into Serbo-Croatian as *sažaljevati* and *sažaliti se*.

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<sup>142</sup> Cf. § 3.5.2.3 (a).

<sup>143</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.9.

Although the difference between the unprefixated and prefixated Latin verbs are rendered by the Activity verb with the suffix conveying iteration or the ongoing process (*sažaljevati*) and Accomplishment verb (*sažaliti (se)*), this is triggered by the Latin Imperfect subjunctive, not by the presence of the prefix. Both Serbo-Croatian translations of the Latin unprefixated and prefixated cognates contain the prefix *sa-*: this prefix also conveys the sociative component (cf. § 4.4.2.4 (c)).

(5a) Ter. *Ad.* 785: quid ego nunc agam? nisi, dum haec **silesunt** turbae, interea in angulum aliquo abeam atque edormiscam hoc uilli. sic agam.

‘What am I to do now? Why, even get into some corner while/for the time that these troubles are calming down and sleep off this drop of wine. That’s my plan.’

SC: Šta sad da radim? Osim, dok **se** bura **stišava**, da u međuvremenu odem u neko ćoš i da prespavam. To ću da uradim. [DP]

(5b) Plaut. *Mil.* 582: me occultabo aliquot dies, dum haec **consilesunt** turbae atque irae lenient

‘for some days will I lie concealed until this turmoil is hushed and their resentment is softened.’

SC: Nekoliko dana ću se skrivati dok **se** ova bura ne **stiša** i bes ne smiri. [DP]

In the example 5a, *silesco* ‘to become still, fall silent, keep silent’ is translated into Serbo-Croatian as the intransitive *ćutati*. In 5b, *consilesco* ‘to become still, to be hushed, to grow dumb’ is translated into Serbo-Croatian with the verb *stišati* ‘to be hushed’ – in the latter verb, the completion is rendered, by the prefix *s(a)-*, while in the former verb, the habitual component is added by the suffix *-va-*.

#### (iv) **ZA**<sup>144</sup>

The prefix *za-* also has the completive function when occurring in a translation of the Latin verbs prefixed by *con-*.

(6a) Ter. *Heaut.* 730: **Dormiunt**: ego pol istos commouebo.

‘They’re asleep--I’faith, I’ll rouse them.’

SC: **Spavaju**, sad ću da ih probudim.

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<sup>144</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.4.

(6b) Plaut. *Curc.* 358: ille ebibit, caput deponit, **condormiscit**.

‘he drank it off, reclined his head, and fell fast asleep.’

SC: Popio je, naslonio glavu i *zaspao*. [DP]

Latin *dormio* and Serbo-Croatian *spavaju* (ex. 6a) are both stative verbs. Employing the prefix *con-*, the Latin verb gains telicity, while the suffix *-sco* adds dynamicity. Hence, the verb becomes an Achievement (ex. 6b). In Serbo-Croatian, the prefix *za-* (*zaspati* ‘to fall asleep’) adds telicity (cf. §4.3.1), while the lack of the suffix *-va-*, found in the stative *spavaju* (6a), adds dynamicity to it.

(v) **NA**-<sup>145</sup>

Another prefix in Serbo-Croatian yields the completive function: *na-*. This prefix usually telicizes the unprefixated verbs without influencing their durativity<sup>146</sup> In this function, the examples of the Serbo-Croatian *na-* could not be verified in the translations of Terence, since in our corpus, no Latin verb with *con-* corresponded to *na-* in Serbo-Croatian.

### (b) The intensive function

In Latin, the intensive function of the prefix *con-* can involve the verbs like *dormire*: *condormire* ‘to be fast asleep’ and the verbs expressing the physical properties as *calere* : *concalere* ‘to be really warm’, and *madere* : *commadere* ‘to be very tender or sodden’.<sup>147</sup> In Serbo-Croatian, *condormiret* is translated as *spavati čvrsto* ‘to be fast asleep’ (ex. 7): the intensity is expressed by the adverbial and not with a prefix or suffix.

Verbs like *concalere* and *commadere* are mostly found with the adverb *bene* ‘well’: the intensive component in translation is triggered by the adverb, not by the prefix. However, these verbs are translated in Serbo-Croatian with the adjectival syntagm *biti dobro zagrejan* ‘to be well warmed’ (8) and *biti vrlo mekan* ‘to be quite soft’ (9).

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<sup>145</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.2.

<sup>146</sup> (1a) Pisala je pesmu dva dana.

She was writing a poem for two days.

(1b) Napisala je pesmu za dva dana.

She wrote a poem in two days.

Sometimes, prefix *na-* also conveys momentaneousness (2a–2b):

(2a) Smešila se pola sata.

She was smiling for half an hour.

(2b) Odjednom se nasmešila.

Suddenly, she smiled: TEL.

<sup>147</sup> While the Oxford Latin Dictionary gives the definitions of *concaleo* ‘to be or become warm’ and of *commadeo* ‘to become tender or sodden’, these verbs indicate the intensity of the property (cf. Haverling 2000: 262).

(7) Hyg. *fab.* 125,15: cum Vlysses **condormiret**, socii inuolarunt pecus

‘while Ulysses was fast asleep, his comrades stole the sheep’

SC: Dok je Odisej **čvrsto spavao**, njegovi drugari su ukrali stoku.

(8) Plaut. *Persa* 87-88: Commisce mulsum, struthea coluteaque appara, / bene ut in scutris **concaleat**, et calamum inice.

‘Get ready the quinces and the junkets, that they may be nicely warmed upon the dishes, and throw in some scented calamus.’

SC: Spremi dunje i krem, tako **da budu dobro zagrejani**, i ubaci idirot.

(9) Cato *Agr.* 156.5: coquito (scil. *brassicam*) usque donec **conmadebit** bene

‘boil until it (the cabbage) is quite soft’

SC: Kuvati sve dok **ne bude vrlo mekan**.

### (c) The sociative function

Considering the Serbo-Croatian translations of the Latin verbs prefixed with the sociative *con-*, we found no corresponding morphological behaviour in the prefixation.

(10a) Ter. *Hec.* 453: Hic quem ego audiui **loqui**?

‘Who was it I heard speaking here?’

SC: Koga sam to ovde čuo **da govori**?

(10b) Ter. *Hec.* 130: ubiquomque datum erat spatium solitudinis, ut **conloqui** mecum una posset

‘Whenever opportunity was afforded for us being alone, so that he could converse with me’

SC: Kad god se pružila prilika da budemo sami, da bi mogao sa mnom da **razgovara**.

(11a) Ter. *And.* 412: id propterea nunc huc uenientem **sequor**.

‘for that reason, I have now followed him as he came hither.’

SC: Stoga ga sada, dok odatle dolazi, **pratim**.

(11b) Ter. *Hec.* 358: i sodes intro, **consequar** iam te, mea mater.

‘Go in the house, please, mother; I’ll follow you immediately.’

SC: Majko moja, uđi u kuću, a ja **ću** te odmah **pratiti**.

(12a) Ter. *Ad.* 231: nisi eo ad mercatum **uenio**, damnum maxumumst.

‘If I don’t get there to the fair, my loss will be very great.’

SC: Ako ne **dođem** na pijacu, biće meni velike štete.

(12b) Ter. *Eun.* 232: **conueni** hodie adueniens quendam mei loci

‘As I was, coming along to-day, I met a certain person of this place’

SC: Dolazeći danas, **sreo sam** nekog lika iz svog mesta

In (11), both *sequor* and *consequar* can be translated only with the unprefixated *prati*, whereas in (12) for *venio* and *conveni*, two different verbs have been used: *doći* ‘to come’ and *sresti* ‘to meet’. Only in (10) is a certain correspondence in how the verb is prefixed in sociative context: *loqui* ‘to speak, to tell’ – SC. *govoriti* becomes *conloqui* ‘to speak with, to converse’ – SC. *razgovarati*. The prefix *raz-* adds the sociative component to the unprefixated verb.<sup>148</sup>

However, the Serbo-Croatian prefix *sa-* mainly yields the sociative meaning corresponding to the sociative sense of Latin prefix *con-* (yet there are few examples in Terence as (10)). This correspondence, however, is visible in later stages of Latin.

In sociative occurrences, the Serbo-Croatian prefix *sa-* yields the meaning expressed by the preposition *sa* ‘with’. This prefix has two allomorphs: *z-* and *š-*. The primary function of *sa-* and its allomorphs is to telicize the prefixed verb.

#### 4.4.2.5 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian

In Latin, the prefix *con-* and in Serbo-Croatian, the prefix *po-* add the component of completion to the already dynamic verbs. Indeed, in the occurrences reported in § 4.4.2.4 (a), both Latin and Serbo-Croatian unprefixated verbs are usually Activities that become Accomplishments by prefixation.

Haverling (2000: 254 and 271) states that, in Early Latin, the completive function of the prefix *con-* is by far the most common among the *sco-*verbs. Some examples of the prefixed and suffixed verbs (*condormisco* ‘to fall asleep’) without the prefixed and unsuffixed cognate (*condormio* is post-classical: cf. Haverling 2000: 262). Most of the verbs that acquired the prefix *con-* are already dynamic verbs. In fact, in Early Latin, the actional shifts expressed exclusively by the prefixation were more transparent than the variations of the actional features of verbs in the later phases.

In both languages, the addition of *con-* and the corresponding Serbo-Croatian prefixes can transform the already telic verbs into Achievements or Semelfactives. Lat. *fugere* : *confugere* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian. *bežati* : *pobeći* (see also Serbo-Croatian semelfactives *pozvoniti*,  *pogledati* in §4.4.2.4 (a)). In fact, to what Latin usually supplies for by using the suffix *-sco*, Serbo-Croatian uses the prefix *po-*, and sometimes the prefix *u-*.

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<sup>148</sup> The prefix *raz-*, more frequently, has actional function: it telicizes the verb.

Hence, the Latin prefix *con-* and the corresponding Serbo-Croatian prefixes signal telicity or momentaneousness in the already telic cognates.

Dynamicity in Latin is yielded by the suffix *-sco* and in Serbo-Croatian by the suffix *-va*. When *con-* is added to the verb already suffixed with *-sco*, Serbo-Croatian uses the corresponding prefix. It also adds the component of dynamicity through the suffix *-va*: (*miserescō* = *sažaljevati*, *commiserescō* = *sažaliti*). However, when *-sco* expresses the focus on duration and not the dynamicity, Serbo-Croatian does not use *-va* (*silesce* = *ćutati*, *consilesce* = *ućutati*).

Serbo-Croatian *za-* corresponds to Latin completive *con-* in one case: *dormio* : *spavati* and *condormisco* : *zaspati*. Although the addition of the suffix *-sco* in Latin generally triggers durativity, in *condormisco* it is used to indicate the change of state, together with the prefix *con-*. The same is true for the corresponding Serbo-Croatian verb *zaspati*, in which the lack of the suffix *-va* (*\*zaspavati*) in conjunction with the prefix *-za* indicate the change of state.

A persistent, completive function of the Serbo-Croatian *na-* could not be verified in the translations of Terence, since no verb with *con-* has the corresponding translation into Serbo-Croatian.

It is often difficult to isolate the strictly intensive function of the prefixes. Intensive function is more transparent within the stative verbs: Lat. *caleo*, SC. *grejati se, biti topao* ‘to be warm’ vs. Lat. *concaleo*, SC. *biti jako topao* ‘to be very hot’, for example. The actional value remains unvaried, while the intensity of warmth is enhanced. The verb is translated into Serbo-Croatian with *biti jako topao* ‘to be very warm’. In this verb, *con-* yields the additional component of a quantifier.

We can isolate the temporally quantifying function in some occurrences of the Serbo-Croatian prefix *po-*: it has a delimitative role with some postural verbs. The temporary validity of the inherently stative situation becomes bounded. Hence, the prefix limits duration of the situation without adding the dynamicity to it and emphasizes that the situation is terminated by reaching its externally imposed boundary (*ležati* ‘to be reclined,’ *poležati* ‘to lie for a while’; *sedeti* ‘to sit’, *posedeti* ‘to sit for a while’). Latin does not have a corresponding prefix.

The use of sociative *con-* in Latin does not overlap consistently with any specific prefix in Serbo-Croatian. The expressions of the sociative component in the translation are heterogeneous and vary from the instrumental use to the semantically different verbs or the isolated use of the prefixes (see *raz-* in §4.4.2.4. (c)). Nevertheless, the Serbo-Croatian prefix *sa-* in some cases corresponds to the sociative meaning of the Latin prefix *con-*. *Sa-*, with its allomorphs *z-* and *š-*, yields the sense expressed by the preposition *sa* ‘with’. Still, the primary function of *sa-* is making verbs telic. In later stages of Latin, however, the correspondence between the Lat. sociative *con-* and SC. *sa-* becomes more transparent.

### 4.4.3 AD (Serbo-Croatian: *za, do*)

#### 4.4.3.1 The spatial function

In its spatial function, *ad-* indicates the direction or the closeness to something. Both the Latin prefix *ad-* and the corresponding Serbo-Croatian prefix *do-* are related to the role of the corresponding prepositions: Lat. *ad* and SC. *do* ‘to, towards’.<sup>149</sup> The motion conveyed by the preposition could refer to the subject or the object. The prefix specifies the physical boundary of the achieved goal, already represented by the meaning of its unprefixated couple (1). This occurs especially when *do-* is combined with the verbs of motion (2).

(1) Ter. *An.* 899: sine me expurgem atque illum huc coram **adducam**.

‘Allow me to clear myself, and to bring him here before you.’

SC: Dozvoli mi da se očistim i **da** ga **dovedem** ovde javno.

(2) Ter. *An.* 131: **adcurrit**, mediam mulierem complectitur.

‘he runs up, clasps the damsel by the waist.’

SC: **Dotrči** i zagrli ženu oko pojasa.

*Ad-*, sometimes, indicates the direction towards which the event is performed (3). Usually, this function demonstrates that various subjects are involved in the situation, and hence it is deictic. If encountered with the state as *esse* ‘to be’, this prefix conveys presence (4). It also has a sociative function:

(3) Ter. *Ph.* 252: Sed quid cessas hominem **adire** et blande in principio adloqui?

‘But why do you hesitate to accost him, and soften him at the outset with fair words?’

SC: Ali zašto prestaješ da **prilaziš** čoveku i da mu se u početku obraćaš nežnim rečima?

(4) Ter. *An.* 106: Ibi tum filius cum illis, qui amarant Chrysidem, una **aderat** frequens.

‘Then my son was often there, with those who had admired Chrysis;’

SC: Tada je moj sin često **bio sa** onima koji su voleli Hriseidu.

(5) Ter. *Eun.* 248: hisce ego non paro me ut rideant, sed eis ultro **adrideo**

‘I do not present myself to them to be laughed at; but I am the first to laugh with them,’

SC: Ne pokazujem im se da bi mi se smejali, već **se smejem sa njima**

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<sup>149</sup> The corresponding Gothic prefix is *at-*: Lat. *adire* ‘to go to, to come to’ corresponds to the Got. *atgagan* and Lat. *afferre* ‘to bring to, to carry to’ corresponds to the Got. *atberan* (Haverling 2000: 273)

In Serbo-Croatian, the spatial function of Lat. *ad-* is not lexicalized within the verb: it is instead conveyed by the instrumental case in its function to indicate company (see (3): *sa onima koji* ‘with those who’ and (5): *sa njima* ‘with them’).

The prefix's spatial function is also visible in verbs like *admisceo* and *adposco* in Early Latin (6, 7).

(6) Ter. *Heaut.* 975: ne te **admisce**:

‘Don't you mix yourself up in it;’

SC: ne **mešaj se**.

(7) Ter. *Heaut.* 835: porro haec talenta dotis **adposcunt** duo.

‘and then she will require two talents for her portion.’

**Zatražiće** dva talenta za svoju porciju.

The difference between Latin *admisceo* and Serbo-Croatian. *mešati se* ‘to mix oneself up’ (6) and Latin *adposco* and Serbo-Croatian *zatražiti* ‘ask in addition to’ (7) is between the literal sociative meaning in (6) and adding an event to the already existing situation (7). Serbo-Croatian does not follow Latin pattern of prefixation in this case: *mešati se*, in a reflexive form, has the meaning correspondent to *admisceo*, whereas *misceo* is, as in Latin, a transitive verb and hence not reflexive in Serbo-Croatian: *mešati*. *Zatražiti*, instead, has an ingressive meaning.

#### 4.4.3.2 The actional function

The actional *ad-* highlights the beginning or entrance into a specific situation, and therefore, this function of *ad-* is called *ingressive*. In Serbo-Croatian, in most of the occurrences, the prefix *za-* corresponds to Lat. *ad-*.

Haverling (2000: 273, 278) states that Latin prefix *ad-*, in its actional function, is related to the actional function of the prefix *con-*: *ad-* indicates that the situation starts and goes on for an indistinctive length of time, whereas *con-* only conveys telicity (**or** completion), without explicit reference to the beginning or end of the situation.

Keller (1992: 439) states that the members of lexical pairs of the unprefixated verbs with the suffix *-sco* and those prefixed with *ad-* do not differ in their meaning. Instead, I agree with Haverling in her claim that the actional function of this prefix is the most evident in the occurrences with *-sco*, at least in the “older verbs” (Haverling 2000: 279).

In fact, in Terence, the verbs prefixed with *ad-* in their actional function are commonly suffixed by *-sco*. Examples 8 and 9 show that the prefix *ad-* focuses on entering a specific state or beginning

a particular process. In (8), due to the impossibility of the prefix *smrkavati se*, *advesperascit* should be translated with the periphrasis *počinje da se smrkava* ‘it starts to grow dark’. In (9), we have the change of the verb in two different contexts due to the shift in the idiomatic meaning caused by the verbal satellites: Lat. *morbis adgravescat*, SC. ‘bolest se pogoršava’ does not correspond to the generic Lat. *grauatur quod cupiam*, SC. ‘otežava ono što želim’.

(8a) Ter. *Haut.* 248: et **uesperascit**, et non nouerunt uiam.

‘it's growing late too, and they don't know the way.’

SC: I **smrkava se**, a ne znaju put.

(8b) Ter. *And.* 581: iam **aduesperascit**.

*It's now growing late in the day.*

SC: Već **počinje da se smrkava**.

(9a) Plaut. *Mil.* 1228: eandemque et oro et quaeso quod cupiam ne **grauetur**.

‘and her [Venus] I do beseech and entreat that he [whom I love] does not make a difficulty about what I desire.’

SC: I da ne **oteža** ono što želim.

(9b) Ter. *Hec.* 336: male metuo ne Philumena magis morbus **adgruescat**:

‘I'm sadly afraid Philumena's illness is getting worse.’

SC: Na žalost, bojim se da **se** Filumenina bolest **pogoršava**.

The atelic verbs and the corresponding verbs prefixed with *ad-* have a more transparent translation in Serbo-Croatian only in the later periods of Latin. (10) is extracted from the story about the youth who falls in love with the statue of Venus from Cnidos.

(10) Plin. *Nat.* 36.22: **adamavit** enim Alcetas Rhodius

‘For Alcetas, a man from Rhodes, fell in love with it ‘

SC: Naime, Alket sa Rodosa ju je **zavoleo**.

In (10), the Serbo-Croatian prefix *za-* corresponds to Latin *ad-* (cf. SC. *voleti* : Lat. *amare* ‘to love’).

#### 4.4.3.3 The intensive function

In addition to the general actional function, the prefix *ad-* also emphasizes the meaning of its unprefixed pair by adding the intensive component to the originally non-dynamic (11) and dynamic verb (12):

(11a) Ter. *Hec.* 215: an, quia ruri esse crebro **soleo**...

‘because it's my habit to be so much in the country...’

Ja, zato što *sam toliko* na selu...[VJ]

SC: Zato što **običavam** da budem često na selu...[DP]

(11b) Ter. *And.* 481: Adhuc, Archylis, quae **adsolet** quaeque oportet signa esse ad salutem...

‘As yet, Archylis, all the customary symptoms which ought to exist toward recovery...’

Do sada, Arhilido, vidim kod nje sve znake koji obično ukazuju na oporavak. [VJ]

SC: Do sada, Arhilide, svi **uobičajeni** znaci koji treba da postoje za ozdravljenje [DP]

(12a) Ter. *Eun.* 277: ne sursum deorsum cursites neue usque ad lucem **uigiles** :

‘you sha'n't have to be running to and fro, or sitting up till daylight.’

da ne moraš stalno trčkarati gore-dole, ni *dreždati budan* do zore. [VJ]

SC: Ne treba da trčkaraš tamo-‘vamo, niti da **bdiš** do zore. [DP]

(12b) Ter. *Ph.* 202: tanto magis te **aduigilare** aequomst.

‘the more need have you to be on your guard;’

Moraš *biti* utoliko *budniji*[VJ]

SC: Utoliko pre treba **da budeš na oprezu**. [DP]

The Serbo-Croatian translations of (11b) and (12b) have the reinforced meaning of their unprefixed lexical couples in (11a) and (12a). However, since the prefixation does not change the actionality, the addition of intensity to the semantics of the verb has to be kept separately from the actional function of the prefixes.

#### 4.4.3.4 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian

##### a) The spatial function<sup>150</sup>

Usually, Serbo-Croatian *do-* combines with Activities, and in a few cases with Achievements and States.

##### b) The actional function<sup>151</sup>

The Serbo-Croatian verbs with the prefix *za-* frequently express the beginning of the event (*zamrzeti* ‘to start hating’) or the entrance to the state (*zabeleti se* ‘start being white’). This prefix, hence, adds the ingressive component to the primary verb.

##### c) The intensive function

We cannot speak about the correspondences between the intensive *ad-* and Serbo-Croatian prefixes. In the examples *soleo* : *adsoleo* (§4.5.3.3 (11a) and (11b)), the Serbo-Croatian translations are *običavam* : *uobičajen*. There is an overlapping of intensive *ad-* and Serbo-Croatian *u-*, but there is a significant change in the syntax since the *adsoleo* in Serbo-Croatian takes over the function of the adjective agreeing with the noun *signa*.

However, in (12a) and (12b) (*ibid.*), there is a total morphosyntactic lack of overlapping: *vigilare* : *advigilare* is translated into Serbo-Croatian with *bdeti* and *biti na oprezu*.

Serbo-Croatian translations of (11b) and (12b) have the reinforced meaning of their unprefixated lexical couples in (11a) and (12a).

#### 4.4.3.5 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian

The spatial use of Latin *ad-* mostly corresponds to the Serbo-Croatian prefix *do-*: both prefixes relate to the semantics of the corresponding prepositions: ‘to, towards’. The physical boundary of the achieved goal is transparent when *do-* is combined with the verbs of motion (*adcurrit* : *dotrći*). Both dynamic and non-dynamic verbs can be prefixed by *ad-* and *do-*.

In Serbo-Croatian, the spatial function of Lat. *ad-* is not lexicalized within the verb. It is instead conveyed by the instrumental case in its sociative function (see examples (3,5) § 4.4.3.1) or by the reflexive form (see example (6), *ibid.*).

The ingressive function of Latin *ad-* in some occurrences corresponds to the Serbo-Croatian prefix *za-*. However, in the occurrences from Plautus and Terence, there is no clear-cut overlap

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<sup>150</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.5.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.4

between the prefixes. Latin verbs prefixed with *ad-* are sometimes translated into Serbo-Croatian by the ingressive periphrasis *početi* ‘to begin’ + infinitive or by the other verbs and not the straightforward, prefixed cognates. Hence, we cannot confirm that the actional function of these prefixes in Early Latin corresponds. However, in later phases of Latin, there are correspondences as *adamavi* : *zavolela sam* ‘I fell in love’ (cf. example (10), § 4.4.3.2), although this verb is sometimes interpreted with the intensive meaning ‘to love truly, deeply’.<sup>152</sup> Usually, the States combine with these Latin and Serbo-Croatian prefixes, resulting in the ingressive verbs.

#### 4.4.3.6 The interrelation between Latin *con-* and *ad-*

Haverling (2000: 273, 278) claims that the lexical pairs prefixed by *con-* and *ad-* differ in their actional functions. Since the functions of these prefixes changed over time, it is significant to group these pairs within the domain of Terence’s *corpus*.

Moreover, the lexical pairs Haverling (2000: 273) lists (*comedo* ‘eat up, consume, destroy’ and *adedo* ‘eat away, eat into’; *conspicio* ‘catch sight of, notice’, *adspicio* ‘notice with the eyes, look at, witness’) belong mainly to the earlier periods of Latin.<sup>153</sup>

(A) The following lexical pairs are prefixed by the actional/sociative *con-* and actional/spatial *ad-*:

- 1) *confero* ‘bring together, collect, gather’: *adfero* ‘bring, carry, take, deliver to’ (SC: *skupiti* vs *doneti*)
- 2) *concurro* ‘to run together’: *adcurro* ‘to run to’ (SC: *trčati sa* vs *dotrčati*)
- 3) *conduco* ‘to draw together, collect, gather’ : *adduco* ‘to lead to, bring to’ (SC: *skupiti* vs *dovesti*)
- 4) *conflictor* ‘to strike together violently; to fight with; to be severely tormented, afflicted’ : *adflictor* ‘to shatter, damage, injure’ (SC: *suočiti se* vs *pogoditi*)
- 5) *congregior* ‘to come together, meet’ : *adgregior* ‘to approach’ (SC: *skupiti se* : *prići*)
- 6) *conligo* ‘to gather together into a whole’: *adligo* ‘to tie, bind to’ (SC: *uvezati* vs *zavezati*)
- 7) *conloquor* ‘to talk, hold a conversation’: *adloquor* ‘to speak to’ (SC: *razgovarati* vs *reći* (+ Dat))
- 8) *commoneo* ‘to remind one of something., to impress upon’: *admoneo* ‘to bring up to one’s mind, to remind, advise, warn’ (SC: **podsetiti** vs **opomenuti**)

<sup>152</sup> This verb, however, appears always in the Perfect tense with the meaning ‘to fall in love’; ‘to love deeply’ appears in the *infectum*.

<sup>153</sup> Both *conspicio* and *aspicio* occur in Plautus according to the OLD; *comedo* occurs in Plautus and *adedo* is found in Sisenna and Cicero (Haverling: *ibid.*).

- (9) *contingo* ‘to touch on all sides, to seize’: *atingo* ‘to touch, to come in contact with’ (SC: *obuhvatiti* vs **dotaknuti**)
- (10) *conuenio* ‘to come together, to assemble’: *aduenio* ‘to come to, reach’ (**sastati se** vs **doći**)
- (11) *committo* ‘to bring, join, connect’: *admitto* ‘to send to’ (SC: *sjediniti* vs **poslati**)
- (12) *comprimo* ‘to press or squeeze together’: *adprimo* ‘to press to’ (SC: *stisnuti* : **pritisnuti**)
- (13) *conficio* ‘perform, make, accomplish’: *adficio* ‘affect, make progress with’ (SC: **učiniti** vs **dostići**)<sup>154</sup>
- (14) *commoueo* ‘to put in violent motion, move’: *admoueo* ‘to move, bring, lead; to or toward’ (SC: **potresti** vs **pomeriti**)

In Terence, these pairs usually yield the actional and/or sociative function (*con-*) on the one hand and the spatial function (*ad-*) on the other. However, since all the prefixes tend to be polyfunctional, some verbs with the wider semantic field do not behave straightforwardly in the change of their meaning yielded by the prefixes. For example, in (14), the intensive function is added to the actional one: the intensity is often a feature of the more comprehensive actional function. However, the intensity is sometimes isolated from the actional meaning, as in (15), whereas in (16), the verb can have both the sociative function (a) and the intensive function (b):

- (15) *consero* ‘to sow plentifully’: *adsero* ‘to sow, set near’ (SC: **zasaditi** vs. **prisaditi**).
- (16) *consto* (a) ‘to stand with, agree, fit’ (b) ‘to stand firm, steadily’: *adsto* ‘go stand at, near, by’ (SC: *stajati sa* vs. *stajati pored*)

(B) The spatial function of *con-* and the actional function of *ad-*:

- 17) *comprendo* ‘to lay hold of something on all sides, seize’: *adprendo* ‘to lay hold upon, seize’ (**obuhvatiti** : **uhvatiti**)
- 18) *comparo* ‘to couple together, to connect in pairs, match’: *adparo* ‘to put in order, provide, furnish’ (SC: **uporediti** vs. **poredati**)

(C) The spatial function of both *con-* and *ad-*:

- 19) *consequor* ‘to follow, to go after, accompany: *adsequor* ‘to follow one in order to come up to him, to pursue’ (SC: **pratiti sa** vs. **doprati**)

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<sup>154</sup> Cf. *confectum* and *adfectum* in Cic. *Prov.* 19 (Haverling (2000: 254).

We can conclude that the actional use of *con-* is dominant in pre-classical Latin. The spatial use of this prefix becomes more frequent in later Latin (cf. Rosén 1993). However, both prefixes are used in actional and spatial, and intensive functions from Early Latin onwards.

#### 4.4.4 IN

##### 4.4.4.1 The spatial function

The meaning conveyed by the spatial *in-* corresponds to that of the preposition *in*: ‘in, on, into, towards’. The corresponding Serbo-Croatian prefix is *na-* (1) or *u-* (2).

(1) Ter. *Ad.* 701: adeo magnam mi **inicit** sua commoditate curam,

‘The more does he impose an obligation on me by his kindness...’

SC: Što više on **natura** brigu svojom finoćom

(2) Plaut. *Aul.* 193: **inhiat** aurum, ut devoret.

‘He's gaping for my gold, that he may devour it’

SC: On **bulji** *u* moje zlato da bi ga pojeo.

This prefix is in Plautus and Terence frequently found with the verbs of motion as *ingredior* ‘to go into, onto’ (3) and *ineo* ‘to go into’,<sup>155</sup> as well as with the non-dynamic verb *esse* – *inesse* ‘to be in, on’ (4, 5):

(3) Ter. *Hec.* 418: O fortunate, nescis quid mali praeterieris, qui numquam **es ingressus** mare.

‘O lucky man! You don't know what evils you have escaped, by never having been at sea.’

SC: O, srećniče, ne znaš kakvo si zlo izbegao, time što nikad **nisi ušao** *u* more.

(4) Plaut. *Bacch.* 733: Iam imperatum in cera **inest**.

‘What you have ordered is now written on the wax.’

Ono što si naredio **je** sada **u** vosku.

(5) Ter. *Haut.* 608: si redimat, magnum **inesse** in ea lucrum.

‘if he redeems her, there will be a considerable profit in this transaction.’

SC: Ako je povrati, **u** tome će **biti** veliki profit.

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<sup>155</sup> In Terence, this verb is found only in construction *inire gratiam* ‘to get into the good graces, to obtain the favor of’. (Ter. *Haut.* 308: aue ne falsam gratiam studeas *inire*, Plaut. *Stich.* 514: Nunc me gratiam abs te *inire* uerbis nil desidero)

With the addition of the prefix *in-*, *luceo* ‘to be light or clear, to shine; to dawn’ (6), becomes *inluceo* ‘to shine in or on, to light up, to illuminate’ (7):

(6) Plaut. *Curc.* 182: Nam hoc quidem edepol haud multo post luce **lucebit**.

‘For really, upon my faith, before very long hence the dawn will be breaking.’

SC: Jer uskoro će da **sviće**.

(7) Plaut. *Cap.* 596: Pix atra agitet apud carnificem tuoque capiti **inluceat**.

‘black pitch will be disordering you with the executioner and giving a light to your head.’

SC: Crni ugalj će skakutati pred dželatom, i **zupaliti** ti glavu.

#### 4.4.4.2 The actional function

The actional function of the prefix *in-* is to indicate the beginning of the situation. The Serbo-Croatian prefix that mostly corresponds to Latin *in-* in its actional function is *za-*. The actional functions of this Serbo-Croatian prefix with other verbs correspond to Latin *ad-* or *con-* (cf. §4.4.3.2 and §4.4.2.1), respectively. Indeed, the Latin prefixes *in-* and *ad-* often have corresponding actional functions, and hence the Serbo-Croatian prefix *za-* often overlaps with both Latin prefixes.

The actional function of the prefix *in-* is opposed to the prefix *ex-*: while the former signals the beginning of the process, the latter signals its completion. This opposition is also reflected in the spatial meaning (see the next paragraph). The examples of *inaresco* ‘to start getting dry, get dry to a certain point’ (not found in Plautus or Terence) (8) and *exaresco* ‘become totally dry’ (9) illustrate this.

(8) Varro *Rust.* 1.41: ficos, [...] cum **inaruerunt**

‘Figs, when they started getting dry’

SC: Smokve, kada **su počele da se suše**

(9) Plaut. *Mil.* 640: Et ego amoris aliquantum habeo [h]umoris que [me] etiam in corpore nequedum **exarui** ex amoenis rebus et uoluptariis.

‘But I have some little love and moisture in my body still, and not yet am I dried up for the pursuits of merriment and pleasure.’

SC: Ali ja imam još vrlo malo ljubavi i tečnosti u telu, i nisam **se još osušio** za prijatne i požudne stvari.

The verbal family that expresses the change in colours is the one through which we can observe the semantic relationship between the unprefixated verbs and their prefixated lexical pairs. The prefix *in-* signals the start in the change, which goes on for a while (and hence, is ingressive and not definite), while the prefix *ex-* expresses the substantial shift in colour (hence, is egressive).

The prefix *in-* in conjunction with the suffix *-sco* shows the gradability of the process (for the occurrences with the gradable adverbs, see Haverling 2000: 121–123). The verbs like (10) *inrubesco* ‘to become reddish, somewhat red’, (11) *inpallesco* ‘to grow or turn pale’, (12) *inalbesco* ‘to turn white for a while /to start being white’, (13) *incandesco* ‘to turn light for a while / to start being light for a while, *lucesco* ‘to become lighter, to be dawning’ (14) changes from the verb describing the gradual process to *inlucesco* ‘to become light, to dawn’ (15) – the verb emphasizing the beginning and the change into such a process.

10) Stat. *Theb.* 6. 228–229: nondum ira calet, nec sanguine ferrum **inrubuit**,

‘while anger still is cool, and the sword unreddened with blood, and the first face of battle is made fair and glorious’

SC: Još ne vri bes, niti **se** gvoždje od krvi **zacrvenelo**

(11) Stat. *Theb.* 801–802: assurgentem alio puer improbus ictu / percudit eventumque impalluit ipse secundo.

‘as he rises the presumptuous lad strikes him another blow and himself turns pale at his success.’

SC: nečasni dečak pogodi drugim udarcem, te i sam **zabledi** od nemilog događaja.

(12) Cels. 2. 7. 44: venae sub lingua **inalbescunt**

‘the veins under the tongue pale’

SC: Vene pod jezikom **se zabele**

(13) Verg. *Georg.* 3. 478: coortast tempestas toto que autumnus **incanduit** aestu

‘there once came a piteous season that glowed with autumn’s full heat’

SC: Podigla se bura i svom jesenjom vrelinom **zasvetlela...**

(14) Plaut. *Amph.* 543: Eamus, Amphitruo: **lucescit** hoc iam.

‘Let’s go, Amphitruo. Day’s dawning already.’

SC: Hajdemo, Amfitrione: već **svanjuje**.

(15) Plaut. *Amph.* 546-547: Nunc te, nox, quae me mansisti, mitto ut<i> cedas die[i], / Vt mortalis **inlucescat** luce clara et candida.

‘Night, you’ve waited for me, but now I let you give way to day, so that he may shine upon the mortals with clear and bright light.’

SC: Sada te, noći, koja si me zadržala, šaljem da se predaš danu. Da **bi**, smrtan, **osvanuo** blistavom i svetlošću.

Our analysis showed that the verbs with *in-* in a strictly actional meaning are rare in Plautus and Terence. From all the verbs prefixed with *in-*, analyzed by Haverling (2000, cf. section 4.2.2.2) and intersected with the verbs from our *corpus*, only the examples 16–18 strictly indicate the initial point of the situation when combined with the unsuffixed as well as with the suffixed verbs:<sup>156</sup>

(16) Ter. *Ad.* 55: nam qui mentiri aut fallere **insuerit** patrem

‘For the man who has begun to get used to accustomed to lie to his father, or cheat him’

SC: Jer onaj kome **počne da se navikava** da laže ili vara oca

Interesting is the case of *agnosco* ‘to get to know gradually’ and *ignosco* ‘to forgive, pardon’. According to Keller (1992: 15–18; cf. Haverling 2000: 295 and 379), *in-* in *ignosco* has an actional (or spatial meaning) instead of a purely negative one.

(17) Plaut. *Epid.* 597: Quibus de signis **agnoscebas**?

‘By what signs did you recognize her?’

SC: Po kojim znacima **si je prepoznao**?

(18) Ter. *Heaut.* 972: difficilem ostendis te et post **ignosces** tamen

‘You’ll show yourself severe, and still pardon him at last’

SC: Pokazaćeš se nezgodnim, a onda **ćeš** mu ipak **oprostiti**.

However, *ad-* and *in-* are not always interchangeable: they differ too. Confront the verbs *adsuesco* ‘to get used to gradually’ and *insuesco* ‘begin getting used to’ (cf. Haverling 2000: 280, 294). The statistics adds credibility to this claim: the data from LLT–A database (considering all the periods of Latin) show us that sometimes *ad-* has many more occurrences than *in-* when used as the prefixes with the same verb. One of the examples is *advesperascit* (found once in Terence – *An.* 581) versus *invesperascit*: the ratio of occurrences is 115: 3.

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<sup>156</sup> There are many *-sco* verbs in which the prefix *in-* has this function: for example, *inaresco* has the ingressive function as opposed to *exaresco* with the egressive function (cf. Haverling 2000: 293 ff., 296 ff.).

Spatial and actional *in-* sometimes overlap in the function of ingressivity. For instance, *ingredior*, with the spatial *in-*, does indicate the direction of the motion, but it also sets the focus at the beginning of the event (cf. 3). On the other hand, *inaresco*, with the actional *in-*, expresses the initial point of the process (cf. 8). This example shows why the spatial and actional functions of the prefixes cannot always be kept strictly separate.

#### 4.4.4.3 Other cases

Many of the verbs prefixed with the spatial *in-* in Terence have symbolic meaning. In their literary sense, these verbs do contain the spatial component conveyed by the prefix. Still, they often assume the symbolic meaning, as *incido*, with the original spatial purpose ‘to fall in’, which, in the tropic sense, means ‘to strike’ (19).

(19) Ter. *And.* 501: nam qui tibi istaec **incidit** suspicio?

‘for otherwise how could this suspicion have occurred to you?’

SC: Kako te je uopšte **obuzela** ova sumnja?

Sometimes, *in-* adds a transitive component to the unprefix, intransitive verbs: *ludo* is generally intransitive and means ‘to play, sport’, whereas *illudo* is often transitive and means ‘make game of, speak mockingly of’. However, in Terence there are prefixed and unprefix verbs with the symbolic meaning which are both transitive: *ludo* ‘to play, to amuse oneself with; to mock, to make a game’ (20) and *inludo* ‘to play with, amuse oneself with; to make a game of, jest, mock’ (21); however, in this case, *in-* adds the intensity, without changing the already transitive meaning of the unprefix verb.

(20) Ter. *Ad.* 696–697: ... Pater, / obsecro, num **ludis** nunc tu me? ...

‘Father, are you now jesting with me, pray?’

SC: Oče, molim te, da li me ti to **zavtlavaš**?

(21) Ter. *Ph.* 915: Satis superbe **inluditis** me.

‘You are treating me in a very insulting manner.’

SC: Dosta **ste** me bezobrazno **zavtlavali**.

This function of *in-* seems to overlap to a certain degree with the role of *ad-* (22). The semantics of *adludo* ‘to jest, to mock, to joke’ overlaps to a considerable extent with the semantics of *inludo* and *ludo* in their secondary meaning of ‘mocking, jesting’:

(22) Ter. *Eun.* 424-425: ... coepit ad id **adludere**/ et me inridere. ...

‘He began to toy with her, and to annoy me.’

SC: Počeo je da je **zavitlava** i da me ismeva.

In fact, in (22), *adludo* probably substitutes *inludo* to avoid the alliteration with the verb *inrido*. This is also confirmed by the Serbo-Croatian translation, *zavitlavati*, which stays unchanged compared to *ludo* and *inludo*.

Some verbs gain the momentaneous component by the addition of *in-*, which initially had the directional feature. It is the case with *innuo*, which expresses the moment of a nod (23).

(23) Ter. *Eun.* 735: abiens mi **innuit**.

‘While leaving, he gave me a sign.’

SC: Odlazeći, **klimnuo je** glavom.

Although there is no attested use of *\*-nuo* in OLD, there is the similarity between the verb *annuo* (= *ad* + *nuo*), (appears in Plautus five times, in Terence twice) and *innuo* (occurs in Plautus once, in Terence thrice). However, while *innuo* usually takes the dative case, there are occurrences of *annuere* that do not require the participant in a nod.

The prefix *in-* is quite frequent in Early Latin. However, in later periods, it is still common in its spatial function and actional function (cf. *inveterare* – Haverling 2000: 289–292 and *innuo* (12)).

#### 4.4.4.4 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian

##### a) The spatial function

(i) *NA*<sup>157</sup>

In Serbo-Croatian, Activities usually combine with the prefix *na-* in its spatial function (‘on, at’); the result is typically an Achievement.

In §4.4.4.1 – example (1), the Serbo-Croatian translation *naturam* corresponds to the prefixed Latin verb *inicio*. In *ibid.*, example (2), Serbo-Croatian translation corresponds to some extent: the preposition *u-* does not get lexicalised as prefix *bulji u* – Lat. *inhiat*.

As in the actional function, this prefix both telicizes the verb and makes it momentaneous. Its primary function, however, is spatial.

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<sup>157</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.2.

(ii) *U*-<sup>158</sup>

The prefix *in-* in many Latin verbs of motion corresponds to the prefix *u-* in the Serbo-Croatian translation (*ingredior* : *ući*). Similarly, Serbo-Croatian prefers a prepositional phrase to translate a verb like *inesse* ‘be in’ – SC *biti* ‘to be’ and the preposition *u* ‘in’. Hence, while in Latin ‘to be in’ is lexicalized with the prefix *in-*, in Serbo-Croatian the preposition *u-* never got lexicalized as the prefix with *biti*.

(iii) *ZA*-<sup>159</sup>

When the function of the prefix reinforces the meaning of the unprefix verb, Serbo-Croatian translates the prefixed and unprefix Latin verbs in the same ways. Serbo-Croatian *zavitlavati* corresponds to Latin *ludo* ‘to play, to amuse oneself with; to mock, to make a game’ (20), but it is also the translation for *inludo* ‘to play with, amuse oneself with; to make a game of, jest, mock’ (21).<sup>160</sup> This is probably due to the already existent prefix *za-*, which lost its original actional (ingressive) meaning and added its spatial component to the tropic definition of this verb. Also, Serbo-Croatian adds the suffix *-va-*, conveying durativity or frequentativity.

However, the originally directional meaning of *in-* in *innuo* ‘to nod’ (§ 4.4.4.3 (23)) changed its function within this verb: it adds the component of semelfactivity. In Serbo-Croatian, this is expressed by the suffix for semelfactivity *-nu-* (also found in *kinuti* ‘to sneeze once’, *štucnuti* ‘to hiccup once’, *kucnuti* ‘to knock once’, and similar verbs).

**a) The actional function**

The actional functions of the prefix *za-* are thoroughly explained in § 3.5.2.4 (and mentioned in §4.5.3.4 (b)).

When Latin verbs in § 4.4.4.2 are translated into Serbo-Croatian, the corresponding emphasis on the beginning is kept – *ce postati običaj* ‘to become a custom’; this function is expressed in (8) by the periphrasis with ‘to become’.

Translation into Serbo-Croatian of the Latin verbs which, employing the prefix *in-*, indicate the event of gaining a colour or light, requires the prefix *za-* which marks ingressivity. (cf. § 4.4.4.2, examples (13) *zacrveneti* ‘to turn red for a while/ to start being red’ (14) – *zabledeti* ‘to become pale’, (15) – *zabeliti* ‘to become white’, (16) – *zasvetleti* ‘to become brilliant’). With the addition of the prefix *in-*, *lucresco* ‘to grow light, gradually become lighter, dawn’ (17) changes from the verb

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<sup>158</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.3.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.4.

<sup>160</sup> In fact, even the English translation of the two Latin verbs almost overlaps entirely.

describing the gradual process to *inlucresco* ‘to become light, dawn’ (18) – the verb emphasizing the beginning and the change into such a process. These verbs are translated with the periphrasis in Serbo-Croatian: *postajati svetliji* (Accomplishment) ‘to grow lighter’ and *postati svetliji* ‘to become light’. The difference is in the actionality of the verb ‘to become’ – *postajati* is suffixed by *-ja-*, marker for durativity (cf. § 4.3.3), while *postati* is not durative. Both verbs have an explicit endpoint – the light colour.

In some, rare cases, the prefixation with *za-* in Serbo-Croatian not only yield telicity, but it also imposes a temporary time limit to the basic meaning of the verb (1), or the meaning of a long-time span (2).

(1) *lečiti* ‘to heal’ *zalečiti* ‘to heal temporarily (and hence insufficiently well).’

(2) *razgovarati* ‘to talk, to chat’ : *zarazgovarati se* ‘to get carried away in chatting’

The actional function of the prefix *in-* is opposed to the prefix *ex-*: while the former signals the beginning of the process, the latter signals its completion. This opposition corresponds to the Serbo-Croatian translation: however, for the ingressive *inaresco* (16), we have the periphrasis *početi da se suši*; for *exaresco* we have *osušiti*.

#### 4.4.4.5 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian

Latin *in-*, in its spatial function, corresponds to either *na-* or *u-* in Serbo-Croatian. These prefixes are semantically related to the prepositions *na-* and *u-*. In Serbo-Croatian, when the Activities combine with the prefix *na-* in its spatial function (‘on, at’), the result is usually an Achievement.

Although in § 4.4.4.1 lexically the Serbo-Croatian translation *naturam* corresponds to Latin *inicio* (1), in (2), Serbo-Croatian translation corresponds lexically only to a certain extent: the preposition *u-* does not become lexicalized as a part of the verb *bulji u* – Lat. *inhiat*. This is also the case with Lat. *inesse* – SC. *biti u*.

The spatial use of *in-* for the specific, tropic definitions of *illudo* ‘to play with, amuse oneself with; to make a game of, jest, mock’ (10) (cf. *ludo* ‘to play, to amuse oneself with; to mock, to make a game’ in (9)). However, both Latin verbs are translated in a tropic way in Serbo-Croatian – *zavitlavati*. This is probably due to the lack of an attested unprefixated *\*vitlavati*.

Although the Latin and Serbo-Croatian prefixes *in-* and *za-* often express ingressivity, they often do not correspond in the translation. It is not possible to use *za-* to translate many Latin verbs with *in-* and instead we find ingressive periphrases with *početi* ‘to begin’ + infinitive or the suffixes (cf. § 4.4.4.2 (13): *insuerit* – *će postati običaj* ‘to become a custom’).

When added to the verbs of a gradual process, *in-* conveys the change of state into a process: it is often translated into Serbo-Croatian by the periphrasis *postati* ‘to become’ + positive or comparative. Latin *inlucesco* corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *postati svetao* ‘to become light, dawn’. The prefix *in-* in Latin verbs which indicate the event of gaining a colour or light, corresponds to the Serbo-Croatian prefix *za-*, as a feature of ingressivity (cf. § 4.4.4.2, examples (14) – *zabledeti* ‘to start becoming pale’, (15) – *zabeliti* ‘to start becoming white’, (16) – *osvanuti* ‘to start becoming brilliant’).

In some, rare cases, the prefixation with *za-* in Serbo-Croatian also imposes a temporary time limit to the basic meaning of the verb (*lečiti* ‘to heal’ : *zalečiti* ‘to heal temporarily (and hence insufficiently well)’), or the meaning of a long time-span (*razgovarati* ‘to talk, to chat’ : *zarazgovarati se* ‘to get carried away in chatting’).

The opposition between the Latin ingressive prefix *in-* and the egressive *ex-* is expressed differently in the Serbo-Croatian translation. For the ingressive *inaresco*, Serbo-Croatian uses the periphrasis *početi da se suši* ‘to begin drying’; for *exaresco* we have *osušiti* ‘to dry out’.

#### 4.4.5 OB-

##### 4.4.5.1 The spatial function

*Ob-*, in its spatial function, means ‘in front of, in the face of’. To the compounds, this prefix adds the component of the opposition to or towards someone or something. It mainly occurs with the verbs expressing physical position or motion. In (1), *obsto* means ‘to stand in a person’s path, to prevent’; in (2), *offero* means ‘to put in a person’s path, bring before, expose, grant’.

(1) Ter. *And.* 103: Quid igitur **obstat**, quor non fiant?

‘What then stands in the way? Why should they [the nuptials] not take place?’

SC: Pa šta **se** onda svadbi **isprečilo**? [VJ]

šta mu dakle, **stoji na putu/sprečava** da se ne dogodi? [DP]

(2) Ter. *Ad.* 978: Di tibi, Demea, omnia omnes semper optata **offerant!**

‘May all the Gods always grant you, Demea, all you desire.’

SC: Demeja, **neka** ti bogovi **ponude** sve što si ikada želela!

In (1), Lat. *obstare* has a twofold translation into Serbo-Croatian: *stati na put* ‘to stand in the way’ as well as *sprečavati* ‘to prevent’. In (2), Lat. *offero* is translated into Serbo-Croatian as *ponuditi*.

In Terence, we also found two occurrences of *obticeo* ‘to meet a situation with silence, refuse to speak, remain silent (under interrogation or sim.)’ (3 – in the Present, 4 – in the Perfect Tense). As Haverling explains (2000: 316), the Perfect *obticui* is often misinterpreted: in the OLD and in the TLL, this form is interpreted as the Perfect of the suffixed verb *obticesco* ‘to stop talking, making a noise’, which, however, is found first in Late Latin and then in a sense ‘to stop talking’: this reflects the Late Latin confusion in the functions of the actional prefixes *ob-* and *con-*. The earlier examples of *obticui* are non-dynamic and mean something like ‘refused to answer’ and should therefore be treated as perfect tense forms of *obticeo* (cf. Haverling (2000: 316, 321)). In *obticeo*, the function of *ob-* shares the spatial features with the same prefix in *obviam* ‘in the way of so as to meet’ and in *obviare* ‘to act contrary, to go against’:

(3) Ter. *Eun.* 820: uirgo conscissa ueste lacrumans **opticet**;

‘The girl in tears, with her garments torn, is mute’

SC: ...nit’ govori nit’ romori [VJ]

Devojka, u pocepanoj haljini, plačući **ćuti**. [DP]

(4) Ter. *Heaut.* 937–938: quid **opticuisti**?

‘Why did you refuse to speak?’

SC: Zašto ćutiš? [VJ]

Zašto **si oćutao**?[DP]

*Obeo* ‘to go against, towards, to meet face to face’, in (5) is used as a noun derived from the participle of *obeo* ‘to come or go towards, against; to meet’; its Serbo-Croatian corresponding verbal noun is *sastanak*, with the prefix *sa-*, expressing both spatial and sociative function.

(5) Ter. *Hec.* 857: ut uoluptati **obitus** sermo adfatus tuos, quoquomque adueneris, semper sit.

‘Wherever you go, the meeting with you, your company, your conversation, always give pleasure.’

SC: Kad god dođeš, **sastanak** i razgovor sa tobom su uvek zadovoljstvo.

#### 4.4.5.2 The actional function

The actional *ob-* usually adds an ingressive sense to the prefixed verbs.<sup>161</sup> This prefix emphasizes the entrance into a certain state or a change from one state to another. In Serbo-Croatian, the corresponding prefixes are *za-* (cf. § 4.4.3.4 (b)), *u-* (cf. also § 4.4.2.4 (a)), and *o-*.

<sup>161</sup> However, this is not always the case. See, for example, the verbs like *agnosco* ‘to recognize, identify’.

The verb *obmutesco*, ‘to become dumb, to lose one’s speech, be silent’ appears twice in Terence, both times in the Perfect tense. The corresponding unprefixed verb, *mutesco*, is found first in Late Latin, possibly with the meaning ‘to become dumb, silent’, i.e., in the semantic function previously indicated by the prefixed verb *obmutesco*, but perhaps, due to the frequent loss of semantic function of -sco in Late Latin, with the non-dynamic sense ‘be dumb’.

(1) Cassiod. *Var.* 11. 40: Auditoria feralium uocum meliore sorte **mutescant**.

‘Audiences of the fierce voices should grow silent in the better occasion.’

SC: Publike zverskih glasova bi trebalo da **ućute** u boljoj prilici.

(2) Ter. *An.* 256–257: **obstipui**: me censeti n’ uerbum potuisse ullum proloqui aut causam ineptam saltem, falsam? **obmutui**.

‘I was amazed; think you that I was able to utter a single word, or any excuse, even a frivolous, false, or lame one? I was speechless.’

Ostao sam kao gromom pogođen...Zanemeo sam. [VJ]

SC: **Zapanjio sam se**: zar si mislio da sam mogao ijednu reč da prozborim, čak i nepodobnu, lažnu? **Ućutao sam**. [DP]

As Haverling (2000: 317–318) noticed, in Early Latin, the prefix *ob-* indicates “a change of knowledge or awareness”: this is the case in *obliviscor* ‘to forget’ (3) or “a change of consciousness as in the verb *obdormisco* ‘to fall asleep’” (4):

(3) Plaut. *Capt.* 985: Quia mos est **obliuisci** hominibus

‘Because it’s the fashion for people to forget’

SC: Zato što je običaj da ljudi **zaborave**

(4) Plaut. *Curc.* 415: Quia uestimenta, ubi **obdormiui** ebrius, Summano, ob eam rem me omnes Summanum uocant.

‘Because, when in my drunken fit I’ve gone to sleep, I summane the garments; for that reason do all people call me Summanus.’

SC: Zato što, kada **sam** pijan **zaspao**, držao sam ruke na odeći. Zbog toga me svi zovu Summanus.

This prefix also conveys natural processes of the matter transforming its properties as in *occalesco* ‘to become callous, harden’ (5) and *obduresco* ‘to become hard’ (6).

(5) Plaut. *As.* 419: qui latera conteram tua, quae **occalluere** plagis.

‘With which to lash your sides, which have grown callous with blows’

SC: Kojim bih bih bičevao tvoje strane, koje **su otvrdnule** pod udarcima.

(6) Plaut. *Truc.* 916: Ita miser cubando in lecto hic expectando **obdurui**.

‘I’m grown so dreadfully numbed with lying waiting here upon the couch.’

Toliko **sam**, jadan, ležeći ovde u krevetu, **otvrdnuo**.

Hence, in its actional function, this prefix mainly indicates the moment of the physical or emotional state change. It is rendered by the Serbo-Croatian prefixes *za-*, *u-* and *o-*.

#### 4.4.5.3 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian

##### a) The Spatial function

The spatial meaning of the Latin prefix *ob-* is rendered by the Serbo-Croatian prefixes *s-* (*sa-*) and *po-*.

In (1), Lat. *obstare*, besides the paraphrasis *stati na* put, is translated into Serbo-Croatian by *sprečavati* ‘to prevent’. Both languages use the corresponding prefixes with the spatial function: Latin *ob-* and Serbo-Croatian *s-*. Serbo-Croatian verb also contains a suffix *-ava-*, which renders the verb durative.

In (2), Lat. *obitus* is used as a noun derived from the participle of *obeo* ‘to come or go towards, against; to meet’; its Serbo-Croatian corresponding verbal noun is *sastanak*, with the prefix *sa-*, expressing both spatial and sociative function.

In (3), Lat. *offero* is translated into Serbo-Croatian as *ponuditi*. While in Latin, the prefix *ob-* signals the spatial component added to *fero* with a wide semantic field, in Serbo-Croatian, the unprefixated *nuditi* has already the meaning ‘to offer, to grant’. However, this Serbo-Croatian verb is atelic and needs a prefix to get the necessary telic component. Telicity is added not by the spatial prefix, since the spatial component is already contained within the unprefixated verb, but by the actional prefix *po-* (cf. also § 4.4.2.4 (a)).

## b) The Actional function

### (i) *ZA*-<sup>162</sup> and *U*-<sup>163</sup>

In Serbo-Croatian, *obmutesco* is translated with an Accomplishment *ućutkavali su se*, in which the end-point is set by the prefix *u-* and the duration of the preparatory phase is conveyed by the suffix *-va-*. Moreover, the sequence of the subevents contained within the whole period of the process (*auditoria*, who grow silent one by one) is conveyed by the suffix *-ka-*. On the contrary, the translation of *obmutui* is an Achievement since *zacutao sam / ućutao sam* emphasizes the change of state from not being silent to being silent.

For the other functions of the prefix *za-* see § 4.4.2.4. (a) and § 4.4.3.4 (b), when corresponding to Lat. *con-* and *ad-*, respectively.

Verbs prefixed with *u-* in its actional function can be momentaneous, when the unprefixated verb is an Activity that loses duration by the prefixation (1). *Gledati* ‘to watch, to look’ is an Activity (1a). On the other hand, *ugledati* ‘to see’ is a momentaneous verb: it is compatible with the adverbial of *At X time* type (1b).

(1a) **Gledali su** film dva sata.

‘**They were watching** the movie for two hours.’

(1b) **Ugledali su** munju u 5h i 30 minuta.

‘**They saw** the lightning at 5.30.’

The prefix *u-*, apart from the actional, has also a strictly spatial role (cf. § 4.4.4.4 (ii)).

### (ii) *OD-*

The Serbo-Croatian prefix *od-* has two allomorphs, *o-* and *ot-*.

The difference in translation between *taceo* ‘to be silent’ and *obticeo* ‘to meet a situation with silence, refuse to speak, remain silent’ (cf. § 4.4.5.2 (4, 5)) is ambiguous to some extent. Both the verb of generic state and the one in which the prefix emphasizes the state can be translated with Serbo-Croatian *ćutati* ‘to be silent, to hush’ and *oćutati* ‘to remain silent’.<sup>164</sup> This ambiguity derives from the impossibility of *oćutati* to be used with the Present Tense. Hence, in the Present Tense, it could be used only as a Present of the persistent situation, which is not the case in (4): this is why

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<sup>162</sup> Cf. § 3.5.2.4.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. § 3.5.2.3 (b).

<sup>164</sup> Obviously, the duration can be expressed by the phasal verb *nastaviti* ‘to continue’ (*nastavio je da ćuti* ‘he remained silent’). But this fact is irrelevant for the current topic.

in this example, Serbo-Croatian uses the verb *ćutati*, corresponding to Lat. *taceo*, whereas in (5), it uses the prefixed *oćutati*.<sup>165</sup> In the strictly actional function, the prefix *od-* usually transforms Activities into Accomplishments (2).<sup>166</sup>

(2a) **Rasla je** na selu deset godina.

‘**She was growing** on the countryside for ten years.’

(2b) **Odrasla je** na selu za deset godina.

‘**She grew up** on the countryside in ten years.’

Sometimes, *od-* transforms States into Accomplishments (3).

(3a) **Patio je** dve godine.

‘**He suffered** for two years.’

(3d) **Otpatio je** za dve godine.

‘**He finished suffering** in two years.’

#### 4.4.5.4 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian

When it comes to the strictly spatial meaning of the corresponding prefixes – Latin *ob-* and Serbo-Croatian *sa-* – some prefixed verbs used in Latin and in the Serbo-Croatian, translation do not correspond in their core, unprefix meanings (Lat. *ire* ‘to go’ and SC. *stati* ‘to stop, to stand’). It is interesting to compare the verbs with the same meaning when prefixed with *ob-* and *sa-*, yet with radically different purpose when unprefix. *Ire* ‘to go’ and *stati* ‘to stand’, taking the various prefixes, merge their semantic fields: it becomes evident that the perception of the meeting is conceptualized with a passive deictic reference point in Serbo-Croatian and with an active deictic reference point in Latin.

In *obtimeo* ‘to meet a situation with silence, refuse to speak, remain silent’ (cf. § 4.4.5.1, examples (4, 5)) the function of *ob-* is spatial, as in the adverb *obviam* ‘in the way of so as to meet’ and in the verb *obviare* ‘to act contrary, to go against’. Lat. *taceo* : SC. *ćutati* ‘to be silent’ and Lat. *obtimeo* :

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<sup>165</sup> However, correspondence between the behaviour of the Serbo-Croatian verb and Latin can be observed in Late Latin, where the form *obticui* (Late Latin perfect from *obtimeo* ‘stop talking’, which substitutes *conticeo* ‘to stop talking’ and not from *obtimeo* ‘to remain silent’) probably semantically corresponds to *tacui* (6).

(6) Boeth. *Cons.* 2.1.1. Post haec paulisper *obticuit*

Afterwards, he was silent for some time

SC: Posle ovoga *je* neko vreme *oćutao* .

<sup>166</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.6 (b).

SC. *oćutati* ‘to meet a situation with silence, refuse to speak, remain silent’ show the addition of the spatial component employing *ob-*.

There are different overlaps between Latin and Serbo-Croatian prefixes with prevalently ingressive meanings.

As opposed to *ad-* and *in-*, the actional *ob-* usually adds an ingressive and momentaneous sense to the prefixed verbs. This prefix emphasizes the entrance into a specific state or a change from one state to another. In Serbo-Croatian, the corresponding prefixes are *za-*, examined in § 4.4.3.4 (b), *u-*, discussed in § 4.4.2.4 (a), and *od-*.

In strictly actional function, *ob-* and *od-* usually transforms unprefixed Activities in the prefixed Accomplishments.

From this analysis, we can conclude that, within the actional functions of the prefixes, there is considerable overlap between the prefixed verbs; however, when the role of the prefix is spatial in Latin, the choice of the verbs in Serbo-Croatian translations depend mainly on the meaning of the core, unprefixed verb. Sometimes, this verb will have a prefix that corresponds to a Latin prefix with the spatial function. Still, the choice of the prefixes depends mainly on the mechanisms internal to a particular language, i.e., to the possible combinations of the prefixes and the simple verbs.

## 4.4.6 EX

### 4.4.6.1 The spatial function

This prefix acquired its spatial function from the semantics of the corresponding preposition *ex*: ‘out of, from’. It occurs very frequently with the verbs of motion. In Gothic, the corresponding prefix is *us-* (*usgaggan* ‘to walk, to go out from), while in Serbo-Croatian, it is *iz-* that corresponds to it:<sup>167</sup>

(1) Ter. *And.* 714: Tu, Mysis, dum **exeo**, parumper opperire hic.

‘You, Mysis, remain here a little while, until I come out.’

SC: Ti, Misido, sačekaj malo ovde dok se ja ne vratim. [VJ]

A ti, Misido, ostani ovde malo, dok ja **izađem**. [DP]

(2) Ter. *Ph.* 877: patruos interea inde huc **egreditur** foras;

‘Your uncle in the meantime comes out from there;’

SC: U međuvremenu **je** odavde **izašao** tvoj stric.

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<sup>167</sup> Beekes (1995: 221) claims that IE *\*h<sub>1</sub>leg(h)s* gave origin to Latin *ex*. On inherited prefixes, prepositions and postpositions in Latin cf. also Baldi (2002: 87–88).

The spatial function of this prefix is semantically opposed to the role of the prefix *in-* (cf. § 4.4.4.1) (3):

(3) Plaut. *Trin.* 840: Sed quis hic est qui in plateam **ingreditur** ...

‘But who is this that is coming up the street...’

SC: Ali ko to **dolazi**....

This prefix is more commonly used with the unsuffixed verbs in Early Latin. It adds a purely spatial component to the unprefix verb, conveying the direction – ‘out of, from’ (4).

(4) Plaut. *Truc.* 875: Si auferes puerum, a milite omnis tum mihi spes anima<m> **efflauerit**.

‘If you take the child away, all hope in the Captain will evaporate from my heart.’

SC: Ako odvedeš dete, sva vojnička nada **će ispariti** iz mog srca

#### 4.4.6.2 The actional function

In its actional function, this prefix indicates that the situation is brought to an end. From the prefixes with the egressive function (*ex-*, *de-* and *ab-*), *ex-* occurs most frequently; its occurrences are rather frequent with the *sco*-verbs (Haverling 2000: 324).

However, in Terence, there are only four verbs that are both prefixed with *ex-* and suffixed with *-sco*: *edormiscere* (1), *expergiscere* (2), *euanescere* (3) and *extimescere* (4). The last one appears once in the Perfect Tense (4b).

(1) Ter. *Ad.* 785–786: ...interea in angulum / aliquo abeam atque **edormiscam** hoc uilli ...

‘Why, even get into some corner till this tempest is lulled, and sleep off this drop of wine.’

SC: ...**odspavaću** [VJ]

U međuvremenu ću otići u neko ćoše i **prespavaću** ovo vino. [DP]

(2) Ter. *Ad.* 631: nunc porro, Aeschine, **expergiscere**!

‘Henceforth, then, wake up, Aeschinus!’

SC: dakle, **probudi se**, Eshine!

(3) Ter. *Hec.* 9: ne cum poeta scriptura **euanesceret**.

‘So that the writings should not vanish together with the poet’

SC: ...da delo ne iščezne [VJ]

da spisi ne **izblede** zajedno sa pesnikom [DP]

(4a) Ter. *Ph.* 153: patrem ut **extimescam**,

‘I should be in utter dread of my father...’

SC: ...da **se prepadnem** [VJ]

Trebalo bi da **se uplašim** oca... [DP]

(4b) Ter. *Hec.* 832: **extimui** ilico:

‘I felt alarmed immediately.’

SC: **Uplašio sam se** odmah:

In Plautus, we found the occurrences of all the verbs that also appear in Terence, with the addition of *exputescere* ‘to rot away’ and *exarescere* ‘become totally dry, dry up’.

(5) Plaut. *Curc.* 340–341: Aliquot dies perdura, dum intestina **exputescunt** tibi:

‘Hold out for some days until your intestines become putrid.’

SC: Izdrži nekoliko dana, dok ti ne **istrule** creva

(6) Plaut. *Rud.* 578: Tu istaec mihi dato: **exarescent** faxo.

‘Give me those clothes of yours; I’ll soon have them dried.’

Daj mi svoju odeću: učiniću da **se** brzo **osuši**.

This prefix has somewhat different functions, although the fundamental one is that of the egressivity. In (1) – *edormisco* means ‘to get rid of by falling asleep, to sleep over’.<sup>168</sup> Hence, this actional function extends the duration of the event of sleeping by referring to another sub-event of shorter duration (*hoc uilli*), surpassed temporally by the sleep.

Like *extimesco* ‘become afraid’ (4), *expergiscor* ‘wake up’ (2) indicates a change from one state to another.<sup>169</sup>

In (3), *ex-* conveys egressivity: *evanesco* ‘to vanish, to fade away’. This verb can be put into the same category with *exputesco* ‘rot away’ (5) and *exaresco* ‘to dry up, become thoroughly dry’ (6), where the physical processes reach their natural end-point, yielded by the prefix *ex-*. The use of *ex-* with this kind of verbs is typical in Early Latin (see also Haverling 2000: 328–329).

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<sup>168</sup> However, the examples of *edormisco* in Early Latin are rare. In Classical Latin, *edormire* is interpreted ‘to sleep off’. Hence, in Early Latin *edormisco* the use of *ex* is atypical, not as in *exaresco* or *extimesco*.

<sup>169</sup> The transitive verb *expergo* ‘to arouse, wake up’ is of a later formation (in preclassical Latin it appears in Lucilius and Accius, and appears according to analogy with the unprefixated *pergo* (cf. the Serbo-Croatian verbs *buditi* and *probuditi*). This verb, both in Latin and in Serbo-Croatian, conveys egressive component: the process of awakening reaches its end-point, waking up. However, the semantic difference between Lat. *pergo* in its overall definitions and *expergo* is too drastic in order to consider here the relationship between two verbs.

The focus on the end-point, yielded by the prefixed verbs. On the contrary, their unprefixes lexical counterparts indicate the processes without end-point, hence the Activities. Compare *aresco* ‘to dry, be drying’ (7) to *exaresco* ‘dry out, get dry’ in (6):

(7) Plaut. *Rud.* 573–574: da mihi uestimenti aliquid aridi, dum **arescunt** mea:

‘Lend me some dry clothes, while my own are drying;’

SC: Pozajmi mi nešto suve odeće, dok **se** moja **suši**.

In (4) *extimesco* ‘to be struck with fear, become afraid’, exemplified in the Present and Perfect tenses, expresses the sudden emotional state change. The corresponding unprefixes verb – *timesco* – is only found in an early medieval glossary (Haverling 2000: 168, 420). Verbs indicating such a change in the emotional state are always prefixed in Early and Classical Latin (we have, for instance, *condolesco* ‘to be struck with pain’ in Cicero, and *dolesco* first in a Late Latin glossary). Like *extimesco*, *erubesco* ‘to turn red, to blush’ (8) indicates a change in emotional state.<sup>170</sup> In both (4) and (8), the indicated change is momentaneous.

(8) Ter. *Ad.* 642–643: Ita? nam mirabar, quid hic negoti esset tibi. **erubuit**: salua res est.

‘Just so; for I wondered what business you could have here. He blushes; all's well.’

SC: A tako? Pitao sam se kakvog posla ti ovde imaš; **pocrveneo je**; sve je u redu.

*Ex-* can also emphasize the completion of some ongoing process, as in *expleo* ‘fill up’ (9), *exedo* ‘to eat up, devour’ (10) and *ebibo* ‘drink up’ (11). This function is very similar, if not overlapping, with the completive function of *con-* (cf. (1b) from § 4.4.2.4):

(9) Ter. *Hec.* 66: ut blanditiis suis quam minumo pretio suam uoluptatem **expleat**.

‘By means of his flatteries to gratify his passion with you at the least possible expense’

SC: ...zadovolji [VJ]

Da svojim laskanjima **zasiti** svoju strast uz što manji trošak. [DP]

(10) Ter. *Heat.* 457: quid te futurum censes, quem adsidue **exedent**?

‘What do you suppose will become of you when they are constantly preying upon you?’

Šta misliš, šta tebe čeka kad počnu kod tebe da se hrane svakog dana? [VJ]

SC: Šta misliš da će od tebe biti kad tako marljivo budu **izjedali**? [DP]

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<sup>170</sup> On diachronic development of the semantics of *erubesco* see Haverling (2000: 332).

(11) Ter. *Heat.* 255: quid **comedent!** quid **ebibent!**

‘How much they will eat! how much they will drink!’

SC: Šta li će **pojesti!** Šta li će **popiti!**

The verbs in (9) and (10) have a symbolic meaning. There is here a partial overlap with the completive function of *con-* in *complere* ‘fill up’ (= SC. *napuniti*) and *comedere* ‘eat up’ (= SC. *pojesti* ‘to eat up’). Instead, in (11) *ex-* (*e*) was used in its transparent completive function (cf. *combibere* ‘drink up, absorb’ (= SC. *popiti*)).

The standard function of the prefix *ex-* is to emphasize the meaning of the unprefix verb. In (12), *-expeto* ‘to ask for, try to obtain, search for’ has a more specific meaning than *peto* ‘to strive for, seek, aim at’.<sup>171</sup>

(12) Ter. *And.* 520: nunc sibi uxorem **expetit.**

‘Now he wishes for a wife.’

SC: Sada **jako želi** ženu.

In Early Latin, in *emoriōr* ‘die, pass away, perish, come to an end’ ((13) = SC. *umreti* ‘to perish, to come to an end’), the focus is at the final point of dying and hence the event is an Achievement. If taken as an Accomplishment, Latin *moriōr* ‘to die’, does not have a prefix:

(13) Ter. *Eun.* 885: **emoriar**, si non hanc uxorem duxero.

‘I shall die if I don't have her for my wife.’

SC: Neka **umrem** ako je ne oženim.

However, in Classical Latin, there are examples of *emoriōr* with what appears to be a durative semantic function (14, 15):

(14) Ov. *Rem.* 654: per...gradus moles **emoriatur** amor

‘Let love...die by slow degrees’

SC: Pusti ljubav...da **odumre** polako

(15) Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.2: (spes) **emoritur** aetate.

‘and when such promise dies away as they grow up’

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<sup>171</sup> When *peto* occurs in the sense ‘to search for’, in OLD there are only the examples from poetry – a typical poetic use of the verbal form without a prefix (cf. *calui* in a dynamic sense in, for instance, Ovid).

SC: I kada takva nada **odumre** kada porastu

This may represent a somewhat later use of the verb *emrior* than the one met with in Early Latin, a use where the perhaps original non-durative function of *emrior* was less clear and where the semantic differences between prefixed and unprefixed verb were becoming pragmatic rather than connected to word-formation. An example of such a change is *erubesco*, which initially had the sense ‘turn red (in the face)’ (as opposed to *rubesco* ‘grow red gradually, be reddening’), but which got the sense ‘be ashamed’ in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (cf. Haverling 2000: 332–333). Of some importance in this context is the fact that the function of the prefixes was complex – and that the same prefix sometimes indicated telicity and sometimes non-durativity.

In Classical Latin, there are transitive verbs with the egressive *ex-*. The prefix is obligatory in prose (cf. ex. *exacerbo* ‘to irritate, enrage, aggravate’ in Liv. 2.35.8 and 2.46.2 and *acerbo* occurring in the same sense).<sup>172</sup> In later periods of Latin, these are sometimes transformed into intransitive, suffixed verbs (ex. Sidon. *Epist.* 7.9.9. *exacerbescio* ‘to become irritated’).<sup>173</sup>

#### 4.4.6.3 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian

##### a) The Spatial function

In Serbo-Croatian, combined with verbs that convey motion, the prefix *iz-* yields a strictly spatial function – ‘out, from’. In *izadem* ‘I come out’ (= Lat. *exeo*; cf. ex. 1 in § 4.4.6.1) and in *izašao* ‘he came out’ (= Lat. *egreditur* ‘he comes out’ in ex. 2 in § 4.4.6.1) the prefix *iz-* telicizes the verb.

Overall, the overlapping between the spatial functions Latin *ex-* and Serbo-Croatian *iz-* is complete. Both prepositions derive from Proto-Indo-European \**h<sub>1</sub>eǵʰs* (Beekes 2010: 433).

##### b) The Actional function

The Serbo-Croatian prefixes corresponding in their actional function to Latin *ex-* are: *za-* (cf. §4.4.3.4 (b)), *iz-* (with its allophorms - *is-* and *iš-*), *pre-* (cf. §4.4.9.4 (b)), *u-* (cf. §§4.4.2.4 (a) and 4.4.5.3 (b)), and *pro-*.

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<sup>172</sup> Cf. Verg. A. 11. 406-7: *Vel cum se pavidum contra mea iurgia fingit / artificis scelus et formidine crimen acerbat.*

<sup>173</sup> For the occurrences dated later than Early Latin, I refer to Haverling (2000: 168ff.).

(i) *PRE-*, *U-*, *ZA-*, *PO-*

In the function of encompassing the whole duration of the event of sleeping, the Serbo-Croatian translation of Latin *edormisco* is *prespavati* (cf. with the ingressive Lat. *condormisco* and SC. *zaspavati* ‘to fall asleep’).

The Serbo-Croatian prefixes *u-* and *po-*, when they correspond to the Latin egressive *ex-*, usually express the sudden change of an emotional state. Latin *extimesco* is translated in Serbo-Croatian by *uplašiti se*. The unprefixated and unsuffixed *timeo* ‘to fear, be afraid’ is translated into Serbo-Croatian as *plašiti se*. As opposed to Serbo-Croatian, Latin thus needs a prefix and a dynamic suffix to create a verb indicating a state change from a non-dynamic verb (*taceo* – *cutati* ‘to be silent’; *conticesco* – *ucutati* ‘to become silent, to hush’).

Latin *ex-* corresponds in its intensive function to the Serbo-Croatian *u-*. In (12) in § 4.4.6.2 *expeto* ‘ask for, search for’ has a more restricted semantic role than *peto* ‘to ask, to wish’. In fact, in Serbo-Croatian the emphasis is rendered by the adverb *jako* ‘very much’ since the emphasis within the verb *želeći* cannot be rendered by the prefix. In *emoriōr* ‘to perish, to come to an end’ in (13) in § 4.4.6.2 (= SC. *umreti*), the focus is on the final point of dying and hence the event is an Achievement. When this change is described as an Accomplishment, Latin uses a verb without a prefix, *morior* ‘to die’. In contrast, the corresponding verb in Serbo-Croatian keeps the prefix *u-* (yielding the inherent end-point) but also has the durative suffix, *umirati*, ‘to die’.

The Serbo-Croatian prefix *po-* also translates a sudden state change -: Latin *erubescō* is translated by Serbo-Croatian *po crveneti* ‘to turn red, to blush’. In both occurrences, *ex-* indicates the momentaneousness of the change in a particular physical condition.

In both reported occurrences of the Early Latin completive prefix *ex-*, the corresponding Serbo-Croatian prefixes are *za-* and *po-*: *exedere* corresponds to the Serbo-Croatian *zasititi* ‘to fill up, fulfil, satisfy’ (9) and *ebibere* is translated by *popiti* ‘to drink up’ (11; cf. the actional functions of SC. *po-* in §4.5.2.4 (a)). The prefix *con-* too expresses the completive function for *plere* and *edere* – cf. *exedere* (10) and *comedere* ‘eat up’ (= SC. *pojesti*), *explere* ‘to fill up’ and *complere* ‘to fill out’.

Hence, in their completive functions, *ex-* and *con-* sometimes overlap and are translated in Serbo-Croatian by the completive prefix *po-*.

(ii) *IZ-*<sup>174</sup>

This prefix can also yield iterativity, which is also marked through the suffixation. In these occurrences, it is necessary to add a quantified complement. Latin *evanesco* ‘to vanish, fade away’

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<sup>174</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.7 (b).

(3) translates into Serbo-Croatian as *izbledeti*. This verb can be put into the same category as *exputesco* ‘to rot away’ (5; = SC. *istruliti*) and *exaresco* ‘to dry out, become thoroughly dry’ (6; = SC. *osušiti*), where the physical processes reach their natural end-point, indicated by the prefix *ex-*. The use of *ex-* with this kind of verbs is common in Early Latin (see also Haverling 2000: 328–329). The focus of the situation is on its end-point: hence, they are in contrast with their unprefixal lexical pairs (e.g. Latin *aresco* = Serbo-Croatian *sušiti se* ‘to dry, be drying’), indicating the process without its end-point, and thus indicating Activities.

In § 4.4.6.2, example (10) shows the correspondence between *ex-* and *iz-*: Lat. *exedere*, SC. *izjedati* ‘to eat up, consume, prey upon’.

(iii) *PRO*-<sup>175</sup>

In the egressive function, where the process reaches its end-point, reflexive verb *expergiscor* means ‘wake up’ and is translated by Serbo-Croatian *probuditi se*. In the transitive sense ‘awaken, arouse from sleep’ we encounter in Early Latin *expergefacio* and Late Latin *expergo* (according to the OLD perhaps formed by dissimilation from *exper-gr-* and compared to Greek ἐγείρω). However, according to a passage in Paul the Deacon’s excerpts from Festus, *pergo* was used in the sense of *expergo* in Early Latin, but there is no such example in the other texts. The documented verb *pergo* usually is intransitive and means ‘to continue, proceed’ and is according to the OLD formed from *per+rego*. If the annotation in Festus is correct, we are thus probably dealing with two different verbs.<sup>176</sup>

The difference between Latin and Serbo-Croatian is that there is no unprefixal verb meaning ‘wake somebody up’ in Latin, whereas there is such a verb in Serbo-Croatian. There is, therefore, no exact Latin equivalent to the sentence *Budila sam ga dugo ali ga nisam probudila*. ‘I was waking him up, but I did not manage to wake him up’. Latin expresses the corresponding difference between the Imperfect and the Perfect tense.

Serbo-Croatian *pro-* usually telicizes the unprefixal predicates: by this function, it shifts the verbs’ actional class. It also expresses delimitativity, hence that the situation is being performed ‘to the certain extent, for some while, a little bit’.

Hence, *pro-*, by telicizing the initially unprefixal Activity, creates a prefixed Accomplishment.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.8.

<sup>176</sup> Wackernagel and Langslow (2009: 636): “According to Paul’s excerpts from Festus, p. 235 Lindsay, *pergo* could mean ‘wake up’ (*expergefacio*) in Old Latin. Lat. *expergisco(r)* and *expergo* are probably dissimilation from *\*per-gr-(isc)*, *-gr-*.”

#### 4.4.6.4 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian

After the comparison of various occurrences of the prefix *ex-* in the strictly spatial function with the corresponding Serbo-Croatian verbs we conclude that the semantic field of the Early Latin spatial *ex-* ‘out, from’ and Serbo-Croatian spatial *iz-* completely overlap (Latin *exeo* – Serbo-Croatian *izađem* ‘I come out’; Latin *egreditur* – Serbo-Croatian *izašao* ‘he came out’; Latin *efflauerit* – Serbo-Croatian *ispariće* ‘will evaporate’). These prefixes are opposed in their spatial semantics to the prefixes signalling motion into – Latin *in-* and Serbo-Croatian *u-* and *na-*.

The Serbo-Croatian prefixes corresponding in their actional function to Latin *ex-* are: *za-*, *po-* (cf. § 4.4.2.4 (a)), *pre-* (cf. § 4.4.8.2), *u-* (cf. §§ 4.4.2.4 (a) and 4.4.5.3 (a)), *iz-* (with its alloforms – *is-* and *iš-*) and *pro-*.

Latin egressive *ex-* overlaps with Serbo-Croatian prefixes *u-* and *po-* and, sometimes, with *za-*: these prefixes indicate a sudden change of state (Latin *extimesco* – Serbo-Croatian *uplašiti se*; Latin *erubesco* – Serbo-Croatian *pocrveneti* ‘to turn red, to blush’; Latin *explere* – Serbo-Croatian *zasititi* ‘to fill up, fulfil, satisfy’; Latin *expergisco* – Serbo-Croatian *probuditi* ‘to wake up’).

It is the prefix *con-* that, together with the prefix *ex-*, takes over the completive function for *plere* and *edere* (cf. 9 – Lat. *comedere*, SC. *pojesti* ‘to eat up’; *exedere*, SC. *zasititi* ‘to consume, fill up’). Also, in *ebibere*, *ex-* (*e*) was used in the transparent completive function.

Hence, *pro-*, by telicizing the initially unprefixated Activity, creates a prefixed Accomplishment.

When it appears in its non-figurative completive function, *ex-* overlaps with *con-* and is translated in Serbo-Croatian with the completive prefix *po-* (Latin *ebibere* – Serbo-Croatian *popiti* ‘to drink up’). In the function of encompassing the whole duration of the event, Serbo-Croatian *pre-* corresponds to Latin *ex-* (Latin *edormisco* – Serbo-Croatian *prespavati*).

In Early Latin, *ex-* typically focuses on the various stages of the egressive situation, also marked through the suffixation. In this function, it overlaps with Serbo-Croatian *iz-* (Latin *evanesco* – Serbo-Croatian *izbledeti* ‘to vanish, to fade away’; Latin *exputesco* – Serbo-Croatian *istruliti* ‘to rot away’; Latin *exaresco* – Serbo-Croatian *osušiti* ‘to dry out, become thoroughly dry’; Latin *exedere* – Serbo-Croatian *izjedati* ‘to eat up, consume, prey upon’).

#### 4.4.7 DE-

Verbs with the prefix *de-* are frequent in Terence. I shall limit the sample of the verbs to those with a straightforward relation to one or more verbs from the same family. I will briefly mention the

other verbs; however, since the interpretation of the function of *de-* is often ambiguous, the categorization will present some overlaps.

#### 4.4.7.1 The spatial function

In its spatial function, this prefix conveys separation or removal, and it adds the meaning ‘(down) from, away, off’ to the initially unprefixated verb. Spatial *de-* occurs very frequently with the verbs that implicate some movement. In Serbo-Croatian, the corresponding prefixes are *s(a)-* and *od-*. However, the spatial function often overlaps with the actional function, or it is intertwined with it. Here is the list of the verbs found in Terence, in which *de-* has, although seldom strictly, spatial function.

- (1) *decedo* ‘to go away, depart, withdraw’
- (2) *declino* ‘to bend *from the straight path*; to turn aside or away’
- (3) *decido* ‘to fall off, fall down, fall away’
- (4) *deduco* ‘to lead or bring away, to lead, fetch, bring or draw down’
- (5) *defero* ‘bear or bring away a thing from a place; to bear, carry, bring down’
- (6) *defugio* ‘to run away from; to flee, shun, avoid’
- (7) *deliro* ‘to deviate from a straight line’
- (8) *demoveo* ‘to move or turn away; to put away, remove’
- (9) *demo* ‘to take off, take away, to withdraw, subtract, remove’
- (10) *demitto* ‘to send down; to drop; to let, sink, or bring down’
- (11) *demonstro* ‘to point out, as with the finger; to indicate, designate, show’
- (12) *desisto* ‘leave off, desist, cease; cease from; dissociate oneself from’
- (13) *desum* ‘to be away, be absent’
- (14) *deterreo* ‘to frighten from anything; to deter, discourage from’
- (15) *detraho* ‘to draw or take off, draw away, draw or take down; to pull down; to take away, remove, withdraw’
- (16) *devito* ‘to avoid, go out of the way of, shun’
- (17) *devenio* ‘to come from somewhere; to go to, arrive at, reach’
- (18) *devertor* ‘to turn away, turn aside; to turn or go aside from any place or any direction; to turn or go towards’

In (1), Serbo-Croatian *svući* corresponds to Latin *detraho* ‘to draw off, take away, pull down’. In (2), Serbo-Croatian *odvesti* corresponds to Latin *deduco* ‘to lead away, draw out, remove’. Yet, for the unprefixated *duco* ‘to lead’, Serbo-Croatian has *voditi* (see. § 4.4.7.3 (a)):

(1) Ter. *Heaut.* 649–650: de digito anulum **detraho**

‘I drew a ring from off my finger’

SC: **Svukla sam** prsten sa prsta

(2) Ter. *Hec.* 134: Vt ad pauca redeam, uxorem **deducit** domum.

‘To cut the matter short, he took home his wife.’

SC: Ukratko, da se vratim na stvar: *venčanje se obavi* [VJ]

Da skratim, **odveo je** ženu kući. [DP]

As part of its spatial function, *de-* shows a privative function: *deartuo* ‘to dismember, to rend limb by limb’ (3).

(3) Plaut. *Capt.* 641: Tum igitur ego deruncinatus, **deartuatus sum** miser

‘In consequence, then, I’m cut asunder, disjointed, to my sorrow’

SC: Tada **sam**, dakle, jadan, iseckan, **raskomadan**

#### 4.4.7.2 The actional, the spatial and the intensive functions

In its actional function, this prefix telicizes the verb and, sometimes, it also indicates momentaneousness. In most cases, its function is to express the result of the state or process, which eventually is brought to its utmost degree. In Serbo-Croatian, the corresponding prefixes are *po-* (cf. §4.5.2.4. (a)) and *iz-* (§4.5.6.3. (b)).

Here is the list of the verbs found in Terence, in which *de-* has an actional or a spatial function:

(1) *decumbo* ‘to lie down, to recline at table, to lie ill’

(2) *decerno* ‘to decide, determine, judge’ (cf. *cerno* ‘To separate, distinguish by the senses, mostly by the eyes, i. e. to perceive, see, discern’)

(3) *depecto* ‘to comb off, comb down, to comb’

(4) *depravo* ‘to pervert, seduce, corrupt, deprave’

(5) *depingo* ‘to depict, portray, paint’

(6) *derideo* ‘to laugh at, laugh to scorn; to scoff at, deride’

(7) *deiuro* ‘to take an oath, to swear’

(8) *dedo* ‘to give away, give up’

(9) *dedecoro* ‘to disgrace, dishonor, bring to shame’

- (10) *defervesco* ‘of the fire of passion, to cease raging, to cool down’
- (11) *defungor* ‘to have done with, to acquit one's self of, to discharge an affair or an obligation (esp. an unwelcome, unpleasant one), to perform, finish’
- (12) *defatigo* ‘to weary out, tire a person; to fatigue; to exhaust’
- (13) *deficio* ‘to run out, be wanting, fail, cease, disappear’
- (14) *delinquo* ‘to fail, be wanting in one's duty; to commit a fault, to do wrong, transgress, offend’
- (15) *deludo* ‘to play false, to mock, deceive, make sport of, delude’
- (16) *demiror* ‘to wonder at a person or thing, to wonder’
- (17) *demulceo* ‘to stroke down’
- (18) *deputo* ‘to be classed among; to esteem, consider, count as’
- (19) *desino* ‘to put or set down; hence, to leave off, give over, cease, desist’
- (20) *desisto* ‘to set down; to stand apart; to leave off, cease, give over, desist from’
- (21) *desideo* ‘to remain or continue sitting, to sit long; and with the accessory idea of inactivity, to sit idle, to remain inactive’
- (21) *desum* ‘to be away, be absent; to fail, be wanting’
- (22) *devenio* ‘to come from somewhere; to go to, arrive at, reach’
- (23) *devertor* ‘to turn away, turn aside; to turn or go aside from any place or any direction; to turn or go towards; to turn in, put up, lodge anywhere’

The unprefixd verbs *cubo* ‘to be in a recumbent posture, to recline’ (1) and *lateo* ‘to lurk, be or lie hid or concealed’ (3) show the state. The corresponding, prefixed, *decumbo* ‘to lie down, to recline at table, to lie ill’ (2) and *delitescio* ‘to hide away, conceal one's self’ (4) show how the prefix (together with the nasal infix<sup>177</sup> or the suffix *-sco*), provokes the shift from the unprefixd state to the verb indicating the change of state.

- (1) Ter. *Ad.* 850: atque equidem filium tum, etiam si nolit, cogam ut cum illa una **cubet**.

‘And, if I were you, I’d force your son to sleep with her even against his will.’

SC: Takođe bih, i da neće, naterao tvog sina da **leži** sa njom.

- (2) Plaut. *Cas.* 900: <post>quam **decubuisti**, inde uolo memorare quid est factum \* \* \*

‘After you lay down, from there I want you to report what happened \*\*\*’

<sup>177</sup> -*\*cumbo* compounds are formed from by analogy with those of *cubo*, with nasal infix (Leumann 1977: 533).

SC: Pošto **si legao**, hoću da odande zapamtiš šta se desilo.

(3) Plaut. *Capt.* 12: quasi, cum caletur, cocleae in occulto **latent**

‘Just as, when it is hot weather, snails lie hidden in secret’

SC: Kao što, dok je toplo, puževi **se skrivaju** tajno

(4) Plaut. *Rud.* 466: **delituit** mala.

‘She’s playing hide and seek, the rogue.’

SC: **Skriva se**, nevaljalica.

*De-* can also highlight the intensity of the situation.

(1) *debacchor* ‘to rave like the Bacchantes, to rage without control’ (cf. *bacchor* ‘to celebrate the festival of Bacchus’)

(2) *declaro* ‘to make clear to the mind, to manifest, demonstrate, prove, show, explain’

(3) *defetiscor* ‘to become exhausted’

(4) *denego* ‘to reject, refuse, deny a request, entreaty’

(5) *denarro* ‘give a full account of, relate in full’

(6) *deperio* ‘to be desperately in love with, dying with love for a person’

(7) *despondeo* ‘to promise to give, to promise, pledge, devote’

(8) *despolio* ‘to rob, plunder, despoil’

(9) *devinco* ‘to conquer completely, overcome, subdue’

The Latin verbs *devinco* ‘to conquer completely, subdue, overcome’ (1) and *defatigo* ‘to weary out, exhaust, tire’ (2) both express telic events, just as the corresponding unprefixated verbs *vinco* ‘to conquer, overcome, get the better of, defeat’ and *fatigo* ‘to weary, tire, fatigue’. The prefix only adds the higher grade of performance.

(1) Ter. *Heaut.* 208: uerum ubi semel cupiditate animus sese **deuinxit** mala,

‘But when the mind has once enslaved itself by vicious appetites’

SC: Kad duh jednom *skrene* na stranputicu [VJ]

Ali kad se um jednom **pokorio** zlom žudnjom [DP]

(2) Ter. *Ad.* 518: quod cum salute eius fiat, ita se **defetigarit** uelim,

‘Provided it be done with no prejudice to his health, I wish that he may so effectually tire himself’

SC: Želeo bih da se *umori* toliko... [VJ]

Pošto se to čini iz njemu zdravstvenih razloga, želim da se on toliko **izmori** [DP]

*Denego* means ‘to deny, refuse, reject’ (3), whereas *nego* ‘to say that not, deny’ expresses a less resolute event; *delinquo* means ‘to fail, be lacking, be wanting in one’s duty’ (4), whereas *linquo* means ‘to go away from, leave’. The same intensive function of *de-* is expressed by *deamo* ‘to love utterly, be passionately in love with’ (5):

- (3) Ter. *An.* 241–242: Chremes, qui **denegar**at se commissurum mihi gnatam suam uxorem,  
‘He who had declared that he would not entrust his daughter to me as a wife’

SC: Hremet, koji *je odbio* da mi poveri svoju kćer kao ženu [VJ]

Hremet, koji **je porekao** da će mi dati svoju ćerku za ženu [DP]

- (4) Ter. *Hec.* 662–664: censen te posse reperire ullam mulierem, quae careat culpa? an qui non **delincunt** uiri?

‘Do you suppose you can find any woman who is free from fault? Or is it that men have no failings?’

SC: Smatraš li da možeš da nađeš ijednu ženu kojoj fali krivica? Ili da muškarci ne **greše**?

- (5) Ter. *Heaut.* 825: Ne ego homo sum fortunatus: **deamo** te, Syre.

‘Indeed, then, I am a lucky man. Syrus, I do love you from my heart.’

SC: Siruse, *obožavam* te! [VJ]

Dakle, baš sam srećnik: Sire, **puno te volim**. [DP]

In Early Latin, there are also verbs with the suffix *-sco* and prefixed with *de-* that express egressivity. In Terence, there are only two examples of this kind, both from *Phormio*. *Depeciscor* means ‘to bargain for, agree upon, secure by bargaining’ and is followed by a subordinate clause (6); it corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *pogoditi se*; the unprefixated *paciscor* means ‘to negotiate, arrange an agreement, to seek or secure by bargaining’ and corresponds to the Serbo-Croatian verb *pogađati se*:

- (6) Ter. *Ph.* 165–166: ita me bene di ament, ut mihi liceat tam diu quod amo frui,/ iam **depecisci** morte cupio ...

‘Heaven help me, I’d be ready to bargain away my life right now to be allowed to enjoy my love this long’

SC: Želim da **se pogodim** za smrt.

*Defetiscor* (Lewis & Short: sometimes in MSS. *defatiscor*) means ‘to become exhausted’ and can be compared to *fatisco(r)* ‘to grow weary’:

- (7) Ter. *Ph.* 588–589: Neque **defetiscar** usque adeo experirier, donec tibi id quod pollicitus sum effecero.

‘And I shall never cease trying, until I’ve made good what I promised you.’

SC: I neću **se umarati** da pokušavam, sve dok za tebe ne obavim ono što sam obećao.

#### 4.4.7.3 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian

##### a) The spatial function

###### (i) SA-<sup>178</sup>

The Serbo-Croatian prefix *s(a)-* indicates separation or removal and means ‘from, away, off’ and corresponds to the Latin spatial prefix *de-*.

Latin *detraho* ‘to draw off, take away, pull down’ (ex. 1 in § 4.4.7.1) corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *svući*, as do the unprefixated verbs *traho* and *vući* ‘to pull’. Hence, the functions of the spatial *de-* and *s(a)-* are the same.

###### (ii) OD-

Serbo-Croatian *odvesti* corresponds to Latin *deduco* ‘to lead away, draw out, remove’ (2). Yet, for the unprefixated *duco* ‘to lead, to take’, Serbo-Croatian has *voditi*. In Serbo-Croatian, there is a stem alternation *vod-* and *ves-*: *vod-* indicates atelicity and *ves-* telicity. In Latin *de-* can function as the prefix for *duco* ‘to lead’, but in Serbo-Croatian, the change of the verbal stem is required when the prefix *od-* is added. Thus, Serbo-Croatian *voditi* ‘to lead’ corresponds to Latin *duco* and its cognate *odvesti* corresponds to Latin *deduco*.

(2a) *Vodila sam sina u pozorište jednom nedeljno.*

‘I was taking my son to theatre once a week.’

(2b) *Odvela sam sina u pozorište.*

‘I took my son to the theatre.’

In the spatial function, the Serbo-Croatian *od-* adds to the verb the semantic component initially yielded by the corresponding preposition ‘from, off’. It does not only yield a spatial function; it combines it with the actional function since it always telicizes the predicate. Also, many Achievements can connect with this prefix in its purely spatial function. In these cases, the prefix does not trigger the shift of verb’s actional class (cf. *baciti–odbaciti* (3)).

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<sup>178</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.9

(3) *Odbacila je loptu.*<sup>179</sup>

‘She threw away the ball.’

The privative function of Latin *de-* is transparent in Latin *desum* ‘to lack, be absent, to be away’. This verb does not have the corresponding prefixed verb meaning ‘to lack’ (cf. § 4.4.7.1, (3)). Yet, when the meaning is ‘to be absent’, *desum* is expressed by the predicate adjective *biti odsutan*. Indeed, the spatial function of *de-* is this time reflected within the adjective: *odsutan* is the antonym of *prisutan* ‘to be present’, where *od-* yields the separation, and *pri-* yields closeness.

## b) The actional function

### (i) PO-

In example (1) from § 4.4.7.2, Latin *devinco* ‘to conquer completely, subdue, overcome’ is rendered by the Serbo-Croatian verb *pokoriti*. The prefix *po-* yields egressivity when added to the verb *koriti* ‘to conquer, subdue’. Hence, the overlap between Lat. *de-* and SC. *po-*, in their egressive functions, is complete. The intensive function of *de-* is expressed in (5) by Lat. *deamo* ‘to be passionately in love with’; it is translated by Serbo-Croatian *voleti puno* ‘to love very much’, without the change in any of the actional components.

The following Latin and the corresponding Serbo-Croatian translations show the lexical differences:

Latin *denego* ‘to reject, refuse, deny’ is rendered by the Serbo-Croatian verb *poreći* (3). Both *negare* ‘to deny’ and its more intensive cognate *denegare* would also be translated with SC *poreći*. This Serbo-Croatian verb cannot be prefixed since it already has the prefix *po-* in its rare, privative function (cf. *reći* ‘to say’). However, this lack of overlapping is the matter of lexical differences between two languages.

In (4), Lat. *delinquo* ‘to fail, be lacking, be wanting in one’s duty’ is used in the Present corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *grešiti* ‘to make mistakes’, which has a cognate *pogrešiti* ‘to make a mistake’ – telicized by the semelfactive component. Since, however, the prefixed *delinquo* expresses only intensity greater than expressed by *linquo* ‘go away, leave, quit, depart from’, both durative Latin verbs will be translated with Serbo-Croatian durative *grešiti*.

Some Early Latin *sco-*verbs, prefixed with *de-*, express egressivity. In (6), *depeciscor* means ‘to bargain for, agree upon, secure by bargaining’ as opposed to *paciscor*, which means ‘to negotiate, arrange an agreement, to seek or secure by bargaining’. While *depeciscor* corresponds to Serbo-

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<sup>179</sup> The verb *odbaciti* is also used with the meaning ‘to reject’, if the object is the abstract noun: *Odbacila je tu ideju*. ‘She rejected that idea.’

Croatian *pogoditi se*, the translation of the unprefixated *paciscor* in Serbo-Croatian is *pogađati se*. Serbo-Croatian keeps the prefix *po-* in both the verbs, whereas the stem changes: the atelic *pogađati se* becomes telic and durative *pogoditi se*.

For the other actional functions of the prefix *po-*, cf. § 3.5.2.1.

## (ii) *IZ-*

In example (2), from § 4.4.7.2, Lat. *defatigo* ‘to weary out, exhaust, tire’ is rendered by the Serbo-Croatian *izmoriti*: in case of this verb, Lat. *de-* overlaps with the SC. *iz-*. The function of *iz-* is very similar to *u-* (*umoriti* ‘to make someone tired’), where *u-* expresses completion and *iz-* expresses that the limit, indicated by the completion, has been surpassed.

In (7) *defetiscor* ‘to become tired or wearied; to grow weary, faint; to be exhausted’, the suffix *-sco* adds the durative component, expressed in the preliminary phase ‘to grow/become tired’. The corresponding Serbo-Croatian verb, *umarati*, has a durative stem. Both verbs are prefixed: Lat. *de-* corresponds to SC. *u-*. If we confront (7) with (2) Lat. *defatigo* – SC. *izmoriti*, the overlapping in Latin lack of suffix *-sco* and Serbo-Croatian stem that yields lack of durativity.

For the spatial functions of the prefix *iz-*, cf. § 3.5.2.7.

### 4.4.7.4 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian

The Latin spatial prefix *de-*, which expresses removal or separation, corresponds in its functions to Serbo-Croatian *s(a)-* and *od-*. These prefixes can combine with Activities, which they telicize. However, when they connect with Accomplishments or Achievements, the pure spatial meaning emerges (*odgristi* ‘to bite off’, *odbaciti* ‘to throw away’).

Both *de-* and *od-* show privative functions (*deesse, biti odsutan*). This function is strictly linked to the spatial function of separation. However, Serbo-Croatian cannot express this separation by the prefixed verb: it expresses it with the predicate adjectives.

Both prefixes *de-* in Latin and *po-* in Serbo-Croatian express egressivity as well as intensity (Lat. *delinquo* : SC. *pogrešiti*). However, *de-* cannot always be translated into Serbo-Croatian by adding the prefix *po-*: when the verb indicates a state, Serbo-Croatian expresses the intensity of the state (yielded by Latin *de-*) through the adverbial (Lat. *deamo*: SC. *puno voleti*).

The prefix *iz-* has a function very similar to the function of *u-* (Lat. *defetiscor* : SC. *umoriti* ‘to make someone tired’), where *u-* expresses completion and *iz-* expresses that the limit, indicated by the completion, has been surpassed (Lat. *defatigo* : SC. *izmoriti*).

From the examples of Latin *depeciscor* and Serbo-Croatian *pogoditi se* ‘to bargain for, agree upon’ on the one hand, Latin *paciscor* and Serbo-Croatian *pogađati se* ‘to agree, bargain’ on the other hand, I conclude that different morphological features can modify the actional features of Latin and Serbo-Croatian within the verbs with the same meaning: Serbo-Croatian uses the different stems to express what Latin expresses by the different prefixes.

Hence, the non-durative, telic verbs have correspondences between the prefixes *de-* and *iz-*, whereas the durativity is rendered, on the one hand, by the suffix *-sco* in Latin and by the durative stem in Serbo-Croatian, and, on the other hand, by the corresponding prefixes *de-* and *u-*, yielding telicity.

#### 4.4.8 AB-

##### 4.4.8.1 Spatial function

Being related to the corresponding preposition *ab*, the meaning of the prefix *ab* prevalently has the spatial meaning ‘away from’. Naturally, it combines very frequently with the verbs of motion. The spatial function of *ab/abs* is rendered by the verbs *abduco* ‘to lead away, to withdraw’ (1), *abstraho* ‘to drag, pull away’ (2), and *abeo* ‘to go away’ (3):

(1) Ter. *Hec.* 543–544: ut filiam ab eo **abduceres**

‘in order that you might withdraw your daughter from him’

SC: Da bi mogao **da odvedeš** ćerku od njega

(2) Ter. *And.* 519: Quis igitur eum ab illa **abstraxit** nisi ego?

‘Why, who has induced him to leave her, but myself?’

SC: Ko ga **je odvojio** od nje, ako ne ja? [VJ]

Ko **je**, dakle njega **odvukao** od nje, nego ja? [DP]

(3) Ter. *Hec.* 495: Quo **abis?** mane, mane, inquam: quo **abis?**

‘Whither are you going? Stay, stay, I tell you; whither are you going?’

SC: Kud **odlaziš?** Ostani, ostani, kažem ti: kud **odlaziš?**

With the states as *esse*, this prefix also adds the component of physical removal or separation. This is the case in *absum* ‘to be absent, to lack’ (4), but in this case, Serbo-Croatian has no corresponding use of a prefixed verb:

(4) Ter. *And.* 848: Bene sane: id enim uero hinc nunc **abest.**

‘Very good: of course, that's the only thing that's now wanting here.’

SC: Odlično: naravno, to je jedino što nam sada ovde **nedostaje**.

In Terence, we also encounter verbs as *ablego* ‘to send off, dispatch, banish’ (5), *absterreo* ‘to drive away by terrifying, frighten away, deter (by fear)’ (6), and *abalieno* ‘to convey away, sell, alienate’ (7). These verbs, which are not verbs of motion, corresponding to verbs with several different prefixes in Serbo-Croatian, all convey the separation or departure of the characters under certain circumstances or the intensity of the event.

(5) Ter. *Hec.* 413: aliquo mihist hinc **ablegandus**, dum parit Philumena.

‘He must be dispatched by me somewhere till Philumena is delivered.’

**Moram da** ga nekud **pošaljem**, dok se Filumena ne porodi.

(6) Ter. *An.* 470: hanc simulant parere, quo Chremetem **absterreant**.

‘they are pretending that she’s in labor, in order that they may alarm Chremes.’

SC: prave se kako se devojka porađa, **da bi uplašili** Hremeta. [VJ]

simuliraju njen porođaj, **da bi poplašili** Hremeta. [DP]

(7) Ter. *Haut.* 978: unde peterem mihi cibum: ita nos **abalienauit**.

‘Where I am to get my subsistence; he has so utterly cast us adrift.’

SC: Gde sad da se hranim. Baš nas **je najurio**. [VJ]

Gde da tražim svoju hranu; toliko nas **je otuđio**. [DP]

#### 4.4.8.2 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian

##### (i) *OD-*

The spatial function of *ab/abs* is found in the verbs *abduco* ‘to lead away, to withdraw’ (1) and *abstraho* ‘to drag, pull away’ (2): for these Latin verbs, Serbo-Croatian has corresponding *odvesti* (1) and *odvući* (2). The verb most frequently prefixed by *ab-*, *abeo* is rendered by Serbo-Croatian *odlaziti* ‘to go away, depart’ (3).

Hence, with the verbs of motion, there is a coherent overlapping of the Latin prefix *ab-* and the Serbo-Croatian prefix *od-*. This spatial function of the Serbo-Croatian prefix *od-* is related to the spatial function of the Latin prefix *de-* (see § 4.4.7.3 (a)).

The verb *abesse* does not overlap morphologically with a corresponding expression in Serbo-Croatian. This fact is due to the over-comprehensiveness of meanings of the compounds of *esse* and

the shifts in their semantic field concerning the inherent features (as agentivity). For example, *biti odsutan* ‘to be absent’ contains the prefix *od-* within the predicate adjective; however, it could be used only for animate agents. Usually, for the inanimate subjects in Serbo-Croatian *nedostajati* is used (cf. § 4.5.8.1, example (4)).

Hence, there is no correspondence between Latin *abesse* and Serbo-Croatian *nedostajati*. However, if the subject is animated, in Serbo-Croatian there is the prefix *od-*, corresponding to Latin *ab-*.

For the other functions of the spatial *od-*, see §§ 3.5.2.6 and 4.4.7.3 (a).

## (ii) *PO-*

In Terence, some verbs prefixed by *ab-* do not convey motion. These verbs in Serbo-Croatian take the prefix *po-*. Latin *ablego* is translated into Serbo-Croatian *poslati*: TEL ‘to send off, dispatch, banish’ (cf. § 4.4.8.1, example (5)). The prefix *po-* has a twofold meaning with this verb: it could either yield the telicity of the initially atelic event *slati* ‘to send: ATEL’, or the intensified meaning of separation, already given by the unprefixated verb. In (6), Latin *absterreo* corresponds to the Serbo-Croatian *poplašiti* ‘to drive away by terrifying, frighten away, deter’.

For the other examples of the spatial *po-*, see § 4.4.5.3 (a). This spatial prefix in Serbo-Croatian mostly corresponds to Latin *ob-*.

### 4.4.8.3 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian

In the strict expression of spatial meaning, Serbo-Croatian *od-* corresponds to the Latin *ab-*; yet, the translations depend on the verbal semantics, and this Serbo-Croatian prefix can sometimes be substituted by *po-*. There is no corresponding prefixed Serbo-Croatian verb to the Latin *abesse* ‘to be absent, to lack’. We can compare this mechanism to the Latin prefix *de-* and Serbo-Croatian *od-* (*deesse*, *biti odsutan*, cf. § 4.4.7.3). However, this function is strictly linked to the spatial function of separation. However, Serbo-Croatian cannot express this separation by the prefixed verb: it expresses it with a predicate adjective.

For the Latin verbs prefixed with *ab-*, which do not indicate a directly expressed movement, the corresponding Serbo-Croatian prefix is *po-* (Lat. *ablego* : SC. *poslati*; Lat. *absterreo* : SC. *poplašiti*), in addition to the generic, spatial *od-* (Lat. *abalienare* : SC. *otuđiti*). These verbs do not represent the clear-cut spatial meaning of the prefixes since they are not verbs of motion. Since the semantic functions of the verbs in this set of Latin verbs are heterogenous, Serbo-Croatian verbs get different corresponding prefixes. However, prefixes *od-* and *po-* convey the separation or departure of the characters under certain circumstances or the intensity of the event.

#### 4.4.9 PER-<sup>180</sup>

The prefix *per-* has actional, spatial and perdurative functions. In Terence, I found 32 verbs prefixed with *per-* of which 12 have a spatial, 16 an actional and four a perdurative function.

##### 4.4.9.1 The spatial function

In this function, *per-* means ‘through, throughout’. Various subfunctions are forming the continuum of the more complex spatial function.

1) Purely spatial function = ‘through’

*perfluo* ‘to flow or run through’ (cf. Italian *percolare* ‘to put through a filter, filter through’)

2) Prevalently spatial function = ‘through, throughout’

(i) *perstrepo* ‘to make a loud or continuous noise, make a place resound with noise’.

(ii) *pertempto* ‘to probe or feel or examine all over or thoroughly’.

3a) ‘through and all the way to’ (with *intransitive* verbs implying movement)

(i) *percurro* ‘to run, move quickly over or through, to travel quickly through, from end to end’.

(ii) *persequor* ‘to follow persistently or all the way, pursue, look for until one finds’.

(iii) *pertendo* ‘to continue resolutely in a course of action, attitude etc.; continue on one’s way, press on, reach (a point)’;

(iv) *peruenio* ‘to come to a place, get to, arrive at, get through, penetrate, reach (to), arrive as far as’.

(v) *peruoluo* ‘to roll or turn over, move to and fro’.

(vi) *pereo* ‘to vanish, disappear, perish, die, come to an end’.

(vii) *perrepto* (*perreptaui*) ‘to creep about the place, creep or crawl over or through (ground)’.

3b) ‘through and all the way to’ (with *transitive* verbs implying movement)

(i) *perduco* ‘to bring, take to a destination’.

(ii) *perfero* (*pertuli*) ‘carry, convey to a person or place, deliver; endure, put up with’.

(iii) *pellicio* (< *per+lacio*; *pellexit*) ‘to draw away, attract, win over by insidious means’.

(iv) *permitto* ‘to cause or allow to travel over a distance, allow full scope to, leave to another to do or decide’.

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<sup>180</sup> About the impossibility to always distinguish the spatial and the actional functions of this prefix, see the examples in §2.5.2.8.

(v) *perpello* ‘to prevail upon, constrain, drive all the way (to a place)’.

The spatial component expressed by the prefixed verbs in (1) and (2) is accompanied by the prepositions. *Pervenio* ‘to come up, arrive’ (1) is accompanied by *in* (with Accusative) ‘in’, and *percurro* ‘to run along, over, all the way’ (2) is accompanied by *ad* (with Accusative) ‘to’. *Perduco* ‘to lead through’ (3) is accompanied by the adverb *illuc* ‘thither’:

(1) Ter. *Eun.* 9: unde is sit thesaurus sibi aut unde in patrium monumentum **peruenerit**.

‘how this treasure belongs to him, or how it came into the tomb of his father.’

SC: Odakle njemu ovo blago ili odakle **je** ono **dospelo** u grob njegovog oca.

(2) Ter. *And.* 335: continuo ad te properans **percurro** ad forum, ut dicam haec tibi.

‘Hastening to you immediately, I ran on to the Forum that I might tell you these things.’

SC: Smesta **potrčim** na trg da ti sve kažem. [VJ]

Žureći ka tebi **dotrčim** do Foruma da ti ovo kažem. [DP]

(3) Ter. *And.* 80: qui tum illam amabant, forte, ita ut fit, filium **perduxere** illuc, se cum ut una esset, meum.

‘Those who then were her admirers, by chance, as it often happens, took my son thither that he might be in their company.’

SC: Oni koji su je tada voleli su slučajno, kao što to obično biva, **povedu** tamo mog sina, da bi bio sa njima [VJ]

Oni koji **su** je tada voleli su slučajno, kao što to obično biva, **doveli** tamo mog sina, da bi bio sa njima [DP]

There are verbs with both spatial and actional functions triggered or enhanced by the preposition *per-*. These two functions are often blurred since the original spatial meaning gave origin to the actional function. In (4), *perfero* ‘to endure, to bear through, to carry (offspring)’ initially refers to the completed distance, but also the entire period of labour endured. Its functions are both spatial and actional, contextually determined. The same stands for *pereo* ‘to vanish, disappear, perish, die, come to an end’ (5). Since this verb has the spatial and actional endpoint blurred (‘come to an end’ is interpreted both spatially as well as temporally – ‘to die’), the spatial function (5a) of the prefixed verb, in this case, overlaps with its actional function (5b).

(4) Ter. *Ad.* 494: paupertatem una **pertulimus** grauem.

‘together we have endured the hardships of poverty.’

SC: Jedan uz drugog **smo izdržali** tešku sirotinju. [VJ]

Zajedno **smo pregurali** teško siromaštvo. [DP]

(5a) Plaut. *Eun.* 521-523: *ecqua inde parva perisset soror, / ecquis cum ea una, quid habuisset quom perit, / ecquis eam posset noscere?*

“Had I lost a little sister from there? Was there anyone with her? What did she have on her when she disappeared? Was there anyone who could recognise her?”

SC: Je li odande **nestala** sestrice? Je li iko sa njom? Šta je imala na sebi kad je **nestala**? Ima li ikoga ko bi mogao da je prepozna?

(5b) Plaut. *Ps.* 300: *ita miser et amore pereo et inopia argentaria.*

‘I’m perishing from love and lack of funds, poor me.’

SC: **Umirem** od ljubavi I nedostatka novca, jadan ja.

#### 4.4.9.2 The actional function

In its actional function, *per-* highlights the completeness of the situation, as well as its intensity.

#### 4) Completion

(i) *persuadeo* ‘to persuade, succeed in urging’.

(ii) *perficio* ‘to complete, finish, make perfect, achieve’.

(iii) *perfungor* ‘to carry through, discharge one’s part (in an activity or process)’.

(iv) *pertimesco* (*pertimui*) ‘to become very scared, take excessive fright’.

(v) *perdolui* – from *perdolesco* ‘to become very annoyed or sorry (because of something)’ (cf. Haverling 2000: 354; not from *\*perdoleo* as claimed by OLD).

(vi) *pernosco* ‘to become thoroughly acquainted with, get to know well’.

(vii) *persentisco* ‘to become fully conscious of something’.

Latin verb prefixed by *per-* could be Accomplishments or Achievements, depending on the context it occurs in. It contains an end-point conveyed by the prefix, but the existence of the preliminary phase is arbitrary. Examples are *perficio* ‘to manage, obtain’ (1) and *pernosco* ‘to learn thoroughly and become fully acquainted with’ (2).

(1) Ter. *Eun.* 18–19: Menandri Eunuchum, postquam aediles emerunt, **perfecit** sibi ut inspiciundi esset copia

‘After the Aediles had purchased the Eunuch of Menander, he managed to get an opportunity of viewing it’

SC: ...udesio je [VJ]

Pošto su Edili kupili Menandrovog Evnuha, **učinio je / uspeo je** da dobije kopiju za čitanje. [DP]

(2) Ter. *Ad.* 12–14: **pernoscite** furtum ne factum existumetis an locum reprehensum, qui praeteritus neclegentiast.

‘Determine then whether you think a theft has been committed, or a passage has been restored to notice which has been passed over in neglect.’

SC: **Zaključite** da li je posredi krađa ili spasavanje jedne scene...[VJ]

**Utvrđite** da li smatrate da je krađa učinjena, ili je taj deo, koji je ranije preskočen ponovo uzet u obzir. [DP]

5) ‘strongly, much’<sup>181</sup>

(i) *percupio* ‘to desire strongly’;

(ii) *pernego* ‘to deny flatly or persistently, refuse obstinately’.

(iii) *perterreo* (*perterrebo*) ‘to frighten greatly, terrify’.

(iv) *perterrefacio* ‘to make extremely frightened’.

Latin verb prefixed by *per-* often offers the reinforced definition of the corresponding unprefix verb. Examples are *pernego* ‘to deny stoutly’ (3) and *percupio* ‘to desire earnestly’ (4). Both are prefixed cognates of the unprefix counterparts – *nego* ‘to deny’ and *cupio* ‘to desire’.

(3) Ter. *Eun.* 29–30: sed ea ex fabula factas prius Latinas scisse sese, id uero **pernegat**.

‘But assuredly, he does deny this, that he was aware that those pieces had been already translated into Latin.’

SC: **zaista odbija** [VJ]

Ali on sigurno **odlučno poriče** to da je znao da su delovi ove price već prevedeni na latinski. [DP]

(4) Ter. *Eun.* 896: Immo **percupio**.

‘Why yes, I should like it much.’

SC: **Voleo bih** to više nego išta! [VJ]

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<sup>181</sup> Cf. *per-* in *pertimesco* and *perdolesco* in the adverbs and adjectives. For example, *peruulgatus* (*-uulgatus*) ‘very common, usual, widely known, familiar’, *percrudus*, *percomis*, *permagnus*, etc.

### Mnogo to želim. [DP]

Also, the emotional reactions, brought to their utmost extent, are expressed in Latin by some verbs with *per-*. The end-point is acquired by the addition of the prefix *per-*, which telicizes the corresponding unprefixated verbs. The examples are *perterrefacio* ‘to frighten thoroughly’ (5) and *perturbo* ‘to disturb, confuse thoroughly’ (6), in which the completeness of the emotional state is expressed as opposed to the unprefixated initial verbs *terrefacio* ‘to frighten’, *turbo* ‘to disturb’).

(5) Ter. *And.* 168: nunc tuomst officium, has bene ut adsimules nuptias, **perterrefacias** Dauom,

‘Now it's your duty to pretend these nuptials cleverly, to terrify Davus;’

SC: Sada je tvoj zadatak da vešto pripremiš tobožnju svadbu, da **uplašiš** Davosa [VJ]

Sada je tvoja dužnost da veštp odglumiš ovo venčanje i da **preplašiš** Davosa [DP]

(6) Ter. *And.* 601: iam **perturbavi** Omnia

‘I've upset every thing now’

SC: Sve sam okrenuo na glavu. [VJ]

Sve **sam uznemirio**. [DP]

In some verbs, the prefix conveys both the change and the intensity of the situation. Example is *pertimui* ‘became very afraid’ (7). (Cf. the stative verb *timeo* ‘to be afraid’ and the egressive verb in Perfect tense – *extimui* ‘became afraid’). We can confront this example with *pernego* (3) and *percupio* (4).

(7) Ter. *Ph.* 601: sed quid **pertimui** autem belua?

‘still, brute beast that I am, what was I afraid of?’

SC: Ali, što sam se **toliko uplašio**, ja ovakav laf?

Sometimes, the natural processes of becoming of the specific (physical) condition are expressed by the verbs prefixed with *per-* (*peraresco* ‘become thoroughly dry’, *permaturesco* ‘become fully ripe, mature, *perfrigesco* ‘become very cold or chilled; catch cold’) (cf. the examples in Haverling 2000: 353–354). However, these verbs are not found in Terence.

#### 4.4.9.3 The perdurative function

In the combined - perdurative and spatial – function, *per-* means ‘thorough a period’.

6) ‘throughout’ (a period)

- (i) *perduro* ‘to continue in existence, hold out, endure to the end’;
- (ii) *pernocto* ‘to spend or occupy the night (in a place or with a person)’;
- (iii) *permaneo* ‘to go on staying in a place, remain, continue or persist, last, survive’.<sup>182</sup>

The perdurative function is strictly related to the spatial function. It conveys that the situation lasted over a certain period, covering length, which can be perceived spatially. In (1), *pernocto* ‘to stay all night, to pass all night’; it conveys that the situation lasted for the whole period, which, in this case, is the entire night.

(1) Ter. *Ad.* 531: Interdius: sed si hic **pernocto**, causae quid dicam, Syre?

‘During the daytime; but if I pass the night here, what excuse can I make, Syrus?’

SC: Preko dana. Ali ako ovde **provedem noć**, čime onda da se izgovaram, a Siruse? [VJ]

Tokom dana: ali ako ovde **prenoćim**, kakav izgovor da dam, Sire? [DP]

#### 4.4.9.4 The corresponding prefixes in Serbo-Croatian

##### a) The spatial function

The spatial function of Lat. *per-* is expressed by the Serbo-Croatian prefixes *do-* and *pre-*.

##### (i) *DO-*

(1) *pervenio* ‘to come up, arrive’ is accompanied by *in* (with Accusative) ‘in’; in Serbo-Croatian, it is translated by *dospeti* and the preposition *u* ‘in’. In (2), *perduco* ‘to lead through’ is accompanied by *illuc* ‘thither’; it is translated in Serbo-Croatian by *dovesti* and the adverb *tamo*. (3) *percurro* ‘to run along, over, all the way’ is accompanied by *ad* (with Accusative) ‘to’; it is translated into Serbo-Croatian by *dotrčati*, and the preposition *do-* ‘to’. For the corresponding spatial functions of Serbo-Croatian *do-*, see § 4.4.3.4 (spatial functions of the Latin prefix *ad-*).

##### (ii) *PRE-*<sup>183</sup>

Semantics of the prefix *pre-* is related to the meaning of the preposition *preko* ‘over, across’. The primary function of *pre-* is adding the component of telicity to the initially atelic verbs. Most of the verbs that combine with this prefix are the Activities, which become Accomplishments (1).

<sup>182</sup> In addition to the perdurative, the function of this verb is strictly related to the intensive function, where the duration is not only specified, but intensified as well (cf. *commoror* ‘to linger, abide, sojourn’).

<sup>183</sup> Cf. §3.5.2.10.

(1a) **Plivala je** tri sata.

‘**She was swimming** for three hours.’

(1b) \***Plivala je** za tri sata.

\*‘**She was swimming** in three hours.’

(1c) \***Preplivala je** reku tri sata.

\*‘**She swam across** the river for three hours.’

(1d) **Preplivala je** reku za tri sata.

‘**She swam across** the river in three hours.’

*Plivati* ‘to swim’ is an Activity (1a–1b), whereas *preplivati* ‘to swim across, to swim over’ is an Accomplishment (1c–1d): its end-point, both spatially and temporally, is set by the prefix *pre-*. More precisely, it means ‘to swim over/across and to reach the opposite shore’. Hence, its preparatory phase is left intact by the actional influence of *pre-*, yet the initial verb *plivati* is telicized.

This Serbo-Croatian prefix, apart from its evident actional function, can also yield a distributive component if accompanied by the quantified object (*Prebrojao je ovce za tri sata*. ‘He counted: TEL sheep in three hours.’).

Hence, *pre-* telicizes the verb and may also add a spatial or a distributive meaning to it.

## b) The actional function

(i) *U-*

In § 4.4.9.2 (1), SC. *učiniti* or *uspeti* ‘to achieve, bring to an end, accomplish’ correspond to the Latin *perficio*.

Serbo-Croatian verbs prefixed with *u-* could be Accomplishments or Achievements, depending on the context they occur in. They have a common end-point, conveyed by the prefix, but the existence of the preliminary phase is arbitrary. In (2) Lat. *pernosco* ‘to learn thoroughly, become fully acquainted with’ is translated by Serbo-Croatian *utvrđiti*.

In § 4.4.9.2 (3), Latin *pernego* ‘to deny stoutly’ is a prefixed cognate of *nego* ‘to deny’: both verbs are already telic. Hence, the meaning of the verb is only reinforced by *per-*. In Serbo-Croatian, the translation of both *nego* and *pernego* is *poricati*, where *po-* has a privative function. In (4) *percupio* means ‘to desire earnestly’, while its unprefixated cognate is *cupio* ‘to desire’. *Percupio* is rendered by Serbo-Croatian *želeći mnogo* ‘to wish for very much’. Serbo-Croatian verb *želeći* or

*hteti* 'to wish for, desire' cannot be prefixed to intensify its meaning, and the same is true for *poricati* (3).

(ii) *PRE-*

In (5) and (6), the prefix both Latin *per-* and Serbo-Croatian *pre-* conveys the completeness of the emotional state: Latin *perterrefacio* 'to frighten thoroughly' is rendered by Serbo-Croatian *preplašiti*, while Latin *perturbo* 'to disturb, confuse thoroughly' is rendered by Serbo-Croatian *uznemiriti*. Hence, both verbs acquire the end-point after adding the Latin prefix *per-* and Serbo-Croatian *pre-* and *uz-* that telicize the initial verbs *terrefacio* 'to frighten', SC. *plašiti* and *turbo* 'to disturb' (\**nemiriti*).<sup>184</sup>

Latin *pertimui* 'became very frightened' corresponds to the Serbo-Croatian *jako sam se uplašila* (cf. Haverling 2000 pp. 56, 225–226, 248). In this case, the prefix conveys the intensity of the situation, without being able to telicize it (cf. *extimui* 'became afraid' is translated *jako sam se uplašila*). Hence, the Latin prefix adds the intensity to the verb, rendered in Serbo-Croatian by the adverb *jako* 'greatly, much'.

The intensity is not always lexicalized within the verb in SC; sometimes, it is expressed by the adverbials.

The Serbo-Croatian prefix *pre-* can combine with the Activities (1a), resulting in the prefixed Achievements (1b). *Prebledeti* 'to become completely pale' is an Achievement.

(1a) **Bledela je** dve sekunde.

'**She was being pale** for two seconds.'

(1b) **Prebledela je** u tom trenutku.

'**She became pale** at that moment.'

Hence, *pre-* can influence both telicity and durativity.

Some States combine with the prefix *pre-*: *boleti* 'to hurt' – *preboleti* 'to get over'; *brinuti* 'to worry' – *prebrinuti* 'to finish worrying'. These prefixed verbs Accomplishments: the prefix changes the property of stativity to dynamicity and telicizes them without changing the initial durativity.

Hence, *pre-* can also influence stativity.

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<sup>184</sup> *Nemiriti*, in fact, does not exist in Serbo-Croatian. There is, however, its positive cognate *miriti* 'to make peace'.

### c) The perdurative function

Latin and Serbo-Croatian have corresponding prefixes yielding perdurativity, derived from the same PIE prefix \**per-*: in Latin, it is *per-*, and in Serbo-Croatian, it is *pre-*.

Serbo-Croatian prefix *pre-* corresponds in its perdurative function to Latin *per-* when it means ‘thorough a period’. *Prenočiti* ‘to stay all night, to pass all night’ (Lat. *pernocto*) expresses the duration in time and, contemporarily, the end-point. The perdurative *pre-* sets the focus on the whole period expressed by the simplex and also encompasses the end-point, signalled by the end of the natural end of the period (*nočiti* is related to *noć* ‘night’) (cf. the example (2) in § 4.4.9.3).

#### 4.4.9.5 Differences and similarities between Latin and Serbo-Croatian

Since Latin *per-* and Serbo-Croatian *do-* explicitly express the spatial goal, these prefixes yield the direction of motion verbs in both languages. Similar spatial functions of the Latin prefix are defined by Latin *ad-*, and Serbo-Croatian *do-*, (cf. § 4.4.3.4). By the analysis in § 4.4.9.4 (a), we can conclude that Serbo-Croatian prefixes *do-* and *pre-* both correspond to the spatial functions of Latin *per-*. As shown in § 4.4.3.4, *do-* also overlaps with the spatial functions of the Latin prefix *ad-*.

The Latin prefix *per-* corresponds in its actional (mostly completive) function to the Serbo-Croatian prefixes *u-* and *pre-*. In § 4.5.9.2 (1), Latin *perficio* and Serbo-Croatian *učiniti* ‘to achieve, bring to an end, accomplish’ correspond too. That is an example of the overlapping of the unprefixed atelic and prefixed telic verbs in Latin and Serbo-Croatian, also usually used by Kravar (1980):

facere : činiti = perficere : učiniti

Both Latin and Serbo-Croatian verbs prefixed by *per-* and *u-* could be Accomplishments or Achievements, depending on the context they occur in. They emphasize the end-point, conveyed by the prefix, but the existence of the preliminary phase is arbitrary.

While in some cases, Latin prefix *per-* and Serbo-Croatian *pre-* convey the completeness of the emotional state (cf. § 4.4.9.2 (5): Latin *perterrefacio* = Serbo-Croatian *preplašiti* ‘to frighten thoroughly’), the intensity expressed by the Latin prefix *per-*, it cannot be lexicalized as a verbal feature in Serbo-Croatian: in this language, the intensity is expressed by the adverbs (cf. § 4.4.9.1 (8), Latin *pertimui* = Serbo-Croatian *jako se uplašiti* ‘to become very frightened’) and rarely by the prefixes (cf. § 4.4.9.2 (3) *pernego* Latin = Serbo-Croatian *poricati* ‘to deny stoutly’).

Latin and Serbo-Croatian have corresponding prefixes yielding perdurativity: in Latin, it is *per-* and in Serbo-Croatian, it is *pre-*.

In § 4.4.9.3 (1), *pernocto* ‘to stay all night, to pass all night’ is rendered by the Serbo-Croatian *prenoćiti*; in (2) *perfero* ‘to bear through’ is translated in Serbo-Croatian *pregurati*. Both verbs indicate that the situation lasted for the whole, explicitly expressed, period: in (1), it is the whole night, whereas in (2), it is a period of poverty.

#### 4.4.10. Summary

The Latin suffix *-sco* transforms the stative into the dynamic situations (*calere* ‘to be warm into *calescere* ‘to grow warm’, *silere* ‘to be silent’ into *silescere* ‘to grow more/ silent’) (§ 4.3.1). This function *-sco* is expressed in Serbo-Croatian by the unprefixated verbs, instead of the stative periphrasis: SC. *grejati* = Lat. *calescere* and SC. *sušiti* = Lat. *arescere*, and by the prefixed verbs, focus on the already dynamic event in Serbo-Croatian: *primiriti* = Lat. *silescere* and SC. *zagoreti* = Lat. *ardescere*. In Early Latin, prefixes often coerce the shift in focus of the event suffixed with *-sco*. The suffix *-sco* is sometimes added to the already dynamic event: it triggers a change between two actional classes with dynamic properties. The prefixation usually renders this shift in Serbo-Croatian.

Both the Serbo-Croatian and the Latin prefixes possess the same polyfunctionality. The ingressive-egressive pairs often correspond: *conticesco* – *ućutati* means ‘to become quiet’ (entrance into a state), *concalesco* – *ugrejati* means ‘to warm up’ (completion). The same prefix can also yield a distinction between an unprefixated and an Accomplishment prefixed Achievement. The prefix, hence, can be a marker of momentaneity, where the simplex expresses a non-momentaneous yet telic event.

Prefixes can:

- a) telicize the events (*edere* ‘to eat’, SC. *jesti* – *comedere* ‘to eat up’, SC. *pojesti*)
- b) indicate a change of state (*tacui* ‘was silent’, SC. *ćutala je* – *conticui* ‘stopped talking’, SC. *ućutala je*).
- c) focus on different stages of an event (*inarescere* ‘start growing dry, grow somewhat dry’, SC. *početi da se suši* – *exarescere* ‘become dry’, SC. *osušiti se*).
- d) add the spatial function (*ingredior* ‘I go into’, SC. *ući* – *egredior* ‘I go out from’, SC. *izaći* or *transfere* ‘to carry across or over’, SC. *preneti*) or perdurativity (*pervigilo* ‘stay awake the whole night’, SC. *probdeti*). And they can intensify and de-intensify the sense of a verb (cf., e.g., *condormire* ‘be fast asleep’, SC. *zaspati* and *subrubere* ‘be reddish’, SC. *zacrveneti se*).

In Latin and Serbo-Croatian, there are many correspondences between the functions of the prefixes. For instance, the prefixes *con-* and *po-* seldom transform a non-dynamic into a dynamic verb alone; in most cases, they add the completion component to an already dynamic verb. Completion is an integral part of the more comprehensive intensity function since the event, being “intensified,” implicitly reaches the inherent or externally set boundary. In Serbo-Croatian, the completive Latin verbs are translated with the stative expression. Here is an example of the overlapping of the unprefixated atelic and prefixed telic verbs in Latin and Serbo-Croatian, also usually used by Kravar (1980):

facere : činiti = perficere : učiniti

On the other hand, some functions of Latin prefixes do not correspond to the prefixes in Serbo-Croatian. For instance, the intensity expressed in Latin by the prefix *con-* is added in Serbo-Croatian by the adverb ‘very, much’ (*concalesco* ‘be nicely warmed’, SC. *biti dobro zagrejan*). There is also no corresponding morphological behaviour in Serbo-Croatian with the Latin sociative *-con* (*conlacrumare* ‘to weep together’, SC. ‘plakati zajedno’).

Sometimes, one Latin prefix bears various functions corresponding to more than one prefix in the Serbo-Croatian. Latin prefix *per-* corresponds in its actional (mostly completive) function to the Serbo-Croatian prefixes *u-* and *pre-*. In § 4.5.9.2 (1), Latin *perficio* and Serbo-Croatian *učiniti* ‘to achieve, bring to an end, accomplish’ correspond too. Latin verbs prefixed with *ab-*, which do not indicate a directly expressed movement, corresponding to the verbs in Serbo-Croatian prefixed with *po-* (Lat. *ablego* : SC. *poslati*; Lat. *absterreo* : SC. *poplašiti*), in addition to the generic, spatial *od-* (Lat. *abalienare* : SC. *otuđiti*). There is also the overlap in the translation of different Latin spatial prefixes with the same one in Serbo-Croatian: the Latin spatial prefix *de-*, which expresses removal or separation, corresponds in its functions to Serbo-Croatian *od-* and *s(a)-* (§ 4.4.7.4).

## 4.5 Tense and Aspect

I shall now compare the tense systems and the aspectual oppositions in Latin and in Serbo-Croatian. I have given an overview of the two systems above (cf. § § 2.2, 2.3, 2.4 and § § 3.2, 3.3, 3.4). I shall now mainly focus on the aspectual oppositions in the past tenses since the aspectual oppositions in Latin and Serbo-Croatian emerged only in Past.

### 4.5.1 Tense

However, before dealing with the aspectual oppositions in Latin and Serbo-Croatian, I shall remark on how absolute, relative, and relative tenses are expressed in the two languages.

The Latin tense system has lost some of the features met with in late Proto-Indo-European: instead of the system of three aspectual stems (present, aorist, perfect), we find a system of only two, the *infectum* and the *perfectum*; and instead of the four moods still encountered in Classical Greek (indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative), Latin has only three (indicative, subjunctive, imperative). That we are dealing with losses is indicated by the fact that there are some traces of the earlier forms in Early Latin (cf. § 2.1).

The loss of certain aspectual functions indicated in the earlier language, for instance, by the Aorist, leads to a new system in which, for example, the Aorist subjunctive is reinterpreted in certain functions as a *futurum exactum*. A new system in which much focus is on temporal relations is thus created (cf. § 2.2).

The Proto-Slavic language gave origin to the early structure of the Tense system in Serbo-Croatian. The Present is used to convey current events; Aorist is used to describe semelfactive, completed events; the Imperfect is used refer to the long-lasting or habitual events that were not completed; finally, the Perfect is used to express past events with current relevance. The semantic field of the Perfect tense gradually came to coincide with that of the Aorist and the Imperfect. Simultaneously, the Aorist and the Imperfect suffered a similar fate: The Perfect tense gradually replaced them in the Slavic area, especially in a North-South direction, except for South Slavic (cf. § 3.1).

In Serbo-Croatian, the Aorist (cf. § 3.2.3.1) often expresses the current relevance for events completed just before or after the point of the speech. This tense is still used in current everyday spoken and written communication (see Stanojević and Geld 2011). Here are some interesting parallels with Latin, with a similar blurring of the perfect and the past tense functions (cf. § 2.2 examples 1 and 2). The result of our research confirmed the hypothesis stating that the Imperfect has a minimal domain of use in contemporary Serbo-Croatian (cf. § 3.2.3.2; also, Pušić 2013). The

presence of the Aorist in Serbo-Croatian and the absence of the Imperfect tense show a significant difference between the two tense systems.

#### 4.5.1.1 Absolute tense

The absolute tenses in the indicative in Latin are the Present (*voco*), the Perfect (*vocavi*), the Imperfect (*vocabam*) and the Simple future (*vocabo*). The absolute tenses in the indicative in Serbo-Croatian are Present (*zovem*), the Perfect (*zvao sam*), the Imperfect (*zvah/zovijah*), the Aorist (*(po)zvah*) and the Simple future (*zvaću*). The use of Serbo-Croatian preterites is strictly bound to verbal actionality. The Imperfect, out of current use, is associated with atelic verbs, while the Aorist is used only with the telic verbs. The Perfect tense, used with telic and atelic verbs, has gradually substituted all the main functions of both preterites. The presence of the preterites in Serbo-Croatian is feeble and often limited to the modal functions.

#### 4.5.1.2 Absolute-relative tense

The absolute-relative tenses in Latin are the Future perfect (*vocavero*) and the Pluperfect (*vocaveram*). The same tenses exist in Serbo-Croatian: the Future perfect (*budem zvao*) and the Pluperfect (*bio sam/bejah zvao*). The modalities of use in the two languages mostly overlap.

In Early and Classical Latin, the Future Perfect indicates anteriority in the future and completeness. Sometimes (e.g., Sjögren 1906), the Simple Future and the Future Perfect may overlap. Risselada (2000) claims that the Future Perfect is always an absolute-relative tense expressing an absolute-relative time in all occurrences. In Archaic Latin, there probably existed an aspectual opposition which later was reinterpreted as the sequence of events (Kühner & Stegmann 1955 § 37; Hoffmann & Szantyr 1965: §180). The Archaic opposition between *faciam* and *fecero* is an example of the initially significant aspectual difference. Indeed, the opposition between Simple Future and Future Perfect does not bound the verbs within the usual temporal opposition met with present and past Tenses that prototypically entails the aspectual opposition – imperfective vs perfective.

The later outweigh of the Tenses over the aspect conveyed the temporal opposition replacing binary aspectual distinction between the perfectum and the infectum.

In Serbo-Croatian, Future Perfect conveys the unrealized situation the speaker supposes will happen after the moment of speech, but before some other future situation. The temporal conjunctions (*kad* ‘when’, *čim* ‘as soon as’) often anchor it to the moment before the different future situation occurs. Another possibility is that the speaker supposes that the action will happen contemporarily with

some other future action (*Učiniću za vas sve što budem mogao*. ‘I shall do for you anything I will be able to.’).

The Pluperfect expresses the absolute-relative time reference in the past, as the Future Perfect does for the future. Usually, the Pluperfect is used with a precise reference to the time interval that unfolded between two past situations with a standard reference.

In Latin, the Pluperfect combines with the adverbials with general past reference (as *heri* ‘yesterday’) and the adverbials with the relative past reference as *prius* (see Pinkster 1995: 301 ff.). In Serbo-Croatian, the Pluperfect is currently used for the events anchored in the past by the adverb *već* ‘already’. This tense is also used for events sudden events anchored in a distant past. Its use pattern in the current Serbo-Croatian is unclear, but it is perceived as referring to very remote events. In Early Latin, especially in Plautus, the passive Perfect (in the descriptions of the situations) was expressed with Passive Pluperfect. In contrast, passive Pluperfect was pushed even further to the past using the Perfect Passive Participle with the Pluperfect of *esse* (Pl. *Amph.* 430: *ut matre fuerat natum* ‘just as it was born from the mother’).

In the passive voice and with deponent verbs, there is an alternation of the Perfect Passive Participle with the Imperfect tense of *esse* and the Pluperfect of *esse*. The participle considered merely a verbal adjective and detached from its already perfective meaning, triggered the transposition of Passive into the past. In Serbo-Croatian, in both diatheses, there is the equivalent possibility to form the Pluperfect from the Perfect or the Imperfect tense of the auxiliary *biti* (*bio/bila sam otišao/otišla – bejah otišao/otišla*). In the latter case, the use of the Imperfect derives from its perception as of the tense with the remote reference. Its use may compare to the Latin use of the Pluperfect with *esse*.

#### 4.5.1.3 Relative tense

Infinitives and participles indicate the relative tense structures in Latin: the participles indicating Present tense (*vocans*) and Future (*vocaturus*) are active, whereas the Perfect participle has a passive function (*vocatus*). Of the infinitives, we find both active and passive forms in all tenses. In Serbo-

Croatian, the infinitives appear only in the Present tense, active and passive forms. The participles are two – the present active (*zovući*) and the perfect passive (*zvan, -a, -o*)

	Past	Present	Future
Active infinitive	<i>vocavisse</i> ‘	<i>vocare</i> ‘zvati’	<i>vocaturus -a, -um esse</i>
Passive infinitive	<i>vocatus -a, -um esse</i>	<i>vocari</i> ‘biti pozvan’	<i>vocatum iri</i>
Active participle		<i>vocans</i> ‘zovući’	<i>vocaturus, -a, -um</i>
Passive participle	<i>vocatus, -a, -um</i> ‘zvan, -a, -o’		

#### 4.5.2 Aspect

The oppositions found between the Perfect and Imperfect tenses in Latin often correspond to similar oppositions in other languages. Still, there are also some differences – especially in the opposition between perfective overview and imperfective background in permanent states in the past and in the description of pluri-occasional events in the past (cf. § 2.3).

In Serbo-Croatian, the Perfect tense (cf. § 3.2.2) has mostly taken over the semantic functions of the Aorist (for telic events), the Imperfect (for atelic events), and the Pluperfect (for both types of events). However, narrative preterites still survive as evidentially and aspectually marked alternatives to the Perfect tense (Piper *et al.* 2005: 424). The impoverishment of the Tense system of eastern and western North Slavic languages is partially a result of the abandonment of aspectual morphology. Indeed, as in the North Slavic languages, in Serbo-Croatian, there are two aspectually unstable combinations: The Imperfect tense in perfective situations and the Aorist in imperfective situations.

Latin has inherited a very complex system in which verbal affixes – suffixes, infixes, and prefixes – indicate various actional qualities ( $\pm$ dynamic,  $\pm$ telic,  $\pm$ momentaneous) as well as spatial features or for instance, intensity (cf. §§ 2.4 and 2.5). All these actional classes combine with the perfect as well as the imperfect tenses.

In Serbo-Croatian, the functional focus has been almost entirely moved onto lexical oppositions, while the previous aspectual morphology has been gradually abandoned. Telic events are described in perfective contexts, and atelic events in imperfective contexts since these categories are semantically more correlated. This semantically driven restriction leads to a default reading of past tenses (cf. § 3.3).

The Serbo-Croatian system has also inherited a very complex system of verbal affixes for several kinds of actional qualities. This fact offers an incredible spectrum of possibilities for examining the two languages in contrast (cf. § 3.4).

#### 4.5.2.1 Progressivity and Overview

The Latin Imperfect tense conveys the progressive overview of the past event and is used as the imperfective past (1). The Perfect tense is often used to express past events and is used as the perfective past (2) (cf. Haverling 2010: § 4.1.1).

(1) Plin. *Epist.* 6.16.8: **Egrediebatur** domo; accipit codicillos Rectinae Tasci imminenti periculo exterritae

‘As he **was leaving** the house he got a message from Rectina, wife of Tascius, who was frightened by the imminent danger’

SC: Dok **je izlazio** iz kuće dobio je poruku od Rektine, Tascijeve žene, uplašene od neumitne opasnosti.

(2) Tac. *Ann.* 16.21.1: (sc. *Thræsea Paetus*) ... senatu **egressus est** cum de Agrippina *referretur*...

‘Thræsea Paetus **walked out** of the senate during the discussion on Agrippina’

SC: Træsea Peto **je izašao** iz senata dok se podnosio raport o Agripini.

Serbo-Croatian, in most of the corresponding situations where in Latin the progressive past is expressed by the Imperfect and the simple past by the Perfect tense, uses lexical means to distinguish these two Aspects: two corresponding verbs in two actional variants are *izlaziti* (ex. 1, imperfective, atelic) : *izaći* (ex. 2, perfective, telic).

The Latin Perfect has often taken the role of the Greek Aorist: it was used to describe a series of events. Whenever the actionality is stative, Latin can express a viewpoint opposition by the Perfect, which describes a limited situation. Hence, the Perfect Tense expresses the overview (cf. ex. 3: *my mother was from Samos* and ex. 4: *Caesar first lived in Subura*). Although there is the possibility of translating the perfect *fuit* (ex. 3) into Serbo-Croatian with the imperfect *beše*, if one intends to keep the structure of the sequence of the events in the Perfect using the imperfective aspect and consequentially the atelic actionality, one would always find this verb in the Perfect tense.

(3) Ter. *Eun.* 107–110: Samia mihi mater *fuit*: ea habitabat Rhodi./ ... ibi tum matri paruolam/ puellam dono quidam mercator *dedit*/ ex Attica hinc abreptam ...

‘My mother **was** from Samos. She **was living** at Rhodes ... there a merchant gave my mother a little girl as a present; she had been stolen from Attica here.’

SC: Majka mi **je bila** sa Samosa. **Živela je** na Rodosu...tamo je majci trgovac dao na poklon malu devojčicu, ukradenu sa Samosa i dovedenu ovamo.

(4) Suet. *Iul.* 46: **Habitaui** primo in Subura modicis aedibus, post autem pontificatum maximum in Sacra uia domo publica (**habitaui**)...

'He first lived in Subura in a small house, but after he had become the Pontifex Maximus in the Sacred Way in a public house'.

SC: Prvo **je živeo** u Suburi u maloj kući, ali je pošto je dobio Pontifikat u Svetoj ulici **živeo** u javnoj kući.

The Imperfect Tense provides the background of the event as *ea habitabat Rhodi* – ‘she was living at Rhodes’. This situation is open; it is more frequently described with the Imperfect tense in clauses expressing the background situation (cf. Haverling 2001: 358 and Haverling 2010: 441).

Serbo-Croatian, however, uses the Perfect tense with the atelic and imperfective verb *živeti* for both expressions in Latin. There is no possibility of expressing the corresponding Latin Perfect tense *habitaui* (ex. 4) – showing the overview – with the perfective expression *and* the atelic verb in Serbo-Croatian. It would clash with the Serbo-Croatian aspectual structure in which the system is polarized, thus: (1) telic and perfective and (2) atelic and imperfective. In Serbo-Croatian, the actional boundary, given externally in many languages, is expressed by the prefixes (**Trčala sam** do obale. ‘I was running to the shore.’ and **Dotrčala sam** do obale. ‘I reached the shore by running.’; see § 3.5.2). Latin would, in this context, use the opposition between the Imperfect tense (*currebam*), and the Perfect tense (*cucurri*). The same stands for the completive preverbs in Serbo-Croatian, in Present, Perfect and Future tenses (**jede** jabuku – **pojede** jabuku ‘He eats / he is eating an apple.’; see § 3.5.2.1.; **gleda** film ‘He is watching the movie.’ – **pogleda** film ‘I finish watching the movie’, or **grizem** jabuku ‘I am biting an apple – **odgrizem** parče jabuke ‘I bite off a piece of apple.’ or **rasla je** ‘She was growing up’ – **odrasla je** ‘She grew up’; see § 3.5.2.6). The same opposition occurs with the prefix *pro-* (**čitala sam** ‘I was reading’ - **pročitala sam** ‘I read’; see § 3.5.2.8).

#### 4.5.2.2 Quantification and pluri-occasionality

The definite or indefinite number of occurrences of an event influences the aspect and hence the tense in Latin (cf. Haverling 2010: § 4.1.2).

In Latin, the explicit reference to the occurrences of the number of repetitions of a certain event is expressed with the Perfect tense and the perfective aspect, as the overview of past situations (ex.

1 and 3). Instead, pluri-occasionality or habit is expressed by the Imperfect tense and hence with the imperfective aspect (ex. 2 and 4).

- (1) Suet. *Nero* 51: *ter omnino per quattuordecim annos languit*  
*'he was ill but three times in all during the fourteen years (sc. of his reign)'*  
SC: **Bio je bolestan** samo tri puta tokom četrnaest godina
- (2) Suet. *Aug.* 81.2: *sub natalem suum plerumque languibat*  
*'just before his birthday he was often ill'*  
SC: Pre svog rođendana **je često bivao bolestan**
- (3) Liv. 27.30.2: *Aduersus hunc ducem... Philippus bis prospero euentu pugnauit*  
*'Against this general ... Philip fought twice with success'*  
SC: Protiv ovog generala... Filip **se** dvaput uspešno **borio**
- (4) Liv. 29.6.15: *proeliis cottidie leuibus certabatur*  
*'they fought every day in light battles'*  
**Borili bi se** svakog dana u lakim bitkama.

Serbo-Croatian, while having the immediate choice for expressing the overview of the past situations by the Perfect tense (ex. 1 – *bio je bolestan* and ex. 3 *borio se*), the pluri-occasionality is expressed either by the lexical choice of the imperfective auxiliary verb (*bivati* instead of *biti* in example 2). It is also expressed by the specific use of the potential mood for expressing the events repeated in the past<sup>185</sup> (*borili bi se* in example 4).

In Latin, both the expressions of the overview of the past events on the one hand, as well as the pluri-occasionality on the other hand, are strictly correlated with the following aspectual and actional combinations: the atelic events in the Perfect tense or the telic events in the Imperfect tense. Serbo-Croatian has other means of expressing these lexical oppositions – see above.

Moreover, a specific reference to the number of occurrences of an event can be avoided by using the iterative verb as *ventito*. However, for pluri-occasionality, Latin does not always use the Imperfect tense (5); it can also use the Perfect tense (6). Serbo-Croatian modality of the expression in 5 and 6 is the same as above: the iterative verb *odlaziti* can be expressed in the potential for the imperfective *ventitabat* (5) and the Perfect tense for the perfective *ventitauit* (6).

- (5) Cic. *Tusc.* 5.20.59: *cumque duas uxores haberet, Aristomachen ciuem suam, Doridem autem Locrensem, sic noctu ad eas uentitabat, ut omnia specularetur et perscrutaretur ante*

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<sup>185</sup> Cf. Kalsbeek & Lučić 2008.

‘and since he had two wives, Aristomache of his own city and Doris of Locris, he **used to visit** them by night in such a way that the precautions were taken to have a thorough inspection and examination everywhere before he came’

SC: I, pošto je imao dve žene, Aristomahu iz svog grada i Doridu iz Lokride, **odlazio bi** kod njih noću tako da se sve preduzimalo i pročešljavalo pre nego što bi došao.

- (6) Nep. *Att.* 4.4: nam et ad comitia eorum **uentitauit** et, si qua res maior acta est, non defuit  
‘he **used to go** to the meetings of their assembly and if some matter of major importance was dealt with, he was never absent’

SC: **Odlazio je** na njihove sastanke i ako bi se raspravljalo o nekoj važnijoj stvari, nikada nije bio odsutan.

Another example of pluri-occasionality in Latin is using the verb with the habitual sense, *solere* ‘to be used to’. According to the previous conclusion, it can be used both in the Perfect (7) and in the Imperfect tense (8). Example 7 shows the overview of a past situation, whereas example 8 shows the description of the previously introduced context. Serbo-Croatian uses the corresponding, atelic verb, *običavati* ‘be used to’ or *imati običaj* ‘have a habit to’. There is no difference in the Latin Perfect and Imperfect translation: both *običavao je* (7) and *imao je običaj* (8) are the atelic verbs in the Perfect tense.

- (7) Nep. *Cato* 1.1: M. Cato ... hortatu L. Valerii Flacci, quem in consulatu censuraque habuit collegam, ut M. Perpenna censorius narrare **solitus est**, Romam demigravit in foroque esse coepit  
‘M. Cato moved to Rome and entered public life, encouraged by L. Valerius Flaccus, who was later his colleague in the consulship and in the censorship – as M. Perpenna, the ex-censor, **was fond of** mentioning.’

SC: Kako **je** Perpena, bivši cenzor, **običavao** da pripoveda, Katon se preselio u Rim i počeo da biva na forumu, uz podstrek Valerija Flaka, koji mu je kasnije bio kolega u konzulovanju i cenzorstvu.

- (8) Nep. *Ep.* 5.2–3: Habuit obtrectatorem Menecliden quendam ... is quod in re militari florere Epaminondam uidebat, hortari **solebat** Thebanos, ut pacem bello anteferrent

‘He had a detractor in the person of one Meneclides ... This man, observing that warfare brought glory to Epaminondas, **used to** urge the Thebans to seek peace rather than war’

SC: Imao je klevetnika, nekog Meneklida...Videvši da je Epaminondi procvetalo u vojnim delatnostima, on **je imao običaj** da podstiče Tebance da pretpostave mir ratu.

### 4.5.2.3 Temporal adverbials and conjunctions

In Latin, the Perfect is naturally preferred with the telic expressions accompanied by the completive adverbials. The Perfect is also chosen with stative (1) and the atelic (2) expressions when the durative temporal adverbials indicate how long a past situation lasted. When the Imperfect occurs with this kind of adverbials (2 and 4), it usually expresses the “anterior continuing”: this implies that the event is still going on in the past moment referred to (Haverling 2010: § 4.1.3).

- (1) Suet. *Aug.* 72.1: *ac per annos amplius quadraginta eodem cubiculo hieme et aestate **mansit***  
'for more than 40 years **he remained** in the same bedroom winter as summer'  
SC: I tokom više od četrdeset godina **je ostao** u istoj sobi zimi i leti
- (2) Nep. *Att.* 12.3: *qui complures annos studio ductus philosophiae **habitabat** <Athenis> habebatque in Italia pretiosas possessiones*  
'who for many years **had been living** at Athens because of his interest in philosophy and who had valuable possessions in Italy'  
SC: Koji **je** tokom mnogo godina **živeo / življaše** u Atini podstreknut učenjem filozofije i **imao je / imaše** mnoge vredne posede u Italiji.
- (3) Liv. 35.19.4: *Sub hoc sacramento sex et triginta annos **militavi***  
'Under this oath I **fought** for six and thirty years'  
SC: Pod ovom zakletvom **sam se borio** trideset i šest godina.
- (4) Liv. 25.33.1–3: *Hasdrubal ... peritus omnis barbaricae et praecipue omnium earum gentium, in quibus per tot annos **militabat** perfidiae*  
'H. ... well acquainted with every form of treachery practised by barbarians and particularly by those tribes among which he **had been campaigning** for so many years'  
SC: Hazdrubal, upućen u sve pakosti barbara a pogotovo svih onih plemena među kojima **se borio / se boriše** toliko mnogo godina...

While both stative (1 – *ostao je*) and atelic (*borio sam se*) expressions in Serbo-Croatian act as Latin in the same context, the Anterior continuing situation expressed in Latin by the Imperfect tense can be conveyed in Serbo-Croatian by the Perfect of the atelic verb (2 - *živeo je, imao je* and 4 – *borio se*) or by the Imperfect tense (2 – *življaše, imaše* and 4 – *boriše se*). This alternative in the choice of Tenses shows the possibility to still use the Imperfect in its prototypical form: from the atelic verbs, in the imperfective context.

#### 4.5.2.4 Past states

While the Latin Imperfect expresses the progressive situation in the past, the Latin Perfect, when found with the stative verbs, expresses the past situation that is no longer going on (see *fuisti* in ex. 2). The expressions in Latin correspond to Serbo-Croatian: the stative situations in the Imperfect express the states as background situations (ex. 1 and 3). However, in Serbo-Croatian, the Perfect with the atelic verbs is used more frequently (*sedele su* (1), *bile su* (3)).

In Latin, the Stative situations in the Perfect can have a twofold value: in (4), the new situation has an initial limit, while in (2), the situation has a final limit. Consequently, in (1) and (3) there is no such limit since the examples are expressed in the Imperfect (cf. Haverling 2010: § 4.1.4). There is no such correspondence in Serbo-Croatian: even when the situation has temporal boundaries, the same tenses are used as those used to describe the background situations (see 1 and 3). The Perfect tense (2 - *bio si*, 4 - *bilo je*) is used more frequently than the Imperfect (2 and 4 - *beše*), but both uses are possible and grammatical.

(1) Plaut. *Rud.* 846–847: PL. Etiamne in ara **tunc sedebant** mulieres, / quom ad me profectu's ire? TR.

Ibidem nunc sedent

‘PL. “**Were** the women still **sitting** on the altar when you left to go to me?” TR. “They are still sitting there.”’

SC: **Jesu** li žene još uvek **sedele** / **seđaše** na oltaru kada si krenuo prema meni? – I dalje tamo sede.

(2) Plaut. *Capt.* 575: seruos es, liber **fuisti**

‘you are a slave, you **used to be free**’

SC: Ti si rob, a **bio si** / **beše** slobodan.

(3) Plaut. *Men.* 29: Tarenti ludei forte **erant**, quom illuc uenit

‘there **were** by chance games going on at Tarentum, when he arrived there’

SC: Nekim slučajem **su bile** / **bejahu** igre u Tarantu, kad je tamo stigao.

(4) Liv. 6.8.6: maxime id euident **fuit**, cum in laeuum cornu prope iam pulsum arrepto repente equo cum scuto pedestri aduectus conspectu suo proelium *restituit* ostentans uincentem ceteram aciem  
‘this **was** particularly clear, when he suddenly took a horse and a footsoldier’s shield and rode up to the left wing which was already almost beaten and thus renewed the battle thus making himself seen and showing that the rest of the army was winning’

SC: To **je bilo** / **beše** vrlo jasno, kad je odjednom, uzevši konja...

Sometimes a situation in Latin is first presented in the Perfect tense providing the time-anchorage within the broader frame of the narration. Then the Imperfect describes the situation during that

period (*interea* ‘during that time’ (5). Similarly, in (6), the overview of the situation is expressed in the Perfect, and then there is a description in the Imperfect tense.

In Serbo-Croatian, the overview of the situation or the time-anchorage, when introducing the narration, is always expressed with either the Perfect or the Imperfect tense. The further description, expressed in Latin by the Imperfect Tense, in Serbo-Croatian, is expressed exclusively with the Perfect tense, with the verbs of the corresponding actional value (+/- telic).

This shows the difference between the total polarization of the actional and aspectual values in Serbo-Croatian, which does not occur in Latin.

(5) Ter. *Hec.* 420: *dies triginta aut plus eo in nauī fui,* / quom *interea* semper mortem **expectabam** miser:/ ita usque aduorsa tempestate usi sumus

‘I was in the ship for 30 days or more, and during all that time I was **expecting** death; for the whole time we had such a bad storm’

SC: **Bio sam / bejah** na brodu trideset dana ili više, i za ti vrene **sam** uvek **iščekivao** smrt; I tako nas je zadesila strašna nepogoda.

(6) Cic. *Verr.* II 4.10: si, quod uenale **habuit** Heius, id quanti **aestimabat** tanti uendidit, desino quaerere cur emeris ...

‘if Heius **had** something to sell and if he sold it at the price he **wished**, I stop asking you to justify your buying it’

SC: Ako **bi** Hejo **imao / imaše** nešto da proda i ako bi to prodao za onoliko koliko **je** to **cenio**, prestajem da te pitam zašto si to kupio.

In Latin, the Perfect tense is used to indicate the identity of someone’s parent in the past (7). In Serbo-Croatian, there is a usual twofold possibility to express the introduction of the new topic in the narration: by the Perfect or the Imperfect tense.

However, in Latin, the Imperfect is also used, but only when the situation backgrounds the event (8). It is not the case for Serbo-Croatian: when the situation is a background to the event, it is possible to use only the Perfect tense with the atelic (or auxiliary) verb.

(7) Nep. *Them.* 1.2: Pater eius Neocles generosus **fuit**. Is uxorem Acarnanam ciuem duxit, ex qua natus est Themistocles

‘His father Neocles **was** of high birth. He married an Acarnanian woman possessing the rights of citizenship, who became the mother of Themistocles’

SC: Njegov otac Neokle **je bio / beše** iz dobre porodice. Oženio je Akarnanu...

(8) Sen. *Dial.* 5.18.3: Modo C. Caesar Sex. Papinium, cui pater **erat** consularis, ... aliosque et senatores et equites Romanos ... flagellis cecidit ...

‘Recently C. Caesar flogged Sextus Papinius, whose father was of consular rank, ... and other Roman senators and knights’

Skoro je Cezar bičevao Papinija, čiji **je** otac **bio** konzularnog ranga, kao i druge senatore i rimske ekvite.

The permanent states, as those expressing the identity of someone’s parent, are usually expressed in the imperfective aspect in the world’s languages (cf. Haverling 2010: 459). Latin, however, has the aspect opposition even in this case: when indicating the specific location, Latin uses the Perfect tense (9). At the same time, the Imperfect is used whenever the background is explicitly emphasized (10). There is the same opposition in the Serbo-Croatian as above.

(9) Cic. *Dom.* 101: in Vaccis pratis domus **fuit** M. Vacci, quae publicata est et eversa

‘On Vaccus’ Meads **stood** the house of Marcus Vaccus, which was confiscated and razed’

SC: Na Vakovima poljanama **je bila** / **bejaše** kuća Marka Vaka, koja je konfiskovana i srušena.

(10) Caes. *Gall.* 7.68-69: Caesar (Alesiam) ... circumvallare instituit. Ipsum **erat** oppidum in colle summo, cuius collis radices duo duabus ex partibus flumine subleebant.

‘Caesar decided to build a wall around Alesia. The town of Alesia **was** set atop a hill, in a very lofty situation. The bases of the hill were washed on two separate sides by rivers.’

SC: Cezar je odlučio da zidom opase Aleziju. To **je bio** grad na vrhu brda čije je podnožje bilo natapano rekama sa obe strane.

It appears that the difference between Latin and Serbo-Croatian in the expression of the stative situations for the overview or the background events can be explained as context-dependent. When the background is explicitly emphasized, Latin uses the Imperfect tense. Instead, Serbo-Croatian always uses the Perfect tense with the atelic verbs, implementing the imperfective aspect into the uses of the Perfect tense. On the other hand, Latin uses the Perfect tense when expressing the location, the permanent characteristics, the overview or the specific time-anchorage. Serbo-Croatian, in these situations, uses either the Perfect tense or one of the preterites. The use of the preterites is strictly related to the position within the narration: for the situation introducing the overview for further context, we can expect the preterit. Hence, the alternation between the Perfect and the preterit is justified from the perspective of syntax and style.

#### 4.5.2.5 Ingressivity

When used for the stative or dynamic and atelic verbs, the Greek Aorist expresses an ingressive function, unlike the Serbo-Croatian Aorist or the Early and Classical Latin Perfect tense. Instead, the Greek completive Aorist and the Latin Perfect and, unlike the Serbo-Croatian Aorist and the Perfect of the atelic verbs, give a comprehensive overview of a past situation. Indeed, in Greek and Latin situations of this kind, we often find the durative temporal adverbials indicating how long the situation lasted in the past (1 and 2; Haverling 2010: § 4.1.5). In Serbo-Croatian, being the comprehensive view of a past situation perceived as durative, the limited duration of time does not influence the telicity. Hence, there are the two usual possibilities of expression: The Perfect tense of the atelic verb (1, 2 – *je vladao*) or the Imperfect tense (1, 2 – *vladaše*), prototypically built from the atelic verbs.

The Greek Aorist may also be used in the ingressive sense ‘became king, started ruling’ (3). For this kind of expression, Latin uses a verbal phrase like *regnare ocepit* (4). Serbo-Croatian uses the verbal phrase of the type found in Latin – (3 - *postao je kralj*, 4 – *započeo je vladavinu*), or the ingressive, a prefixed verb in the Perfect tense – *zavladao je* (possible in 3 and 4).

(1) Herodot. *Hist.* 2.157: Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ **ἐβασίλευσε** Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πενήτηκοντα ἔτηα,...  
‘Psammetichus **ruled** Egypt for fifty-four years’

SC: Psametih **je vladao** / **vladaše** Egiptom pedeset i četiri godine.

(2) Liv. 1.21.6: Romulus septem et triginta **regnauit** annos, Numa tres et quadraginta  
‘Romulus **ruled** 37 years, Numa forty-three’

SC: Romul **je vladao** / **vladaše** 37 godina, Numa četrdeset tri.

(3) Herodot. *Hist.* 2.174: ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ **ἐβασίλευσε**, ἐποίησε τοιάδε  
‘When he **became king**, he did the following things’

SC: Kad je **postao kralj** / **zavladao** uradio je sledeće stvari.

(4) Liv. 1.49.1: Inde L. Tarquinius **regnare ocepit** ...

‘Thereafter Lucius Tarquinius **became king**’

SC: Od tada je Lucije Tarkvinije **započeo svoju vladavinu** / **zavladao**.

The stative perfect *tacui* is used in Early and Classical Latin in a sense ‘have not spoken’ (5), or ‘was silent, did not speak’ (6). Serbo-Croatian uses the stative verb *ćutati* in both functions found in 5 and 6. The prefixed verb *conticui* has the ingressive role ‘I stopped talking’ (7). The corresponding prefixed verb with the ingressive function in SC is *ućutati*. The twofold function of

the Greek aorist is visible in the examples 8 and 9, where the aorist of the same verb σιγάω ‘keep silence, hold silent’ can be translated both as Latin *tacuit* and SC *ćutao je* ‘was silent’ and as Latin *conticuit* and SC *ućutao je* ‘fell silent’.

(5) Plaut. *Truc.* 817: **Tacui** adhuc: nunc <non> tacebo

‘I **have kept silent** so far, but now I shall not keep silent’

SC: Do sada **sam ćutao**, ali od sada neću ćutati.

(6) Cic. *Att.* 3.15.6: Quo modo autem iis ... et de re dicentibus et ut referretur postulantibus Clodius **tacuit**?

‘And how **could** Clodius **remain silent** when all those people were talking about the matter and demanded that it should be discussed?’

SC: Kako je Klodije **mogao da ćuti** dok su svi ti ljudi govorili o toj stvari i pitali da se o tome raspravlja?

(7) Cic. *Catil.* 3.10: recitatis litteris ... repente **conticuit**

‘when the letter had been read out ... he suddenly **fell silent**’

SC: Kad je pismo bilo pročitano, odjednom **je ućutao**.

(8) Xenoph. *Cyr.* 4.5.19: 4.5.19 οἱ μὲν οὖν Μῆδοι ἀκούσαντες τοῦ ἀγγέλου **ἔσίγησαν**,

‘As the Medes had heard what the messenger had said **they were silent**’

SC: Pošto su Međani čuli šta je izaslanik bio rekao, **ćutali su**.

(9) Dion. Hal. *Antiq.* 8.41.1: ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ εἰποῦσα καὶ πολλὰ προεμένη δάκρυα **ἔσίγησεν**:

‘Having said this and shed many tears, she **became silent**’

SC: Pošto je ovo rekla i prolila mnogo suza, **ućutala je**.

Although the stative situations in the Perfect tense, as in the periphrases with *habui* and *fui*, sometimes seem to express the initial limit, they were often interpreted as ingressive (cf. Haverling 2010: 464). I agree with Haverling (2010: 464–466) in her opinion that these situations express a comprehensive overview of a past situation instead of ingressivity. The reason for this misinterpretation could be the confusion between the notions of initial limit and ingressivity.

The completive aorist in Greek corresponds to this interpretation of the Perfect tense in Latin (cf. *ἔσίγησαν* in 8). In Latin, *habui* and *habebam* are interpreted as ‘had a child (i.e., was a parent)’ and ‘bore/fathered a child’ (i.e., ‘became a parent’). *Habuit filios* (11) means ‘had sons’, while in a sense ‘fathered sons’ Early and Classical Latin use the expression *filios genuit* (13) or *filiam suscepit* (14). The expression in the Imperfect *habebat filium* ‘had a son’ offers the description of the situation for the main event of Gala ruling in the specific location (12). Serbo-Croatian uses the Perfect tense of the atelic *imati* ‘to have’ for both *habuit* and *habebat*. Hence, in this language, there is no possibility

to discern the situation that expresses the initial limit from the background description, as Latin does.

Instead, for the expressions indicating a change of state in 13 and 14, Serbo-Croatian uses the Perfect tense of the Achievement *dobiti* ‘to obtain’.

(11) Liv. 41.23.10: duos, ut scitis, **habuit** filios Philippus, Demetrium et Persea

‘As you know, Philip **had** two sons, Demetrius and Perseus’

SC: Kao što znate, Filip **je imao** dva sina, Demetrija i Perseja.

(12) Liv. 24.48.13: Carthaginienses ... ad Galam in parte altera Numidiae ... regnantem legatos mittunt. Filium Gala Masinissam **habebat** septem decem annos natum ...

‘the Carthaginians ... sent legates to Gala, who reigned in another part of Numidia ... Gala **had** a son Masinissa, seventeen years old’

SC: Kartaginjani ... šalju izaslanike Gali, koji vlada u drugom delu Numidije ... Gala **je imao** sina Masinisu od sedamnaest godina.

(13) Liv. 1.34.2: uxore ibi ducta duos filios **genuit**

‘he married there and **got** two sons’

SC: Kad se tamo oženio, **dobio je** dva sina.

(13) Ter. *Phorm.* 942–943: Lemni habuit aliam ... ex qua filiam/ **suscepit**; et eam clam educat

‘At Lemnos he had another wife, by whom he **got** a daughter, whom he brought up in secret’

SC: Na Lemnu je imao drugu ženu od koje **je dobio** ćerku; nju je tajno odgajio.

### 4.5.3 Summary

The oppositions found between the Perfect and Imperfect tenses in Latin often correspond to similar oppositions in other languages. Still, there are some differences, especially in the opposition between perfective overview and imperfective background in permanent states and the description of pluri-occasional events in the past (cf. § 2.3). Loss of the certain aspectual functions indicated in the Archaic Latin language, for instance, by the Aorist, created a new system in which much focus is on temporal relations is thus created (cf. § 2.2).

The Latin opposition between the past tenses, especially between the perfect and the imperfect tenses, does not always correspond to a similar opposition in Serbo-Croatian. The presence of the

Aorist in Serbo-Croatian and the absence of the Imperfect tense show a significant difference between the two tense systems.

In Serbo-Croatian, the Aorist is used to describe semelfactive, completed events; the Imperfect refers to the long-lasting or habitual, non-completed events; finally, the Perfect is used to express past events with current relevance. The semantic field of the Perfect tense gradually came to coincide with that of the Aorist and the Imperfect. Simultaneously, the Aorist and the Imperfect suffered a similar fate: The Perfect tense gradually replaced them. (cf. § 3.1).

In Serbo-Croatian, the Aorist (cf. § 3.2.3.1) often expresses the current relevance for events completed just before or after the point of the speech. This tense is still used in present everyday spoken and written communication (see Stanojević and Geld 2011). Here are some interesting parallels with Latin, with a similar blurring of the perfect and the past tense functions (cf. § 2.2 examples 1 and 2). The result of our research confirmed the hypothesis stating that the Imperfect has a minimal domain of use in contemporary Serbo-Croatian (cf. § 3.2.3.2; also, Pušić 2013). The presence of the Aorist in Serbo-Croatian and the absence of the Imperfect tense show a significant difference between the two tense systems.

In Serbo-Croatian, the Perfect tense (cf. § 3.2.2) has mostly taken over the semantic functions of the Aorist (for telic events), the Imperfect (for atelic events), and the Pluperfect (for both types of events). However, narrative preterites still survive as evidentially and aspectually marked alternatives to the Perfect tense (Piper et al. 2005: 424).

However, sometimes a corresponding opposition is indicated between the atelic and imperfective verbs and the telic and perfective ones.

Latin has inherited a very complex system in which verbal affixes – suffixes, infixes, and prefixes – indicate various actional qualities ( $\pm$ dynamic,  $\pm$ telic,  $\pm$ momentaneous) as well as spatial features or, for instance, intensity (cf. §§ 2.4 and 2.5). All these actional classes combine with the perfect as well as the imperfect tenses.

In Serbo-Croatian, the functional focus has been almost entirely moved onto lexical oppositions, while the previous aspectual morphology has been gradually abandoned. Telic events are described in perfective contexts, and atelic events in imperfective contexts since these categories are semantically more correlated. This semantically driven restriction leads to a default reading of past tenses (cf. § 3.3).

Serbo-Croatian, in most of the corresponding situations where in Latin the progressive past is expressed by the Imperfect and the simple past by the Perfect tense, uses lexical means to distinguish these two Aspects: two corresponding verbs in two actional variants are *izlaziti* (ex. 1, imperfective,

atelic) : *izaći* (ex. 2, perfective, telic). The Latin Perfect has often taken the role of the Greek Aorist: it was used to express to describe a series of events. Whenever the actionality is stative, Latin can express a viewpoint opposition by the Perfect, which describes a limited situation. Hence, the Perfect Tense expresses the overview. In Latin, both the expressions of the overview of the past events on the one hand, as well as the pluri-occasionality on the other hand, are strictly correlated with the following aspectual and actional combinations: the atelic events in the Perfect tense or the telic events in the Imperfect tense. Serbo-Croatian has other means of expressing these lexical oppositions either by the lexical choice of the imperfective auxiliary verb (*bivati* instead of *biti*) or by the specific use of the potential mood for expressing the repeated events in the past (*borili bi se* ‘they would fight’). Sometimes a situation in Latin is first presented in the Perfect tense providing the time-anchorage within the broader frame of the narration. Then the Imperfect describes the situation during that period. In Serbo-Croatian, an overview of the situation or time-anchorage, when introducing the narration, is generally expressed by the Perfect or the Imperfect tense. The further description, expressed in Latin by the Imperfect Tense, in Serbo-Croatian, is expressed exclusively with the Perfect tense, with the verbs of the corresponding actional value (+/- telic). It shows the difference between the total polarization of the actional and aspectual values in Serbo-Croatian, which does not occur in Latin.

The difference between Latin and Serbo-Croatian in expressing the stative situations for the overview or the background events is context-dependent. To explicitly emphasize the background, Latin uses the Imperfect tense. Instead, Serbo-Croatian always uses the Perfect tense with the atelic verbs, implementing the imperfective aspect into the uses of the Perfect tense. On the other hand, Latin uses the Perfect tense when expressing the location, the permanent characteristics, the overview or the specific time-anchorage. Serbo-Croatian, in these situations, uses either the Perfect tense or one of the preterites. The alternation between the Perfect and the preterit is bound to syntax and style.

## 5. Conclusions

### 5.1 A comparison between Latin and Serbo-Croatian prefixes

Prefixes modify the meaning of verbs in two main directions: actionally and spatially. Since the spatially expressed end-point often includes the actional end-point, it is not always easy to draw a clear-cut line between the two prefixal functions. The prefixes' strictly expressed spatial function is found in the verbs of motion, where the prefix indicates a direction of the movement. However, the only purely spatial meaning (when the verb does not shift its actional category) is expressed by some verbs indicating Achievements that do not get telicized by the prefix (Serbo-Croatian *izbaciti* 'to throw out').

Both Latin and Serbo-Croatian use several different prefixes to modify the actional features of the verbs: this leads to a significant overlapping of the possible translations.

Firstly, this overlap is dependent on the overlapping in the actional and spatial functions between different Latin prefixes. For example, *ad-*, *in-* and *ob-* often trigger the ingressive component. Latin prefixed verbs, and their (prefixed) Serbo-Croatian translations are clearly indicated by the semantics of the verbs in conjunction with the *nuances* yielded by the prefixes expressing a certain function. For example, *con-* adds the completion component to the already dynamic verbs (usually the Activities that become Accomplishments by prefixation). Still, it also may add intensity or a sociative component to the verbs.

On the one hand, it can also add the intensive function in the verbs indicating non-dynamic situations (as *concalere* 'to be thoroughly warm' and *commori* 'to linger, abide'). On the other hand, it adds the sociative component in some verbs indicating dynamic situations (as *conturbare* 'to confuse, derange, disturb'). *Ad-*, *in-*, and *ob-* have an actional (prevalently ingressive) function, but they also have an important spatial role.

On the other hand, *ab-* seems to have a prevalently spatial function. Also, the Serbo-Croatian prefixes *u-*, *za-* and *po-* have both actional and spatial functions. On the other hand, *pre-* has an intensive as well as a spatial role. The interrelations of the prefixes *con-* and *ad-* in their completive and spatial and other functions are given in § 4.5.3.6.

Besides their grammatical function, the prefixes also have lexical functions: not seldom, in addition to the telicizing role, change the semantics of the verb. The same Latin prefix is sometimes used in its actional function with verbs of different semantics: for that reason, different prefixes

appear in the Serbo-Croatian translations of verbs that have the same prefix in Latin. For example, whereas Latin completive *con-* usually corresponds to Serbo-Croatian *po-*, Serbo-Croatian *za-* corresponds to the completive *con-* in only one occurrence: *dormio* : *spavati* and *condormisco*<sup>186</sup> : *zaspati* (where the addition of *-sco* suffix in Latin and the absence of the suffix *-va* in Serbo-Croatian signal the lack of durativity in addition to the telicity yielded by the prefixes). Also, a Serbo-Croatian *na-* often yields a completive function; however, no verb prefixed with *con-* from our *corpus* can be translated with this Serbo-Croatian prefix.

The overlapping of the semantic fields of the eight most frequent Latin prefixes and the corresponding ten Serbo-Croatian prefixes are given in the following table.

	po	za	do	sa	iz	na	od	pre	pro	u
Con	x	x		x						x
Ad		x	x							
In		x				x	x	x		x
Ob		x					x			x
Ex	x	x			x			x	x	x
De	x			x	x		x			
Ab	x						x	x		
Per			x					x		x

While the semantic field of some Early Latin prefixes completely overlap (see Latin spatial *ex-* ‘out, from’ and Serbo-Croatian spatial *iz-*: Lat. *exeo* – SC. *izađem* ‘I come out’; Lat. *egreditur* – SC. *izašao* ‘he came out’; Lat. *efflauerit* – SC. *ispariće* ‘will evaporate’), there are some cases in which Latin prefixes do not find the corresponding morphological form in Serbo-Croatian.

The expressions corresponding to the sociative component of Early Latin *con-* in Serbo-Croatian are heterogeneous and vary from the instrumental to the semantically different verbs or the isolated use of the prefixes (see *raz-* in § 4.4.2.4. (c)). The Serbo-Croatian prefix *sa-*, when used in its prepositional meaning ‘with’, sometimes corresponds to the sociative meaning of Latin prefix *con-*. In other words, the sociative use of *con-* does not overlap consistently with any specific prefix in Serbo-Croatian. In Late Latin, the sociative function of *con-* is kept, while its actional and intensive functions are blurred.

<sup>186</sup> However, *obdormisco* is more frequent. The completion conveyed by *con-* overlaps with the focus at the beginning of the action conveyed by the prefix *ob-*. Hence, the same action can be viewed from the slightly different points of view.

There is no Serbo-Croatian prefix that covers the spatial function of Latin *ad-*. Instead, we find the instrumental case indicating company, corresponding to *con-* (and thus in a sociative function: see examples (4, 5) § 4.4.3.1) or the reflexive form (see example (16), § 4.4.3.1).

Although Serbo-Croatian has prefixes corresponding to the ingressive meaning of *in-* (*za-*, *od-*, *u*), it often uses ingressive periphrases with *početi* ‘to begin’ + infinitive or the suffixes (cf. § 4.4.4.2 (13)): *insuerit – će postati običaj* ‘has become/became a custom’. This kind of Serbo-Croatian periphrasis corresponds to Latin *coepi* + infinitive. Also, while the opposition between Latin ingressive *in-* and egressive *ex-* corresponds to the Serbo-Croatian translation, however, for the ingressive *inaresco*, Serbo-Croatian uses the periphrasis *početi da se suši* ‘to begin drying’, and for *exaresco* we have *osušiti* ‘to dry out’.

Often, where Latin uses a compound of *esse*, Serbo-Croatian uses the prepositional phrase with *biti* ‘to be’. While in Latin there are vast possibilities to prefix *esse*, in Serbo-Croatian, the preposition often does not become lexicalized within the verb. It keeps being lexicalized as a preposition (Lat. *inesse* – SC. *biti u* ‘to be in’).

Also, the prefix *in-* has kept its original, spatial function with some verbs while adding semelfactivity. Hence, in § 4.4.4.1, (12) *innuit* – is translated *klimnuo* ‘he nodded’. In Latin *\*nuo* is not attested, while the durative *klimati* ‘to jiggle’ is attested in Serbo-Croatian.

Both Latin *de-* and Serbo-Croatian *od-* show a privative function (Lat. *deesse* = SC. *nedostajati* ‘to lack, to be absent’). This function is strictly linked to the spatial function of separation. However, Serbo-Croatian cannot express this separation by the prefixed verb: this language expresses it with the predicate adjective. Therefore, the semantics of the compounds of *esse* depends on their features (as agentivity). We can compare this mechanism to the Latin prefix *ab-* and Serbo-Croatian *od-* (*abesse*, *biti odsutan*). Latin *abesse* ‘to be absent, to lack’ is another case where there is no corresponding use of a prefix in Serbo-Croatian.

Also, some verbs used in Latin and the Serbo-Croatian translations do not correspond in their inherent, unprefixated meanings (cf. § 4.4.5.3. (a): Lat. *ire* ‘to go’ and SC. *stati* ‘to stop, to stand’ compared to the Lat. *obitus* and the SC. *sastanak*). It is interesting to compare the verbs with the same meaning when prefixed with *ob-* and *sa-*, yet with the radically different meaning when unprefixated. *Ire* ‘to go’ and *stati* ‘to stand’, taking the different prefixes (Lat. *ob-* and SC. *sa-* for ‘to meet’), merge their semantic fields: it becomes evident that the perception of the meeting is conceptualized with a passive deictic reference point in Serbo-Croatian, and with an active deictic reference point in Latin.

When the function of the prefix is spatial in Latin, the choice of the verbs in Serbo-Croatian translations depends mainly on the meaning of the unprefixated verb. Sometimes, this verb will have

a prefix that corresponds to a Latin prefix with the spatial function. Still, the choice of the prefixes depends mainly on the mechanisms internal to a particular language, i.e., to the possible combinations of the prefixes and the simple verbs.

These examples show that the inherent semantics of the verbs and the diachronic development of their meanings are the essential features when putting into contrast these two verbal morphologies.

## 5.2 Verbal morphology in contrast

Having concluded the section about comparing the prefixation of Latin and Serbo-Croatian verbs, there is a need to point out the specific morphological (and lexical) differences between the two languages in expressing some types of events. These differences are typologically conveyed: each language shares common traits with the other languages within its language group. Our goal is not to explain their origin but to highlight the main differences.

### (a) compounds of *esse* – *biti*

The first difference regards spatially determined compounds of Latin *esse*. *Abesse* and *adesse* are straightforward examples of the additional, spatial function of the prefixes to the auxiliary verb *esse*. However, in Serbo-Croatian, these Latin verbs cannot be translated with the prefixed auxiliary *biti* ‘to be’: there are no such compounds with *biti* and prefixes corresponding to Latin *ab-* and *ad-*.

Serbo-Croatian uses prepositions or adjectives to express the meaning of *abesse* – SC. *biti odsutan* ‘to be absent’ and *ne biti tu* ‘not to be here’ and of *adesse* – SC. *biti prisutan* ‘to be present’, *biti tu* ‘to be here’. The semantics of the compounds of *esse* depend on features as agentivity. This mechanism can be compared to the Latin prefix *de-* and Serbo-Croatian *od-* (*deesse*, *biti odsutan*, cf. § 4.4.7.3). However, Serbo-Croatian cannot express this separation by the prefixed verb: it expresses it with the adjectival periphrasis.

### (b) *rubeo* and *crven sam*

While Latin has several non-dynamic verbs indicating colour as an inherent property at its disposition, Serbo-Croatian expresses this by the predicate adjective: cf. Latin *rubere* and Serbo-Croatian *biti crven* ‘to be red’. However, when in quality of the telic process, these verbs gain the prefix both in Latin and in Serbo-Croatian: *erubescere* in Latin is translated in SC *pocrveneti* ‘to blush’.

### (c) **intensity** – Latin prefix and Serbo-Croatian adverb

The same lack of morphological overlapping is found in verbs that indicate intensity in Latin: *pertimescere* – SC. *jako se uplašiti* ‘to become very frightened’. The Latin verb gains not only telicity by the prefix (also yielded by *ex-* in *extimui* – SC. *uplašiti se*), but it also conveys the change within the situation, as well as its intensity. This is shown by the Serbo-Croatian translation of both *timui* and *extimui*, where there is already the actional prefix *u-*. In contrast, for *pertimui* it is necessary to add the adverb ‘very much’ – *jako/puno/mnogo*. The difference between Latin and Serbo-Croatian is that both the change and the intensity are yielded by the prefix in Latin. In contrast, in Serbo-Croatian, the adverb explicitly adds the component of intensity (‘very much’).

### (d) **Latin prefix and Serbo-Croatian change of stem**

Different morphological features can modify the actional features of Latin and Serbo-Croatian within the verbs with the same meaning: Serbo-Croatian uses the different stems to express what Latin expresses by the different prefixes. Lat. *depreciscor* and SC. *pogoditi se* ‘to bargain for, agree upon’ on the one hand, and Lat. *paciscor* and SC. *pogađati se* ‘to agree, bargain’ on the other hand, show the prefixation in Latin and the change within the stem in Serbo-Croatian (iotacism and the lengthening of the previous *a*).

Overall, while there are many cases of overlap between the functions and the expressivity of the prefixes in Latin and the corresponding Serbo-Croatian translations, there are also some relevant discrepancies of the typological kind. Since “every language has to cope with the fundamental problem of expressing the idea of the presence or the absence of the event’s end-point” (Bertinetto 2001: 203) as well as the other actional properties, differences were expected to be found, and I hope to have reached the goal of grouping systematically some of the most prominent discrepancies.

## 5.3 **Remarks on the boundary between actionality and aspect**

Although Serbo-Croatian often overtly marks the aspectual distinction, it marks the actional features very transparently by the morphological mechanisms. There is a frequent occurrence of the lexical pairs whose members differ actionally (*raditi* – *uraditi* ‘to do – to finish doing’; *ići* – *otići* ‘to go – to go away’). At the same time, we operate with the aspectual distinctions mainly expressed by the prototypical reading of the Tenses: the Imperfect with the imperfective aspect, the Aorist with the perfective aspect and the Perfect tense both with the perfective and the imperfective aspect, according to the telicity of the verb. Latin differences in temporal anchorage expressed by the Perfect forms, typically for the perfective situations, and the Imperfect forms, typically for the

imperfective situations, correspond considerably to the Serbo-Croatian system. Finally, given the frequent polarization of the categories perfective-telic and imperfective-atelic, both Latin and Serbo-Croatian systems are prevalently actional.

All the verbal systems subject to the polarization “imperfective = atelic vs perfective = telic” tend to be unstable (Bertinetto 2001: 205). Both Latin and Serbo-Croatian show the absolute sovereignty of the actional features over the aspectual features since “the lexical choice of the predicate unavoidably involves a specific actional meaning.” (ibid.). Although Serbo-Croatian has not yet reached the stage of Polish, Russian and Czech in their complete abandoning of the aspectual morphology, it tends to simplify the system of tenses by the loss of Imperfect and the restricted use of Aorist. Therefore, the lexical oppositions in Serbo-Croatian still do not entirely take over the role of the actional morphology: this is about to happen soon, once the Perfect tense remains the only absolute Past tense, with its telic-atelic polarization.

Prototypically actional properties, such as durativity, should be attributed to the category of actionality instead of to the domain of the more over-comprehensive aspect (cf. Stevanović 1979: 528–529, attributing durativity exclusively to the category of “aspect”). In reaction to the traditional scholarship, based generally on Slavic aspectology, keeping actionality and aspect apart, when possible, offers an in-depth journey along the borders of the concepts of Tense, Aspect and Actionality. These borders often share properties belonging to at least two triad members; however, placing two languages, in contrast, gives us a good amount of material for establishing either a particular or a shared set of rules within the cross-linguistically delimited domains.

## **5.4 Summary**

This research focuses on the similarities and differences of Latin and Serbo-Croatian verbal systems. This paragraph synthesizes the goals that have been set and reached within my study after comparing the two systems.

After the theoretical introduction on Actionality, Tense and Aspect features, we analysed these three concepts in the Latin and Serbo-Croatian systems, focusing on Aspect and verbal morphology. Moreover, the relationship between Actionality and Aspect constantly emerges. The goal of comparing the patterns of the Tenses and the aspectual features is to show the overlap of the semantic and lexical modalities within these two systems.

However, this research's primary purpose is to compare the lexical expression of the actional features in Latin and Serbo-Croatian. Mechanisms of independent devices of the derivational process are analysed in parallel, and the main results are given after each section of Chapter 4. The collected data are systematically categorized to shed new light on shared actional and aspectual

properties. The specific focus of this research is set on the contrast of the role of the prefixes and suffixes and their actional properties and the extent to which they fit in with the Vendlerian categories.

The traditional hypotheses of the aspect being the predominant and comprehensive feature which encloses actional properties both in Slavic and, by analogy, the Classical languages, has been refuted thanks to the results proposed in the later research dealing with the typological perspectives on the importance of keeping separate the concepts of aspect and actionality.

Every language must deal with the problem of expressing the specific actional properties, e.g. telicity and atelicity. The central hypothesis is that two languages belonging to different Indo-European branches could not show complete overlapping in the mechanisms of derivational morphology. Yet, being both very productive lexically, the possible overlapping could easily be put into contrast. Two are the significant results that confirm this hypothesis: while, on the one hand, I show that the mechanisms of the derivational morphology in the expression of the actional features show correspondences in Latin and Serbo-Croatian, on the other hand, we show that there are sometimes substantial differences in the expression (and the translation) of the derivationally related verbal couples. These differences are driven by the specific verbal semantics inherent to each language. In other words, once the prefix becomes lexicalized within the Latin verb, the choice of the verb in Serbo-Croatian translation is driven by the semantics of its unprefixated lexical couple on the one hand, and of the semantic and lexical possibility to combine the specific prefixes with the verbs corresponding to the Latin original, on the other hand. Hence, the results only occasionally show the correspondences of the kind *facio : conficio = raditi : uraditi*, expressed by the traditional hypotheses.

The most prominent results showing lexical differences deal with the nature of the expression of the states: both the compounds of Latin *esse*, as well as the stative verbs as *rubeo* and *caleo*, are rendered in Serbo-Croatian with the adjectival periphrases as *biti prisutan* (Lat. *adesse*), *biti crven*, *biti topao* (Lat. *rubeo* and *caleo*, respectively). However, as soon as the verb of this kind becomes dynamic by adding the prefix, the lexical overlap is complete: Serbo-Croatian also uses the dynamic and prefixed verb in translation (cf. Lat. *erubere* and SC. *pocrveneti*).

There are a few differences in the way prefixes are used between Latin and Serbo-Croatian: sometimes Latin uses the prefix to indicate intensity, whereas Serbo-Croatian adds an adverb instead of prefix; in Latin dynamicity or graduality is often expressed by the suffix *-sco* and the prefixes, but in Serbo-Croatian, it is usually represented by the change of the stem suffix and/or by the addition of the prefix.

Since some of the actional and spatial functions of different prefixes and the dynamic and semelfactive functions of different suffixes often overlap in Latin and Serbo-Croatian, this situation creates various possible combinations actional and stylistic features in translation. Also, the modality of use of the phasal verbs in both languages shows some overlapping.

To sum up, this research aims to categorize the occurrences in which the same lexical and semantic pattern is shared and disambiguate the contrasts between different patterns for the expression of the same feature in two different languages.

## Appendix: Questionnaire

The same story and the independent phrases were given to the subjects, with different contexts for each. The latter are written in square brackets. The whole questionnaire was given in SC, including the verbs in the round brackets. Each verb was given in infinitive, and the subjects were requested to put it into the form they found the most spontaneous; we leave these contexts in SC, next to their translation in English.

1. [*Context: Something happened **an hour ago**, and you are telling someone about it.*]

“Pre jedan sat x (HODATI/IĆI, ja) ulicom i x (RAZMIŠLJATI). Iznenada x (SRESTI) Iliju. x (POZDRAVITI GA, ja), a on x (LUPITI, meni) šamar. Samo x (POGLEDATI GA, ja), x (OKRENUTI SE, ja) i x (OTIĆI, ja). x (OSTATI, on) gde je i bio da me prati pogledom.”

“About an hour ago x (I, walk) on the street and x (I, think). Suddenly, x (I, meet) Ilija. X (I, say hello) to him, and he x (slap, me). I just x (look, him), x (I, turn around) and x (I, go away). x (He, remain) where he was x (he, stare) at me.”

2. [*Context: The same event happened to you **during your childhood**, and now you are telling it to someone.*]

“Kad sam bio/bila mali/mala, x (HODATI/IĆI, ja) ulicom i x (RAZMIŠLJATI). Iznenada x (SRESTI) Iliju. x (POZDRAVITI GA, ja), a on x (LUPITI, meni) šamar. Samo x (POGLEDATI GA, ja), x (OKRENUTI SE, ja) i x (OTIĆI, ja). x (OSTATI, on) gde je i bio da me prati pogledom.”

“When I was a kid, x (I, walk) on the street and x (I, think). Suddenly, x (I, meet) Ilija. X (I, say hello) to him, and he x (slap, me). I just x (look, him), x (I, turn around) and x (I, go away). x (He, remain) where he was x (he, stare) at me.”

3. [*Context: The same event happened **yesterday**, and now you are telling it to someone.*]

“Juče x (HODATI/IĆI, ja) ulicom i x (RAZMIŠLJATI). Iznenada x (SRESTI) Iliju. x (POZDRAVITI GA, ja), a on x (LUPITI, meni) šamar. Samo x (POGLEDATI GA, ja), x (OKRENUTI SE, ja) i x (OTIĆI, ja). x (OSTATI, on) gde je i bio da me prati pogledom.”

“Yesterday x (I, walk) on the street and x (I, think). Suddenly, x (I, meet) Ilija. X (I, say hello) to him, and he x (slap, me). I just x (look, him), x (I, turn around) and x (I, go away). x (He, remain) where he was x (he, stare) at me.”

4. [Context: *You are telling a modern fairytale.*]

“Bio jednom jedan dečak, zvao se Marko. Imao je druga Iliju. Jednom x (HODATI/IĆI, Marko) ulicom i x (RAZMIŠLJATI). Iznenađa x (SRESTI) Iliju. x (POZDRAVITI GA, Marko), a on x (LUPITI, Marku) šamar. Samo x (POGLEDATI GA, Marko), x (OKRENUTI SE, Marko) i x (OTIĆI, Marko). x (OSTATI, Ilija) gde je i bio da ga prati pogledom.”

“Once upon a time, there was a boy, Marko. He had a friend, Ilija. So once x (he, walk) on the street and x (he, think). Suddenly, x (he, meet) Ilija. x (he, say hello) to him, and x (Ilija, slap, Marko). Marko just x (look, him), x (Marko, turn around) and x (Marko, go away). x (Ilija, remain) where he was x (stare) at Marko.”

5. [Context: *Your colleague enters your office and asks you: “Where is Mihajlo?” and you answer:*]

“Ne znam, do malopre x (PRIČATI/RAZGOVARATI, Mihajlo) telefonom.”

“I don’t know, until few moments ago (speak, Mihajlo) on the phone.”

6. [Context: *In a hurry, a friend asks you: “Have you seen Ivana?” and you answer:*]

“Evo, upravo x (SRESTI nju/MIMOIĆI SE) na stepeništu.”

“There, I just x (meet) her at the stairs.”

7. [Context: *You are in front of the theatre, and you are fighting with a friend who decides at the last moment not to come to the play with you. **While already leaving,** you tell him:]*

“Ti kako hoćeš, ja x (IĆI/OTIĆI/ODLAZITI).”

“Do as you wish x (I, leave).”

8. [Context: you are simply describing an event:]

“Kako je to bila naporna noć! Kad je mama tog jutra ušla u sobu, Miloš x (već uveliko SPAVATI/ZASPATI). Dan je brzo prošao. Već se x (SMRKAVATI SE/SMRKNUTI SE) kad se probudio.”

“That was one hard night! That morning, when his mother entered the room, Miloš already x (sleep) for a long time. The day passed quickly. x (it, darken) already when he woke up.”

9. [Context: Your boss enters the office and asks you: “Did you finish the report?” and you answer:]

“Evo, baš sad x (SESTI, ja) da ga završim.”

“Right now x (I, sit down) to finish it.”

10. [Context: the same event as in examples 1-4 happened to your friend, Marko, and you were a witness to it. Now you are telling someone about it:]

a) “Zamisli šta se desilo **malo pre**, video/videla sam svojim očima: x (HODATI/IĆI, Marko) ulicom. Iznenada x (SRESTI) neku devojkju. x (POZDRAVITI je, Marko), a ona x (LUPITI, Marku) šamar. Samo x (POGLEDATI je, Marko), x (OKRENUTI SE, Marko) i x (OTIĆI, Marko). x (OSTATI, ona) gde je i bila da ga prati pogledom.”

a) “Imagine what happened to Marko a **few seconds ago**; I was there, and I saw everything: About an hour ago x (Marko, walk) on the street and x (think). Suddenly, x (meet) some girl. X (Marko, say hello) to her, and she x (slap, Marko). Marko just x (look, her), x (Marko, turn around) and x (Marko, go away). x (She, remain) where she was x (she, stare) at him.”

b) “Sad ću ti ispričati šta se jednom dogodilo Marku **kad je bio mlad**. Tad sam sve jasno video/videla: x (HODATI/IĆI, Marko) ulicom. Iznenada x (SRESTI) neku devojkju. x (POZDRAVITI je, Marko), a ona x (LUPITI, Marku) šamar. Samo x (POGLEDATI je, Marko), x (OKRENUTI SE, Marko) i x (OTIĆI, Marko). x (OSTATI, ona) gde je i bila da ga prati pogledom.”

b) “Now I will tell you what happened to Marko **once when he was young**. I was there, and I saw everything: x (Marko, walk) on the street and x (think). Suddenly, x (meet) some girl. X (Marko, say hello) to her, and she x (slap, Marko). Marko just x (look, her), x (Marko, turn around) and x (Marko, go away). x (She, remain) where she was x (she, stare) at him.”

c) “Sad ću ti ispričati šta se **juče** dogodilo ispred zgrade, dok sam izlazio/izlazila: x (HODATI/IĆI, Marko) ulicom. Iznenada x (SRESTI) neku devojkicu. x (POZDRAVITI je, Marko), a ona x (LUPITI, Marko) šamar. Samo x (POGLEDATI je, Marko), x (OKRENUTI SE, Marko) i x (OTIĆI, Marko). x (OSTATI, ona) gde je i bila da ga prati pogledom.”

c) “Now I will tell you what happened to Marko **yesterday**, while I was going out of our building: x (Marko, walk) on the street and x (think). Suddenly, x (meet) some girl. X (Marko, say hello) to her, and she x (slap, Marko). Marko just x (look, her), x (Marko, turn around) and x (Marko, go away). x (She, remain) where she was x (she, stare) at him.”

11. [*Context: Imagine that you are the writer of this novel. Hence, you are **writing**.*]

“...Vuk Isaković beše otišao, a za njim x (NESTAJATI) i slike njenog prošlog života, već mutne.”

“...Vuk Isaković had already left, and after him x (disappear) the images of her previous life, already foggy.”

12. [*Context: You are telling a close friend a story from the distant past... you recall it.*]

“Bila je to jako teška godina. Jednog prohladnog jutra, sećam se, x (DOĆI) moj poznanik i x (REĆI/SAOPŠTITI) mi da je sve gotovo. Tada x (svečano OBEĆATI, njemu) da odlazim zauvek.”

“That was a tough year. On a cold morning, I remember, x (come) a person I used to know and x (tell) me that everything was over. Then I solemnly x (promise) him that I was leaving for good.”

13. [*Context: the same event as in examples 1-4 happened to Marko. You heard about it from your friend, and now you are telling it to someone else:*]

a) “Zamisli šta sam čuo/čula: **Malo pre** x (HODATI/IĆI, Marko) ulicom. Iznenada x (SRESTI) neku devojkicu. x (POZDRAVITI je, Marko), a ona x (LUPITI, Marko) šamar. Samo x (POGLEDATI je, Marko), x (OKRENUTI SE, Marko) i x (OTIĆI, Marko). x (OSTATI, ona) gde je i bila da ga prati pogledom.”

a) “Can you imagine what I just heard: **about an hour ago**, x (Marko, walk) on the street and x (think). Suddenly, x (meet) some girl. x (Marko, say hello) to her, and she x (slap, Marko). Marko

just x (look, her), x (Marko, turn around) and x (Marko, go away). x (She, remain) where she was x (she, stare) at him.”

b) “Čula sam šta se dogodilo Marku **kad je bio mlad**. Od tada je, navodno, tako čudan. x (HODATI/IĆI, Marko) ulicom. Iznenada x (SRESTI) neku devojkju. x (POZDRAVITI je, Marko), a ona x (LUPITI, Marko) šamar. Samo x (POGLEDATI je, Marko), x (OKRENUTI SE, Marko) i x (OTIĆI, Marko). x (OSTATI, ona) gde je i bila da ga prati pogledom.”

b) “I heard what happened to Marko **when he was a boy**. Since then, he keeps acting weird. x (Marko, walk) on the street and x (think). Suddenly, x (meet) some girl. x (Marko, say hello) to her, and she x (slap, Marko). Marko just x (look, her), x (Marko, turn around) and x (Marko, go away). x (She, remain) where she was x (she, stare) at him.”

c) “Jelena mi je rekla šta se **juče** dogodilo ispred zgrade: x (HODATI/IĆI, Marko) ulicom. Iznenada x (SRESTI) neku devojkju. x (POZDRAVITI je, Marko), a ona x (LUPITI, Marko) šamar. Samo x (POGLEDATI je, Marko), x (OKRENUTI SE, Marko) i x (OTIĆI, Marko). x (OSTATI, ona) gde je i bila da ga prati pogledom.”

c) “Jelena told me what happened **yesterday** in front of the building: x (Marko, walk) on the street and x (think). Suddenly, x (meet) some girl. x (Marko, say hello) to her, and she x (slap, Marko). Marko just x (look, her), x (Marko, turn around) and x (Marko, go away). x (She, remain) where she was x (she, stare) at him.”

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