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**VERB SYSTEM ACROSS LANGUAGES:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ENGLISH,
ROMANIAN, AND SERBIAN**



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**Verb System Across Languages: A Comparative Study of English, Romanian,
and Serbian**

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Foreword

The study of verb systems stands at the core of linguistic inquiry, offering profound insights into how languages encode time, aspect, and modality. This monograph, *Verb System Across Languages: A Comparative Study of English, Romanian, and Serbian*, explores and analyses these verbal categories, shedding light on their structural and functional dynamics in three distinct languages.

The complex interplay between tense, aspect and modality across languages presents a compelling field of inquiry, especially within the triadic relationship of English, Romanian, and Serbian. Each language, with its unique structural and semantic nuances, contributes to a broader understanding of how tense, aspect and modality shape meaning and discourse. This monograph is the culmination of years of meticulous research, collaborative endeavours, and scholarly reflection aimed at unravelling these complexities. Furthermore, this study holds a pioneering position as a complex research into these three languages' verb systems.

By analysing three languages - English, Romanian, and Serbian - that belong to three distinct language families (Germanic, Romance, and Slavic), this monograph contributes to a deeper understanding of how diverse linguistic systems conceptualise and encode tense, aspect and modality. The monograph analyses tense, aspect, telicity, and modality, offering a comparative approach that is particularly valuable in regions with a historically and culturally rich heritage, where linguistic interplay has significantly influenced communication and identity. This perspective is especially relevant in the linguistically diverse region of Vojvodina, where Serbian and Romanian coexist as local languages, while English serves as a global lingua franca, bridging communication gaps in academic, professional, and international contexts. By examining English, Romanian, and Serbian, the study underscores the shared linguistic heritage of these languages while illuminating their unique traits.

The scientific chapters compiled here address both theoretical and practical perspectives. They traverse a spectrum of linguistic phenomena: from temporal implications and the semantic roles of telicity and boundedness to the syntactic behaviours of aspectual markers, the influence of prefixes, and the idiosyncrasies of phrasal verbs, as well as semantic nuances of modality. Each section reflects the commitment to bridging linguistic theory with applied insights, particularly in contexts such as language learning, translation, and scientific discourse.

The sections balance theoretical exploration, cross-linguistic comparisons, and practical implications, creating a cohesive narrative for the monograph. It opens with Section I: Theoretical Perspectives, which establishes the basic concepts and frameworks of the study. It discusses basic categories and concepts as aspect, telicity, and tense, which underpin the comparative analysis of verbal systems across languages. Section II: Cross-Linguistic Analysis of Verbal Aspect – Concepts and Applications delves into the intricacies of verbal aspect, exploring how telicity, situation types, and the interaction of prefixes and direct objects shape aspectual interpretations in English, Romanian, and Serbian. These cross-linguistic comparisons highlight both shared and unique features across the three languages. Section III: Cross-Linguistic Analysis of Verbal Tense and Mood – Frameworks and Interpretation investigates the temporal and modal dimensions of language, offering a comparative analysis of how tense and mood express temporality, reality and possibility across the three languages. Section IV: Translation Equivalents and Cross-Linguistic Comparisons addresses the challenges of rendering verbal categories across languages, highlighting the complexities of equivalence in translating aspectualizers, phrasal verbs, and prefixed verbs. Finally, Section V: Applied Linguistics and Practical Implications bridges theoretical and applied linguistics, exploring the practical manifestations of aspect and telicity, including learner errors in specialised contexts, discourse analysis in scientific texts.

This monograph offers a synthesis of findings on aspect, tense, and mood, emphasising their general and language-specific manifestations. It also identifies avenues for further research, inviting scholars to deepen their exploration of verb systems and their application in linguistic theory, translation, and education.

The selected scientific chapters are products of fruitful collaboration and independent investigation, drawing from rich academic traditions and innovative methodologies. They represent contributions to prominent linguistic frameworks, including renowned scientific journals, international conferences and congresses that underscore the importance of cross-linguistic and interdisciplinary studies. The scientific chapters gathered in this monograph were originally published in conference proceedings and renowned international academic journals between 2009 and 2023. Detailed bibliographic information about their initial publications is provided in the bibliographic notes section at the end of the monograph. It is important to point out that the chapter *Modal Verbs and Their Equivalents: A Contrastive Study of English and Romanian Modality* makes a unique contribution to the monograph by revealing how shifts in modality affect meaning, tone, and narrative voice in translation. As a previously unpublished study, it enhances the monograph's comparative perspective and significantly increases its scientific value and originality.

This volume builds upon years of research and collaboration between Predrag Novakov and Mihaela Lazović, presenting a synthesis of theoretical insights, cross-linguistic analyses, and applied linguistic studies. The comparative study of English, Romanian, and Serbian provides a unique perspective, as these languages exhibit both shared and divergent features in their verb systems, making them a relevant for linguistic analysis.

It is our hope that this monograph *Verb System Across Languages, A Comparative Study of English, Romanian and Serbian* through its complex and comparative approach, will serve as a valuable resource for linguists, language educators, and researchers exploring verbal aspect, tense, modality and related fields. Beyond its academic contributions, it aspires to encourage further inquiry into the dynamic interactions among languages and their implications for cognitive and communicative practices.

We express our gratitude to the institutions and colleagues who supported this study and to the readers who will continue the dialogue it seeks to inspire.

The authors
May 2025.

Abstract

This monograph explores various features of verb system, specifically tense, aspect, Aktionsart, telicity, modality, and their interplay in English, Romanian, and Serbian, through an array of linguistic phenomena, including prefixes, direct objects and translation equivalents. The research investigates how semantic features such as stativity, duration, and telicity influence aspect in the respective languages, emphasising the role of boundedness in defining perfective and imperfective aspects. A contrastive analysis is conducted on verb classes, prefixation, and the impact of the direct object on telicity with a focus on telicity as a key semantic feature. The study further examines epistemic and deontic modality, aspectualizers, and phrasal verbs, providing insights into the structural and functional characteristics of verb constructions in these languages.

This monograph contributes to a deeper understanding of cross-linguistic differences and similarities, offering valuable perspectives for further research in aspectology and translation studies, particularly regarding the impact of prefixes and aspectual errors in language learning contexts. It provides a comprehensive and multi-layered analysis of verbal aspect and related concepts across three languages, exploring both theoretical frameworks and practical applications. It enhances the understanding of cross-linguistic similarities and differences, offering additional insights into telicity, Aktionsart, aspectuality, and modality. The study also sheds light on the influence of prefixes and aspectual errors in language learning, contributing valuable perspectives for future research in aspectology, translation studies, comparative grammar, and applied linguistics.

Key words: Aktionsart, aspect, boundedness, direct object, modality, phrasal verbs, prefixes, translation, verb classes, telicity.

INTRODUCTION

This scientific monograph is a complex exploration of verb system, i.e. tense, aspect, Aktionsart, telicity, modality, and their impact across English, Romanian, and Serbian. The volume is divided into five sections, each focusing on distinct but interrelated areas of linguistic study, from theoretical perspectives to practical applications, with an emphasis on comparative cross-linguistic analysis, modality, translation equivalence, and applied linguistics.

Section I: Theoretical Perspectives provides relevant insights into verbal aspectual theory and its cross-linguistic implications. The first chapter, *Reichenbach's Theory about tense in the English and Serbian language*, examines the temporal theory of verbs in English and Serbian, setting the stage for deeper discussions on temporal and aspectual variations. In *Aspect and Boundedness in English and Romanian* the authors explore the relationship between aspect and boundedness in English and Romanian, focusing on how semantic features such as stativity and telicity affect the interpretation of verb forms. This study deals with the interaction of verbal aspect and the type of verb situation (Aktionsart) by analysing the influence of semantic characteristics such as stativity, duration and telicity on aspect in English and Romanian. The chapter argues that aspect is related to boundedness in the sense that perfective aspect “binds” the situation which has a goal, while imperfective aspect does not. Thus, the semantic notion of boundedness provides a more detailed and deeper analysis of situations with the distinctive feature [+ goal] by pointing out whether the goal was actually reached or not. *The Concept of Telicity in English, Romanian, and Serbian* expands on the concept of telicity, showing its general nature across languages, while analysing its distinct expressions in the three languages. Given that the notion of telicity was simply defined by English linguists as a situation which tends towards a goal, this study will provide additional insights into this concept. Moreover, the issue of telicity in the Serbian and Romanian relevant linguistic literature has been scarcely analysed in a comprehensive way. This study aims to ascertain and determine telicity as an indispensable semantic characteristic of Serbian and Romanian verbs.

Section II: Cross-Linguistic Analysis of Verbal Aspect – Concepts and Applications moves towards more empirical investigations. *Telicity in English and Serbian* provides a cross-linguistic analysis of telicity and its manifestation in English and Serbian verb structures. *Types of Verb Situations in English and Serbian* contrasts the ways in which English and Serbian categorise verb situations, using the concept of Aktionsart and its role in aspectual analysis. Similarly, *Semantic Verb Classes in Romanian and English* further explores how both languages categorise verbs semantically, offering a comparative overview. The fact that contemporary grammars prove that similarities do exist offers a basis for a more general analysis of semantic verb classes. This research has shown that Romanian language offers a substantial number of verb classes, which can semantically be connected to English verbs classes. The research has also shown that despite the obvious differences there are similarities and general definitions which can encompass both English and Romanian verbs and offer a base for a further scientific research and comparison. Additionally, *Aspect and Boundedness* deepens the discussion on boundedness and its correlation with verbal aspect in Romanian and English. The study of *The Influence of Prefixes on Aspect and Telicity in English, Romanian, and Serbian* investigates the role of prefixation in modifying aspectual and telic features of verbs across the three languages. This is a synchronic, contrastive analysis of prefixed verbs in contemporary English, Romanian and Serbian which aims to connect the semantic category of telicity and the grammatical category of aspect in these three languages. Furthermore, it attempts to establish whether the prefixes modify the

distinctive features of base verbs and whether a change in verbal aspect and/or Aktionsart has occurred as well to give an analysis of the translation equivalents of prefixed verbs and determine which syntactic and morphological means have been used to translate the prefixed verbs in the other two languages. Additionally, the study attempts to identify and define the semantic category of telicity in Romanian since it is not mentioned in the Romanian linguistic literature. This study of English, Serbian and Romanian prefixed verbs offers a better insight into the nature of telicity and aspect in all three languages as well as an opportunity to establish parametric and systematic similarities and differences, giving a specific contribution to aspectology in general. The research conducted for this study is based on an English, Romanian and Serbian corpus which consists of 210 prefixed verbs. Since prefixation has both lexical and grammatical function, it affects the meaning of verbs as well as verbal aspect. The analysis has shown that the correlation between the lexical meaning (Aktionsart) and grammar (aspect) is often realised via the distinctive feature [goal], i.e. semantic category named telicity. Hence, this chapter offers an analysis of the link between verbal aspect, telicity and prefixation and examines the presence of certain distinctive features with prefixed verbs in order to determine the aspect. On the other hand, *The Influence of the Direct Object on Aspect and Aktionsart in English and Romanian* examines how the direct object influences verbal aspect, especially in terms of telicity and the typology of verb situations. This chapter analyses the influence of the direct object on verbal aspect and Aktionsart in English and Romanian. The structure of the noun phrase functioning as the direct object may introduce the notion of telicity to atelic verbs consequently altering the type of verb situation. Furthermore, the study analyses the influence of semantic features such as telicity and boundedness on aspect and Aktionsart.

Section III: Cross-Linguistic Analysis of Tense and Mood – Frameworks and Interpretation shifts focus to the interaction of tense and mood. *English Present Perfect: Aspectual and Temporal Components* investigates the nuanced relationship between aspect and tense in the English present perfect, with implications for cross-linguistic comparisons. In *Epistemic and Deontic Modality in Romanian and Serbian Scientific Discourse*, the authors analyse the use of epistemic and deontic modality markers in Romanian and Serbian scientific writing, exploring their role in expressing authorial stance. More to the point, modal verbs expressing epistemic and deontic modality can be used as discourse markers to implicate the authors' attitude to the propositional content (doubt, certainty, hedging). Based on English modality framework, this study discusses the uses of modals in expressing author's attitude in Romanian and Serbian scientific discourse (social sciences and humanities) and compares these uses in the two languages. The chapter *Modal Verbs and Their Equivalents: A Contrastive Study of English and Romanian Modality* offers a detailed analysis of how English modal verbs such as *can, could, may, might, must, should* are translated into Romanian, highlighting key differences in grammatical structure, modal intensity, and pragmatic nuance. Through the examination of Julian Barnes' literary works and their Romanian translations, the study demonstrates how shifts in modality influence tone, meaning, and narrative voice, offering valuable insights into cross-linguistic translation challenges. As a previously unpublished work, this chapter represents a significant scholarly contribution to the monograph, enhancing its scientific value and originality.

Section IV: Translation Equivalents and Cross-Linguistic Comparisons and Insights addresses the complexities of translating verbal constructions between languages. The authors explore *Aspectualizers and their Complementation in English and Romanian*, investigating how aspectualizers function in both languages, with a focus on their syntactic and lexical complements. Aspectualizers as verbs indicating phases in the development of events are typically divided into ingressive (denoting beginning), continuative (denoting continuation) and egressive (denoting ending). These verbs require specific complementation

with the lexical verbs which are paired with the aspectualizers. Their analysis starts from the features of such complementation in English (subordinate non-finite infinitival and participial clauses) and compares them with the features of their Romanian translation equivalents. This corpus-based research (with the examples from modern British novels) focuses on the structural characteristics of the complementation in the two languages, lexical aspect of the verbs in the complementation (activities, states, accomplishments, achievements), as well as similarities and differences between the two languages in that respect. *English Phrasal Verbs with the Particles Off and Up and their Romanian and Serbian Translation Equivalents* provides a detailed examination of the translation challenges posed by English phrasal verbs with specific particles. Namely, English phrasal verbs represent a specific phrasal lexeme which typically cannot be transferred directly to other languages. In addition, phrasal verbs cover a variety of meanings, from literal to idiomatic, which also presents a problem for translation. The proposed research analyses the translation options in Romanian and Serbian, pointing to the similarities and differences between the two languages. On the other hand, *Translation of Serbian Prefixed Verbs into English and Romanian: Gastronomy Terminology* explores the translation of prefixed verbs in the specialised domain of gastronomy, offering insights into how morphological features influence translation strategies. This study is a contrastive analysis of prefixed verbs in the contemporary Serbian language and their translational equivalents in English and Romanian. The study analyses the translation equivalents of Serbian prefixed verbs and determines which syntactic and morphological means have been used to translate the prefixed verbs in the other two languages. Furthermore, the study attempts to establish whether the prefixes modify some distinctive features of base verbs and whether a change in verbal aspect and/or Aktionsart has occurred. The research conducted for this study is based on the Serbian corpus which consists of 100 prefixed verbs and their translational equivalents in English and Romanian. Serbian verbs with prefixes represent a starting point in this study because the verbal aspect is morphologically expressed in Serbian.

Section V: Applied Linguistics and Practical Implications brings theoretical insights into practical contexts, with a focus on language learning and teaching. *Aspectual Errors in Romanian and Serbian ESP Learners Majoring in Tourism and Hospitality Management* investigates aspectual errors in the English of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) students, offering valuable implications for language instruction in specialised fields. Furthermore, the section examines the interference of the mother tongue, Serbian and Romanian, in the case of students of English for Tourism and Hospitality Purposes at the university level in the field of verbal aspect. The first part of the chapter focuses on the ways in which the category of aspect is defined and expressed in Serbian and Romanian in comparison to English. It was hypothesised that the native speakers of these three languages may conceptualise verbal aspect rather differently, especially given their inherent relevant linguistic differences, particularly with Serbian having a more complex system of grammaticalised aspectuality than English and Romanian. This chapter analyses the difficulties that Serbian and Romanian ESP learners might encounter in attempting to comprehend the features specific to aspect in English and in capturing the different aspectual uses of English verbs. For this analysis, a study was carried out featuring a questionnaire on the specific context of aspectual uses, which was completed by the participating Serbian and Romanian ESP students.

This monograph presents a detailed and multidimensional analysis of verbal aspect and related concepts across three languages, highlighting both theoretical perspectives and practical applications. The study offers new insights into the nature of telicity, Aktionsart, aspectuality, and modality, contributing to the fields of linguistics, comparative grammar, translation studies, and applied linguistics.

SECTION I
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Predrag Novakov

REICHENBACH'S THEORY OF TENSE IN THE ENGLISH AND THE SERBIAN LANGUAGE

1. Introduction

Tense, as one of the basic verb categories, has been discussed within different linguistic models. One of the most influential theories about tense is certainly the theory of Hans Reichenbach (Reichenbach 1947) because it even today represents one of the significant starting points when writing about tense, even though scholars pointed out its good points and weaknesses (for instance, Comrie 1981, Comrie 1985, Dahl 1987, Hornstein 1990, Binnick 1991, Rajić 1996). Reichenbach himself illustrated his standpoints primarily with the tenses and examples from the English language, but his intention was to describe and determine the category of tense in general, so there is a significant professional literature about the application of his standpoints in other languages as well. Therefore, this article first briefly presents the general Reichenbach's standpoints and then outlines their application in the Serbian language.

2. Reichenbach's Theory of Tense

Hans Reichenbach presented his standpoints about tense comprehensively in his book *Elements of Symbolic Logic* (1947) in the chapter *The Tenses of Verbs* (pages 287-298). He writes that, in order to determine each tense on the time axis, one should use three temporal points: the point of speech (S), the point of event (E) and the point of reference (R). The S point is the deictic centre, the moment of speech *now*; the E point indicates when a certain activity or state occurred (i.e. the time of the realization of a specific situation denoted by the verb), while R represents an orientation point which is (in some cases) provided in the relevant context (Reichenbach 1947: 288). It is important to bear in mind that these points can be simultaneous, but can also follow or precede one another, which means that the points E and R can be placed before the deictic centre S, can be simultaneous with S or can be placed after S. Reichenbach also presents all possible arrangements of these three points as specific formulas, in which the simultaneous points are linked with a comma, while the points which are not simultaneous are separated by a hyphen (or a dash). That way, Reichenbach ends up with the 13 theoretically possible combinations of these three points which are used to present possible tenses (Reichenbach 1947: 297) and these combinations are the following ones:

<i>Structure</i>	<i>New Name</i>	<i>Traditional Name</i>
<i>E --- R --- S</i>	Anterior past	Past perfect
<i>E, R --- S</i>	Simple past	Simple past
<i>R --- E --- S</i>		
<i>R --- S, E</i>	Posterior past	----
<i>R --- S --- E</i>		
<i>E --- S, R</i>	Anterior present	Present perfect
<i>S, R, E</i>	Simple present	Present
<i>S, R --- E</i>	Posterior present	Simple future
<i>S --- E --- R</i>		

$S, E \text{ --- } R$ Anterior future Future perfect
 $E \text{ --- } S \text{ --- } R$
 $S \text{ --- } R, E$ Simple future Simple future
 $S \text{ --- } R \text{ --- } E$ Posterior future ----

Out of these 13 combinations, 9 are fundamental, but English uses only 6 of them (Reichenbach 1947: 298).

In addition, one should underline that Reichenbach uses all the three points to define all the English tenses, even those tenses which could be defined on the basis of S and E alone (for example, English simple nonprogressive past). As it has already been mentioned, if the simultaneity of these points is indicated by a comma, and non-simultaneity by a hyphen/dash, the English simple (or nonprogressive) tenses would be presented like this:

- 1) present simple S, R, E
- 2) past simple R, E – S
- 3) future simple S, R – E
- 4) present perfect E – S, R
- 5) past perfect E – R – S
- 6) future perfect S – E – R

Moreover, it is important to point out that Reichenbach in the abovementioned section of his book does not include the category of aspect in English, so he treats the English continuous or progressive forms as extended tenses. So, the English continuous or progressive forms have the same distribution of these points as the simple or nonprogressive ones, the only difference being that they are not presented as a single point E on the time axis but as an extended period of time over the point E, for instance:

- 7) a) *had been seeing* - past perfect extended

$\text{---}^{\wedge\wedge\wedge\wedge}\text{---}^{\text{---}}\text{x}\text{---}^{\text{---}}\text{x}\text{---}^{\text{---}} >$
 E R S

- b) *had seen* – past perfect simple

$\text{---}\text{x}\text{---}^{\text{---}}\text{x}\text{---}^{\text{---}}\text{x}\text{---}^{\text{---}} >$
 E R S

(Reichenbach 1947: 290)

When the Reichenbach's description of English tenses is studied in greater detail, several problems can be noticed. First, tenses by definition cannot be related to the duration of the situation, because the category of tense denotes only the temporal segment when a situation occurred, that is the category of tense only locates events in time. Therefore, tenses should not be characterised as "extended" because this and similar meanings should be related to the category of aspect. Besides, English tenses, like the tenses in other languages, can have different uses (for example, the English present simple for the situation in the past, as historic present), so each tense should be presented according to its typical use, which Reichenbach does not always do consistently. Namely, Reichenbach represents English present simple/nonprogressive as S,R,E which is the formulaic presentation of real present, that is the situation which is going on while being talked about. Present simple in English can indicate real present (S,R,E), but it is not its basic use since it is typically used to denote habitual situations, the ones that are repeated. Likewise, English present perfect simple can pose a problem because it includes several subtypes which cannot be clearly described by the three abovementioned points. For instance, the subtype of present perfect which denotes the continuation of an event from a point or period in the past till the present moment (for example, *They have lived in Bristol all their life*) cannot be completely determined by these points alone. Therefore, in this approach there are two main problems: the concept of extended tense, that is the issue of tense and verbal aspect, as well as determining the typical use of a tense which is to be defined.

In addition to determining particular tenses, in the abovementioned section Reichenbach also tries to explain the possible combinations of tenses in complex sentences by using the rule of the permanence of the reference point (Reichenbach 1947: 293). Namely, he writes that for a complex sentence to be grammatical the referential points R should be aligned for all the finite verb forms which make the predicates of the clauses within that complex sentence. He illustrates this assumption with the English examples like:

8) *I had mailed the letter when John came and told me the news.* (Reichenbach 1947: 293)

This sentence contains three clauses and the finite verbs in them can be presented by using the three abovementioned orientational points. In this representation the point S (i.e. the point of speech) is the same for all the clauses and the other two points should be arranged around it, according to the formulas for the given tenses. These formulas for tenses are written one below the other and the sentence is grammatical if all the referential points R stand exactly in the same vertical column. For example, the finite verb forms from the three clauses in the complex sentence (8) are presented this way:

9) 1 st clause	E1 – R1 – S1	(<i>had mailed</i> , past perfect)
2 nd clause	R2, E2 – S2	(past simple)
3 rd clause	R3, E3 – S3	(past simple)

This sentence is grammatical because all the reference points (R) are in the same column. However, the following sentence is ungrammatical:

10) **I had mailed the letter when John has come.* (Reichenbach 1947: 293)

The ungrammaticality is caused by the fact that the reference points R are not aligned in the two consisting clauses:

11) 1 st clause	E1 – R1 – S1	(<i>had mailed</i> , past perfect)
2 nd clause	E2 – S2, R2	(<i>has come</i> , present perfect)

However, Reichenbach himself pointed out that this assumption does not function in all cases in English, for instance:

12) *He was healthier when I saw him than he is now.* (Reichenbach 1947: 295)

This sentence is grammatical even though it does not include the alignment of the referential points R:

13) 1 st clause	R1, E1 – S1	(<i>was</i> , past simple)
2 nd clause	R2, E2 – S2	(<i>saw</i> , past simple)
3 rd clause	S3, R3, E3	(<i>is</i> , present simple)

Because of examples like these, Reichenbach modifies his assumption about the permanence of the referential points and writes about “the positional use of the reference point”, that is about the necessity to reinterpret that point R on the basis of a particular context (Reichenbach 1947: 294/295). This linguistically interesting idea deserves special attention and a larger cross-linguistic corpus analysis, so it will not be checked with the relevant examples of the Serbian language.

After discussing Reichenbach’s basic standpoints, this article considers the use of the three abovementioned points S,R and E in the description of tenses in Serbian and indicates the possible problems which may arise during this application.

3. Application of Reichenbach’s Standpoints in the Serbian Language

In this part of the chapter, an attempt is made to determine the Serbian tenses on the basis of the three points (S,R,E) proposed by Reichenbach. To that end, the analysis starts from the definitions of the Serbian tenses provided by the relevant grammar-books, considering the indicative active positive finite verb forms.

3.1. Present tense

By definition, the present tense (Serbian *prezent*) is used for the situations going on at the moment of speech, at the time when one mentions these situations. In the Serbian language suffixes for the present tense can be added both to the verbs of imperfective and perfective aspect, but only the imperfective verbs can convey the meaning of the real, indicative present. Besides, the imperfective verbs can also denote the situation lasting in the present time with possible breaks and which does not have to be fully realised strictly at the moment of speech alone. Both imperfective and perfective verbs with the suffixes for present tense can denote situations which are repeated. Finally, the present tense can denote the past and future situations (Mrazović & Vukadinović 1990: 115-116).

Therefore, like in English, the present tense has several temporal uses, the most important of them being the meaning of real present presented in the following way with the Reichenbach's orientational points:

14) -----x----->
E, R, S

However, in the Serbian language it is not enough just to represent present tense with such an arrangement of points, because one should indicate that such temporal use can be found only with the imperfective verbs. However, it is not possible to indicate this with the Reichenbach's framework consisting of three points and the concept of extension.

3.2. Past tense (Serbian *perfekat*)

The past tense *perfekat* is used for the situations which occurred in the past, that is before the point of speech. Suffixes for this tense are added both to the imperfective and perfective verbs; if reaching the end of a situation is to be implied, perfective verbs are used, but if a situation only lasted or was being repeated in the past *perfekat* of the imperfective verbs is used. Like in English, *perfekat* can be also used for a past situation preceding another past situation (instead of pluperfect). Therefore, the basic temporal use of *perfekat* in Serbian (a situation in the past period of time preceding the moment of speech) can be adequately represented with the following Reichenbach's pattern:

15) ----x-----x----->
R,E S

3.3. Imperfekta

This past tense form, also called anterior incomplete tense, is very rare in the contemporary Serbian language. It is formed with imperfective verbs and typically denotes "an incomplete activity in the past" (Mrazović and Vukadinović 1990: 118)¹ or "lasting of a situation in the past" (Stevanović 1979: 655)², but has other uses as well. So, this verb form is also a past tense and it is related to the same period of time as *perfekat* (situation going on before the point of speech determined directly in relation to the point of speech, not to a referential point). Since the basic characteristic according to which *imperfekta* differs from *perfekat* is the additional emphasis on duration, within the Reichenbach's approach it should be represented as an extended past tense:

16) -----^^^^-----x----->
R, E S

¹ „nesvršena radnja u prošlosti“ (Mrazović and Vukadinović 1990: 118).

² „označavanje trajanja radnje u prošlosti“ (Stevanović 1979: 655).

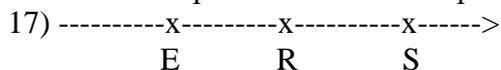
The extension around the points R and E denotes duration of a situation denoted by a verb. However, when discussing *imperfekat* one should also mention verbal aspect – first, because this tense is formed from the imperfective verbs, and then because of the component of duration which this tense implies.

3.4. Aorist

Aorist (or past complete tense) belongs to past tenses and is almost exclusively formed from perfective verbs (Stevanović 1979: 633); it also quite infrequent in the contemporary Serbian language. It typically denotes a situation completed immediately before the point of speech (Mrazović and Vukadinović 1990: 119), though there are other uses as well (Stevanović 1979: 646). Thus, on the time axis, aorist belongs to the temporal segment of the past tense (before the point of speech), and not to the before-past period like pluperfect. Within that segment, Reichenbach's assumptions do not allow the possibility to make a distinction between the situation in the immediate past and the past more distant from the point of speech. Namely, the arrangement of the three points for every past tense (i.e. not before past) is the same: R,E – S. In this case one could use the formula for the English present perfect which in one of its uses implies a situation in the immediate past, that is the arrangement of the points like E – S,R. However, Reichenbach labels this arrangement of points as “anterior present” (Reichenbach 1947: 297), which means that he includes it into the present tense. Likewise, Reichenbach's formulas for the posterior past tense (R – E – S; R –S, E and R – S - E) are not suitable for the description of aorist, because in these descriptions the referential point R is in the past, but it precedes the event E as well as the point of speech S.

3.5. Pluperfect (Pluskvamperfekat)

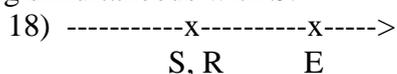
Pluperfect (Serbian *pluskvamperfekat*) is a tense denoting distant past, that is a period of time before the reference point R which is also located in the past. Therefore, it is not defined directly in relation to the point of speech S like *perfekat*. It is formed from both perfective and imperfective verbs; with the former it denotes the completion of a situation before a point or an event in the past, with the latter only the existence of past situation before a point or event in the past. Similarly, to aorist and *imperfekat*, *pluskvameperfekat* almost disappeared from the contemporary Serbian. This verb form fully corresponds to the Reichenbach's description of the anterior past tense, that is English past perfect:



Namely, the situation denoted by the Serbian pluperfect is located on the time axis further away in the past in relation to the reference point R and the point of speech S.

3.6. Future 1

In its basic use, the Serbian Future 1 relates to the period of time after the point of speech S, that is to the (more or less reliable) prediction that a certain situation will occur in the future. So, the situation E is located after the point of speech S, with the referential point R being simultaneous with S.

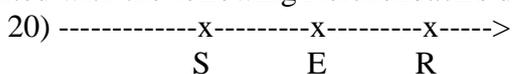


3.7. Future 2

Future 2 can be formed with both perfective and imperfective verbs. With the former, it denotes the completion of a future situation until the beginning of another situation in the future or a point in the future (19a). With the imperfective verbs, Future 2 can have the same meaning like with the perfective verbs (19b) but can also denote a future situation parallel with another future situation (Mrazović and Vukadinović 1990: 125), like for instance in (19c):

- 19) a) *Kad bude kupio nov kompjuter, brže će očitavati poruke sa interneta.*
(When he buys a new computer, he will read the messages on the Internet faster.)
b) *Lakše ćeš položiti ispit ako budeš pohađao predavanja.*
(You will pass the exam more easily if you attend the lectures.)
c) *Kad budeš pohađao predavanja, viđaćeš je češće.*
(When you attend the lectures, you will see her more often.)

Thus, the basic use of Future 2 as anterior future time (examples 19a and 19b) can be represented with the following Reichenbach's diagram:



However, the specific use of imperfective verbs in the appropriate context (example 19c: dependent temporal clause, the imperfective verb in the main clause, and in the dependent clause), can represent a problem. Namely, in the example (19c) two future situations occur simultaneously, so Future 2, like Future 1, points to a general temporal segment after the point of speech S, not to a segment until another point or situation in the future, like, for instance in the following sentence:

- 21) *Kad budeš odslušao sva predavanja, viđaćeš je češće.*
(When you hear out all the lectures, you will see her more often)

4. Conclusion

A general theory of tense, like the one developed by Reichenbach, should offer a theoretical frame which would enable to determine tenses and explain their use. In this chapter, first Reichenbach's general standpoints were outlined, then the use of tenses in the Serbian language in order to get a general insight into the possible application of Reichenbach's theory in Serbian. Considering the fact that a more comprehensive analysis should study in greater detail all the uses of specific tenses in Serbian and their possible determination with the three Reichenbach's orientational points as well as with the concept of extension, this chapter can propose some general observations.

Namely, an attempt to apply the Reichenbach's theory of tense in the Serbian language pointed to certain additional problems alongside those already noticed when this theory was applied in English. So, first there arises the need to determine the main or basic use of a particular tense which would then be presented with the three orientational points. For instance, simple present tense in English and *prezent* in Serbian have several uses. In the Serbian language, *prezent* should be primarily related to the situation going on at the moment of speech (real present, that is S,R,E). However, English present simple is primarily linked with the habitual situations, so the real present use is not typical for it (although it is possible). In the English language, the meaning of real present is primarily related to the present progressive/continuous, that is with Reichenbach's "extended" present. So, for the theory of tense it is highly important that every tense is represented by its typical, primary use after which other, secondary uses could be represented, too.

Moreover, it is very important to clarify the domains of tense and aspect, which is, naturally, a difficult task because these two categories are closely related in some of their components. In that sense, one should pose a question if Reichenbach's term "extended tense" belongs to the domain of the category of tense or the category of aspect. In English, the concept of "extension" is important for the determination of continuous or progressive tenses, while in Serbian it occurs in the description of *imperfekat*. So, it seems that some finite verb forms (labelled as tenses) in these two languages could be fully defined using temporal qualifications alone (for instance, English simple past tense and simple past perfect, Serbian *perfekat* and *pluskvamperfekat*), while some of the traditional tense forms can be defined only by using both temporal and aspectual qualifications (e. g. English continuous or progressive tenses, Serbian *imperfekat*).

Moreover, in Serbian there appears a specific problem with aorist when one tries to define it with the three given orientational points. Namely, Reichenbach's theory does not allow to make a distinction between a near or distant past within the past temporal segment (before S), while Serbian grammarians use near/more distant past to explain the difference between *perfekat* and *aorist*, two specific past tenses in Serbian.

To conclude, after a general analysis which outlined the application of Reichenbach's theory of tense in Serbian, one can notice that this theory should be expanded with some additional components which would allow a more precise and comprehensive determination of tenses as well as a clearer delimitation between the categories of tense and aspect.

Predrag Novakov and Mihaela Lazović

ASPECT AND BOUNDEDNESS IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

1. Introduction

The notions of durability and duration, that is temporality, can be related in several ways to aspect and boundedness. Generally speaking, the very approach to these two concepts certainly changed thorough time and had their share in transience. More concretely, the notion duration (and possibly durability) has often (but not exclusively) been related to imperfectivity, and temporariness to perfectivity; in traditional, mostly Slavic literature, the category of aspect, in addition to completion, is quite often related to duration (even though there are also opinions that duration is not the essential key notion related to aspect, cf. Comrie 1976). On the other hand, boundedness of a situation could also include the notion of duration or absence of duration.

Therefore, this chapter would try to investigate similarities and differences in these areas in English and Romanian and to draw possible conclusions.

2. Aspect and Boundedness

One of the crucial issues connected with the category of aspect is its semantic content which is often closely related to the verb semantics itself. Namely, it is rather difficult to delimit the domain of aspect and the domain of traditional *Aktionsart* (lexical aspect), specially because there is an interaction between them, so it seems that aspect often interacts with certain lexical semantic features. As Comrie pointed it out, some semantic features of verbs interact with some aspectual oppositions, prohibiting some combinations or restricting their meaning (Comrie 1976: 41). Some authors, e.g. Ridjanović (1976) also indicate that aspect deals with the (in)divisibility of a situation along the time-line.

These and similar opinions could be a starting point for the assumption that aspect actually interacts with some already existing semantic features making the interpretation complete. One of such approaches is that perfective aspect typically presents the situation in its entirety, as a whole and imperfective as a structure (Comrie 1976, Dahl 1987) or, in other words, that aspect deals with the inclusion or exclusion of the endpoints of a given situation (Smith 1986). Step by step, this could bring us to the notion of boundedness, which means that one can start from an assumption that perfective aspect implies a bounded, while the imperfect aspect unbounded situation.

Actually, relevant basic lexical features which interact with aspect seem to include stativity, telicity and duration – the features making the foundation of one of the lexical classifications of verbs (Vendler 1967, Brinton 1988). Generally speaking, this interaction with boundedness assumes that the situations which imply endpoints (telic situations) in perfective aspect indicate the attainment of the final point, whereas in the imperfective aspect do not.

Further elaboration of this interaction, based on the relevant literature (Declerck 1979), can concentrate on the relation between telicity and boundedness. First of all, even though some authors use the terms telicity and boundedness (together with the terms conclusive, terminative, resultative, cf. Declerck 1979: 761) as synonymous, it seems that

these two related notions could be separated. Namely, telicity could be related to the semantic structure of verb lexemes and verb phrases as the existence/absence of a goal, but boundedness should be the additional aspectual feature specifying if the existing goal was reached or not.

However, the notion of telicity itself is a complex notion including several components; according to some authors (Declerck 1979: 766), tending towards a goal requires intention and conscious agent. So, the situations lacking such an agent are thought to be bounded, but not telic, for example:

1) a) *The rain destroyed the crops within one hour.* (Declerck 1979: 765)

b) *Lightning struck five trees in one night.* (Declerck 1979: 765)

Actually, it is questionable if telicity has to imply a conscious agent.

2.1. Tests for Telicity

To start with, there are several well-known tests (Vendler 1967, Declerck 1979) which point to the presence of a goal; in this chapter, one can mention the following tests:

(i) If one stops Ving, one did V; the verbs and verb phrases which can be inserted are atelic, homogeneous situations without cumulation and natural end;

(ii) two kinds of durational adverbials: *in X time* (definite time-span, within which definite time) and *for X time* (how long, time span which can be extended; the former occurs with telic situations, the latter with the atelic ones.

Consider the following examples:

2) a) *They read all morning.*

b) *They read all these letters.*

Application of the tests shows that (2a) is atelic and (2b) telic, with the NP representing the goal. Moreover, atelic sentences are homogeneous, so one can assume that *reading* in (2a) was going on in every subinterval of the denoted period, while *reading all these letters* was not.

On the other hand, boundedness indicates if the situation reached the existing final point or not:

3) a) *She was reading a letter.*

b) *She read a letter.*

Example (3a), in the progressive aspect, is telic, but unbounded – it provides no information about the attainment of the existing goal; (3b), in the non-progressive aspect, is telic and the goal is reached or actualised.

2.2. Bounded, Unbounded and Indefinite Situations

It is interesting to notice that in English, in addition to bounded and unbounded, there are also indefinite or ambiguous situations (Declerck 1979). Consider the examples below:

4) a) *Helen filled the bottle with water.*

b) *Helen filled the bottle with water for ten seconds. / Helen was filling the bottle with water for ten seconds.*

c) *Helen filled the bottle with water in ten seconds.*

The first sentence (4a) is thus indefinite or ambiguous when it comes to boundedness: the durational adverbials added disambiguate it, implying that (4b) is telic unbounded (even more clearly in *Helen was filling the bottle with water for ten seconds*) while (4c) is telic bounded. The conclusion could be that the situation itself (without adverbials) is neither inherently bounded nor unbounded.

2.3. Stative/Dynamic Quality and Boundedness

As for the set of features related to telicity, states are inherently unbounded, because they do not imply the final endpoint (Declerck 1979: 773). On the other hand, when it comes to the dynamic situations, there are opinions that momentary situations are telic (Vendler 1967) or that this feature is not applicable to them because they do not have any duration (Declerck 1979). However, this issue is worth discussing, because it seems that momentary achievements are telic, only their goal is realised instantly. In that sense, it seems that it is not really true that momentary situations cannot occur with any durative adverbials (Declerck 1979: 773):

5) a) *John fell on the roof for hours.* (Declerck 1979: 773) (cf. *was falling*)

b) **John fell onto the roof in an hour.*

In fact, the second example (5b) could be acceptable, but the durative adverbial denotes the time which passed before the moment of the realization of the situation.

As for durative dynamic situations, they are telic if they consist of a limited number of substitutions, i.e. cumulation till the final substitution of a given situation or a specific number of repeated substitutions is reached:

6) a) *He swam the river.*

b) *The boy kicked the ball three times.*

Thus, in (6a) the last subinterval includes the goal, reaching of the other shore, whereas in (6b) there is a definite number of repetitions which makes it telic and bounded.

Durative dynamic situations are atelic if they include a (theoretically) unlimited number of subsituations (in a nonrepetitive main situation) or an unlimited number of repetitions (habitual). This is illustrated by the following examples:

7) a) *Nevil strolled in the meadow.*

b) *Cindy gets up at 7 o'clock.*

The first example (7a) does not impose a definite number of subevents, only the main event which could be extended indefinitely (at least theoretically). The other example (7b) contains the repetition of the main event, without the implication that there is a linguistically indicated limit to the repetition.

Finally, durative dynamic situations are indefinite or ambiguous if they are neutral with respect to the number of subintervals or subevents, that is they have a relative terminal point (thus they could be limited or unlimited), so the context (e.g. durative adverbials) indicates telicity. Therefore, if a verb phrase denotes a complete transition to the final point, it is telic. If it denotes just the substages leading to the terminal point, it is atelic.

8) a) *The corn dried in the fields.* (Declerck 1979: 784-785)

b) *The corn dried in the fields in two days.*

c) *The corn dried in the fields for two days.*

Namely, the typical reading of example (8a) is telic and bounded; however, addition of the appropriate durational adverbial indicates that it is actually ambiguous: it can have both the telic bounded reading (8b) or the telic unbounded reading (8c).

2.4. Summary

To sum up the basic points of this part mention should be made of the fact that the relevant literature usually does not treat telicity as synonymous with boundedness: telicity is a lexical feature of verbs or the syntactically indicated goal, while boundedness relates to aspect. Moreover, the interaction between these two components makes it possible to explain the semantic structure of the entire verb phrase/clause, so there are possible

combinations telic bounded and telic unbounded, in addition to atelic unbounded. Finally, in English, there are indefinite or ambiguous lexemes and phrases when it comes to boundedness, in which case the bounded or unbounded reading depends on the context.

3. Aspect and Boundedness in Romanian

3.1. Aspect in Romanian

The study of verbal aspect is relatively new in Romanian linguistics. In older Romanian grammars, aspect was not considered a verbal category. The aspectual characteristics of verbs were analysed in the domain of tense whereas Recent studies analyse verbal aspect as an individual verbal category in Romanian. Nevertheless, some Romanian linguists still believe that aspect does not exist in Romanian, mainly because the aspectual values do not have specific grammatical markers (Luchian 2007: 135). In Romanian, aspectual meanings can be expressed periphrastically, morphologically together with the temporal values, rarely by prefixes, more often by the use of adverbials.

Zafiu (2001: 66) defines aspect as “the way the action is realised” (Germ. *Aktiosart*).

The authors mention the following main aspectual oppositions:

- (i) perfective / imperfective (*perfectiv* / *imperfectiv*);
- (ii) (momentan) durative / punctual (*durativ* / *punctual*)
- (iii) telic / atelic (*telic* / *atelic*).

Romanian aspect is also defined as a verbal category dealing with the structure of the interval of realization of the action denoted by the verb (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 449). The authors mention several semantic characteristics of verbs:

(i) The semantic characteristic [finite] renders the perfective / nonperfective (*perfectiv* / *nonperfectiv*) aspectual opposition. Perfective aspect denotes a completed situation while nonperfective denotes an uncompleted one.

(ii) The semantic characteristic [durative] introduces the aspectual distinction between durative (*durativ*) and momentary (*momentan*) situations.

(iii) The semantic characteristic [definite] implies the aspectual opposition individual (individual) / generic (*generic*). A situation is considered individual if it happens only once, while a generic situation is typical or normal.

(iv) The semantic characteristic [countable] introduces the aspectual distinction between unique (*unic*) and iterative (*iterativ*) situations, i.e. makes a difference between situations that happen only once and repetitive situations.

(v) The semantic characteristic [change] distinguishes linear (*linear*) from progressive (*progresiv*) situations. A linear situation implies constant change, while a progressive one implies gradual change.

(vi) The semantic characteristic [divisible] denotes the possibility to divide the situation into phases. It introduces inceptive (*incoativ*), continuative (*continuative*) and terminative (*terminativ*) aspectual values.

3.2. The Bounded and Unbounded Opposition in Romanian

This chapter argues that aspect exists as a grammatical category in Romanian. For instance, the difference between the verbs *am scris* (*I wrote*) and *scriam* (*I was writing*) is of an aspectual nature, despite the traditional terminology which defines them as tense. Namely, both verbs are in the past tense, thus the difference between them can only be explained in terms of aspect, not tense. Thus, one can argue that the aspectual opposition

perfective / imperfective (*perfectiv / imperfectiv*) allows the speaker/writer to present a situation as a structure or as a whole in Romanian as well. Nevertheless, the Romanian aspectual opposition perfective / imperfective is grammatically expressed only in the past tense (*perfect compus* vs. *imperfect*).

For the purpose of this analysis, we will restrict only to some Romanian aspectual values: perfectivity, duration and telicity and investigate the influence of boundedness on aspect in Romanian.

Romanian differentiates bounded from unbounded situations, as shown by the example below:

9) a) *El a băut apă.* / *He drank water.*

b) *El a băut trei pahare de apă.* / *He drank three glasses of water.*

Sentence (9a) is unbounded since the situation does not tend towards a goal. On the other hand, the sentence (9b) includes a final point, i.e. a goal which was actually reached. Thus sentence (9b) is a bounded telic situation while (9a) is unbounded atelic situation.

Furthermore, the bounded / unbounded distinction can account for the difference and use of the so-called *perfect compus* and the imperfect (*imperfect*) in Romanian. Consider the following examples:

10) a) *El a desenat un cerc.* / *He drew a circle.*

b) *El desena un cerc.* / *He was drawing a circle.*

Sentence (10a) is bounded and telic since the final point was reached, i.e. the circle was drawn. The imperfective meaning in (10b) entails an unbounded situation, i.e. the circle was not completed. The situation in (10b) is telic since it implies a goal but unbounded because that goal was not reached. As seen from examples (10a, b), the imperfective aspect renders bounded situations unbounded.

The notion of boundedness can be further illustrated by several tests (Vendler 1967, Brinton 1988, Declerck 1979) for distinguishing between bounded and unbounded situations in Romanian. Thus, the test *if one stops Ving, one did V / dacă cineva întrerupe să V (se oprește din V), el a V* makes a distinction between homogeneous situations and situations consisting of segments including the final point. Unbounded sentences refer to homogeneous situations, whereas bounded sentences do not:

11) a) *Dacă cineva se oprește din scris, înseamnă că a scris.* / *If one stops writing, one did write.*

b) *Dacă cineva se oprește din scrisul unei scrisori, înseamnă că nu a scris-o.* / *If one stops writing a letter, one did not write a letter.*

The situation presented in (11a) is homogeneous in nature which means that all its segments are of equal quality. Such situations do not imply any specific final point; thus, they are atelic and unbounded. Consequently, the situation in (11a) could be stopped at any point and still get the quality of the whole situation, because all segments of that situation are equal. The bounded situation in (11b) cannot be stopped with the same effect, because it has segments which are not of equal quality, i.e. it has a final segment or a goal (the written letter). Therefore, the situation in (11b) is telic.

The tests *in X time / în X timp* and *(for) how long / (în) cât timp* further analyse the existence and attainment of a goal:

12) a) *El alerga ore întregi.* / *He was running for hours.*

b) *El a alergat ore întregi.* / *He ran for hours.*

c) *El a alergat o milă într-o oră.* / *He ran a mile in an hour.*

d) *El alerga o milă într-o oră.* / **He was running a mile in an hour.*

Sentences (12a, b) are unbounded and atelic since the situation does not include a goal, it lasts in time. Sentence (12c) is bounded and telic since the goal was reached within a

certain time span (in an hour). However, the English sentence in (12d) is unacceptable because the imperfective aspect does not combine with the adverbial *in X time*, because this adverbial requires a goal to be reached. Thus, the adverbial *in X time* combines with bounded telic situations, while the adverbial (*for*) *how long* combines with unbounded atelic situations.

It should be pointed out that the Romanian imperfect (*imperfectul*) can also denote a habitual situation in the past. Thus, the Romanian sentence (12d) is grammatical because using the imperfect in this case allows the habitual reading: *Cine era tinăr alerga o milă într-o oră*. However, the Romanian sentence does not mean what the English sentence with the past progressive does. It can only be interpreted as habitual. Correspondingly, the Romanian sentence in (12a) can also denote a habitual situation in the past: *He would run for hours. / He used to run for hours.*

The question *how long did it take to V / cât timp a trebuit să V* occurs only with bounded telic situations since the question implies the attainment of a goal:

13) a) *Cât timp i-a trebuit să citească cartea? / How long did it take him to read the book?*

b) *I-au trebuit zece zile să citească cartea. / It took him ten days to read the book.*

c) *Cât timp i-a trebuit să citească? / *How long did it take to read?*

The English example (13c) illustrates an unbounded atelic situation, so it is ungrammatical. However, in Romanian, the direct object can be implicit in a sentence like (13c). The sentence means *Cât timp i-a trebuit să citească X?* (where X was mentioned before. For example, A: *A citit toată cartea. / He read the whole book.* B: *Cât timp i-a trebuit să citească? / How long did it take him to read it?* i.e. the sentence can only be interpreted as “he read a specific letter/book/etc. thus, the sentence has a telic reading.

The analysis of Romanian examples shows that the bounded or unbounded nature of the sentence does not depend only on the verb or verb phrase, but also on the nominal constituents (direct object, indirect object and subject):

14) a) *El a băut suc ore întregi. / He drank juice for hours.*

b) *El a băut trei pahare de suc ore întregi. / He drank three glasses of juice for hours.*

The sentence (14a) is unbounded and atelic even though it is denoted by a perfective verb. The object realised as an uncountable noun *suc / juice* renders the situation unbounded. On the other hand, situation (14b) is bounded and telic because the object (*trei pahare de suc / three glasses of juice*) denotes an end point or a goal which was reached and after which the situation cannot be continued.

Similarly, in (15b) the subject (*un litru de apă / a litre of water*) introduces the notion of a goal which was reached and situation rendered bounded and telic, while the situation in (15a) is unbounded and atelic:

15) a) *Apa a curs ore întregi din robinet. / For hours, water ran out of the tap.*

b) *Un litru de apă a curs ore întregi din robinet. / For hours, a litre of water ran out of the tap.*

In his attempt to define bounded and unbounded situations, Declerck (1979: 765) argues that bounded sentences cannot simply be defined as situations tending towards a goal since there are unbounded situations that seem to imply a goal, as in the example below:

16) *El a mers spre casă ore întregi. / He walked towards the house for hours.*

In (16) the goal is clearly specified, but not actually reached. Thus, the sentence is telic, but unbounded.

On the other hand, some bounded situations do not tend towards a goal:

17) a) *Ploaia a distrus recolta într-o oră. / The rain destroyed the crops within an*

hour.

b) *Fulgerul a lovit cinci arbori în decurs de o oră. / Lightning struck five trees in an hour.*

Declerck (1979: 766) here argues that situations tending towards a goal must have a conscious agent in order to reach the goal. This argument needs additional investigation since in (17a, b) the final point was actually reached (the crops was destroyed, and the trees were actually stricken).

Furthermore, Declerck points out that not only bounded situations involve a terminal point beyond which the situation cannot continue:

18) *El a mers spre plajă. / He walked towards the beach.*

Sentence (18) denotes a telic situation which has a well-defined end point after which the situation cannot continue, yet it is unbounded since the subject did not arrive at the beach.

On the other hand, Declerck mentions situations which can continue even though the goal has been reached:

19) *El a colorat gardul. / He painted the fence.*

One can continue painting (smearing the paint on) the fence after one has covered it with paint.

Consequently, Declerck (1979: 766) defines bounded sentences as sentences representing a situation as terminating, thus it cannot be used to refer to a situation which has not yet reached a terminal point. This definition can be applied to bounded situations in Romanian as well.

Declerck (1979: 768) also argues that the distinction between bounded and unbounded situations is not enough to account for all linguistic expressions. Thus, he proposes a neutral value to account for situations which are ambiguous between bounded and unbounded. Consider the following examples:

20) a) *Procesiunea a mers pe lângă biserică. / The procession walked by the church.*

b) *Insecta s-a furișat prin tub. / The insect crawled through the tube.*

c) *El a umplut cisterna cu apă. / He filled the tank with water.*

The examples above are ambiguous between bounded and unbounded in Romanian as well. But the use of adverbials can clarify this ambiguity:

21) a) *Cât timp a mers procesiunea pe lângă biserică? / For how long did the procession walk by the church?*

b) *Procesiunea a mers pe lângă biserică zece minute. / The procession walked by the church for ten minutes.*

c) *Insecta s-a furișat prin tub ore întregi. / The insect crawled through the tube for hours.*

d) *Toată după-amiaza el a umplut cisterna cu apă. / All afternoon, he filled the tank with water.*

Even though the goal exists, the examples (21a-d) are unbounded since the terminal point was not reached. Such situations are said to be unbounded and telic.

The examples (22a-d), on the other hand, are bounded because the terminal point was actualised:

22) a) *Cât timp i-a trebuit procesiunii să treacă pe lângă biserică? / How long did it take the procession to walk by the church?*

b) *Procesiunea a trecut pe lângă biserică în zece minute. / The procession walked by the church in ten minutes.*

c) *Insecta s-a furișat prin tub în două ore. / The insect crawled through the tube in two hours' time.*

d) *El a umplut cisterna cu apă în treisprezece minute. / He filled the tank with*

water in thirteen minutes.

The situations in (22a-d) are therefore bounded and telic.

The examples (21a-d, 22a-d) thus prove that the bounded / unbounded interpretation in Romanian results entirely from the existence of durational adverbials.

3.3. Summary

It can be concluded that Romanian verbs and verb phrases function the same as English ones as far as the notion boundedness is concerned. This similarity can be explained by the fact that both languages express aspect periphrastically and not morphologically. It should be pointed out that the Romanian imperfect (*imperfect*) can denote a habitual situation in the past, allowing, in such cases, the occurrence of the imperfective with modifiers designating telic situations.

4. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to investigate the influence of the semantic feature boundedness on aspect and *Aktionsart* in English and Romanian. The analysis has shown that the semantic features stativity, duration and telicity can be related to aspect and boundedness. In English, the feature stativity influences verbal aspect in the sense that states are inherently unbounded and atelic, because they do not imply a goal, while durative dynamic situations can be telic or atelic depending on the number of subsituations or repetitions they denote.

Furthermore, the durative dynamic situations can be indefinite or ambiguous. In Romanian, however, stative verbs can denote imperfective aspect (*Când am fost mică credeam în Moș Crăciun. / When I was little, I used to believe in Santa Claus.*). Tests for telicity show that Romanian states are unbounded and atelic as well.

The chapter suggests that the notions of telicity and boundedness should be separated. Namely, telicity indicates the existence or absence of a goal, while boundedness represents an additional aspectual feature specifying if the existing goal was reached or not. This analysis has shown that all possible combinations, i.e. bounded telic and unbounded telic, unbounded atelic and even bounded atelic, are attested both in English and in Romanian.

The analysis has proven that the interaction of aspect and boundedness assumes that the situations which imply endpoints (telic situations) in perfective aspect indicate the attainment of the final point, whereas in the imperfective aspect they do not.

It should be pointed out that, in English and in Romanian, boundedness can be viewed as three-fold division of situations into: bounded, unbounded and indefinite or ambiguous (Declerck 1979). The analysis has shown that bounded or unbounded reading depends on the context.

Despite the fact that some linguists deny the existence of aspect in Romanian, this analysis has shown that aspectual oppositions do exist. Furthermore, Romanian differentiates bounded from unbounded situations as well. Namely, bounded sentences represent a situation as terminating, while unbounded do not. Consequently, bounded sentences cannot be used to refer to a situation which has not yet reached a terminal point.

Mihaela Lazović

THE CONCEPT OF TELICITY IN ENGLISH, ROMANIAN AND SERBIAN

1. Introduction

This chapter argues that telicity represents the link between the grammatical and semantic dimensions of the verb. In other words, telicity connects aspect and Aktionsart, that is, it brings together the grammatical and semantic domain of the verb.

The very concept of telicity can be the basis for the lexical, i.e. semantic classification of verbs and verb phrases into activities, states, achievements and accomplishments (traditionally Aktionsart) (Vendler 1967: 97-121). In addition, this chapter will prove telicity to be in direct correlation with the grammatical category of aspect.

The relevant linguistic literature (Vendler 1967: 97-121, L. Brinton 1985: 158, Smith 1986: 103, Dahl 1987: 26, Novakov 2005: 115) asserts that telicity is one of the basic semantic characteristics, i.e. distinctive features of verbs. Telic situations are those that tend to attain a specific goal, after which the situation naturally ends. The final segment or natural end of the physical situation is a crucial part of the telic situation itself (Smith 1986, Novakov 2005: 115). On the other hand, atelic situations do not have the concept of a goal. Thus, it can be argued that, based on the semantic characteristics of the telicity, situations can be divided into telic and atelic (Vendler 1967: 97-121, Declerck 1979: 761-793, Novakov 2005: 115).

Both English and Romanian prominent linguists (Vendler 1967: 97-121, Comrie 1976: 44, Declerck 1979: 761-793, Brinton 1988: 54, Novakov 2005: 115 Rothstein 2004: 1, Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 458, Luchian 2007: 64, Avram et al. 2001: 65-68) considered the difference between these two types of situations very important for the study of both verbal aspect and Aktionsart, because telicity is one of the basic semantic characteristics or distinctive features of verbs (Vendler 1967: 97-121, Novakov 2005: 115). And as such, it exists in both Romanian and Serbian, but so far it has not been considered in detail or clearly defined. Therefore, one of the main goals of this scientific research is to examine the influence of the semantic characteristic named telicity on verbs in the Romanian and Serbian languages.

2. The Influence of Telicity in Verbal Aspect

This part of the chapter will examine the influence of the semantic category of telicity on aspect, and determine the direct correlation between them, as well as the relationship between the grammatical category of aspect, and the semantic categories of telicity and boundedness (Declerck 1979: 773, Novakov, Lazović 2009: 43).

It is well known and also proposed in the relevant literature (Belić 1958: 231, Maslov *ed.*, 1962: 35-37, Riđanović 1976: 7) that the category of aspect is traditionally associated with Slavic languages, because in them verbal aspect is morphologically expressed by prefixes, and telic distinctions are visible in the basic verb form, i.e. in the infinitive. Therefore, aspect in the Serbian language can represent a starting point or a framework for the study and reinterpretation of aspect in Romanian, but also in English.

In the Serbian relevant linguistic literature (Riđanović 1976: 7, Klajn 2002, Novakov 2006: 12), the term aspect encompasses two dimensions of Slavic verbs - perfective and imperfective, and the term Aktionsart denotes semantic functions of verbs.

In the literature, perfectivity is usually related to the completion of the action, i.e. to telic situations or those situations in which the goal has been reached and which cannot be continued. It can be stated that perfectivity characterises the execution of an action, and signifies the whole situation, and not only its end. On the other hand, imperfectivity implies a situation that lasts in time, that is, a situation that is not over.

Typical examples perfective / imperfective aspectual opposition are Serbian verbs *pisati / napisati* (*to be writing / to write, a scri / a scria*). The verb *napisati* (*to write / a scria*) is perfective, because it means that the action is over and that it cannot continue, because the goal has been reached. Therefore, it depicts the situation as a single whole. On the other hand, the verb *pisati* (*to be writing / a scri*) is imperfective. It signifies the duration of the situation and does not imply a goal or a natural end to the situation. At the mere attempt to translate these verbs into English or Romanian, we encounter a problem, because both verbs in the infinitive should be translated with *to write*, i.e. *a scri*. It is at the level of the verbal phrase, and in some cases at the level of the sentence, that the mentioned verbs in English and Romanian can be defined as telic or atelic.

Prefixed verbs in the Serbian language express perfectivity, while their basic verb forms are mostly imperfective. Verbs to which prefixes are added are most often activities, and less often achievements or states. Prefixed achievements do not change their distinctive features, while with activities and states there is a modification of features (Novakov 2005:81). In the process of prefixation, without exception, the characteristics [- goal] and [+ stativity] change. The prefix primarily changes the feature [goal], which introduces the final segment or the natural end of the situation. Thus, in the Serbian language, the connection with the grammatical category of aspect is realised through this feature (Klajn 2002: 205-286, Novakov 2005: 61-86). Thus, the lexical feature [goal] can be related to aspect, in the sense that the situation that tends towards a goal can be presented as a whole (*perfective aspect*), and the situation that does not aspire to the goal as a structure (*imperfective aspect*) (Comrie 1976: 3, Novakov 2005: 75-80).

Thus, prefixation in the Serbian language has both a lexical and grammatical function (Riđanović 1976: 5, Klajn 2002: 207), and affects both verbal semantics and verbal aspect, and the connection between the meaning of verbs and grammar is realised through the distinctive feature [goal], i.e. telicity (Novakov 2005: 85).

On the other hand, the study of aspect and Aktionsart is relatively new in Romanian linguistics (Lazović 2019:13). In traditional Romanian literature (Evseev 1974, Gramatica limbii române I 1966, Dimitriu 1979) aspect is not treated as a separate verb category, but rather the aspectual characteristics of the verb were processed within the category verb tense, while telicity was not mentioned. Only in the last few years has aspect acquired the status of an independent verb category in Romanian. In the Romanian language, there is also a perfective / imperfective aspectual opposition (*perfectul / imperfectul*), but it is morphologically expressed only in the past tense (Evseev 1974: 86-87, Popescu 1995: 242). On the other hand, in the relevant Anglistic literature, aspect is defined as the possibility of presenting the situation as a single whole (*perfective aspect*) or as a structure (*imperfective aspect*) (Comrie 1976: 3, Brinton 1985: 158, Novakov 2005, Lazović 2019: 19).

If a telic situation is combined with the perfective aspect, the situation includes the final segment, while the perfective aspect implies the integrity of the situation, so that the goal is reached and included in the situation itself (Declerck 1979: 763). For example:

1) *John drew a tree. / John a desenat un copac. / Džon je nacrtao drvo.*

Therefore, these are examples of a bounded, telic situations.

On the other hand, telic situation combined with imperfective aspect results in a situation that implies a final segment, and imperfective aspect emphasises the structure of the situation, and excludes the mentioned final segment or does not state whether the goal has actually been reached or not (Declerck 1979: 761-793).

In other words, the use of the progressive form in English, the imperfect in Romanian and in Serbian implies that the goal has not been achieved (Lazović 2019: 96). As shown in the example below:

2) *John was drawing a tree for hours.* / *John desena un copac ore întregi.* / *Džon je crtao drvo satima.*

Thus, these are examples of unbounded, telic situations, where the goal is implied, but not achieved.

However, if an atelic situation is expressed in the perfective aspect, the situation does not include the final segment, so the perfective aspect cannot ascertain whether the goal has been achieved or not (Comrie 1976: 3, Lazović 2019: 97).

3) *John swam yesterday.* / *John a înotat ieri.* / *Džon je plivao juče.*

The situation in examples 3 can be defined as an unbounded, atelic situation.

On the other hand, the atelic situation in combination with the imperfective aspect implies a situation that does not strive for the goal, and the imperfective aspect does not imply the final segment (Comrie 1976: 3, Lazović 2019: 97).

4) *John was reading yesterday.* / *John citea ieri.* / *Džon je citao juče.*

The situation in examples (4) can also be defined as an unbounded, atelic situation.

One of the most significant correlations between the verbal aspect, Aktionsart and boundedness is illustrated in the examples above. Namely, bounded, telic situations have perfective aspect and are expressed by simple present or past tense in English, while in Romanian they are most often expressed by complex perfect, while in Serbian they are expressed by a perfective verb form. On the other hand, unbounded situations have imperfective aspect, so they are expressed by progressive forms in English or imperfect (*imperfectul*) in Romanian, while in Serbian they are expressed by an imperfective verb form. Unbounded situations can be telic or atelic, depending on whether the goal has been achieved or not (Declerck 1979: 761-793, Novakov, Lazović 2009: 44).

This analysis has shown that there is a correlation between aspect and boundedness in the sense that the perfective aspect denotes a situation that has a final segment, while this is not the case with the imperfective aspect (Declerck 1979: 761-793, Novakov, Lazović 2009: 44). Furthermore, according to Novakov, Lazović (2009: 47-50), it can be argued that telicity and boundedness are similar, but not identical semantic characteristics of verbs and verb phrases, since telicity implies the mere existence of a goal, but boundedness determines whether that goal is reached or not (Novakov 2005, Lazović 2019). Thus, it can be concluded that aspect defined as a whole / structure infers the existence of the bounded / unbounded distinction. In other words, the semantic categories of telicity and boundedness are in fact in direct correlation with the verbal aspect.

3. The Influence of Telicity on Aktionsart

As previously mentioned, telicity is one of the most important distinctive features on the basis of which verbs are divided into lexical classes. Telicity refers to the existence of a goal in a particular situation. Accordingly, the semantic category of telicity groups atelic situations (activities and states) on the one hand, and telic (achievements and accomplishments) on the other (Vendler 1967: 97-121). As stated in the relevant linguistic literature (Comrie 1976: 44, Declerck 1979: 761-793, Brinton 1988: 54, Novakov 2005: 115,

Rothstein 2004: 1) atelic situations do not strive for the goal and do not have a final segment, while telic situations have a specified goal and tend towards achieving it.

For example, activities include verbs like *run / trčati / a alerga*, *swim / plivati / a înota...* Verbs denoting states are: *know / znati / a ști*, *believe / verovati / a crede*, *love / voleti / a iubi...* (Lazović 2019: 82) On the other hand, achievements include the following verbs and expressions: *find / naći / a afla*, *reach the summit / popeti se na vrh planine / a se urca pe vârful muntelui*, etc (Vendler 1967: 97-121, Novakov 2005: 100-120). Accomplishments include the expressions such as: *paint a picture / naslikati sliku / a picta o pictură*, *run a mile / pretrčati milju / a fugi o milă*, etc (Vendler 1967: 101).

The examples above indicate that in some cases the semantic characteristics of the verb are sufficient to establish the type of verb situation (Aktionsart), while in other cases the meaning of whole verb phrases and even the context must be considered. Therefore, one of the central questions in the theory of lexical classes, i.e. the semantic division of verbs, is the following: whether verbs are classified into classes or this classification should be applied to larger syntactic units, i.e. to verb phrases or even whole sentences? This question also arises due to the simple fact that one verb can appear in several verb phrases that have different aspectual characteristics and features. There are examples where the same verbs belong to different lexical classes if used in different contexts:

5) *John was running. / John alerga. / Džon je trčao.*

6) *John ran to the store. / John a alergat până la prăvălie. / Džon je trčao do prodatnice. / Džon je otrčao do prodatnice. (Rothstein 2004: 32)*

Some linguists (Krifka 1992, 1998, Rothstein 2004: 79) believe that verbs are not telic or atelic in themselves, but telicity or atelicity depends on the description of the situation itself. Thus, the description of the situation can change. Therefore, one and the same verb can have an atelic (5) or a telic (6) meaning. Which is exactly what the sentences in the Serbian language prove. These sentences show that in the same context, the imperfective (*je trčao / he ran / a alerga*) and the perfective aspect of the verb (*je otrčao / he ran out / a alergat*) can be used, but in both examples the meaning is telic, i.e. the situation implies a goal (*to the store*).

Thus, there are cases where telicity is not based on the meaning of the verb, but is determined by other parameters, such as: subject, direct object, modifiers, complements, adverbs, as well as the broader context.

Based on the research related to this study, it can be concluded that the telic or atelic distinction is not only semantic in nature, but sometimes it depends on the arguments of the verb, in this case the direct object (Comrie 1976: 47). For example:

7) *John was singing a song. / John cânta un cântec. / Džon je pevao pesmu.*

Unlike sentence (5), the situation in sentences (7) strives for the goal, because it has a natural end, that is, the moment when the subject will sing the whole song. The following two examples further clarify this argument:

8) *John was singing songs. / John cânta cântece. / Džon je pevao pesme.*

9) *John was singing five songs. / John cânta cinci cântece. / Džon je pevao pet pesma.*

According to Comrie (1976: 47), sentence (8) expresses a situation that does not tend towards a goal, because the subject can sing an unlimited number of songs, while sentence (9) expresses a situation that strives for the goal, i.e. a situation that will end after the subject sings five songs. The analysis related to this study has shown that the direct object affects telicity, because the same verbs can be found with telic (examples 7 and 9), and also with atelic situations (example 8). Therefore, it can be stated that the direct object (*song, five songs*) can determine the end of the situation and define the final segment or goal to which the situation aspires.

As already pointed out, telic situations imply a specific goal. After achieving this goal, the situation naturally ends, which suggests that the situation can no longer continue. In contrast, atelic situations have no goal and do not include a final segment, and at least theoretically can last indefinitely. However, there are examples of atelic situations that also tend towards a goal (sentences 8).

These challenging examples which involve situations that cannot be easily classified as telic or atelic, indicate that the category of telicity should be explained in more detail. Namely, as it has already been stated (Declerck 1979: 761-793, Novakov, Lazović 2009: 41-50), the telicity only indicates the existence or non-existence of a goal, but not whether that goal has really been achieved or not. Some solutions to this problem are offered by Declerck (1979: 773-785), who further deepens the semantic category of telicity by distinguishing between bounded and unbounded situations.

Declerck (1979: 761-793) believes that bounded situations strive for a goal and achieve it, while unbounded situations can tend towards a goal or not. If they do not strive for the goal, they are atelic, and if they strive for the goal, they are telic. What is crucial for unbounded situations is that the goal is never reached.

In examples (6, 7, and 9) the goals are clearly defined: the store to be reached, and the songs to be sung, but the context makes it clear that the goals have not been reached. These examples are defined as unbounded, telic situations. Thus, unbounded situations can be telic or atelic, but the goal is not achieved in them (Novakov, Lazović 2009: 49-50). It can be stated that telic situations can be bounded or unbounded, depending on whether the goal is actually reached or not (Declerck 1979: 761-793, Novakov, Lazović 2009: 49-50).

Declerck (1979: 764) points out that the division into bounded and unbounded situations, and consequently the division into telic and atelic situations, does not depend only on the verb used, but also on the context, more precisely on the subject and object. For example:

- 10) *John drank whiskey for hours. / John a băut whiskey ore întregi. / Džon je pio viski satima.* (Declerck 1979: 764, Lazović 2019: 79)
- 11) *John drank six glasses of whiskey. / John a băut șase pahare de whiskey. / Džon je popio šest čaša viskija.* (Declerck 1979: 764, Lazović 2019: 79)
- 12) *For hours water ran out of the tap. / Apa a curs ore întregi din robinet. / Voda je satima curila iz slavine.* (Declerck 1979: 764, Lazović 2019: 79)
- 13) *A litre of water ran out of the tap. / Un litru de apă a curs din robinet. / Litra ovde je iscurila iz slavine.* (Declerck 1979: 764, Lazović 2019: 79)

The situations in the English and Romanian sentences in example 10 are unbounded and atelic, although they are expressed in perfective aspect in both English and Romanian. The direct object expressed by the uncountable noun *whiskey* affects telicity of the situation modifying it into atelic. However, the situations in the English and Romanian sentences in example (11) are bounded and telic because the object *six glasses of whiskey* indicates the attained goal, thus the situation cannot continue. In the Serbian sentences (11 and 12), telicity or goal is expressed at the morphological level of the verb. On the other hand, in sentences (13) the subject *litre of water* introduces the notion of the goal, and the situations in both sentences are telic and bounded, while the situations in (12) are atelic and unbounded (Declerck 1979: 764, Lazović 2019: 79).

Activities can be imposed with the meaning of telicity by means of a resultative predicate. For example:

- 14) *Mary hammered the metal. / Mary a bătut metalul cu ciocanul. / Meri je udarala čekićem po metalu.*
- 15) *Mary hammered the metal flat. / Mary a bătut metalul cu ciocanul până nu l-a foit drept. / Meri je udarala čekićem po metalu do ga nije izravnala.* (Rothstein

2004: 124, Lazović 2019: 86)

Namely, example (14) is an activity that involves hitting a metal with a hammer, while example (15) involves a qualitative change in the state of the metal, where it becomes flat. On the other hand, example (14) does not imply a qualitative change in the metal itself. Thus, the resultative predicate *flat* introduces the culmination of the situation or the meaning of the goal. In other words, the resultative predicate *flat* gives information about the state of the direct object of the activity verb at the end of that activity (Rothstein 2004: 124, Lazović 2019: 86). The English resultative predicate was translated into Romanian and Serbian with a temporal sentence (*până nu l-a foil drept / dok ga nije izravnala / until it was flatened*).

The previous examples have confirmed that Declerck's division (Declerck 1979: 761-793) is based on the meaning of the whole sentence, i.e. context, and not on the meaning of the verbs themselves. The Romanian and Serbian translation equivalents have proven that this claim is valid in both Romanian and Serbian.

Thus, telicity and boundedness should be considered different characteristics of verbs and verb phrases (Declerck 1979: 761-793, Novakov, Lazović 2009: 49-50, Lazović 2019: 111).

4. Conclusion

The study related to this chapter has proven that *goal* is a very important semantic characteristic of verbs. Goal is the final segment, which implies a qualitative change in the state of the situation (Lazović 2019: 171, Novakov 2005: 28). Based on the existence of the goal, situations can be divided into telic and atelic (Comrie 1976: 44, Declerck 1979: 761-793, Brinton 1988: 54). Telic situations are those that strive for a specific goal or end segment. They are always dynamic, which means that they imply a constant input of energy and tend towards achieving a goal (Comrie 1976: 48-49, Lambalgen and Hamm 2005: 83-96). On the other hand, atelic situations do not imply a goal (Declerck 1979: 761-793, Novakov 2005: 118, Lazović 2019: 231).

This analysis has shown that both Romanian and Serbian verbs can be divided into telic or atelic.

However, some difficulties arose concerning the fact that telicity only indicates the existence or non-existence of a goal, but not whether that goal was actually reached or not (Declerck 1979: 764, Novakov, Lazović 2009: 49-50, Lazović 2019: 79). Therefore, following the example of Declerck (1979: 761-793), the distinction between bounded and unbounded situations was taken into account in the analysis related to this study. At the same time, it was concluded that bounded situations strive for the goal and achieve it, while unbounded situations can strive for the goal or not, with the proviso that the goal is never achieved in them.

Based on this research, it can be concluded that both telicity and boundedness can be associated with the presence of a goal (Declerck 1979: 761-793, Novakov, Lazović 2009: 41-50), with the addition that boundedness implies the achievement of that goal. Since there are situations that are telic but do not reach the goal, it can be concluded that there are differences between telicity and boundedness in the sense that telic situations imply a goal, but do not state whether that goal is achieved or not, while bounded situations specify that the goal is achieved, and unbounded that it is not (Novakov, Lazović 2009: 41-50).

If these definitions were applied to lexical classes, it could be stated that accomplishments and achievements in English and Romanian are telic situations that can be bounded or unbounded (Declerck 1979: 764, Lazović 2019: 10, Novakov, Lazović 2009: 41-50, Lazović 2011: 221-237). Accomplishments and achievements that have a goal and are bounded, are those in which the goal is reached, while unbounded accomplishments and

achievements are situations in which the goal exists but is not achieved. Activities and states in both languages are always bounded and atelic (Lazović 2011: 221-237).

In addition, the analysis related to this study has shown that in English and Romanian the meaning of a verb alone is not the most important element on the basis of which a verb is classified in a certain class or defined as telic or atelic, but telicity is influenced by other syntactic elements. Thus, when it comes to the meaning of verbs and telicity, the influence of the context cannot be neglected. This analysis points to the fact that lexical meanings, and therefore telicity, are based on the interaction of the semantics of verbs and other linguistic elements such as prefixes, periphrases, verb tenses, adverbials, subject, direct object, and even broader context. It should be emphasised that in both English and Romanian, telicity is not a feature present at the lexical level, thus most English and Romanian verbs are neutral in their basic form, or in the infinitive, and telicity can be determined at the syntactic level. While in the Serbian language, the perfective / imperfective aspectual distinction, as well as the semantic categories of telicity and boundedness are visible at the morphological level of the verb.

This study has shown a clear connection between verb semantics (Aktionsart) and aspect. Namely, verbs that are telic and imply the achievement of the goal require to be presented as a whole, while atelic verbs usually imply structure.

This analysis has proven that the semantic category of telicity, as well as its associative concepts, such as boundedness and goal, exist in all three languages studied. Based on that, it can be justifiably stated that the concept of telicity as a semantic characteristic of a verb represents a general linguistic category, and as such it should be considered a linguistic universal.

SECTION II

CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF VERBAL ASPECT – CONCEPTS AND APPLICATIONS

TELICITY IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

1. Introduction

If we start from the theoretical assumption that language is a system which associates specific meanings to specific forms and structures, we could proceed by saying that the meanings, i.e. notions, are expressed by the given forms in a given language. Some of these notions represent general concepts which belong to the categories included in the cognitive structuring of our reality. For example, such concepts are temporal and spatial location, possession, agentivity, telicity and many others; thus, temporality represents a temporal determination or localization of a situation, a gradual quantification measured from the zero point, the deictic centre or the point of speech (now). These notions could be indicated by various means, both lexical and morpho-syntactic – therefore, they could be lexicalised or grammaticalised. To use the same example, temporality could be grammaticalised within the category of tense, but lexicalised in the adverbial expressions denoting time.

Moreover, these general notions need not have exactly the same status in different languages, because they often depend on the “point of view” taken in a language (or ethnolinguistic categorization of the world, cf. Piper et al 2005: 576). Therefore, it could be assumed that some of these notions would have a central or peripheral role in the system of different languages or be related to other notions in different ways.

To complete the theoretical framework, these general notions are best represented as elements in a clause structure. Like most linguistic units, clauses consist of their structure (form) and content, so a complete and systematic description of clauses requires a thorough analysis of the content, too. Thus, in addition to the syntactic structure, one should also discuss the semantic and pragmatic notions related to the given structure. The semantic structure of the clause is usually called the proposition – the predicate and its arguments, that is the relation(s) between the participants included in the situation denoted by the predicate. The proposition could be placed within a certain modal framework – indicative or some other mood - which implies the attitude of the speaker to the proposition. This relation between the form and content in the clauses is rather complex, because one structure/form could denote several different semantic components and one semantic component could be denoted by different syntactic and lexical means.

Therefore, lexical and syntactic means of expression usually do not denote just one such semantic concept, but several such concepts “coexist” in one expression, with one of them usually dominating. So, semantic concepts resemble prototypes, or are present in a higher or lower degree and do not always have clear-cut borders. For example, the category of person is typically and centrally indicated by personal pronouns and finite verb forms, but is merged with the category of possession in possessive pronouns/determiners (Piper *et al* 2005: 580).

After the general theoretical framework, this chapter would discuss the semantic category of telicity in English in Serbian and then compare it with the category of aspect in order to specify possible domains of each of these two categories.

2. Telicity

The very term telicity is derived from the Greek word *telos* denoting “a goal, end”, and it seems that the distinction between the verbs which involve an end or a goal and the verbs which do not could be related to Aristotle’s work (Binnick 1991: 189). However, the very term was introduced by Garey (Garey 1957) to denote telic verbs which have a natural culmination, and atelic verbs which do not have a goal to be realised (Binnick 1991: 189). So, in contemporary linguistic literature, the distinction between telic and atelic situations is related to the notion of the goal, i.e. the telic situations take a specific time to be completed, while the atelic ones do not. This distinction was further developed by many other authors, among them Z. Vendler (Vendler 1967: 97-121): without using the actual terms telic/atelic, he writes about the difference between the verbs and verb phrases which have a natural terminal point (e.g. *run a mile, draw a circle*) and those which do not (e.g. *run, swim*). Vendler also points out that the atelic predicates which are true for a certain time interval, are also true at any subinterval of that time, whereas telic predicates are not. Therefore, if someone swam during the time interval *t*, it is true that he was swimming during any part of that interval; but if someone wrote a letter during the time interval *t*, it is not true that he wrote a letter during each part of that interval.

Some linguists (for example, Declerck 1979) related the notion of telicity to the notion of boundedness, because bounded situations tend toward a goal, have a limit, a well-defined endpoint (Declerck 1979: 762). Moreover, unbounded situations are homogeneous, while the bounded ones are not, which implies that the former consist of qualitatively equal segments, whereas the latter do not. Such a determination of telicity is quite similar to the contemporary definition of aspect, since aspect is understood as viewing the situation in its entirety (perfective aspect) or as a structure (imperfective aspect) (cf. Comrie 1976: 4). Even more explicitly, some linguists (cf. Smith 1986: 100-101) wrote that perfective aspect includes the endpoints of a situation (i.e. the initial and final point), whereas imperfective aspect does not imply the inclusion of these endpoints. Therefore, there is a direct link with telicity: aspect is a category which implies the inclusion or exclusion of the boundary in the situation denoted by the verb, and this boundary to a great degree coincides with the achievement of the goal.

Finally, telicity is sometimes viewed as a component of the categorial complex of causativity (Piper et al. 2005: 578), because it is related to the causes of a certain situation, conditions for the realization of that situation and eventually to the goal to be achieved. Therefore, it is also implicitly related to the notions of animacy and agentivity necessary to reach a set goal (Piper et al. 2005: 804). The entire telic situation would thus typically include the animate agent wishing to achieve a certain goal or starting a certain activity to achieve a certain goal, with the cause and effect relation between the initial and final stage of the situation. In that case, the notion of a goal is quite similar to the notions of purpose and intention, and different languages might also have specific means to indicate them (Piper et al. 2005: 809-810).

2.1. Telicity in English

As far as English is concerned, telicity could be indicated in various contexts, both at the lexical and syntactic level. First of all, at the lexical level telicity could be indicated by prefixes and by some particles in phrasal verbs. Thus, for example, most of the following verbs imply a goal:

- 1) a) *rebuild*
- b) *drink up*
- c) *pull through*
- d) *drive on*

The prefix *re-* in (1a) indicates the repetition of the situation denoted by the basic verb and the full completion of that repetition represents the goal. The particles *up* and *through* in phrasal verbs in (1b) and (1c) also indicate a boundary, natural terminal point which should be reached to “fulfil” the semantic content of the lexeme: to drink the entire quantity (usually a glass) of a certain liquid or to recover fully from an illness. However, the particle *on* in (1d) does not indicate a goal and thus does not make the lexeme telic (cf. Brinton 1985; Brinton argues that most particles in phrasal verbs mark telic *Aktionsart*, not perfective aspect, except the particles like *on* and *along*).

Secondly, telicity in English could be marked at the syntactic level; for this chapter, it is interesting to discuss the influence of the direct object (cf. Brinton 1988). Actually, in English the direct object can add a goal even to the verbs which do not have it at the lexical level. The typical examples are the following:

- 2) a) *to read* vs. *to read the letter*
- b) *to run* vs. *to run a mile*
- c) *to read novels* vs. *to read the novel*
- d) *to drink beer* vs. *to drink a beer*

The verbs used without an object in (2a) and (2b) do not imply any goal – these activities can go on and stop at any moment without having any natural terminal point, but if the object is added the situations become telic (it takes a definite period of time to read a letter or run a mile). The examples (2c) and (2d) show that even the structure of the object plays a role: the nonmodified plural countable noun (*novels*) and the nonmodified singular uncountable noun (*beer*) do not indicate a specific goal, while the premodified nouns (*the novels*, *the beer*) do. So, in (2c) the noun *novels* just presents further qualification of the situation, whereas the noun phrase *the novel* implies both qualification and quantification of the situation, which means that it sets a goal.

2.1.1. Aspect and Telicity

Starting from the assumption that the basic English aspectual opposition includes the progressive (i. e. imperfective, with the exclusion of endpoints) and nonprogressive (i. e. perfective, with the inclusion of endpoints) aspect, we could illustrate the interaction between telicity and these two aspects with the following examples:

- 3) a) *She read the letter.*
- b) *She was reading the letter.*
- 4) a) *They rewrote their report.*
- b) *They were rewriting their report.*
- 5) a) *The children ate up the apples.*
- b) ? *The children were eating up the apples.*

The examples (3a), (4a) and (5a) indicate both the presence and the attainment of the goal, that is the entire situation is presented inside its initial and final endpoints. However, if these verbs are shifted into progressive aspect, the goal is still there, but it is not included in the denoted segment of the situation, no confirmation is provided that the goal was reached (examples 3b, 4b). The last example, (5b) is not acceptable for some native speakers, because the phrasal verb *eat up* requires the attainment of the goal and the inclusion of the final point, which is not the case with the progressive aspect. Therefore, the examples with the progressive aspect prove that the telic situations and the imperfective aspect (progressive) could be combined in the same verb phrase, but this combination results in the neutralization of the goal, i. e. it does not confirm the attainment of the goal.

2.2. Telicity in Serbian

In Serbian, the notion of telicity has been systematically discussed only in more recent grammars and articles (cf. Piper et al. 2005: 803-812). These grammars and articles indicate that in Serbian the goal is typically expressed with syntactic structures like prepositional phrases including specific case forms, then with infinitive constructions and decomposed predicates, but also with lexical means (Piper et al. 2005: 805). Mentioning some of these ways of expression, this chapter would focus the intersection between aspect and telicity, as well as the role of the verb's arguments in denoting telicity.

2.2.1. Aspect and Telicity

It is a well-known fact that aspect in Slavic languages is almost always marked already at the lexical level, by prefixation; however, prefixes could be assumed to mark both the semantic feature of telicity and the category of aspect, and it is sometimes quite difficult to distinguish “pure” perfectivisation from the cases when the prefix also modifies the meaning of the basic verb. In this chapter, we would make an attempt to delimit these two functions using the examples with the prefix *na-* and starting from the taxonomy presented by Klajn (Klajn 2002: 250-251).

The morpheme *na* has a double function in Serbian: it is a preposition denoting primarily a spatial relation, like English *on*, the position when one object is touching the surface of another object. This spatial meaning is reflected in its second function, prefixation. First of all, according to its function, the prefix *na-* could be divided into two large groups: 1) when it has the pure perfectivising function, and 2) when the prefix, in addition to perfectivisation, also modifies the lexical meaning of verbs.

In the former case (e.g. the verbs *nahriniti* – *feed*, *naučiti* – *learn*), it seems that the prefix only indicates the entirety of the situation, the situation which is viewed inside its endpoints. Since the prefix also sets the boundary of the situation, adding the telic quality to the situation, the verb implies that the boundary was reached, i.e. that the goal is inside the situation's endpoints.

In the latter case, the prefix *na-* could be roughly further subdivided into two groups: 1) with the spatial meaning similar to the English preposition *on* occurring with the verbs of motion, and 2) with the meaning of saturation (activity carried out until the point of saturation on the part of the subject). The variants within the spatial meaning include a) placing/putting something on(to) a surface or object (e.g. *natovariti* – *load up*, *namazati* – *put on grease or oil*), b) accidental contact with an obstacle (e.g. *nagaziti* – *step on*), c) specific activities on a surface (e.g. *naslikati* – *finish painting*, *napisati* – *write out*), and d) sudden movement of a large number of living beings (e.g. *nagrnuti* – *swarm up*).

There are several degrees of saturation denoted by the verbs with the prefix *na-*: a) begun or just slightly realised activity (e.g. *načuti* – *hear something*, *nagrusti* – *bite slightly*), b) partial saturation or “a rather large” portion of an activity (e.g. *naseći* – *cut a large quantity*, *napričati* – *tell a lot*) and c) total saturation (e.g. *najesti se* – *eat one's fill*, *našetati se* – *walk one's fill*).

In these cases, the perfective aspect introduced by the prefix indicates the inclusion of endpoints, and the telic quality (also introduced by the prefix) indicates the presence and attainment of the goal, with the additional semantic implications like spatial relations and saturation.

2.2.2. Verb and its Arguments

The structure of the verb phrase offers another area interesting for the discussion about the interaction between aspect and telicity. Namely, in some cases, the object NP can also indicate a goal which interacts with the aspectual content of transitive verbs. For example:

6) a) *napisati pismo* (to write a letter, perfective)

b) *nabrati cveće* (to pick flowers, perfective)

In these examples, the perfective verbs are followed by the direct objects which are either a nonmodified singular noun (6a) or a nonmodified plural noun (6b); both objects just specify the semantic content of the goal, because the prefixes in these perfective verbs already indicate telic situations which are placed inside their endpoints.

However, with their imperfective pairs (i.e. the same verbs, but without prefixes), the direct object seems to add a goal to an atelic situation, for example:

7) a) *pisati pismo* (to write a letter, imperfective)

b) *brati cveće* (to pick flowers, imperfective)

The verbs *pisati* and *brati* are atelic, they denote the situations which can go on without reaching the natural terminal point. However, the objects (the same nouns as in 6a and 6b) add the goal, making them telic. So, there are the following components in these verb phrases: the imperfective lexemes which do not include the endpoints of the situation, and the nouns which specify the goal. In Serbian, the interaction between imperfective aspect and telic quality results in the same implication as the English combination “progressive aspect + NP denoting a goal”: the situation is presented as having a goal, but the attainment of that goal is left unspecified; in other words, the verb phrase does not specify if the goal was reached or not (cf. Novakov 2005: 128-129).

3. Conclusion

After a brief theoretical overview concerning the notion of telicity in general and its expression in English and Serbian, as well as after the discussion about the interaction between telicity and aspect in the two languages, it could be concluded that these languages show both similarities and differences.

Telicity is defined as a semantic concept which is possibly present in the propositional content of the clause and which denotes a goal, i.e. a natural terminal point to be reached in a situation denoted by a verb. As for the category of aspect, it is understood as viewing the situation as a whole or as a structure, that is including its endpoints (perfective) and excluding its endpoints (imperfective). Therefore, the interaction between telicity and perfective aspect results in the implication that the goal was reached within the situation’s endpoints, while the interaction between telicity and imperfectivity results in the implication that the achievement of the goal is not specified in the denoted situation.

Within this framework, the chapter pointed out some similarities and differences between English and Serbian. First of all, telicity is indicated in both languages and it interacts with the category of aspect. Thus, in English, telicity is usually not indicated at the lexical level and could be cancelled within the imperfective aspect (specifically, progressive aspect), whereas the perfective aspect (non-progressive) implies the attainment of the goal. On the other hand, in Serbian telicity is typically indicated already at the lexical level together with perfective aspect. The second issue investigated in the article was the influence of the object NP on the telic quality of the situation. It was pointed out that English reinterprets telicity at the syntactic level according to the type of NP, while Serbian does not, because telicity is fully determined already at the lexical level.

Predrag Novakov

TYPES OF VERB SITUATIONS IN ENGLISH AND SERBIAN

1. Introduction

In linguistic English studies there are several syntactic and semantic classifications of verbs as a part of speech. Depending on the focus of study and criteria, verbs are divided into auxiliaries and lexical verbs, linking (copulative) and non-linking verbs, stative and dynamic verbs. If we primarily concentrate on the semantic classifications, one of the most interesting and frequently mentioned divisions is the classification presented by Zeno Vendler (Vendler, 1967). Starting from the English examples and the syntactic behaviour of English verbs, Vendler divided verbs (and situations denoted by the verbs) into activities, states, accomplishments and achievements. His classification has been discussed, further developed and modified by numerous authors (e.g. Smith 1986 and 1991, Brinton, 1988) and often served as a basis for analysis of languages other than English. This chapter would first present an outline of that classification and then apply it to Serbian, trying to find parallels (and possible differences) with English.

Such lexical classifications are often closely related to the category of aspect: some authors describe these lexical meanings and aspect as the situation aspect and viewpoint aspect (Smith, 1991: 23) or inherent aspectual/semantic aspectual meanings and aspectual oppositions (Comrie, 1976: 41). Therefore, this chapter would try to establish a link between the type of verb situations and the category of aspect in English and Serbian. In doing that, one could start from a general definition of aspect provided by Bernard Comrie that aspect refers to an internal temporal constituency of a situation (Comrie, 1976: 4), because this definition could cover both English and Serbian (i.e. Slavic) aspect. We would start from the assumption that English has two pairs of aspectual oppositions, namely progressive/nonprogressive and perfect/nonperfect (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 90), and that Serbian has a typical Slavic aspect – perfective (denoting the totality of a situation, a whole) and imperfective (presenting situation as a structure).

Finally, the comparison of verb types and aspect in English and Serbian would enable a deeper insight into this issue: two related languages, but with differences in the lexicalization and grammaticalization of the discussed concepts, offer a possibility to study parametric variations within a general prototypical entity.

2. Vendler's Classification of Verbs

In his article “Verbs and Times”, first published in 1957, Vendler discussed certain elements of internal structures of situations denoted by the verbs, the time schemata which include important components of the concepts denoted by these verbs. For example, these schemata include the presence or absence of segments in a verb situation and the distribution of these possible segments, presence or absence of a goal (telicity) and duration of a situation. Referring to Vendler's types, C. Smith later wrote that the speakers have in their mind abstract representations, idealised situation types which “do not depend on particular languages, but rather to the basic categorization of situations that humans make on the basis of their perceptual and cognitive facilities” (Smith, 1986: 99). Therefore, this classification

(or at least some of its elements) could be related to the conceptualization or to the cognitive structuring of entities.

Starting from English, Vendler first divided verbs into those allowing and those not allowing continuous tenses. The first group is then subdivided into the verbs which do not imply a goal (activities) and those which imply a goal (accomplishments). The second group is divided into the verbs implying a certain duration (states) and momentary verbs (achievements).

Activities, therefore, denote dynamic situations which require a constant input of energy, which imply a development, change, and have segments. These segments are of equal quality, they are just being repeated within the span of the situation, because activities do not head towards a goal (they are atelic), therefore any segment can represent the quality of the entire situation. Thus, the activities could be stopped or terminated, but not finished – the notion of completion is irrelevant to them (Smith, 1991: 45). Finally, activities have some duration, or at least have the possibility to last in time.

States are not dynamic, so they do not require a constant input of energy or external agent (the first and last inputs of energy to create and end a state do not belong to the state itself), there is no development and there are no dynamic segments - there is only a continuous flow during which a certain situation or a quality lasts in time. Thus, states are also durative and atelic.

Unlike states, accomplishments are dynamic, require an external agent and a constant input of energy, therefore have some duration. They are directed towards a goal (they are telic) and thus imply growth and cumulation – a process and its outcome. They cannot continue, except with the repetition of the entire situation (Smith, 1991: 49). The cumulation is the reason why their segments are not equal and the quality of the entire situation cannot be represented by any single segment of the situation.

Finally, achievements are dynamic, momentary situations which include only one segment. They are telic, because one could argue that the goal is reached as soon as the only segment of this situation is realised.

As it has already been pointed out, this basic classification has been modified and further developed. For example, C. Smith added habituais and generics to Vendler's four types (Smith, 1986: 99), and L. Brinton used distinctive features to represent these four basic types, for example the features dynamism, durativity, homogeneity, telicity (Brinton, 1988: 57). Thus, activities would be /+dynamic, +durative, +homogeneous, -telic/, states /-dynamic, +durative, +homogeneous, -telic/, accomplishments /+dynamic, +durative, -homogeneous, +telic/ and achievements /+dynamic, -durative, +telic/.

To determine these four types, Vendler used certain syntactic tests, i.e. the tests related to the syntactic behaviour of verbs and their distinctive features. For example, he used the tests "in/for X time", "how long did it take to V" and "if one stops Ving, one did V". Thus, the activities and states occur with the phrase "for X time", and not "in X time", because they do not imply a goal. Secondly, it is possible to insert activities and states into the test-frame "if one stops Ving, one did V", because their segments are of equal quality, and each segment can represent the entire situation. In other words, there is the following entailment for the activities and states: when an activity or state refers to an interval of time, it does so even to the smallest sub-interval of that interval (Smith, 1991: 37). Accomplishments and achievements allow the adverbial modification with the PP "in X time" and cannot be meaningfully inserted into the structure "If one stops Ving, one did V" because their segments are not qualitatively equal.

3. English and Serbian – Similarities and Differences

After this general overview, the chapter would present Vendler's original classification of English verbs and its application to Serbian, concentrating on the features telicity and dynamism. Secondly, the link between some of these features and aspect would be discussed.

3.1. Vendler's Types in English

Even though Vendler based his classification on English examples, there are some remarks to be made about its application in English. First, one should notice that Vendler's examples (Vendler, 1967: 107) of activities and states are typically lexemes, whereas accomplishments and achievements are not only lexemes, but also verb phrases, actually verbs followed by an object NP (e.g. accomplishments: *paint a picture, make a chair, build a house*; achievements: *reach the summit, win the race, cross the border*). Therefore, it seems that the feature telicity, the presence of a goal, in English is not marked morphologically, within the verb lexeme itself, but by adding an NP which denotes a goal. For example, *to write* is an activity, but *to write a letter* is an accomplishment. Thus, it follows that English verb lexemes are ambiguous as far as the expression of the concept of telicity is concerned, because it depends on the context.

For example, it has been noted (e.g. Brinton, 1988: 45-50) that the NP found in the object position influences telicity in English. Namely, the object consisting of a not modified uncountable noun or not modified plural countable noun (1a, 2a, 3a) makes the situation atelic, whereas the modified countable noun makes it telic (1b, 2b, 3b), e.g.:

- 1) a) *She wrote novels.*
b) *She wrote a novel.*
- 2) a) *They sold cheese.*
b) *They sold the cheese.*
- 3) a) *He swam.*
b) *He swam the river.*

So, one characteristic of English verb lexemes is their "openness" to specification in the syntactic context.

Moreover, this "openness" is also significant for the aspectual choices as far as the aspectual pair progressive/nonprogressive is concerned. Namely, it seems that there is a correlation between some of the mentioned distinctive features in the English verb lexemes and the progressive aspectual form (cf. Comrie, 1976: 41). In English, there is a clear correlation between the feature dynamism, because verbs with the feature */-dynamic/* are typically not used in the progressive (or continuous) aspect (4a, b). The feature telicity in English does not imply such a correlation: both telic and atelic situations (with some exceptions concerning achievements) can be used in the progressive aspect (5b and 5d). For example:

- 4) a) **They are believing every word he says.*
b) **She is owning a car.*
- 5) a) *She wrote a novel.*
b) *She was writing a novel.*
c) *They reached the summit.*
d) *They were reaching the summit.*

Therefore, in English, the feature telicity does not exclude certain aspectual choices, but the feature dynamism does.

3.2. Vendler's Types in Serbian

After the application of Vendler's tests to the Serbian verbs, it turns out that some distinctive features in Serbian verbs are more specifically determined than in the English verbs already at the lexeme level. At least, this could be said for the distinctive feature telicity: verbs with prefixes (without imperfectivising suffixes) are typically telic and remain so in the syntactic context. Actually, if we apply some of Vendler's test to Serbian verbs, we would come to the conclusion that Serbian, as a highly inflected language, shows telicity in a much clearer way than English.

Thus, the activities (e.g. *plivati/to swim*, *hodati/to walk*) in Serbian have the typical distinctive features mentioned above – they are dynamic, imply a possible duration and do not head towards a goal. However, their feature */-telic/* is strictly determined and cannot be changed in the context. States are, like in English, atelic and imply a possible duration. Finally, accomplishments are telic, and have prefixes marking telicity which – unlike in English - cannot be “neutralised” in the context. Achievements are also telic, although they are found with or without prefixes (e.g. *stati/to stop*, *zavikati/to start to shout*) and could be morphologically modified to imply repetition (e.g. *zastajati/stop often for a brief period of time*).

Generally speaking, Serbian verbs already at the lexical level carry more information than the English verbs. As far as aspect is concerned, it seems that Serbian gives prominence to the feature telicity to form a link with perfective and imperfective aspect. Namely, it is well known that Slavic perfective verbs are telic (and telicity is marked by prefixation) and imperfective verbs atelic (they either have no prefixes or have both prefixes and suffixes for secondary imperfectivisation). It should also be underlined that telicity does not change at the syntactic level, probably because it is directly related to the lexicalised imperfective/perfective aspect: in Serbian (and Slavic languages in general), imperfective aspect indicates the situation without specifying its goal or whether the goal was reached, and perfective aspect implies that there is a goal and it is reached. Finally, Serbian verb lexemes could be further divided into lexical subgroups according to some more specific distinctive features introduced by the combination of a prefix and a lexical verb. For example, some combinations might denote the beginning of a situation (*zavikati – to begin to shout*), additional or final segment of a situation (*dokuvati – to cook more until ready*) etc.

3.3. English/Serbian Types of Situations and Aspect

So far, we have confirmed that basic concepts included in the Vendler's types (e.g. dynamism, telicity, duration) could be distinguished both in English and in Serbian. However, it seems that a language with a rich morphology like Serbian specifies them more clearly at the lexeme or morphological level, whereas English leaves certain specifications to the level of syntax. We could thus assume (following Smith, 1986) that both languages imply a set of similar general features which make prototypical situation types denoted by the verbs. Out of these features, English and Serbian seem to give prominence to different ones when a link with aspect should be established. In English, the feature *+/- dynamic* appears to be crucial, since verbs with the feature */-dynamic/* are typically not used in the progressive aspect, or in other words, stative verbs are typically found only in the nonprogressive form. On the other hand, Serbian utilises the feature telicity, because imperfective verbs are atelic, and perfective verbs telic. This seems to be the most significant difference to take into account: the lexical feature of telicity in English can be neutralised, so both telic and atelic verbs can be used in the progressive aspect (which is the exponent of the imperfective aspect). Unlike English, Serbian telic verbs are used only in the perfective contexts, since telicity cannot be neutralised or disregarded. For example, one of such contexts is the position

of complements of phasal (*fazni* in Serbian) verbs denoting beginning, ending or continuation:

6) a) *Počeli su da grade kuću.*

Started (3rd person pl) to build(impf) a house

b) **Počeli su da sgrade kuću.*

Started (3rd person pl) to build(pf) a house

The example (6b) is ungrammatical because the verb *sagraditi* is telic and at the same time perfective, which means that it presents the totality of a situation and the goal is reached, so it cannot be related to the verb denoting just one phase of that situation – its beginning.

This is in accordance with B. Comrie's opinion that "...inherent aspectual (i.e. semantic aspectual) properties of various classes of lexical verbs.... interact with other aspectual oppositions, either prohibiting certain combinations, or severely restricting their meaning" (Comrie, 1976: 41). Therefore, it could be assumed that the lexical meaning of verbs includes a set of general features (possibly related to cognitive categories) which different languages use to establish links with other parts of language system. Such links could be further related to parametric variations, as suggested by C. Smith (1986, 1991). She believes that the interpretation of sentences should consider both situation types (situation aspect) and aspect (viewpoint aspect), because of their interaction at the syntactic level. For example, in English the interaction between telic situations and perfective viewpoint aspect (i.e. nonprogressive) results in the implication that the existing goal was reached, whereas the interaction between telic situations and imperfective viewpoint aspect (i.e. progressive) results in the implication that the goal exists, but there is no indication that it was or was not reached (Smith, 1986: 103).

4. Conclusion

Vendler's classification of verbs proved to be applicable not only to English, but to Serbian as well, probably because it relies on the features included in the basic categorization of events (e.g. dynamic, stative). Therefore, it is possible to assume that these features create sets with a prototypical quality and that human beings compare actual situations they talk about with these sets in order to attach proper grammatical structures to them. Thus, for example, some of these features could be used to form a link with the category of aspect, and different languages might utilise different features: so English establishes this link with aspect through the feature of dynamism, and Serbian through the feature of telicity.

SEMANTIC VERB CLASSES IN ROMANIAN AND ENGLISH

1. Introduction

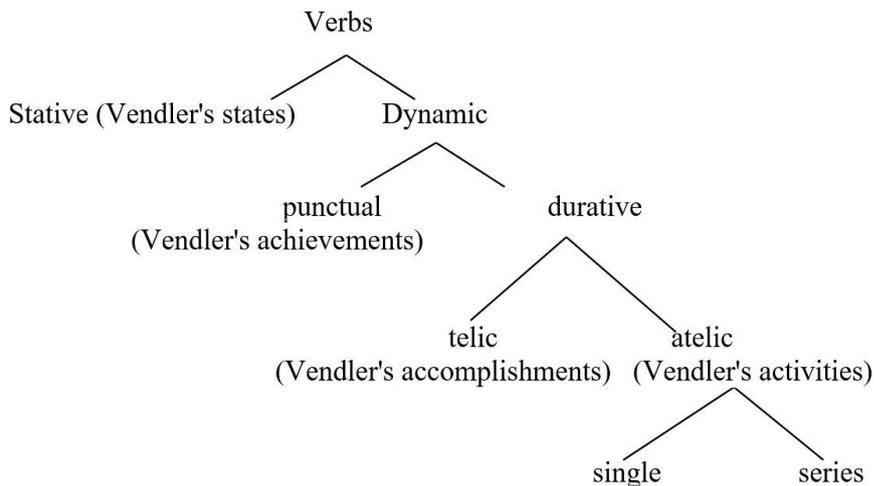
Aktionsart is considered a lexical aspect which is connected with the meaning of verbs and semantic categories of verbs (Rothstein 2004: 1). It is often referred to as a verbal category dealing with the way the action is realised (Evseev 1974: 86), as well as the nature of the situation, thus representing its objective characteristics (Novakov 2005: 26).

Vendler (1967: 97-121) considers Aktionsart to be a lexical, i.e. semantic category according to which verbs can be classified into: activities, states, achievements and accomplishments.

Dahl (1987: 26) classifies verbs based on the inherent aspectual meaning into: events, processes and states. Dahl also differentiates dynamic situations and states. Dynamic situations imply movement and change, while states do not (Dahl 1987: 28). Dynamic situations can be further divided into bounded and unbounded situations. Bounded situations are bounded by a goal, which means that the goal is always reached, while with unbounded the goal either does not exist, or it is not reached. Similar division of situations was offered by Declerck (1979: 761-794).

Lambalgen and Hamm (2000: 88) define Aktionsart as types of situations. They write about five types of situations: states, activities, accomplishments, achievements and points.

Furthermore, Brinton (1988: 54) offers a more complete classification of verbs which is based on Vendler's classification. Brinton's types of verbs can be presented as follows:



2. Semantic Verb Classes in English

Vendler's classification (Vendler 1967: 97-121) into activities, states, achievements and accomplishments is more or less accepted in the relevant English linguistic literature. Namely, in order to classify situations, it is important whether the situation implies a process or a development, whether it consists of different segments, and whether they are of equal quality or there is a segment which represents a terminal point or a goal after which the

situation cannot be continued. It can be argued that verbs can be classified according to their semantic characteristics into four groups:

Activities (Activități)

Activities imply process and development, therefore can last in time. They have homogenous segments which means that any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole, in the sense that there is no terminal point or goal to be reached. Thus, activities are atelic and dynamic, they consist of different stages and can occur in the progressive.

Activities are verbs such as: *run (a alerga), swim (a înota), walk (a se plimba)*...

For example:

1) a) *He ran for 5 minutes.*

b) *A alergat 5 minute.*

Romanian linguistic literature (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 326) also mentions activity verbs (*verbe de acțiune*). For example: *a alerga (run), a înota (swim), a învăța (study), a mânca (eat), a repara (fix), strânge (collect), a trimite (send)* etc. Thus, Romanian activities require a conscious agent and can imply a change which must not necessarily be a change of state. Romanian activity verbs are in fact Vendler's activities, achievements and accomplishments.

States (Stări)

States last in time, they cannot be divided into segments, they do not denote a process and development, and therefore they do not have a goal. States simply indicate that a characteristic or a situation exists. They are stative and homogeneous, which means that all parts of a state are of equal quality. Thus, states have only one stage, because they do not imply any change.

States are verbs such as: *know (a ști), believe (a crede), love (a iubi)*...

For example:

2) a) *She loves him.*

b) *Ea îl iubește.*

States (*verbe de stare*) are also mentioned in Romanian relevant literature: *a iubi (love), a se mira (to be amazed), a durea (ache)*, itd. Romanian verbs of state do not imply a change nor a conscious agent (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 326).

Achievements (Împliniri)

Achievements are punctual and telic. The whole situation expressed by an achievement verb happens in one moment.

Achievements are verbs and phrases such as: *find (a afla), lose (a pierde), reach the summit (a se urca pe vârful muntelui), win a race (a învinge în cursă / alergare)*...

Achievements are not homogeneous since they do not have an internal structure. They represent momentary changes of state which can be preceded by a preparatory activity which is not a part of the meaning of the achievement.

Achievements rarely occur in the progressive since it is contradictory to talk about momentary situations which last in time. However, there are examples which prove otherwise:

3) a) *The train is arriving at the station.*

b) *Trenul sosea în gară.*

Accomplishments (Înfăptuiri)

Accomplishments are telic durative situations. They are not homogenous in nature, because they involve a terminal point after which the situation naturally ends and cannot continue.

Accomplishments are verbs and phrases such as: *paint a picture (a picta o pictură)*, *run a mile (a fugi o milă)*, *draw a circle (a desena un cerc)*...

Some linguists (Rothstein 2004) consider accomplishments to be activities heading towards a goal. For example:

4) a) *Mary built a house.*

b) *Mary a clădit o casă.*

The accomplishment in (4) consists of an activity event of *building the house* and of the reached goal *the built house*. Accomplishments must have a terminal point in order to indicate the quality of the whole situation. Apart from activities and states, contemporary Romanian grammar (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 326) mentions events (*verbe de eveniment*). For example: *a se usca (dry)*, *a crește (grow)*, *a îmbătrâni (grow old)*, etc.

Events imply a change of state, but without a conscious agent.

Romanian events are similar to English achievements and accomplishments which can imply a conscious agent as well.

Semelfactive situations

Some linguists (Rothstein 2004: 28-29, 183-187, Lambalgen and Hamm 2000: 83, Smith 1991: 21) write about the fifth type of verb situations called semelfactives. Such verbs are: *kick (a lovi cu piciorul)*, *jump (a sări)*, *wink (a face din ochi, clipi)*...

Semelfactives are mentioned in Romanian literature as well, but they have a different meaning. Namely, Romanian semelfactives are situations which happen only once. In English literature, however, semelfactive situations are momentary situations which can be telic or atelic. There are two accounts on the nature of semelfactive situations. Some linguists consider them achievements and other activities. Rothstein (2004: 29) defines semelfactive situations as minimal intervals of an activity. For example:

5) a) *John kicked the door for half an hour.*

b) *John a lovit ușa cu piciorul jumătate de oră.*

They can occur in the progressive, which is also a characteristic of activities, not achievements:

6) a) *John was kicking the door.*

b) *John lovea ușa cu piciorul.*

This is why Rothstein (2004: 29) argues that semelfactive situations should not be considered a separate verb type, but a subgroup of activities. On contrary, Smith (1991) defines semelfactive situations as atelic achievements. She points out that achievements represent dynamic, momentary, telic situations which have only one phase. While semelfactives also have only one phase, they are dynamic, but atelic.

However, Rothstein (2004: 185) argues that semelfactives are not momentary situations, since they have an internal structure. For example, the verb *wink* consists of minimal elements which make the whole situation expressed by the verb. It implies that one must close the eye and open it again. Thus, semelfactives do not have the same structure as achievements, since they do not denote a change of state, or a goal. Therefore, semelfactive situations are similar to activities like *run / a alerga*, *swim / a inota*, because they consist of minimal elements which make the whole situation expressed by the verb.

3. Semantic Verb Classes in Romanian

In Romanian, Aktionsart is treated and defined as a lexical category which denotes the way the action is realised as well as the type of situation. Romanian linguists agree that Aktionsart can be expressed at morphological, lexical and syntactic level. Furthermore, the meaning of the verb plays the most important role in classification of verbs.

The following types of verbal situation can be distinguished in Romanian language:

Durative situations (*Aktionsart durativ*)

Some linguists (Poghiric 1953: 18) call these situations linear (*liniar*), because they denote a process which lasts in time, but there is no information about its beginning and end.

Luchian (2007: 97-99) argues that Romanian durative verbs are in fact activities: *a ajuta* (help), *a alerga* (run), *a bea* (drink), *a zbura* (fly), *a vorbi* (talk), states: *a avea* (have, possess), *a crede* (believe), *a iubi* (love), *a vrea* (want), *a (se) teme* (be afraid) or accomplishments: *a crea* (make, create), *a zidi* (build) *a popula* (populate), *a sorta* (sort, classify).

Romanian durative verbs are similar to English activities because in both languages such situations denote duration and do not tend towards a goal of any kind.

Momentary situations (*Aktionsart momentan*)

Momentary situations happen in one moment. Their beginning and end are rolled into one moment. Such verbs are: *a (se) abate* (come by), *a admite* (confess), *a afla* (find), *a aluneca* (slip), *a cădea* (fall), *a clipi* (blink), *a exploda* (explode), *a găsi* (find), *a (se) încrunta* (frown), *a (se) mira* (be surprised), *a simți* (feel), *a sparge* (break), *a (se) speria* (be startled), *a uita* (forget), *a (se) trezi* (wake up), *a tăia* (cut off), (Luchian 2007: 101).

Since they have the same characteristics, Romanian momentary verbs can be connected to English achievements and momentary activities (which are called semelfactives by Rothstein 2004: 28-29, 183-187, Lambalgen and Hamm 2000: 83, Smith 1991: 21)

Inchoative and ingressive situations (*Aktionsart inchoativ și ingresiv*)

In Romanian, inchoative situations denote a gradual change of state. They are telic and momentary, since they denote that the beginning of the situation is completed. Such verbs are: *a aprinde* (light), *a iniția* (initiate), *a (se) imbarca* (come on board), *a (se) îndrăgosti* (fall in love), *răsări* (spring out) (Luchian 2007: 104,105).

In traditional literature the term *inchoative* was often used synonymously with the term *ingressive*. Ingressive verbs denote momentary atelic situations (Nedioglu 1952: 12), for example: *a cădea* (fall), *a sări* (jump), *a apăsa* (push), *a arunca* (throw). Such situations are similar to semelfactive situations or momentary activities mentioned by Rothstein (2004: 28-29, 183-187, Lambalgen and Hamm (2000: 83), Smith (1991: 21).

Terminative situations (*Aktionsart terminativ*)

Terminative verbs are: *a abandona* (abandon), *a acoperi* (cover up), *a convinge* (convince), *a demola* (demolish), *a dovedi* (prove), *a invita* (invite), *a imigra* (immigrate), *a obosi* (tire), *a (se) scufunda* (sink), *a trăda* (betray) (Luchian 2007: 104,105).

Luchian (2007: 86) argues that terminative verbs denote situations which have a result: *a cumpăra* (buy), *a telefona* (telephone), *a merge* (go), *a desena* (draw), etc. However, listed verbs neither denote a resultative situation nor imply an end point. They are activities. It is not until the direct object is added that they are completed. Thus, mentioned verbs must be used together with their direct object in order to denote a terminal situation. It is the direct object, not the verb itself, which denotes the end point: *a cumpăra o casă* (buy a house), *a merge la munte* (go to the mountains), *a desena un peisaj* (draw a landscape), etc. This makes Romanian terminative verbs similar to English accomplishments.

On the other hand, one cannot argue that terminative verbs are the same as resultative verbs, because resultative verbs imply a result, while terminative do not, they just imply the situation came to an end.

On the other hand, there are verbs which semantically imply terminativity: *a termina* (finish), *a sfârși* (finish), *a isprăvi* (complete, end), *a găta* (finish), *a înceta* (stop). This makes Romanian terminative verbs similar to English achievements.

Within the group of Romanian terminative verbs, we can distinguish a subgroup called *ingressive verbs* (Popescu 2000: 63). They denote the end of a situation, for example *a se opri* (stop). Similarly, Savin-Zgardan (2001: 36) mentions *finitive situations* which denote situations which are interrupted or finished, for example: *a da de capăt* (finish, come to an end).

Iterative situations (Aktionsart iterativ)

Iterative situations denote repetition. Thus, they show similarities with English iterative achievements.

Such situations are: *a pulsa* (pulse), *a pupăi* (chirp), *a realege* (reelect), *a reanaliza* (reanalyse), *a reface* (redo), *a bocăni* (hammer, knock), *a păși* (pace), *a pedala* (pedal) (Luchian 2007: 107,108).

Semelfactive situations (Aktionsart semelfactiv)

The term *semelfactive* originates from Latin and means *once* or *one time*. Thus, semelfactive situations are those which happen only once, they are unique and momentary. Some linguists (Savin-Zgardan 2001: 36) argue that semelfactive situations are those which happen at once, instantly. For example: *a bufni râsul* (burst with laughter), *a fura cu ochiul* (sneak a peak), *a-i trece prin minte* (come to mind). Nevertheless, the examples show that semelfactive situations are not those which happen only once, but momentary atelic situations.

Savin-Zgardan (2001: 38) mentions a subgroup of semelfactive situations which she calls *monosequential* (*acțiune monosecvențială*), such situations happen in one swing: *a da o palmă* (slap), *a face un semn* (make a sign).

Semelfactive verbs in Romanian are: *a apăsa* (push), *a (se) apleca* (bow), *a arunca* (throw), *a găsi* (find), *a izbucni* (start), *a pocni* (burst), *a (se) scufunda* (sink), *a sparge* (break), *a uni* (unite), etc.

Intensified situations (Aktionsart intensiv)

Intensified situations are more intensive than normal situations. For example: *a se topi de fericire* (be extremely happy), *înnegri de amar* (be very angry).

Limitative situations (Aktionsart limitativ)

Limitative situations are temporally limited, i.e. last a certain period of time which is usually expressed by an adverbial: *un timp, câtva, o vreme* (for a while). For example: *a se odihni un timp* (rest for a while), *a locui o vreme* (live for a while), etc (Luchian 2007: 92-93).

Multiplicative situations (Aktionsart multiplicativ)

Romanian multiplicative verbs are: *a balansa* (balanse), *a ciripi* (chirp), *a pipăi* (touch), *a săpa* (dig), *a tremura* (tremour), *a străluci* (flicker), *a pulsa* (pulse), *a vibra* (vibrate), etc (Luchian 2007: 109-110).

A multiplicative situation consists of segments which cannot be separated and whose beginning and end cannot be clearly distinguished and therefore do not have a structure.

Their characteristics are similar to English activities.

Progressive situations (Aktionsart progresiv)

Romanian progressive verbs are: *accelera* (speed up), *a albi* (become white), *a ameliora* (ameliorate), *a cufunda* (sink), *a (se) dezvoltă* (develop), *a (se) învechi*, *a îmbătrâni* (become old), *a înainta* (progress), *a (se) îndepărta* (become distant), *a (se) întuneca* (darken), *a lungi* (lengthen), *a mări* (become bigger), *a rări* (become more rare), etc.

Progressive verbs are durative and telic, they imply a change of state.

Therefore, are similar to English accomplishments.

Transformative situations (*Aktionsart transformativ*) Transformative situations denote a change of state (Avram et al. 2001: 65-68). For example: *a slăbi* (*lose weight, become thin*), thus they are similar to English accomplishments.

Anticipative situations (*Aktionsart anticipativ*)

Anticipative situations denote anteriority (Evseev 1974: 86-94). For example: *a predestina* (*predestine*), *a pregăti* (*prepare*), *a presimți* (*have a presentiment*).

Intensive situations (*Aktionsart intensiv*)

Such situations denote the intensity of a situation (Evseev 1974: 93). For example: *supraaglomera* (*overcrowd*), *supraîncălzi* (*overheat*), *a striga – a țipa* (*shout – scream*), etc.

Reciprocal situations (*Aktionsart reciproc*)

Reciprocal situations require at least two subjects which are patients at the same time. For example: *a se săruta* (*kiss – kiss one another*), *coabita* (*cohabit*), *colabora* (*collaborate*), *conlucra* (*work together*), *a se întrevădea* (*meet*), etc.

Augmentative situations (*Aktionsart augmentativ*)

Augmentative situations denote processes which intensify: *a se intensifica* (*intensify*), *a se înfoca* (*heat up*).

It is evident that there are many verb types in Romanian language. The difference between some of them can hardly be distinguished (terminative, resultative, ingressive). Therefore, a simpler and clearer classification is needed, which can be based on a fewer number of semantic characteristics and which will consequently bring fewer verb types.

Contemporary Romanian literature (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 326) distinguishes three types of verb situations, which can be connected to Vendler's classification of English verbs. Romanian semantic classification is based upon two distinctive features of verbs [agentivity] and [change]. According to the mentioned characteristics Romanian verbs are classified into activities (*verbe de acțiune*), states (*verbe de stare*) and events (*verbe de eveniment*).

Activities (*verbe de acțiune*)

Romanian activity verbs are: *a alerga* (*run*), *a înota* (*swim*), *a învăța* (*study*), *a mânca* (*eat*), *a repara* (*fix*), *strânge* (*collect*), *a trimite* (*send*) etc. Romanian activities require a conscious agent and can imply a change which must not necessarily be a change of state, it can be a change of a position. Romanian activity verbs are in fact Vendler's activities, achievements and accomplishments.

States (*verbe de stare*)

Romanian states are: *a iubi* (*love*), *a se mira* (*to be amazed*), *a durea* (*ache*), itd. Romanian verbs of state do not imply a change nor a conscious agent. This semantic category of verbs is equivalent to Vendler's states.

Events (*verbe de eveniment*)

Apart from activities and states, contemporary Romanian grammar (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 326) mentions events (*verbe de eveniment*). For example: *a se usca* (*dry*), *a crește* (*grow*), *a îmbătrâni* (*grow old*), etc. Events imply a change of state, but without a conscious agent: *Râul a secat*. (*The river dried.*) Romanian events are similar to English achievements and accomplishments which can imply a conscious agent as well.

4. Conclusion

This research has shown that English and Romanian linguistic traditions differ in the approach and analysis of the category of Aktionsart. The research has also shown that despite the obvious differences there are similarities and general definitions which can encompass both English and Romanian verbs and offer a base for a further scientific research and comparison.

English and Romanian linguistic literature offer very similar definitions of Aktionsart, but the analysis and the classification of English and Romanian verbs is completely different mainly because different parameters for classification are used. The classification of English verbs is based on the distinctive features, while in Romanian the classification is based upon the meaning of verbs.

Detailed analysis of Aktionsart, i.e. semantic verb classes in English and Romanian has revealed that linguistic traditions of the two languages are completely different. On the other hand, contemporary grammars prove that similarities do exist, which offers a basis for a more general analysis of Aktionsart.

This research has shown that Romanian language offers a substantial number of verb classes, which can semantically be connected to English verbs classes.

For example, Romanian momentary situations are similar to English achievements due to the same semantic characteristics.

Similarly, Romanian inchoative verbs can be connected to English semelfactive situations or momentary activities if they do not denote a change of state, but if they do then they are similar to English achievements.

Romanian ingressive verbs are atelic and momentary, thus show some similarities with English achievements.

Romanian terminative verbs are similar to English accomplishments, since in both languages the terminative meaning is introduced by the direct object not by the verb itself.

Romanian iterative verbs denote repetition and as such can be connected to English iterative achievements.

Semelfactive situations exist in both languages they are momentary and can be telic or atelic. Atelic momentary situations are activities, while telic momentary situations are achievements.

Based on their semantic characteristics Romanian multiplicative verbs can be connected to English activities.

Romanian transformative verbs denote a change of state; thus, they are similar to English accomplishments.

Romanian progressive verbs last in time and tend towards a goal, i.e. denote a change of state, thus they are similar to English accomplishments. To sum up, Romanian semelfactive and multiplicative situations are similar to English activities, while English achievements can be connected to Romanian inchoative, ingressive, iterative and semelfactive situations.

On the other hand, Romanian terminative, progressive and transformative situations have similar characteristics to English accomplishments.

On the other hand, contemporary linguistic research offers quite a different perspective.

Verbal classification (Aktionsart) and the semantic characteristics it is based on in the Romanian language can be presented as follows:

Table 1. Aktionsart and the semantic characteristics in the Romanian language

	[+ change]	[+ agentivity]
States (Stări) (Vendler's states)	-	-
Events (Evenimente) (Vendler's achievements)	+	-

Activities (Activități) (Vendler's activities, achievements and accomplishments)	+	+
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Verbal classification (Aktionsart) and the semantic characteristics it is based on in the English language can be presented as follows:

Table 2. Aktionsart and the semantic characteristics in the English language

	Stativity (stativitate)	Duration (durată)	Telicity (scop)	Stages (faze)
Activities (Activități)	-	+	-	+
States (Stări)	+	+	-	-
Achievements (Împliniri)	-	-	+	-
Accomplishments (Înfăptuiri)	-	+	+	+

In light of these findings, this study represents a valuable contribution to comparative linguistics by deepening the understanding of cross-linguistic parallels and divergences in Aktionsart between English and Romanian, thus providing a solid foundation for further typological and semantic research.

Predrag Novakov

ASPECT AND BOUNDEDNESS

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses specific features in the semantic structure of verbs and their relation to the category of aspect, illustrating them with relevant examples.

To start from the most general theoretical assumptions in the relevant linguistic sources, one may point out that there seems to be a significant correlation between verbal aspect and certain semantic features of lexical verbs. Thus, for example, Comrie states that some inherent semantic properties of verbs interact with aspectual oppositions, prohibiting some combinations or restricting their meaning (Comrie 1976: 41). Actually, this interdependence could be viewed as a more general concept of dependence between lexicon and grammar, if we assume that the mental process concerning the formation of linguistic structures starts from the semantic concepts which are then transferred to the lexicon and grammar (cf. Smith 1986, Brinton 1988, Novakov 2005). In that process of interaction, some grammatical choices seem to be determined objectively, that is by the features of verb lexemes themselves, and some subjectively, that is by the speaker/writer. For example, it means that morphosyntax in the former case depends on the verb's subcategorization (e.g. its transitivity), but in the latter that the speaker/writer can select one of the possible options left to him.

As far as relations between English verbal aspect and semantic features of verbs are concerned, the relevant semantic features may include stativity and duration, as well as telicity or boundedness. So, as it has been mentioned at the beginning, these features may exclude some aspectual choices and this would be an objective determination (thus stativity excludes English progressive, with some exceptions) or the feature itself could be modified (for example, momentary verbs used in the English progressive aspect imply repetition of the moment denoted by these verbs). A subjective choice of the speaker would involve the presentation of a durative dynamic situation as an ongoing process or as a total entity.

This interaction raises several questions, the most general ones probably being the fuzzy demarcation line between the lexical and the grammatical domain on the one hand, and the very conceptual (or cognitive) nature of the category of aspect on the other. This chapter would concentrate on one of these significant issues, the notion of boundedness in English and its relevance for the aspectual interpretation of clauses. Actually, the chapter would investigate the relation between telicity and boundedness on the one hand and their relation to verbal aspect on the other. To do that, the chapter would start from the definitions of aspect and boundedness.

2. Definitions of Verbal Aspect

Numerous definitions of verbal aspect have often created a confusion in this field of study, to such a degree that the existence of that category was denied in some languages (like in some older grammars of English) and that aspect in some other languages (the Slavic ones) was quite frequently taken as the typical case, with the definition of perfectivity as denoting completion. However, this definition seems to be language-specific, whereas the more general definition should try to include various, not only genetically closely related languages. Thus some more comprehensive researches (Dahl 1987), based on a rather large

sample of languages from different genetic groups (families) with the goal to formulate a prototypical definition of aspect, resulted in a different picture: the study of more than 60 languages (with Bulgarian, Czech, Polish and Russian from the Slavic branch) showed that the typical perfectivity denotes a total entity, has a well-defined result or end and is most often located in the past; moreover, perfective event is quite frequently punctual (or its duration can be disregarded) and represents a single transition from one situation to another situation (Dahl 1987: 78).

This prototypical definition was preceded by some other, similar general definitions which determined perfectivity as the totality of the situation (Comrie 1976) or indivisibility of the situation into segments (Ridjanović 1976), while imperfectivity was determined as implying structure or divisibility of the situation. These notions of totality and indivisibility seem to be closely related to the notion of boundedness or telicity. However, it seems that telicity should not be understood as completely synonymous with boundedness, which opens the issue of their precise definition and delimitation.

3. Telicity and Boundedness

The terms like telic, bounded, terminative, conclusive have often been used to specify the semantic structure of verbs and verb phrases; the notion they denote, which appears to go back to Aristotle (Declerck 1979: 761) presents a valuable tool, particularly when one has to explain subtleties of verb uses. Moreover, this notion also provides the basis for lexical classifications of verbs and verb phrases (cf. Vendler 1967, classification into activities, states, accomplishments, achievements), which offers an additional proof that this notion is a significant component in the analysis of verbs. However, one should first discuss the very terms telicity and boundedness and determine their semantic content, that is their possible synonymy.

Most often, telic situations are viewed as those having and heading towards a specified goal or terminal point, after which the situation naturally ends. In other words, the situation denoted by a telic verb or verb phrase has a well-defined final point and this endpoint is an integral part of that situation (cf. Smith 1986). Namely, such a situation is dynamic, that is implies the constant input of energy from the initial point with the purpose to reach a certain final point. So, at first sight, telicity seems to imply boundedness of a situation: a telic situation, after the initial point and possible duration, is “bound” by the final point. This is the case with Vendler’s accomplishments and achievements; activities and states are not bounded in that sense, because the activities do not imply the terminal point and, at least theoretically, could be continued indefinitely, provided that there is a constant input of energy. As for states, their non-dynamic nature excludes a goal: namely, the states are created by an initial dynamic situation and ended by the final dynamic situation, but these two situations do not belong to the state itself. The state exists between these two points, without any input of energy. Therefore, the discussion about telicity/boundedness should focus on the dynamic telic situations.

These assumptions about telicity could be further illustrated by several specific contexts which imply the final terminal point or absence of such a point (Vendler 1967, Brinton 1988 etc). Some of them are:

A) adverbial modification with *for/in X time*

As for these two prepositional phrases, they indicate just the time-span of a situation (*for X time*) or the time-span and completion (*in X time*). Therefore, unlike the atelic/unbounded situations like the one in (1a), the telic/bounded situations like the one in (1b) are grammatical with the second phrase, but not with the first phrase. For example:

1) a) *Linda was walking/walked for half an hour/*in half an hour.*

*b) Brian climbed the hill in half an hour/*for half an hour.*

B) the question “how long did it take to V” or the construction “it took somebody X time to V”

Since this question and construction also imply the attainment of the final point, they occur with the telic/bounded situations only like the one in (2a):

2) a) How long did it take to prepare lunch?/ It took us one hour to prepare lunch.

*b) *How long did it take to read?/ *It took us one hour to read.*

The example (2b) illustrates an atelic/unbounded situation, so it is unacceptable.

C) the construction “if one stops Ving, one did V”

This test is based on the fact that the atelic/unbounded situations are homogeneous, that is consist of qualitatively equal segments, because such situations do not imply any specific final point nor include cumulation or growth. In other words, the atelic/unbounded situation (3a) could be stopped at any point and still get the essential quality of the entire situation, because all subintervals of that situation are equal. The telic/bounded situation (3b) cannot be stopped with the same effect. For example:

3) a) If one stops writing, one did write.

*b) *If one stops writing a letter, one did write a letter.*

However, as Declerck pointed out (1979: 765), there are also some unbounded situations that seem to imply a goal. For example:

4) a) Brian walked towards the village for hours.

b) Meg was looking for the lost key all morning.

In these cases, the goal of the verbal situation is specified (the spatial location in 4a, or the object to be found in 4b), but the context does not indicate that the goal was actually reached at the given temporal segment.

To complete the discussion about the notion of telicity, one may add further qualifications from a recently published Serbian syntax (Piper et al. 2005: 803-812). Namely, the authors of this syntax state that the notion of telicity is rather complex and implies several components; for example, these components include the resulting situation to be attained, animate, conscious agent who wants the attainment of that resulting state, temporal sequence (unidirectional string of segments leading to a goal) and localization (in the abstract sense of a cognitive concept that the attainment of a goal means reaching the final spatial point in a process). Moreover, the authors specify that the telic quality in Serbian – in addition to the verbs and verb phrases - can be indicated with prepositional phrases, noun phrases in particular cases, adverbials and other lexicalised or grammaticalised means.

However, having in mind these characteristics of telicity and boundedness, there are also some specific cases in English. Namely, as Declerck (1979: 765) points out, some English bounded situations do not seem to imply the tendency towards a goal:

5) a) The hail destroyed the crops in several minutes.

b) Lightning struck two trees in one night.

He writes that these situations are bounded, but not telic, because telicity requires a conscious agent, which is not the case when the subject is the hail or lightning, so there is no wish or intention to attain a goal (Declerck 1979: 766). Actually, the fact that there are atelic bounded situations presents another reason to separate the notions of telicity and boundedness, that is assume that they are not completely synonymous.

Following that assumption, one may discuss another issue – the situations possibly ambiguous when it comes to boundedness (Declerck 1979: 767-768). Namely, Declerck argues that there are three kinds of situations: a) bounded, b) unbounded and c) “zero” bounded. For example, the following two situations are supposedly “zero” bounded:

6) a) Helen filled the bottle with water.

b) The spider crawled through the tube.

These and similar examples are not supposed to be inherently bounded or unbounded, because they occur in the following tests for telicity/boundedness:

- 7) a) *How long did it take Helen to fill the bottle with water?*
- b) *Helen filled the bottle with water for two minutes.*
- c) *How long did it take the spider to crawl through the tube?*
- d) *The spider crawled through the tube for several minutes.*

According to Declerck, such examples are ambiguous because they occur both in the structures implying the final point (7a and 7c) and not implying it (7b and 7d). However, it seems that the ambiguities of these situations result from the fact that in English telicity/boundedness is typically not morphologically marked, so it depends on the context which provides the guidelines for the right interpretation. Thus, we may also assume that these situations are telic: the goal in (6a) - the full bottle - is possibly involved, but not necessarily reached or included in the situation. The same holds for (6b), if we leave aside the issue of conscious agent (which is the topic requiring additional consideration). So, the ambiguity could be explained by saying that these situations are implicitly telic, but they do not indicate whether the implied goal was reached or not.

At this point, we may conclude that the notions of boundedness and telicity seem to be rather complex, that they are both, generally speaking, related to the existence of the goal which marks the end of a given situation. Actually, one may say that a bounded situation proceeds along the time axis from the initial temporal point t_i to the final temporal point t_f (Declerck 1979: 766) and that the final point is reached in that progress. Moreover, the temporal distance between these two points may vary; for example, in cases of momentary situations (Vendler's achievements) these two points (the initial and the final one) coincide, they are almost simultaneous (even though Declerck assumes that boundedness/telicity does not apply to momentary situations, cf. 1979: 773). However, having in mind that a situation can be telic without actually reaching its goal (examples 4a and 4b), it seems that a distinction should be made between telicity and boundedness: thus a telic situation would be the one implying a goal which may or not be reached (the final point t_f is present, but the entire context does not specify whether it was reached or not), whereas the bounded situation would be the one which indicates that the final point was actually reached. Making such a distinction, we imply that there is a semantic feature of telicity and another feature of boundedness – and that is where aspect may enter the picture.

4. Aspect, Boundedness and Telicity

As it has already been mentioned, aspect deals with the speaker's subjective choice to present a situation in its totality (perfective aspect) or not (imperfective aspect). This choice involves an interaction with some semantic features of verbs or verb phrases, which contributes to the interpretation of the entire clause. If we take into account the feature of telicity and combine it with perfective and imperfective aspect, we get the following possible results:

- a) telic situation + perfective aspect: the situation itself involves the terminal point and perfective aspect indicates that the situation is viewed in its totality, so that the terminal point is reached and included in the situation;
- b) telic situation + imperfective aspect: even though the situation involves a terminal point, imperfective aspect views the situation as a structure, excluding the terminal point or at least not specifying whether that point is reached;
- c) atelic situation + perfective aspect: the situation does not involve the final point, so the perfective aspect cannot indicate that it was reached;

d) atelic situation + imperfective aspect: the situation does not involve the final point and aspectual perspective does not indicate it either.

Therefore, it seems that the framework which takes into account telicity on the one hand and aspect on the other can quite successfully explain the resulting interpretation of situations. To complete this framework, one may assume that aspect actually indicates boundedness: thus, perfective aspect “binds” the situation which involves a terminal point, while imperfective aspect does not. Therefore, telicity and boundedness seem to represent related, but not the same notions. As it has already been mentioned, telicity indicates the existence of a terminal point, while boundedness specifies that this terminal point was actually reached.

After a brief survey of some English examples, we may check how this framework works in a Slavic language – Serbian. A Slavic language is relevant here because of its specific aspectual system, often thought to represent the core of aspectual oppositions. The first and most important difference from English is that the semantic feature of telicity in Serbian seems to be indicated at the lexical level. Namely, almost all verbs with perfectivising prefixes (except biaspectual verbs and secondary imperfectives, which have a prefix and an infix) involve telicity. It appears that such a prefix sets a goal to be reached, for example:

- 8) a) *pretrčati* (to run across a certain distance) – the goal is implied in the distance to be crossed;
- b) *dograditi* (to build an additional part) – the goal is that additional part to be completed;
- c) *odlediti* (to unfreeze) – the goal is to reach a situation when the entity would not be frozen.

Therefore, it seems that semantically telic verbs in Serbian are at the same time perfective, which means that they are also bounded, so that the goal is not only present, but reached as well. Atelic verbs are imperfective, that is unbounded: they do not imply a goal and thus there is no implication that the goal was reached.

To corroborate this point, one may discuss examples from Serbian which correspond to the English sentences (6a, b), which were indicated as ambiguous when it comes to boundedness. For example:

- 9) a) *Ona je punila bocu vodom.*
 (“She was filling bottle with water”)
- b) *Ona je napunila bocu vodom.*
 (“She filled bottle with water”)
- 10) a) *Pauk je mileo kroz cev.*
 (“Spider was crawling through tube”)
- b) *Pauk je promileo kroz cev.*
 (“Spider crawled through tube”)

The Serbian equivalents of the English sentences actually represent pairs of sentences, proving that there are two possible readings of the English original: the unbounded imperfective (9a, 10a) and bounded perfective (9b, 10b). These two possible equivalents point to a difference in the expression of boundedness/telicity in English and Serbian: the English examples are ambiguous, but the Serbian ones are not, because the Slavic-type aspect typically indicates boundedness at the morphological level. This fact may be an argument for the assumption that the English examples are ambiguous when it comes to the binary division into +/- bounded (that is, they are “zero” bounded); actually, in most cases in English, the telic quality (presence/absence of a goal) is determined at the phrase/clause level and the role of aspect is to specify whether the existing goal was actually reached, that is whether the situation is bounded or not.

5. Conclusion

This chapter first presented general assumptions from the relevant literature about the notions of boundedness/telicity and verbal aspect on the one hand, and their possible interdependence on the other. Discussing some of the presented assumptions, the chapter tried to develop or modify them and to construct a theoretical framework which could account for the interaction between some semantic features of verbs and aspect.

The discussion is concluded with the proposal to support the theoretical assumptions leading to a distinction between telicity and boundedness: the former thus denoting the presence of a goal to be possibly reached, the latter “binding” that goal, that is indicating whether the goal was actually reached and included in the situation. Finally, the notion of boundedness is directly related to the category of aspect in such a way that perfective aspect implies bounded, and the imperfective one unbounded situation.

Finally, another general and intriguing topic may be just mentioned - the cognitive side of the entire framework - and the following question could be asked: does aspect belong to one of the general cognitive notions related to the verbs? If one, following the ideas developed in the relevant literature (cf. Smith 1986), assumes that there are general cognitive concepts like stative/dynamic, durative/momentary, telic/atelic, then is there perhaps the cognitive basis for the aspectual distinctions in the languages of the world? The answer, perhaps, could be sought in the possibility given to the speaker/writer to underline or confirm some of the features from the semantic structure of verbs and verb phrases, in this case telicity: to specify whether the implied goal was really reached or not.

Mihaela Lazović

THE INFLUENCE OF PREFIXES ON ASPECT AND TELICITY IN ENGLISH, ROMANIAN AND SERBIAN

1. Introduction

The study of verbal prefixes is significant because prefixation has both lexical and grammatical function, and thus affects the meaning of verbs as well as the verbal aspect. The analysis has shown that the correlation between the lexical meaning (Aktionsart) and grammar (aspect) is often realised via the distinctive feature [goal], i.e. semantic category named telicity. In this chapter, we analysed the link between verbal aspect, telicity and prefixation and examined the presence of certain distinctive features with prefixed verbs in order to determine the aspect.

1.1. The Corpus

The research conducted for this study is based on a corpus consisting of 70 English, 70 Romanian and 70 Serbian verbs with prefixes and their translational equivalents into the other two languages. In addition, the analysis included the base verbs onto which the prefixes were added.

The selection of prefixes was based on their frequency. The corpus includes contemporary English, Romanian and Serbian prefixed verbs. Thus, archaic verbs as well as provincialisms and dialects were not incorporated in the corpus. The corpus consists of verbs which are found in monolingual and bilingual dictionaries together with the prefix in all three languages. The Serbian part of the corpus consists of verbs with the following prefixes: *do-*, *za-*, *iz-*, *na-*, *od-*, *po-*, *pre-*, *pro-*, *s(a)-*, *u-*. The English part of the corpus comprises of verbs with the following prefixes: *co-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *inter-*, *mal-*, *mis-*, *out-*, *over-*, *re-*, *sub-*, *trans-*, *un-*, *under-*. Finally, the Romanian part of the corpus contains verbs with prefixes such as: *a-*, *pre-*, *po-*, *răz-*, *ză-*, *în-*, *îm-*, *nă-*, *iz-*, *is-* *re-*.

The prefixed verbs analysed were taken from the following dictionaries: *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika*, *DEX (Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române)*, *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* (1992), *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (1995) and *Webster's New Dictionary and Thesaurus* (1990). Their translation equivalents were then taken from the following dictionaries: *Dicționar român-englez*, *Dicționar englez-român*, *Veliki hrvatsko-engleski rječnik*, *Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik*, *Srpsko-rumunski rečnik*, *Rumunsko-srpski rečnik*.

The central part of the study is a synchronic, contrastive analysis of prefixed verbs and their translational equivalents in contemporary English, Romanian and Serbian. The aim of the research is to determine the existing correlations between the analysed prefixed verbs in the three languages with respect to verbal aspect and Aktionsart. Namely, the study attempts to determine whether the use of prefixes modifies the distinctive features of base verbs and whether a change in verbal aspect and/or Aktionsart has occurred. Furthermore, the chapter studies the translation equivalents of prefixed verbs and determines which syntactic

and morphological means have been used to translate the prefixed verbs in the other two languages.

1.2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This study starts from the typological definition of aspect as a category which makes it possible to view and present a situation as a single whole (perfective aspect) or as a structure (imperfective aspect) (Comrie 1976: 3; Novakov 2005: 140). By analogy, all three languages distinguish: perfective aspect (English non-progressive forms, Romanian perfective forms, Serbian prefixed verbs) and imperfective aspect (English progressive forms, Romanian imperfective, Serbian non-prefixed verbs).

The semantic category of telicity may represent the basis for lexical, i.e. semantic classification of verbs and verb phrases into activities, states, achievements and accomplishments (Aktionsart). Each of the four types of the verb situation was defined according to three distinctive features: *stativity*, *duration* and *telicity*. The presence of a certain feature was determined according to Vendler's syntactic tests (Vendler 1967: 97-121).

Based on the semantic characteristic of telicity, situations can be divided into telic and atelic. The difference between these two types of situations is very significant for the study of verbal aspect and Aktionsart, since telicity is one of the basic semantic characteristics or distinctive features of verbs. Telic situations tend towards a specified goal, thus they have a natural endpoint, while atelic situations do not tend towards a goal and do not have an endpoint (Comrie 1976: 44; Declerck 1979: 761-793; Brinton 1988: 54; Novakov 2005: 115; Rothstein 2004: 1).

The category of aspect is most often connected with Slavic languages since there aspect is morphologically expressed via prefixes. For this reason, the starting point of this research will be Serbian. Numerous Serbian linguists (Belić 1924; Grubor 1953; Riđanović 1976) agree that in Slavic languages, verbal aspect is morphologically expressed by the use of prefixes. Furthermore, in Serbian linguistic literature, aspectual meanings are conceived as a grammatical issue, while Aktionsart is a lexical i.e. semantic category (Riđanović 1976: 7). Babić (1986: 477) points out that prefixed verbs are perfective since imperfective verbs are rendered perfective if we add a prefix to them. On the other hand, if a prefix is added to a perfective verb it stays perfective. Similarly, Novakov (2005: 81) argues that base verbs onto which prefixes are added almost always differ in Aktionsart from their prefixed counterparts. The prefix alters the distinctive feature [goal] and introduces the final segment of the situation. He also points out that, in Serbian, the connection with the grammatical category of aspect is achieved via the distinctive feature [goal] (Novakov 2005: 85). Namely, verbs with the distinctive feature [+ goal] present the situation as a single whole (perfective aspect) while verbs with the distinctive feature [-goal] present the situation as a structure (imperfective aspect). Thus, prefixation in Serbian has both a lexical and a grammatical function and as such it influences both verbal semantics and aspect and the connection between these two categories is achieved through telicity.

The analysis of the relevant linguistic literature in English and Romanian has revealed that prefixation has a different impact on verbal aspect in these two languages. In the English literature (Brinton 1988: 188; Novakov 2005: 85), prefixes are connected to the notion of a goal towards which the situation is directed. Therefore, in English prefixes introduce the notion of completion of a situation, thus prefixed verbs are most often accomplishments, while their base verbs are activities (Brinton 1988: 188).

It has to be pointed out that in the older Romanian literature, verbal aspect was not treated as an independent verbal category; it was considered a tense, whereas the semantic

category of telicity was not mentioned at all. For that reason, the comparison with the English and Serbian verb systems helped distinguish the mentioned categories in Romanian and contribute to a better and more complete understanding of this phenomenon in Romanian.

Nevertheless, some Romanian linguists (Luchian 2007: 64; Rosetti 1968: 306; Mișan 1970: 139) argue that Romanian prefixed verbs are in fact borrowings from Latin and Serbian and that they have the sole grammatical function to denote perfective aspect. Other linguists (Vraciu 1984; Luchian 2007) believe that apart from their grammatical function prefixes also have a lexical meaning. Similarly, Vraciu (1984: 20) argues that there are no prefixes with only a grammatical function denoting perfective situations, thus prefixes have a both a lexical and a grammatical function.

The analysis of the relevant English, Romanian and Serbian linguistic literature in this field has revealed that prefixes influence the verbal aspect very differently in these three languages. Thus, there is a need for a deeper and more detailed analysis of the grammatical use as well as the lexical meaning of prefixes in all three languages.

2. Verbal Prefixation in Serbian

In Serbian, prefixes play a very important role in the process of perfectivisation since they influence the verbal aspect in the sense that they render the imperfective verbs perfective. The Serbian prefixes relevant for determining the verbal aspect are: *do-*, *za-*, *iz-*, *na-*, *od-*, *po-*, *pre-*, *pro-*, *s(a)-*, *u-*, etc. (Klajn 2002: 205-286; Novakov 2005: 61-86).

The analysis has proven the hypothesis that the Serbian prefixed verbs denote perfectivity, while their base verbs are imperfective. The base verbs onto which the prefixes are added are usually activities, rarely achievements or states. When a prefix is added to achievements it does not change its distinctive features. On the other hand, when added to activities and states, prefixes modify the features (Novakov 2005: 81).

Prefixation primarily alters the feature [goal] i.e. it introduces the final segment or a natural ending of a situation. Thus, in Serbian, the link between grammatical category and verbal aspect is realised by the distinctive feature [goal]. Consequently, the lexical feature [goal] can be directly linked to verbal aspect in the sense that a situation which tends towards a goal can be perceived as a whole (perfectivity), and a situation which does not tend towards a goal as a structure (imperfectivity). For example:

1) *sagraditi (kuću) (to build (a house) / a clădi (o casă))*

On the other hand, the absence of a goal denotes a situation which can last without any limitation or boundary. Such a situation can be interrupted at any time without changing the features of the situation itself. The absence of a goal allows the situation to be presented as a structure in Serbian, for example:

2) *graditi (to build / a clădi)*

Therefore, prefixes modify both telicity and aspect in Serbian. Due to the fact that Serbian prefixed verbs indicate the feature [goal] at the lexical level, it is not necessary to introduce other lexical means, as is the case in English and Romanian.

The analysis of the Serbian part of the corpus has proven that prefixation has both a lexical and a grammatical function. Thus, it influences both semantics and aspect, and the link between verbal meaning and grammar is realised via the distinctive feature [goal].

2.1. Translation of Some Serbian Prefixed Verbs into English and Romanian

Translation of Serbian prefixed verbs was rather challenging due to the fact that different syntactic constructions had to be introduced in order to translate Serbian prefixed verbs into English and Romanian. The analysis of the corpus had shown that Serbian prefixed

verbs are very rarely translated by prefixed verbs (examples 3-6), most often they are translated by verbal phrases with direct objects and adverbials (examples 7-12). Furthermore, in English some translational equivalents are phrasal verbs (examples 13-16). The prefix *re-* in Romanian as well as in English introduces iterative meaning (examples 3 and 4). Similarly, to the English prefix *en-* and the Serbian prefix *za-*, the Romanian prefix *în-* has a telic meaning (examples 5 and 13). The Romanian prefix *de-* and the English prefix *un-* indicate a situation contrary to the situation denoted by the base verb (examples 6). The corpus has shown that Serbian prefixed verbs are more frequently translated by prefixed verbs into Romanian than into English language, as it can be seen from examples (3-6 and 13).

- 3) *pregrupisati* (to regroup / a regrupa)
- 4) *preispitati* (to reexamine / a reexamina)
- 5) *zaokružiti* (to encircle / a înconjura)
- 6) *odviti* (to unwind / a desfășura, derula)
- 7) *dokuvati* (to cook more until ready / a termina de gătit)
- 8) *dotrčati* (to come running / a veni în fugă)
- 9) *zapevati* (to begin to sing / a începe să cânte, a întona un cântec)
- 10) *odbraniti* (to defend successfully / a reuși să apere)
- 11) *pobesneti* (to become furious / a se înfuria)
- 12) *pobacati* (to throw away one by one / a arunca unul după altul)
- 13) *zagrejati* (to warm up / a încălzi)
- 14) *izgoreti* (to burn down / a arde complet)
- 15) *izbaciti* (to throw out / a da afară)
- 16) *nabrati* (to pick up enough / a astrânge destul)

3. Verbal Prefixation in Romanian

The analysis of the corpus has shown that prefixes in Romanian are often added to base verbs which are already perfective. For example:

17) *a făce* (*napraviti* / to make, to create)

18) *a prefăce* (*dati novi oblik ili sadržaj, transformisati, modifikovati, promeniti (se)* / to give a new shape or content, to transform, to modify, to change)

In the examples above, the prefix *pre-* has a perfective meaning, but not with regard to the base verb (*face* / *make*), which is also perfective. The examples also show that the verb *face* can have both perfective and imperfective meaning (*praviti* / *napraviti*) depending on the context. Therefore, it can be argued that the Romanian verbs *face* and *preface* do not make an aspectual pair, but have different meanings. The mentioned Romanian prefix denotes that something is modified or transformed.

On the other hand, there are some examples where the prefix does not change the meaning of the base verb:

19) *a schimbá* (*zameniti, transformisati, modifikovati* / to replace, to transform, to modify)

20) *a preschimbá* (*zameniti, transformisati, promeniti* / to replace, to transform, to change)

21) *a uitá* (*zaboraviti* / to forget)

22) *a zăuitá* (*zaboraviti* / to forget)

It can be argued that the verbs mentioned above with the prefixes *pre-* and *za-* are not in the perfective/imperfective opposition with their base verbs. The prefix *pre-* implies that something is being transformed, thus, it can be linked to Aktionsart, not to aspect. Romanian verbs with the prefix *pre-* are accomplishments as well as their base verbs.

The corpus also contains prefixed verbs which have a completely different meaning compared to the meaning of their respective base verbs. For example:

23) *a negrí* (*pocrneti* / to become black, darken)

24) *a ponegrí* (*kuditi nekog, govoriti ružno o nekome, ocrniti nekog* / to criticise, disapprove of)

Contrary to some Romanian linguists (Mişan 1973: 108; Luchian 2007: 64) who argue that Romanian prefixed verbs do not create an aspectual pair with the base verbs, the corpus has proven that some verbs do create an aspectual pair with the base verb, thus create the perfective/ imperfective opposition. For example:

25) *a dormí* (*spavati* / to sleep)

26) *a adormí* (*zaspati* / to fall asleep)

The above examples show that Romanian verbs can create aspectual pairs where one verb is perfective (example 26) and the other imperfective (example 25). Thus, the prefix *a-* introduces the notion of a goal and consequently it perfectivises the base verb. In Romanian, this prefix can connect aspect and Aktionsart in the sense that the perfective verb implies the attainment of the goal (achievement), and the imperfective form does not imply a goal (state). Some aspectual prefixes still exist in the Romanian dialect spoken in Banat. They retained their grammatical function and the possibility to perfectivise verbs and create aspectual pairs. Such a prefix is the prefix *do-* which denotes a situation which has reached its goal. For example:

27) *a merge* (*hodati* / to walk)

28) *a domerge* (*hodati do kraja puta* / to walk to the end of the road)

However, this is not always the case. For example:

29) *a dolua* (*uzeti sve* / to take all)

30) *a doajunge* (*stići do kraja puta* / to reach the end of the road)

In the examples above, the verbs without the prefix are also perfective, thus the prefix does not change the verbal aspect and does not perfectivise the base verb, it just adds the fact that the situation has come to an end. This prefix can also be connected to telicity since it implies that the goal has been reached. Therefore, we may say that in some cases the Romanian prefix *do-* does have the possibility to perfectivise the imperfective base verbs.

It should be pointed out that some Romanian linguists (Evseev 1974: 87-93) argue that the prefix *în-* / *îm-* denotes a change of state (transformative) or the beginning of a situation (inchoative), creating perfective forms. The verbs with the mentioned prefixes are telic. For example:

31) *a întineri* (*podmladiti se* / to become younger)

32) *a înflorí* (*cvetati, procvetati* / to blossom, to burst into flower, to bloom up)

A more detailed analysis as well as the definitions of the verbs mentioned above provided by DEX have proven that, in Romanian, there are no such verbs as *tineri* or *flori*. The mentioned dictionary lists the adjective *tânăr* / *mlad* / young and the noun *floare, flori* / *cvet, cveće* / flower, flowers. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Romanian verbs which start with *în-* / *îm-* are in fact monomorphemic lexemes without the possibility to form aspectual pairs i.e. perfective / imperfective oppositions.

It can be argued that in Romanian, prefixation does not perfectivise verbs, with the exception of the prefix *a-* which introduces the notion of a goal. Similarly, the prefix *pre-* denotes a change of state, modification or transformation of some sort. Since the mentioned prefixes imply the existence of a goal, they are telic. In other instances, prefixation cannot be linked to aspect in Romanian, as it is the case in Serbian.

4. Verbal Prefixation in English

The analysis of the corpus has proven that prefixation in English does not have the same function as in Serbian, but some aspectual characteristics of prefixation can be detected. Quirk et al. (1985: 981-992) mention prefixes such as: *co-*, *counter-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *fore-*, *inter-*, *mal-*, *mis-*, *non-*, *out-*, *over-*, *re-*, *sub-*, *trans-*, *un-*, *under-*.

The analysis has shown that prefixes in English mainly have spatial meaning, or denote movement in a certain direction and orientation towards a goal. The corpus consists of examples where prefixes have an abstract meaning. Syntactic tests³ have proven that prefixes have a telic meaning, thus prefixed verbs are mostly achievements or accomplishments. For example:

33) *to lock* (*zaključati* / *a încuia*)

34) *to unlock* (*otključati* / *a descuia*),

35) *to do* (*uraditi* / *a face*)

36) *to undo* (*poništiti*, *odvezati*, *rasplesti*, *otkopčati* / *a anula*, *a desface*, *a deznoda*, *a dezlega*, *a descheia*),

37) *to embark* (*ukrcati se na brod* / *a înbarca*)

38) *to disembark* (*sići s broda* / *a debarca*)

These examples clearly show that the prefix *un-* does not influence the telicity of the situation since the base verbs are telic as well. Similarly, the prefix *dis-* does not change the distinctive features of the base verb (*embark*) and its Romanian equivalent (*înbarca* / *ukrcati se*) which are also achievements.

The prefixes *dis-* and *un-* denote a situation which is contrary to the situation denoted by the base verb. Verbs with these prefixes do not have a spatial meaning; the movement is merely implied and is a result of the semantic link between the verb and the prefix. For example:

39) *to dismount* (*sjahati* / *a se da jos de pe cal* / *a descăleca*),

40) *to disarm* (*razoružati* / *a dezarma*),

41) *to disapprove* (*neodobravati* / *a dezaproba*),

42) *to disappear* (*nestati* / *a dispărea*),

43) *to disallow* (*zabraniti* / *a interzice*),

44) *to disagree* (*neslagati se* / *a nu fi de acord*), etc.

45) *to unseal* (*otpečatiti* / *a rupe sigiliul* / *a pecetea de pe ceva*),

46) *to unbutton* (*otkopčati dugme* / *a dezbumba*),

47) *to undress* (*skinuti odeću* / *a dezbrăca*),

48) *to unfasten* (*odvezati* / *a dezlega*),

49) *to unveil* (*otkriti* / *a dezvălui*),

50) *to unwrap* (*otpakovati* / *a desface un pachet*), etc.

The prefix *de-* can carry a similar meaning, for example:

51) *to defrost* (*odlediti* / *a dezgheța*),

52) *to deforest* (*poseći svo drveće iz šume* / *a tăia toți arbori din o pădure*),

53) *to deactivate* (*deaktivirati* / *a deactiva*),

54) *to deplane* (*sići iz aviona* / *a cobori din avion*), etc.

Based on the examples from the corpus, it can be argued that the use of these prefixes does not introduce the notion of telicity since the base verbs are already telic. In these examples, the prefixes introduce an additional meaning i.e. they denote a situation which is

³ The following syntactic tests denote telic situations:

a) *Koliko dugo je trebalo da V* (*how long did it take to V* / *Cât timp a trebuit să V*)

b) *Za X vremena* (*in X time* / *în X timp*)

c) *Čim neko prestane da realizuje V, on jeste realizovao V* (*as soon as one Vs, one has Ved* / *în momentul când cineva a V, el a realizat V*)

opposite to the situation denoted by the base verb. Furthermore, the use of the prefixes *dis-*, *un-* and *de-* does not change the verbal aspect, i.e. it does not perfectivise the base verb as is the case in Serbian. Namely, in the English and Romanian the notions of perfectivity and imperfectivity are not perceptible at the lexical level, but at the syntactic level or in context.

On the other hand, verbs with the prefix *re-* denote an iterative situation. The prefix *re-* has an atelic meaning; thus, it denotes an iterative situation which does not tend towards a goal. This prefix is compatible with achievements (examples 55 and 56) as well as with accomplishments (examples 57-59).

55) to reemerge (*ponovo se pojaviti / a reapărea, a apărea din nou*),

56) to reenter (*ponovo ući / reîntra, a intra din nou*)

57) to reelect (*ponovo izabrati / a realege*),

58) to reexamine (*ponovo proučiti / a reexamina*), resell (*preprodati / a revinde*),

59) to rewrite (*ponovo napisati / a rescrie*), etc.

However, there are examples in the corpus where this prefix is added to activities:

60) to reecho (*ponovo odzvanjati / a răsună*)

In example (60), the prefix *re-* introduces the notion of a goal to an atelic verb. The verb *recho* is an accomplishment, while the base verb *cho* is an activity. Thus, the prefix *re-* may render atelic verbs telic. However, it has a few different meanings:

61) to rerun (*reprizirati film ili emisiju / a relua*)

62) to rerun (*ponovo trčati određenu trku / a alerga în cursă din nou*)

The prefix *mis-* indicates a certain development of the situation until the effect of the situation is diminished or a mistake is made. For example:

63) to misunderstand (*a înțelege greșit / razumeti pogrešno*)

The prefix does not modify any distinctive features since the base verb *understand* is an achievement as well. The Serbian and Romanian translational equivalents are phrases, not prefixed verbs.

In the English part of the corpus, there are prefixes which denote a degree of realization of a certain situation. Such prefixes are: *under-*, *over-*, *out-*. The prefix *under-* denotes a situation which is not fully realised, i.e. where the goal has not been reached.

64) to undercook (*ne skuvati do kraja / nu găti până la capăt*)

The prefix *over-* denotes a situation which has been continued after the goal has been reached (65), whereas the prefix *out-* denotes a situation which exceeds the goal (examples 66 and 67) and may also denote a change of state (example 66):

65) to overcook (*prekuvati / a fierbe prea mult*)

66) to outgrow (*prerasti / a deveni prea mare pentru ceva*),

67) to outvote (*nadglasati / a învinge cu majoritate de voturi*)

The analysis of the corpus has revealed that the prefix *out-* introduces a telic meaning if it is added to an atelic verb (examples 68-70).

68) to outrun (*trčati brže od nekog drugog / a alerga mai repede decât altcineva*),

69) to outlive (*nadživeti / a trăi mai mult decât altcineva*),

70) to outplay (*nadigrati / a juca mai bine decât altcineva*)

The prefix *trans-* may denote a change of a position (71) as well as a change of state (72):

71) to transplant (*presaditi / a transplanta*)

72) to transform (*transformisati / a transforma*)

The majority of the above-mentioned verbs (and their translational equivalents) are telic. Therefore, verbal prefixes in English do not introduce the notion of a goal since the base verbs onto which the prefixes are added are already telic.

The analysis has proven that the use of prefixes does not alter verbal aspect and Aktionsart; it just introduces an additional meaning which varies depending of the prefix.

Therefore, it can be concluded that prefixes in English do not render atelic verbs telic, i.e. they do not perfectivise verbs, but are added to verbs which are telic themselves.

5. Conclusion

This study has shown that prefixes express aspectual meanings in all three languages. The analysis of English, Romanian and Serbian prefixed verbs involved many difficulties because the prefixation influences the verbal aspect as well as the meaning of verbs. Consequently, it is not always easy to differentiate the semantic and grammatical level, or to determine the domain of aspect on one hand and Aktionsart on the other. This research has proven that the change in aspect and verbal semantics brings about a change in Aktionsart as well. Thus, some prefixes introduce additional meanings to the base verb which alters the verbal aspect and Aktionsart.

In Serbian, verbal aspect and telicity are morphologically expressed by means of verbal prefixes. Therefore, aspectual and semantic distinctions are visible in the infinitive which is not the case in English and Romanian where different syntactic means are used to express verbal aspect (e.g. adverbs). This is the reason why Serbian prefixed verbs represented the basis for this research. The analysis has shown that the primary function of Serbian prefixes is to perfectivise the base verb. In other words, imperfective verbs are rendered perfective if we add a prefix to them, whereas if a prefix is added to a perfective verb it stays perfective.

In English and Romanian, on the other hand, prefixes very rarely perfectivise the base verb. Therefore, they usually do not modify aspect and telicity, but they denote verbs with a different or sometimes completely new meaning. In Romanian, there are just a few prefixes with aspectual values (*a-* and *-pre*, which introduce the notion of a goal). Furthermore, the analysis of the Romanian prefixed verbs has shown that some prefixed verbs do not show any difference in meaning when compared to their base verbs, which is due to the fact that these prefixed verbs are borrowings mainly from Serbian or Latin. In such examples, the prefixes retain the meaning they had in the language of origin and the prefixed verb is borrowed into Romanian as a word with a meaning of its own meaning, independent from the corresponding native base verb.

Verbal prefixes influence the base verb in various ways in Romanian. Sometimes they do not introduce a new meaning but often prefixed verbs make an aspectual pair with their base verbs. Furthermore, the analysis has shown that some Romanian verbs without a prefix can have both perfective and imperfective meaning depending on the context. Moreover, in Romanian, the prefix is not necessarily added to a verb, but the prefix *în-* / *îm* can also be added to a noun or adjective. In English, verbal prefixes usually have spatial meaning, or they denote a movement in a certain direction, and orientation towards a goal or have an abstract meaning. Syntactic tests have proven that prefixes possess the distinctive feature [+goal]. Consequently, prefixed verbs are achievements or accomplishments, and rarely activities. It is important to point out that, in this language, prefixes rarely render atelic verbs telic, most often they are added to base verbs which are telic themselves. If prefixes are added to atelic verbs, the prefix introduces the notion of a goal.

The contrastive analysis of the translational equivalents has shown that Serbian prefixed verbs are very rarely translated into English and Romanian by prefixed verbs, most often they are translated by phrases with or without modifiers like adverbials, direct objects, catenative constructions consisting of phase verbs like *begin* / *a începe* / *početi*. In English, phrasal verbs are frequently used to translate Serbian prefixed verbs.

In all three languages, the lexical feature [goal] has proven to be directly linked to verbal aspect in the sense that a situation which tends towards a goal can be perceived as a

whole (perfectivity), and a situation which does not tend towards a goal can be perceived as a structure (imperfectivity).

Mihaela Lazović

THE INFLUENCE OF THE DIRECT OBJECT ON ASPECT AND AKTIONSART IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the influence of the direct object on aspect and Aktionsart in English and Romanian. To start from the most general theoretical assumptions in the relevant linguistic sources, it can be pointed out that there seems to be a significant correlation between verbal aspect, certain semantic features of lexical verbs and the direct object. The relevant semantic features analysed in this chapter are *stativity*, *duration*, *telicity* and *boundedness*. Therefore, before proceeding with the discussion about the influence of the direct object on aspect and Aktionsart in English and Romanian, it is necessary to define the two main categories aspect and Aktionsart (the type of verb situation).

Comrie (1976: 3) defines aspect as different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation, stating that aspect is subjective; i.e. it depends on the speaker's choice. Thus, it indicates how the speaker sees the verb action.

There are two pairs of aspectual oppositions: progressive / non-progressive (perfective / imperfective) and perfect / non-perfect. The perfect / non-perfect aspectual opposition will not be discussed in this chapter.

Perfectivity indicates the view of the situation as a single whole, without distinction of various separate phases that make up that situation. The imperfective aspect pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation. The perfective form also indicates completion of the situation, while the imperfective indicates a situation in progress (Comrie 1976: 19).

Unlike aspect which is a grammatical category, Aktionsart is a lexical i.e. semantic category which refers to the way the action is realised.

The basis of the analysis conducted in this chapter is the Vendler's (1967: 97- 121) classification of verbs into activities, states, achievements and accomplishments. This classification is based on the meaning of verbs and their syntactic characteristics. Vendler uses linguistic tests to determine whether the verb situation denotes a process or development or not, whether the situation consists of segments which are of equal quality or perhaps there is a segment which denotes an endpoint or completion. Vendler's verb types can be defined according to distinctive features which are incorporated in the meanings of verbs. Those features are: [+/- stativity], [+/- duration], [+/- goal]. The distinctive features which determine type of verb situation can be defined as follows:

Distinctive feature [+ stativity] is a characteristic of situations which do not have development and process, they simply last in time. Only states have the feature [+ stativity]. On the other hand, if a situation has segments and development it has the feature [- stativity]. Such situations are activities, achievements and accomplishments.

Distinctive feature [+ duration] is a characteristic of situations which last in time, like activities, states and accomplishments. The feature [- duration] denotes momentary situations, such as achievements.

Distinctive feature [+ goal] is a characteristic of situations which have a goal after

which the situation naturally ends. Such situations are accomplishments and achievements. Distinctive feature [- goal] is a characteristic of situations which do not have a goal, i.e. a final point, like activities and states. Situations with the feature [+ goal] are called telic, as oppose to the atelic situations which have the feature [- goal].

Furthermore, the notion of boundedness can provide a more advance analysis of the notion of telicity. Bounded situations reach a goal; while unbounded do not (Declerck 1979: 761).

Even though telicity seems to imply boundedness, they present rather complex notions. They are both related to the notion of goal which presents a final point after which the situation naturally ends. On the other hand, a telic situation implies a goal which may or may not be reached. Bounded situations indicate that the goal was actually realised while unbounded situations indicate that the final point was not reached. Such a distinction implies that there is a semantic feature of telicity and another feature of boundedness.

Following Vendler (1976) and Declerck (1979), we can define the following types of verb situation (Aktionsart):

Activities denote process and development, therefore can last in time. They have homogenous segments which means that any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole. The situation does not have a terminal point or goal. Their distinctive features are: [-stativity, + duration, - goal]. Activities are verbs such as: *run, swim, walk...*

States go on in time, they do not have segments and development and they do not denote a process. States do not have a goal. They simply denote that a characteristic or a situation exists. Their distinctive features are: [+ stativity, + duration, - goal]. States are verbs such as: *know, believe, love, etc.*

Achievements are punctual, i.e. the whole situation happens in one moment. Their distinctive features are: [- stativity, - duration, + goal]. Achievements are verbs and phrases such as: *find, lose, reach the summit, win a race, etc.*

Accomplishments go on in time and have a goal. They are not homogenous in nature, because they involve a terminal point. Their distinctive features are: [- stativity, + duration, + goal]. Accomplishments are verbs and phrases such as: *paint a picture, run a mile, draw a circle, etc.*

It should be pointed out that Romanian literature is very scarce on this subject. Relevant linguistic sources argue that the Romanian complex perfect (*perfectul compus*) can only denote completed or terminated past situations, thus perfective aspect (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 418). This chapter will prove that the Romanian complex perfect (*perfectul compus*) can convey imperfective meaning and have unbounded and atelic readings as well. Such readings may depend on the properties and structure of the direct object.

2. The Influence of The Direct Object on Aspect and Aktionsart

The analysis of the corpus has shown that the context plays a very important role in determining the type of the verb situation. In both languages, the direct object affects the type of the verb situation. In fact, the very presence or absence of the direct object has an impact on the type of the verb situation (Aktionsart). For example:

1) a) *He was singing. El cânta.*

b) *He was singing a song. El cânta un cântec.*

Sentences (1a) denote activities with the distinctive features [- stativity, + duration, - goal]. Thus, the lack of the direct object excludes a goal and implies atelicity. On the other hand, the existence of a direct object entails a goal in sentences (1b) rendering the situations telic. Therefore, the situations in (1b) are accomplishments.

The analysis had shown that in both languages, in addition to the presence or absence of the direct object in a sentence, the very structure of the noun phrase functioning as the direct object has an impact on the type of the verb situation. For example:

2) a) *He drank water. El a băut apă.*

b) *He drank three glasses of water. El a băut trei pahare de apă.*

Sentences (2a) are unbounded and atelic since the situations presented by them do not tend towards a goal. The direct object realised as uncountable noun *water / apă* renders the situation unbounded. On the other hand, in sentences (2b) the direct object (*three glasses of water / trei pahare de apă*) denotes a final point, or a goal which was actually reached and after which the situation could not be continued. Thus, sentences (2b) are bounded telic situations, i.e. accomplishments, whereas sentences (2a) are unbounded atelic situations i.e. activities. The research has also proved that accomplishment verbs such as *build / clădi* differ in telicity depending on the properties of their direct objects. The verb *build / clădi* normally indicates telic situations, but it can also indicate atelic situations when followed by a bare plural or mass nominal direct object. “Telic” *build / clădi* can be modified by the adverbial *in X time / în X timp*, whereas “atelic” *build / clădi* is naturally modified by *for X time / X timp* (Rothstein 2004: 3). For example:

3) a) *Mary built a / the house *for a week / in a week.*

*Mary a clădit o casă / casa *o săptămână / într-o săptămână.*

b) *Mary built the houses *for a week / in a week.*

*Mary a clădit casele *o săptămână / într-o săptămână.*

c) *Mary built houses for a week / *in a week.*

*Mary a clădit case o săptămână / *într-o săptămână.*

In both languages, the examples (3a) illustrate the notion of a verb used together with a specified or unspecified singular direct object, the situations indicated by such constructions have characteristics of accomplishments with distinctive features [- stativity, + duration, + goal]. The same is valid for the definite plural direct objects (3b). However, if accomplishment verbs are followed by a bare plural direct object like in (3c), the situations in question are considered habitual activities with distinctive features [- stativity, + duration, - goal].

The analysis has shown that the use of the progressive form in English as well as the use of the imperfect (*imperfectul*) in Romanian renders the perfective aspect imperfective. Namely, in both languages, the imperfective aspect neutralises the existence of a goal and renders telic situations atelic regardless of the structure of the direct object:

4) a) *Mary was building a / the house for a week / *in a week. Mary clădea o casă / casa o săptămână / *într-o săptămână.*

b) *Mary was building the houses for a week / *in a week. Mary clădea casele o săptămână / *într-o săptămână.*

c) *Mary was building houses for a week / *in a week. Mary clădea case o săptămână / *într-o săptămână.*

The examples (4a, b, c) show that the imperfective aspect modifies the distinctive feature [+goal] into [- goal] consequently changing the type of the verb situation from accomplishments into activities.

The research has pointed out that with activities; the properties of the direct object do not affect the telicity of the situation in both languages:

5) a) *John pushed the cart for an hour / *in an hour. John a împins carul o oră / *într-o oră.*

b) *John pushed carts for an hour / *in an hour. John a împins carele o oră / *într-o oră.*

The examples prove that it will follow from the meaning of the activity that a verb phrase consisting only of an activity verb and a direct object will always be atelic regardless of the properties of that direct object. However, as Rothstein (2004: 3) argues, certain measure and directional phrases can make such verb phrases telic. For example:

- 6) a) *John pushed the cart a mile / to the edge of the park in an hour / *for an hour.*
b) *John a împins carul o milă / până la marginea parcului într-o oră / *o oră.*

However, Declerck (1979: 765) points out that there are unbounded situations that seem to imply a goal. For example:

- 7) a) *He walked towards the house for hours. A mers spre casă ore întregi.*

In (7a) the goal is clearly specified, but the context reveals that it was not actually reached. Thus, the sentences are telic but unbounded.

In both languages, the use of activities in the imperfective aspect does not influence the telicity of the situation:

- 8) a) *John was pushing the cart for an hour / *in an hour.*
*John împingea carul o oră. / *într-o oră*
b) *John was pushing carts for an hour / *in an hour. John împingea carele o oră / *într-o oră.*

The research has shown that, in both languages, the direct object does not affect the type of the verb situation with states as well. For example:

- 9) a) *I know the answer. Știu răspunsul.*
b) *I know the answers. Știu răspunsurile.*

The situation has characteristics of a state when used with either singular or plural direct object. States are unbounded and atelic situations with distinctive features [+ stativity, + duration, - goal]. Some states can be used in the progressive and denote imperfective aspect:

- 10) a) *I was hoping for a long time. Speram mult timp.*

In (10a) the situations simply last in time and do not involve the notion of a goal.

In Romanian, stative verbs can denote imperfective aspect as well:

- 11) a) *Când am fost mică credeam în Moș Crăciun. When I was little, I believed in Santa Claus.*

The research has shown that regardless of the structure of the noun phrase functioning as the direct object, achievement verbs indicate telic situations which can be modified by the adverbial *in X time / în X timp*. For example:

- 12) a) *He won a / the race in ten seconds / *for ten seconds. A învins la competiție în zece secunde / *zece secunde.*
b) *He won the races in ten seconds / *for ten seconds.*
*A învins la competiții în zece secunde / *zece secunde.*
c) *He won many races in his career.*
A învins la multe competiții în cariera sa.

However, the examples (12b, c) indicate that when used with achievement verbs a plural direct object implies repetition in both languages.

Despite the fact that achievements denote momentary situations, there are many achievement verbs which are grammatical in the progressive, as the examples in (13) indicate:

- 13) a) *Susan was arriving at the station when she heard that the train to London had been cancelled.*
Susan ajungea la stație când a auzit că trenul spre Londra fusese denunțat.
b) *John and Susan are finally leaving. John și Susan, în final, pleacă.*
c) *The plane is landing. Avionul decolează.*
d) *Jane is just reaching the summit. Jane se urca pe vârful muntelui chiar în acest*

moment.

English progressive achievements are translated with the Romanian imperfect (*imperfectul*) which also implies duration as well as atelic and unbounded meanings.

3. Conclusion

The research has proved that, in both languages, verbs traditionally called accomplishments are either telic or atelic depending on the properties of their direct object. Thus, tests for telicity show that verbs like *write*, *build* and *eat* are telic when their direct objects have definite, quantified or numerical determiners and are atelic when the same objects are a mass noun or a bare plural. Activity verbs with a direct object do not show such an alternation. Namely, activity verbs are always atelic regardless of the properties of the direct object. Certain measure and directional phrases, though, can render such verb phrases telic. Verbs denoting states are not affected by the properties of their direct objects in both languages. It should be pointed out that, in Romanian, verbs denoting states can be used to indicate imperfective aspect, whereas such cases are very rare in English. It will follow from the meaning (or properties) of achievements that they would always be telic regardless of the properties of their direct object. However, when used with achievements a plural direct object implies repetition. As a final point, it can be argued that in both English and Romanian the telic / atelic interpretation results from the existence and properties of the direct object.

The analysis has shown that, in both languages, the imperfective aspect neutralises the existence of a goal and renders telic situations atelic regardless of the structure of the direct object.

One of the aims of this chapter was to verify that the Romanian complex perfect (*perfectul compus*) can convey imperfective meaning and have unbounded and atelic readings as well. The research has proved that such readings depend on the properties and structure of the direct object.

SECTION III

CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF VERBAL TENSE AND MOOD – FRAMEWORKS AND INTERPRETATION

Predrag Novakov

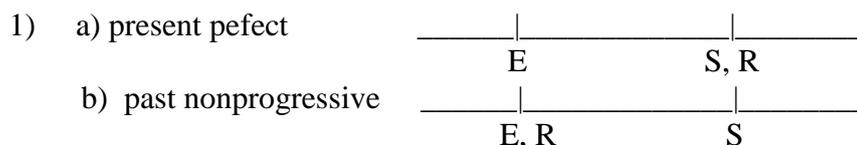
ENGLISH PRESENT PERFECT - ASPECTUAL AND TEMPORAL COMPONENTS

1. Introduction

In the relevant synchronic literature, English present perfect has usually been included into two grammatical categories: into the category of tense or into the category of aspect (and even into the third one – phase, cf. Palmer 1989: 46-47). Pedagogical grammars (e.g. Thomson and Martinet 1992) discuss it together with other tense forms, and a recent comprehensive grammar *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* treats it as non-deictic past tense within the section titled “Perfect Tense”, which denotes the secondary tense system. In this grammar, the secondary past tense system includes the perfect as the marked member, and the nonperfect as the unmarked member (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 139). In other comprehensive grammars and studies (Quirk et al. 1985, Brinton 1988), perfect is discussed as a member in one pair of the two English aspectual oppositions (progressive – nonprogressive and perfect – nonperfect). In the similar manner, B. Comrie treats English perfect as a specific aspect, different from the other aspectual progressive-nonprogressive opposition (Comrie 1976: 52). Therefore, before proceeding with the discussion about English perfect, it is necessary to define the two main categories related to English perfect – tense and aspect.

Tense is a deictic category which locates situations in time, measuring this location from the point of speech (the deictic centre). The deictic centre as the basic orientation point provides only three temporal segments on the time-line – present, past and future, so there are further subdivisions in English. The English past segment is thus subdivided into past and before past. In traditional grammars, tenses are sometimes also divided into absolute and relative, the former being defined on the basis of the deictic centre only, the latter needing other points as well.

Developing his approach to tense, H. Reichenbach (1947) used three points to determine tenses: the point of speech (S), the point of event (E) and the point of reference (R). As far as English present perfect is concerned, Reichenbach used the formula E – S,R, which means that the event is located in the past and precedes the point of speech and the reference point, which are simultaneous. The difference between the present perfect and past nonprogressive lies in the fact that the past has the formula E, R – S, where the point of event and the point of reference coincide and occur before the point of speech. On the time-line, these points are represented in the following way:



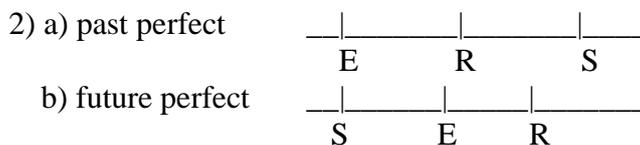
Therefore, the present perfect occupies a specific position on the time-line: the event is entirely located in the past or it just began in the past, but it is viewed from the reference point which is coinciding with the point of speech.

As far as the category of aspect is concerned, one of the general definitions specifies that aspect implies an internal temporal constituency of a situation (Comrie 1976: 3) and that

English has two aspectual oppositions: progressive – nonprogressive and perfect – nonperfect. The first opposition presents a situation as a structure (progressive) or as a whole (nonprogressive) (Comrie 1976: 18, 24), whereas the second opposition represents a different kind of aspect: it does not specify the situation itself, but relates that situation to another situation (Comrie 1976: 52). Actually, one could say that perfect aspect implies a link between a situation and the following situation or point in the past, present and future. This link could be established in different ways, so grammars typically distinguish four or more types of perfect – the perfect of result, the perfect of recent past, the perfect of persistent situation and the experiential perfect (*cf.* Comrie 1976: 56-61).

2. Temporal and Aspectual Components of English Past, Present and Future Perfect

The fact that English perfect is classified into the two or three above-mentioned grammatical categories shows that it obviously has both temporal and aspectual components – the temporal component being related to the location in time, and the aspectual one to a specific link with another situation. However, it appears that the temporal component does not have the same significance in these three kinds of perfect – past, present and future. Namely, in the case of past and future perfect, it seems that the link between situations is primarily temporal, because these two finite verb forms occupy a clearly definable temporal segment on the time-line: past perfect denotes a past situation preceding another past situation (the formula E – R – S), and future perfect a future situation preceding another future situation (the formula S – E – R, *cf.* Reichenbach 1947: 290). These time-lines and the formulas are:



Therefore, it seems that past and future perfect could be quite clearly defined on the basis of their temporal component alone: they occupy the temporal segments before past, that is before future.

However, when it comes to present perfect, the temporal component is more complex, because present perfect does not imply only one clearly delimited temporal segment on the time-line: the event itself is primarily located in the past, but it could include the present moment and a portion of the future. Therefore, present perfect implies a mixture of at least two basic temporal segments – past and present, with the situation itself occurring in the past or continuing to the present. That seems to be the reason why aspectual components in present perfect became more important, that is the notions like result, continuation, repetition up to now etc. Some grammarians even included these notions into the names of the types of present perfect, for example *habit-in-a-period-leading-up-to-the-present* or *state-up-to-the-present* (*cf.* Leech 2004: 39-40).

The main arguments why present perfect should not be included only into the English tenses relate to the fact that the primary function of present perfect is not to locate events into a specific temporal segment - past or present, but to indicate the relevance of a situation for the present moment. It is a well-known fact that present perfect cannot specify the exact past time when a situation happened, and it does not occur with the specific past time adverbials like *yesterday*, *last week* etc, which is one of the basic features of past tenses. Moreover, present perfect cannot be treated as a typical present tense either, because it does not denote the basic present meaning - real present, situations going on at the time of speech. The only

typical temporal notions related to present perfect seem to be temporal continuation (with or without repetition) and temporal recentness (recent past). Actually, it appears that this finite verb form has the primary function to denote some (broadly speaking) aspectual or pragmatic notions like current validity of the situation and results significant for the present. In an attempt to investigate that issue, this chapter would discuss the temporal and aspectual components in a number of examples containing present perfect.

3. English Present Perfect - Corpus Analysis

To discuss the temporal and aspectual components in the English present perfect, the chapter would analyse the corpus compiled from the contemporary British novel – *Nice Work* by D. Lodge (Lodge 1989). The corpus includes 191 examples, 170 of them are nonprogressive (89%) and 21 progressive (10,99%). Numbers in the brackets after the examples denote the pages in the book.

Several possible clues could be followed in an attempt to specify temporal and aspectual/pragmatic components in the concrete sentences from the corpus. This chapter would start from temporal adverbials used with present perfect and then proceed to aspectual/pragmatic implications.

3.1. Temporal Adverbials and Present Perfect

The nonprogressive present perfect in the corpus is often accompanied by specific temporal adverbials (adverbs, phrases, clauses) which help to identify temporal relations in the given sentence and to establish the temporal patterns. Such adverbials could be divided into two basic groups: those denoting immediately preceding events or near past, and those denoting longer periods of time.

The adverbials from the first group typically mentioned in the English grammar books are *recently* and *just*. Examples from the corpus contain those and the similar adverbials:

- 3) a) *This has become a regular occurrence lately: lying awake in the dark, waiting for the alarm to beep, worrying. (13)*
- b) *She carries the Daily Mail, which has just been delivered. (20)*
- c) *Vic grunts, unsurprised that his Marketing Director has not yet arrived. (36)*
- d) *They turn to face Philip Swallow, who has evidently just arrived, since he is wearing his rather grubby anorak... (61)*
- e) *...all talking at once, as if they have just been released from solitary confinement. (72)*
- f) *I've been thinking lately I might try and supplement my income with a little freelance journalism. (187)*
- g) *Oh, while I'm here – you haven't had a letter from Rawlison's buyer lately, by any chance? (195)*
- h) *"Have you seen Charles recently?" he asked. (259)*
- i) *Anyway, they've just discovered that compulsory retirement is unconstitutional... (329)*
- j) *And Euphoric State has just put in a bid to be the home of a new Institute of Advanced Research on the West Coast. (359)*
- k) *Haven't had a reply yet. (363)*

The adverbial *just* (examples 3b, d, e, i, j) clearly indicates the situation immediately preceding another given situation. The adverbial *lately* (examples 3a, f, g) is also quite frequently used to denote a larger anterior temporal, segment still within the segment of the relatively near past and with a possible repetition, as indicated by a prenominal modifier -

regular in the example (3a). The third adverbial from the above-mentioned examples – *yet*, (examples 3c, k) could be included in this group, even though it might imply a longer period preceding the moment of speech; however, the context in these two examples indicates the event which the participants in the situation expected to occur in the relatively near past or as soon as possible. Finally, the typical adverbial *recently* (example 3h) also unambiguously indicates near past. Therefore, the typical temporal pattern in these examples is the situation in the past immediately preceding the point of speech or the situation belonging to near past.

Moreover, it appears that the examples from the corpus which do not contain temporal adverbials also indicate immediately preceding situations or near past. For instance:

- 4) a) *The pressure of his foot on a wired pad under the stair-carpet has triggered the burglar alarm...* (18)
- b) *What has been designated Industry Year has got off to a predictably silly start.* (25)
- c) *The shrinkage of heavy industry, and the development of new forms of energy, have reduced the visible pollution of the air...* (32)
- d) *She wonders why he has invited her into his office.* (63)
- e) *It's not just the money, though, that has led me to this decision...* (311)

All these examples carry the implication that the situation denoted by present perfect immediately precedes (4a, b, d, e) or indicates a relatively near past (4c).

The adverbials from the second group indicate periods of time starting in the past, but continuing till the moment of speech. For example:

- 5) a) *...his eldest son, who dropped out of university four months ago and has not been usefully occupied since...* (19)
- b) *Vic has never been inside the place.* (28)
- c) *But the snow, which has been light in the past half-hour, suddenly begins to fall fast ...* (100)
- d) *"Haven't we met before?" he said.* (110)
- e) *He's been with the company a long time.* (211)
- f) *He's been on the phone to me this morning.* (263)
- g) *...it's the first accident he's ever had in twenty-five years' driving.* (304)
- h) *"I've read more in the last few weeks than in all the years since I left school," he said.* (356)

The adverbials like *never* (5b) and *ever* (5g) are in the English grammar books typically related to present perfect denoting a longer time-span or the entire life of a participant, and the occurrence or non-occurrence of a situation during that period of time. The examples (5a, h) illustrate the expressions with *since*, so *in all the years since I left school* indicates the beginning of the time-span and its continuation to the point of speech. Another group of adverbials denotes a more or less definite period of time preceding the point of speech (5c, d, e): *in the past half-hour, before, a long time*. The example (5f) indicates the realization of a situation within a given period of time (*this morning*). The temporal pattern of this group on the one hand implies continuation from a point or a period in the past till the moment of speech and the occurrence or non-occurrence of a situation up to now; on the other, it indicates the occurrence of a situation in a specified temporal segment.

Finally, there are the examples with the present perfect progressive:

- 6) a) *...like clamorous patients who have been waiting all night for the doctor's surgery to open;* (41)
- b) *Although she has been teaching now for some eight years, on and off, she always feels a twinge of anxiety at the beginning of a new term.* (41)

- c) *All the students, even those who have been staring out of the window, react to this.* (74)
- d) *The heads of other men present have been swivelling from side to side, like spectators in a tennis match, during this argument.* (76)
- e) *The students who have been writing everything down now look up and smile wryly at Robyn Penrose, like victims of a successful hoax.* (77)
- f) *A tradesman who has been ringing at the front door for several minutes gives up and goes away.* (78)
- g) *Those who have been daydreaming or carving their initials into the desktops sit up.* (78)
- h) *Those who have been taking notes continue to do so with even greater assiduousness.* (78)
- i) *Robyn looks up from the copy of North and South from which she has been reading this passage, and surveys her audience with a cool, grey-green eyes.* (80)
- j) *“We’ve been cleaning up the place – I took the opportunity to have the pin-ups taken off the walls.”* (341)

As expected, these examples imply a situation lasting for some time, which is indicated by the adverbials like *all night, for some eight years, during this argument* and *for several minutes* (6a, b, d, f). The examples without temporal adverbials indicate situations which started in the relatively near past (6c, e, g, h, i) or at some time in the past (6j). Their temporal pattern is continuation beginning slightly before the point of speech and lasting till the point of speech.

3.2. Aspectual/Pragmatic Components

As it has already been pointed out, in addition to the temporal notions, the grammar books explain the uses of present perfect by the notions like relevance, result, experience; these notions are usually included into the category of aspect. These notions could be illustrated with the following examples:

- 7) a) *...one third of all the engineering companies in the West Midlands have closed down.* (33)
- b) *Here and there an effort has been made at renovation, but always in deplorable taste...* (98)
- c) *“You can’t explain poststructuralism to someone who hasn’t even discovered traditional humanism.”* (218)
- d) *I’ve been left behind by the tide of history...* (311)
- e) *“What bits have you memorised, then?”* (356)
- f) *“I’ve been living in a dream. This business has woken me up.”* (380)

Namely, it is difficult to explain the use of present perfect in these examples on the basis of the temporal components only, for example to explain the difference between past nonprogressive and present perfect in these contexts. Thus, the examples (7) underline the validity of the situation denoted by the verb, the significance of that fact for the current discourse, in other words they have a specific pragmatic implication. For instance, the examples (7b) and (7e) respectively underline recent attempts to achieve something or ask about the recent achievements, while the second clause in the example (7f) implies a cause leading to a change of state.

4. Conclusion

This discussion about the temporal and aspectual/pragmatic components of the English present perfect again proved the complexity of that finite verb form. Namely, the examples from the corpus showed that both temporal and aspectual or pragmatic notions are necessary for a comprehensive explanation of the uses of present perfect.

As for the temporal patterns, the following ones were typically found in the corpus: a) the past situation occurring in the immediate or near past, shortly before the point of speech, and b) a period of time in the past continuing till the present moment. In the latter case, the period of time could include the actual continuation of the situation (for example, *waiting all night*), the repetition of a situation during that period or nonexistence of a situation in a given period (with the adverbial *never*). Moreover, that period of time could be specified by an adverbial (e.g. *for eight years, since...*) or could encompass the entire lifetime of a participant in the situation.

Aspectual and pragmatic notions are often necessary to distinguish present perfect from past nonprogressive, because it seems that the temporal notions would not suffice for that. Actually, it appears that the essential common denominator for the uses of present perfect is the speaker's/writer's evaluation related to the validity or significance of the situation viewed from the point of speech.

Predrag Novakov and Mihaela Lazović

EPISTEMIC AND DEONTIC MODALITY IN ROMANIAN AND SERBIAN SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE

1. Introduction

Scientific (or academic discourse) is a specific functional style (or register) used for presenting argumentation and results of scientific research. This discourse has its general structural, lexical and socio-pragmatic characteristics, but also varieties related to the socio-cultural characteristics of the participants in this communication, their value systems and typical ways of address. In other words, among other things, varieties differ according to the manner (discourse strategies) in which the authors try to convince their audience and specify their attitude, how much the authors are present in the text and use hedging, categorical statements etc. (Blagojević 2012: 16, 18). Linguistic means used by the authors imply rhetoric strategies, aimed at achieving the persuasive effect on the anticipated academic audience (Blagojević 2012: 19).

In such rhetoric strategies modal verbs can serve as markers used by the speakers/writers to indicate their attitude to what they are discussing. This is particularly true in scientific discourse when author use modals for hedging or boosting of the statements they make. Epistemic and deontic modals are particularly relevant in this use, because they specify the degree of possibility, necessity and obligation of the presented assumptions. Therefore, this chapter investigates the uses of epistemic and deontic modals in Romanian and Serbian written scientific discourse (social sciences and humanities) in order to specify the frequency of modals and possible differences in their use in the two languages.

2. Methodology and Initial Hypotheses

This small-scale research is based on the Romanian and Serbian examples taken from articles recently published in scientific journals. The chapter analysed these examples with Romanian and Serbian modal verbs in order to establish the frequency and uses of modals verbs as markers of authors' attitude to the propositional content of their statements, namely epistemic and deontic modals.

Bearing in mind previous research in this field (Blagojević 2012, Novakov 2015), the chapter starts from the following initial hypotheses: 1) modals of weaker strength will prevail in the Serbian examples; 2) modals of weaker strength will prevail in the Romanian examples; 3) epistemic modality will prevail over deontic modality in Serbian; 4) epistemic modality will prevail over deontic modality in Romanian; 5) modal uses will be similar in both languages.

3. Theoretical Background

3.1. Epistemic and Deontic Modality in Romanian

Modality in Romanian is in its essence a semantic category, which has been partially grammaticalised (Gramatica limbii române II 2005: 673). It characterises the way in which the author places the statement in relation to its validity, possibility, necessity. In other words, modality conveys the reflection of reality in the communication from the point of view of the speaker/writer (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 58).

The central set of Romanian modal verbs consists of three items which are considered to be the most clearly individualised – *a putea* (*can/be able to*), *a trebui* (*must/have to*) and *a părea* (*seem*).

Romanian linguists analyse modal meanings separately, using the general categories of *necessity*, *possibility*, *obligation* etc. Prominent Romanian linguist Zafiu (2008: 692-693) classifies modal meanings into *epistemic*, *deontic* and *dynamic*. In this classification, the non-finite form of modals rules out epistemic meanings, and on the other hand the past indicative forms cannot be interpreted as deontic since they have descriptive meaning.

The Romanian language distinguishes two semantic domains indicated by modal verbs: the deontic meaning connected to human behaviour in the sense of obligation, permission, volition, ability, necessity, and the epistemic domain which expresses degrees of probability or truth: possibility, impossibility, un/likelihood, probability, certainty.

In light of the above mentioned, it can be argued that in the Romanian language as well, modal verbs frequently serve as rhetoric strategies authors use to indicate their attitude towards the subject matter they are discussing.

3.2. Epistemic and Deontic Modality in Serbian

Modality as a semantic-pragmatic category in Serbian refers to the qualification provided by the speaker/writer about a statement or a situation (Piper et al. 2005: 636), for example that a statement is to be treated as possible, necessary or obligatory. In a scientific discourse, modals indicate the author's standpoint about the factuality of relevant information, reflecting the author's assessment of its validity, likelihood or certainty.

In Serbian (unlike English), the list of modal verbs is not definite and different grammarians provide shorter or longer lists. For instance, Piper et al. (2005: 638) list the following modals as the most important ones: *moći* (may), *trebati* (should) *morati* (must), *smeti* (dare), *hteti* (want), *želeći* (desire), *zabranti* (forbid) and several other expressions. This research focuses on the central modal verbs *moći*, *trebati*, *morati* and *smeti*, not on the modal phrases and expressions. Finally, the Serbian modals represent a semantic class (like the English modals), but most of them (unlike the English modals, except *trebati* in some respect) share morpho-syntactic features of other lexical verbs (inflections, complementation).

Modals are usually divided into several groups, depending in the type of modality. Since this research investigates the author's rhetoric patterns in the written scientific discourse, the chapter focuses on the epistemic and deontic modality. Epistemic modality specifies the author's standpoint about the possibility of a statement; deontic modality qualifies the situations as obligatory, unavoidable etc. (Piper et al. 2005: 638). Some Serbian modals (like modals, for example, in English) are polysemous when it comes to epistemic and deontic meaning: thus *moći*, depending on the context, can indicate both epistemic possibility or deontic permission, while *morati* can denote epistemic necessity or deontic obligation. *Trebati* and *smeti* typically imply deontic obligation or permission.

Finally, the type of modality intersects with the strength of modality (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002) providing a grid with weak, medium and strong epistemic and deontic modality.

When it comes to deontic modality, Serbian modal *moći* relates to weak, *trebati* to medium and *morati* to strong modality. As for epistemic modality, *moći* also impels weak epistemic modality, while *morati* denotes strong epistemic modality.

4. Epistemic and Deontic Modality in Romanian and Serbian Written Scientific Discourse

4.1. Romanian Scientific Discourse

This part of the chapter will analyse the degrees of certainty/confidence/probability assigned to situations expressed by Romanian modals.

The Romanian part of the corpus consists of the sentences with modal verbs extracted from the scientific journal *Limba Română* published by the Institute of Linguistics (Institutul de Lingvistică) „Iorgu Iordan - Al. Rosetti”. The journal is ranked as leading national journal. The articles mainly discuss linguistic topics, as well as onomastic, history, literature. The Romanian sample was excerpted from four volumes (LR, LXVIII, nr. 1 – 4.) published in 2019. The Romanian part of the corpus amounted to about 300 000 words or 560 pages. The chapter analyses the following Romanian modals: *a putea* (can), *a trebui* (must/have to) and *a voi* (must, may, will).

The next table presents the statistics of the Romanian sample.

Table 1. The Romanian modals in the corpus

No.	Romanian modal	Number	Percent
1	a putea	252	50.9%
2	a trebui	178	36%
3	a voi	65	13.1%
	TOTAL	495	100%

The statistics clearly show the significant dominance of the modal *a putea* (can / cannot).

It is predominantly used in the epistemic meaning of possibility. For example:

- 1) *Prin urmare, se poate constata că ambele modalități prezintă atât trăsături comune cât și diferențe. (LXVIII-1 55)*
(Therefore, it can be argued that both modalities have both common features and differences.)

In the given examples, the modal *poate / can* expresses an epistemic possibility (it is possible that...) which is the result of the author's assessment. This modal is weak and denotes highly measured estimation of the author. The use of reflexive pronoun *se* further renders the statements impersonal.

Similarly, in example (2 and 4) the Romanian modal *a putea* expresses the weak epistemic modal value of probability.

- 2) *Putem stabili inclusiv o relație între o clasă morfologică (un verb oarecare, de exemplu), și un câmp semantic. (LXVIII-2 182)*
(We can also establish a relationship between a morphological class (a certain verb, for example), and a semantic field.)
On the other hand, should such weak epistemic modals be negated they become stronger, like in the following examples:

- 3) *Deci nu se poate vorbi în mod real de o situație de variație ierarhizată... (LXVIII-4 470)*
(Thus, it cannot be argued that a situation of hierarchical variation...)

In the above example, the modal *a putea* is used to express strong epistemic certainty.

Furthermore, the author's confidence in the truth value of his statement is further weakened by the use of the subjunctive (*ar putea*) when combined with the weak epistemic nuance denotes the author's modest suggestion. For example:

4) *Prin urmare, socotim că s-ar putea propune ca... (LXVIII-2 213)*

*(Therefore, we consider that it **could** be proposed that...)*

On the other hand, the Romanian modal *a putea* in the excerpted examples was used in the deontic sense of permission and prohibition.

5) *Valorile cazuale de genitiv și acuzativ se pot exprima și prin construcții cu prepoziții. (LXVIII-2 245)*

*(The casual values of genitive and accusative **can** also be expressed by prepositional constructions.)*

6) *Realizarea acestui scop nu poate fi amânată. (LXVIII-3 325)*

*(The achievement of this goal **cannot** be delayed.)*

Interestingly enough, the deontic sense of permission in the example (5) is weak, while the deontic value of prohibition in (6) is strong.

In the compiled corpus the modal *a putea* occurs in all its inflected present indicative forms. The most occurrences of *a putea* is in the 3rd person of the present indicative *poate*, followed by *pot* (the 3rd plural of the present indicative,). Furthermore, the corpus identified fewer occurrences in the conditional present, which expresses the weaker epistemic meaning. Interestingly, the modal *a putea* is often used in the 1st person plural of the present indicative: *putem* which turned out to be the most popular instrument of expressing the author's presence in the text. The majority of meanings associated with *putem* are epistemic (82%). Furthermore, a limited number of lexical verbs combine with this modal to form the complex predication, mostly cognitive or communication verbs (*a observa / notice, see, observe*, as well as *a afirma / to state or claim*, also, *a concluziona / to conclude*. The preference for the stronger forms (the present indicative) may suggest a more assertive or a more confident attitude of the authors' regarding the content of their claims.

Summing up, it can be argued that the Romanian modal *a putea* expresses four fundamental values: weak epistemic modalities of possibility and probability as well as strong epistemic certainty, on one hand and weak deontic modality of permission and strong deontic modality of prohibition on the other.

The Romanian modal verb *a trebui / must, have to, should* is the second most frequent modal form the corpus. It is a modal of high strength and is typically deontic, no examples of epistemic sense were obtained. In the compiled corpus the modal *a trebui* occurs in the 3rd person present of the indicative (*trebuie*).

The following example illustrates strong interpretation of deontic meaning of obligation expressed by Romanian *a trebui / must*:

7) *În viață trebuie să contăm pe realități, nu pe dorinți! (LXVIII-1 13)*

*(In life we **must** rely on realities, not desires!)*

On the other hand, the next example shows weak deontic value of the Romanian modal *a trebui* denoting author's recommendation which is most often translated into English by modal *should*.

8) *Trebuie observat că toate aceste valori... (LXVIII-3 376)*

*(It **should** be noted that all these values...)*

However, the modal *a trebui* in the examples (9) changes the author's recommendation to restrained obligation. The use of such modal implies the author's strong belief in the statement he makes. The typical strong deontic sense of strong obligation is most often expressed by this modal, like in the following examples:

9) *Separat trebuie luată în discuție expresia cu conținut religios. (LXVIII-2 271)*

(The expression of religious content **must** be discussed separately.)

However, when the modal *a trebui* is negated it acquires a higher strength because and indicates strong conviction about the absence of obligation, like in:

10) *Și nu trebuie să dăm vina pe Vestul democratic sau pe Rusia contemporană!*
(LXVIII-3 300)

(And we must not blame the democratic West or contemporary Russia!)

Lastly, the Romanian subjunctive *ar trebui* obtains a weaker value and indicates a deontic suggestion. Like in the following examples:

11) *De fapt ar trebui să fie precizat că în greaca veche termenul în discuție avea sensul generic de „sclavă”.* (LXVIII-2 202)

(In fact, it **should** be noted that in ancient Greek the term in question had the generic meaning of "slave.")

However, when negated the Romanian subjunctive *ar trebui* does not shift its strength, it retains its weak deontic value, as shown in the example (12).

12) *Nu ar trebui să ne înșele asupra competențelor u n i c e ale celor care practică diversele profesii etc.* (LXVIII-2 206)

(We **should not** be confused about the unique skills of those who practice various professions, etc.)

Evaluating the semantic contribution of the Romanian modal *a trebui* one can notice its polysemantic potential determined by the nuance of the basic deontic meanings: necessity and obligation.

The third most frequent Romanian modal is *a voi / must, may (will)*. The research for this chapter has revealed a very high number of occurrences with strong epistemic meanings. The Romanian modal *a voi* can express both epistemic possibility and epistemic necessity. The examples below demonstrate this fact:

13) *Va fi ajuns deja. (Poate că a ajuns deja.)* (LXVIII-4 460)
(He/She **may** have arrived already.)

14) *Va fi ajuns deja. (Trebuie că a ajuns deja.)* (LXVIII-4 461)
(She/he **must** have arrived already.)

The dual nature of the epistemic *a voi* can be correlated to the epistemic values discussed in the previous parts about the Romanian modals *a poate* and *a trebui*. The example (13) illustrates weak epistemic value denoting possibility, while in (14) the same modal indicates strong epistemic necessity. The above examples imply that the Romanian epistemic modal *a voi* may be translated into English as either *may* or *must*.

In the Romanian corpus, the modal *a voi* can express epistemic values only when expressed in its future form (3rd person singular).

The analysis of the corpus has revealed an interesting phenomenon in Romanian, whereby the force of the epistemic *a voi* may be weakened / strengthened by external modifiers such as *certainly* or *maybe*. In other words, the modal force of the Romanian otherwise strong epistemic *a voi* can be modified by external modifiers. The statement indicates author's presumption based on his knowledge and evidence and even deduction.

15) *Cineva sună la sonerie, va fi livrare de mancare.* (LXVIII-2 182)
(Somenone is ringing the door bell, it **must** be the food delivery.)

16) *Cineva sună la sonerie, sigur va fi livrare de mancare.*
(Somenone is ringing the door bell, it **will certainly** be the food delivery.)

17) *Cineva sună la sonerie, poate va fi livrare de mancare.*
(Somenone is ringing the door bell, **perhaps** it will be the food delivery.)

In the example (15), the author sends a message of strong belief into his statement. Consequently, expressing a strong epistemic meaning. Further, in (16), the adverb *sigur / certainly* adds an even stronger nuance of the author's belief in the truth of his claim. Finally,

by adding the external modifier *poate / perhaps*, the example (17) acquires a weaker nuance and implies author's uncertainty thus having a weak epistemic value.

These examples show that the modal force of the Romanian epistemic *a voi* can indeed be modified. Thus, it can be argued that the strong epistemic value can be weakened by means of external modification in the form of adverbials. This is the case with the English epistemic modal *must*: “*You must probably think...*” or “*She must possibly be musing about...*”.

When it comes to deontic modality, the modal *a voi* in the excerpted examples was not used in the deontic sense.

The analysis of the corpus has shown that the authors of the scientific articles analysed frequently used modal verbs to indicate their attitude towards the statements they made. In the Romanian sentences strong epistemic predominates, with a much smaller number of weak epistemic possibility and strong deontic commitment or prohibition.

Table 2: Modal meanings and their percentage

No.	Modal	Epistemic meaning (%)	Deontic meaning (%)
1	a putea	82%	18%
2	a trebui	0	100%
3	a voi	100%	0

4.2. Serbian Scientific Discourse

The Serbian sample consists of the sentences with modals excerpted from *Godišnjak (Annual Review)*, the scientific journal (ranked as a leading national journal) published by the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad from the articles from social sciences and humanities (e.g. psychology, philosophy, literature, linguistics). The sample was excerpted from three volumes (XLVI-1, XLV-5 and XLV-2) published in 2021 and 2020. Since this journal publishes articles in several languages, only the articles in Serbian were taken into account and they amounted to about 250 000 words or 450 pages. The next table presents the statistics.

Table 3: Serbian modals in the corpus

No.	Serbian modal	Number	Percent
1	moći	320	72.7%
2	morati	46	10.5%
3	trebati	72	16.4%
4	smeti	2	0.4%
	TOTAL	440	100%

The numbers clearly indicate the significant dominance of the weak modal *moći*; it is exclusively used in the epistemic meaning of possibility or necessity. For example:

18) *Zbog toga može, uprkos vernom prevodu na naš jezik, doći do izvesnog recepcijskog šuma... (XLVI-1 115)*

(Therefore, there may, in spite of an adequate translation into our language, appear some receptional noise...)

19) *Dalje, svako ko je iole tada poznao povest o Juditi, mogao je da uvidi sličnost sa aktuelnom političkom situacijom... (XLVI-1 208)*

(Furthermore, then everyone who even basically knew the story of Judith might have noticed the resemblance with the current political situation...)

In the compiled corpus the modal *moći* occurs in its inflected present (*mogu, može, možemo*) or past forms (*mogao/moglo je*). In (18-19) the authors used the modal *moći* to achieve a more neutral tone, but also to create a certain distance to the factual content and leave the final assessment to the reader. The tone is made even more neutral with the reflexive construction *mogu se/može se*, which makes the statement impersonal and even weaker because it further tones down the author's commitment; it is quite frequent in the corpus, for instance:

20) *Kao što se može videti iz Tabele 4... (XLVI-1 126)*

(As one **may** see from Table 4...)

Finally, in some sentences the author's commitment is further weakened by the use of the Serbian *potencijal* (partial equivalent of the English subjunctive mood). The *potencijal I* is used to denote wishes and possibilities, as well as to make a statement less strict (Mrazović and Vukadinović 1990: 127); so *potencijal* combined with the weak modal *moći* reveals the author's standpoint as a modest suggestion. For example:

21) *...ovakvi termini mogli bi se smatrati i skrivenim anglicizmima (XLVI-1 65)*

(...these terms **may** be treated as hidden anglicisms...)

The Serbian sample also includes the negated modal *moći*. When the modal *moći* is negated it acquires a stronger value because it implies that the discussed possibility is excluded; in that case it indicates necessity, like in:

22) *Filozofske reči –budući filozofske - pre ne mogu da ponude značenja o božanskom... (XLVI-1 240)*

(Philosophical words – being philosophical – more likely **may not** offer the meanings of the divine...)

The second most frequent modal in the Serbian sample is *trebati*; it is a modal of medium strength and is typically deontic. For example:

23) *...veoma je važna i društvena pozicija toga teksta koju on treba da zauzme u ciljnoj kulturi... (XLVI-1 109)*

(... the social position which that text **should** take in the target culture is ...)

This modal *trebati* in the example (23) shifts the author's standpoint to a stronger position of recommendation to moderate obligation; in the metadiscourse, the author sends a message of strong belief into the propositional content of his statement.

In the Serbian corpus, this modal *trebati* occurred in the present tense (third person singular), once in the past tense, then in *potencijal I* (example 24) and with negation (example 26). For instance:

24) *Što se glumaca tiče, rezultate je trebalo vrednovati na osnovu činjenice ... (XLV-5 158)*

(As for the actors, the results **should** have been evaluated on the basis of the fact that reading without a pause was desirable for the drama students...)

25) *U budućnosti bi trebalo sprovesti istraživanja sa većim brojem ispitanika... (XLV-5 197)*

(In the future, one **should** carry out researches with a larger number of respondents...)

26) *Ipak, to ne znači da hram, ili druga dela arhitekture, po Hajdegeru ne treba povezati sa ljudskim iskustvom. (XLV-2 209)*

(Still, it does not mean that a temple or other pieces of architecture, according to Heidegger **should not** be related to human experience)

Like other discussed modals, *trebati* in *potencijal* acquires a weaker nuance and implies a deontic suggestion, even though still stronger than *moći*. With negation, *trebati* indicates strong conviction about the absence of obligation.

The next modal *morati* denotes a strong deontic meaning, compulsion or obligation, as well as strong epistemic necessity. In the excerpted examples, *morati* dominantly appears in the present tense and in one case in the past tense (third person singular). There is also only one negation and *potencijal*. Typical examples follow:

- 27) ...odnosno da se skulptura kao skulptura **mora** misliti u vezi sa problemom prostora. (XLV-2 215)
 (... that is the sculpture as sculpture **must** be thought of in relation to the problem of space.)
- 28) ...u stihovima koji bi, po Peri-Lordovoj terminologiji, **morali** biti opisani kao slučaj neperiodskog opkoračenja. (XLV-5 168)
 (...in the verses which **must** be, according to Parry-Lord's terminology, described as a case of nonperiodic enclosing.)
- 29) Ovaj prevod je srpskoj publici svakako **morao** delovati znatno drugačije nego prevodi nekih drugih prevodilaca... (XLVI-1 106)
 (This translation **must** have appeared to the Serbian public as quite different than the translations of some other translators...)
- 30) ... različiti načini upotrebe jezika **ne moraju** biti u neposrednoj vezi sa kontekstom konkretnog književnog djela. (XLVI-1 150)
 (... different ways of the use of language do **not have to** be in the direct relation to the context of the concrete literary work.)

As expected, *morati* is used predominantly in the deontic sense, with the metadiscourse message that the author does not doubt the propositional content and that the reader should consider it seriously. Negated modal (30) or *potencijal* (28) tone down the author's certainty to a more neutral tone, but still with the high level of persuasiveness. Moreover, in one case *morati* denotes epistemic necessity (29); the inanimate subject (*translation*), the stative semantics of the main verb (*delovati*) and the adverbial *svakako* imply the circumstances and the conclusion about the necessity, not to obligation.

Finally, the Serbian sample contains two examples with *smeti*, both of them with negation:

- 31) **Ne sme** se zanemariti ni činjenica da je nadogradnja spektra značenja. (XLV-2 155)
 (One **must** not also neglect the fact that the upgrading of the spectrum of meanings.)

The relevant semantics of the verb *smeti* implies the deontic permission (to allow somebody to do something); with negation *smeti* shifts to deontic prohibition, excluding the option denoted by the predication which follows.

The sentences and their analysis clearly indicated that the authors of the consulted Serbian scientific articles used modal verbs infrequently (on the average, 1.02 modal per page) to indicate their attitude; in addition, weak epistemic possibility overwhelmingly prevails (almost 73%), with a much smaller number of stronger deontic commitment.

Table 4: Modal meanings and their percentage

No.	Modal	Epistemic meaning (%)	Deontic meaning (%)
1	moći	100%	0
2	trebati	0	100%
3	morati	2.2%	97.8%
4	smeti	0	100%

5. Conclusion

The chapter presented the results of a small-scale research about the use of epistemic and deontic modals in the Romanian and Serbian written scientific discourse in order to track down tendencies as well as possible similarities and differences which could be checked on a larger corpus.

Considering the purpose of the analysed scientific articles, the most frequent modal meaning is epistemic, accounting for 64% of all examples. Strong epistemic modality expressed in the examples from the corpus involves a rather high degree of certainty or confidence of the author that his statement is true, while weak epistemic modality entails a low degree of the author's certainty in the truth of his statement. The research conducted for this chapter has revealed a very high number of examples with strong epistemic meanings of certainty (*a putea*) and necessity (*a voi*).

On the other hand, the most prominent deontic modal verb in Romanian is *a trebui*, but *a putea* also has deontic values related to permission and obligation. The modal *a trebui* / *must* is most often used with its strong deontic meaning of obligation which even more stressed when it is negated. Furthermore, this research has shown that the modal strength of the epistemic *a voi* can be altered in the sense that the strong epistemic value of this modal can be weakened by external modification.

Contemplating upon the initial hypotheses, it can be argued that the analysis of Romanian part of the corpus has confirmed the fourth hypothesis having proven that the epistemic modality prevailed over deontic modality in Romanian. On the other hand, this research has refuted the second hypothesis having shown that modals of higher strength prevailed in the excerpted examples in Romanian. This indicates a high degree of author's certainty in the truthfulness of his statement.

As for the Serbian part of the corpus, it was moderately modalised with only one modal per page on the average. Moreover, the authors tended to use weak epistemic modal *moći* to communicate with the readers and to express caution and a lower degree of assertiveness. Medium deontic modal *trebati* and the strong deontic modal *morati* make only about 27% of the modal uses in the Serbian sample. The illocutionary force is further weakened by *potencijal* which authors used to indicate modest suggestion. Finally, negation used with *moći* made the modality stronger with the exclusion of options alternative to the propositional content; negation with the strong modal *morati* toned down the strength of modality leaving other alternatives open. Therefore, the research confirmed the hypotheses 1 and 3: the analysed Serbian scientific discourse relied significantly more on the epistemic modality of weaker strength. In this respect, the Serbian sample shows some similarities to English written academic discourse when it comes to hedging, that is it implies a relative caution in expressing argumentation and awareness that some of the anticipated readers may not agree with their argumentation (cf. Blagojević 2012: 20).

Finally, this research enabled a comparison between the tendencies in the Roman and Serbian sample as formulated in the hypothesis 5, which states that the tendencies in use of the modals will be similar in both languages. This hypothesis was partly confirmed, because Romanian sample had a slightly higher score when it comes to the use of stronger modals.

Predrag Novakov and Mihaela Lazović

MODAL VERBS AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN MODALITY

1. Introduction

Modality is a general linguistic category that conveys a speaker's attitude toward the likelihood, necessity, or desirability of an event. It plays a crucial role in structuring meaning at grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic levels. However, translating modal verbs between languages presents significant challenges due to differences in syntactic structures, modal strength, and politeness strategies. English and Romanian, despite sharing some modal constructions, differ significantly in how modality is expressed, often requiring adjustments in translation to maintain meaning and nuance.

This chapter conducts a contrastive analysis of specific modal verbs in English and Romanian, examining how modal verbs such as *can* (*poate*), *could* (*ar putea*), *may* (*s-ar putea*), *might* (*ar putea / s-ar putea*), *must* (*trebuie*), and *should* (*ar trebui*) are translated into their Romanian counterparts. The study focuses on instances where a modal verb in English does not have a direct modal equivalent in Romanian, such as how *must* can express both necessity and inference in English, but *trebuie* in Romanian is typically reserved for obligation. The chapter also investigates the subtle shifts in meaning that arise from these modal translations and their impact on the interpretation of tone and narrative voice. By looking at both the linguistic and contextual aspects of modal verb use, the chapter highlights how modality is transferred between the two languages.

One of the main challenges in translating English modals into Romanian lies in the morphological and syntactic differences between the two languages. While English primarily relies on modal verbs, Romanian frequently resorts to hedging, periphrastic expressions, often combining auxiliary verbs with infinitives or subjunctive constructions. Additionally, variations in modal strength and politeness levels can lead to shifts in meaning when translating from English to Romanian. Some English modals carry strong obligations or probabilities that need to be translated into Romanian through alternative formulations. In other cases, Romanian lacks a direct equivalent for certain English modals, requiring translators to choose between lexical substitutions or restructuring the sentence entirely.

Julian Barnes' works (*Flaubert's Parrot*, *The Noise of Time*, *Before She Met Me*, *Love, etc.*, *The Only Story*) serve as an appropriate corpus for analysing these translation challenges, as they reflect contemporary language use. His writing style relies on modality to convey subtle shades of doubt, irony, and social norms. The availability of official Romanian translations makes it possible to conduct a systematic contrastive analysis, examining how different modals are rendered and whether their meaning and stylistic effects are preserved or altered.

As previously mentioned, this study examines the ways in which English modal verbs are translated into Romanian. Romanian modal verbs are frequently used as translational equivalents. However, the translation identifies recurring patterns in modal shifts between the two languages, and analyses how these shifts influence tone and meaning in literary translation. By addressing these questions, the chapter explores the broader implications of modality in cross-linguistic interpretation. By looking at both the linguistic and contextual

aspects of modal verb use, the chapter highlights how modality is transferred between the two languages.

Following a discussion of theoretical concepts related to modality, the study presents a corpus-based contrastive analysis of English and Romanian modal expressions. The findings contribute to a deeper understanding of translation strategies and their influence on literary style, offering insights into the broader field of contrastive linguistics and translation studies.

2. Theoretical Framework

This part of the chapter outlines the theoretical foundations that support the contrastive analysis of modality in English and Romanian. The framework draws upon both traditional and more recent grammatical theories. The relevant Romanian and English literature sources are integrated to highlight differences in how the two languages express modality, through verbal moods, modal auxiliaries, or other lexical and syntactic means, laying the groundwork for the comparative investigation that follows.

2.1. Theoretical Framework on Modality in English

The category of modality has been traditionally recognised and regularly discussed in the English linguistic literature, probably because English modal verbs make a relatively closed and well characterised system.

Modality itself is viewed as the linguistic way to indicate speaker's or writer's attitude to what he or she is saying or writing, namely if they simply state the facts or imply a distance related to the validity of the facts, to the graded possibility of something being true or likely. In addition, modality can point to orders, instructions or permissions, as well as to somebody's ability to achieve something. In English, these notions can be grammaticalised (the traditional category of mood like indicative or subjunctive) or lexicalised with the use of modals verbs.

When it comes to English modal verbs and their uses, it is well-known that English modals make a distinct semantic group with specific morphosyntactic features which differentiate them from lexical verbs. Namely, they are not inflected for person and number, not inflected with the suffix *-ed* for past tense (some, for instance, *must*, do not have even a formal past tense counterpart, while some of them do, like *could/might, should, would*). Moreover, they do not have nonfinite forms (i.e. infinitives and participles), so they themselves lack continuous, perfect and passive structures, and they are followed by the bare infinitive of a lexical verb (except *ought to*). As for their meanings, grammarians (e.g. Palmer 1989, Palmer 2001) usually divide them into three general groups: epistemic, deontic and dynamic. Modals from the first group denote possibility and necessity (like *can/could, may/might, must* etc.), modals from the second group meanings like permission, instructions and order (like *must, may, can*) and the modals from the third group imply ability and willingness (like *can/could, will/would*). Obviously, meanings of modals often overlap and some modals (for instance, *can, may*) can express both epistemic and deontic meanings. Therefore, English modal verbs are typically polysemous and context is often needed to determine the precise meaning in use. Actually, in addition to these three general meanings, each of the English modals has its own set of meanings and uses. Thus, for example, the modals *can/could* denote ability, possibility, permission, habitual behaviour, while *must* denotes strong probability or necessity and obligation.

In addition to these general and specific meanings, modality in English includes a dimension of strength (Huddleston & Pullum 2002) which includes three levels: weak,

medium and strong. Namely, some English modal meanings like possibility or obligation can be graded depending on which modal is used. For example, *can* and *may* express weak level of possibility, while *must* implies a strong possibility, that is necessity.

2.2. Theoretical Framework on Modality in Romanian

In Romanian linguistic literature, the concept of modality remains complex, primarily due to the variety of theoretical perspectives. Broadly defined, modality refers to the expression of attitudes, opinions, possibilities, obligations, and the speaker's stance toward the communicated content (Ulrych 1992: 97; Lipan 2018: 122). It is realised through diverse linguistic means, such as modal verbs, lexical items, adverbs, and grammatical structures, which together shape the speaker's or writer's viewpoint.

Romanian modality is understood as a nuanced and multifaceted category grounded in the subjectivity of the speaker. It is tightly connected to how the speaker perceives reality, possibility, and necessity, and is expressed through both grammatical and lexical means (Bărbuță 2008: 58–70). According to the *New Grammar of the Romanian Language* (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 359), modality expresses information related to the subjectivity of the speaker, the way he/she views the described processes. Linguistically, some Romanian scholars (Gramatica limbii române II 2005: 673; Bărbuță 2008: 61) describe modality as a partially grammaticalised semantic category that functions across all levels of language: phonetic, morphological, lexical, and syntactic, focussing on the speaker's subjective evaluation of reality.

Bărbuță (2008: 58–70) further categorises modality according to the interpersonal attitudes it conveys, such as epistemic (related to knowledge and certainty), deontic (obligation or permission), and evaluative (approval or disapproval) types. These are expressed through verbal moods, modal verbs, and lexico-grammatical tools such as adverbs and fixed expressions, for example: *bineînțeles* (of course), *desigur* (surely), and *posibil* (possibly). Modality thus emerges as both a semantic and functional linguistic category, integrating necessity, desire, and emotional or attitudinal nuance (Gramatica limbii române II 2005: 673; Bărbuță 2008: 61).

Recent developments in grammatical theory, particularly those introduced in the updated *New Grammar of the Romanian Language* (Gramatica limbii române I and II 2005), have led to significant revisions in the understanding of modality. Traditionally, mood was regarded as the primary grammatical means of reflecting the speaker's attitude toward the proposition. However, contemporary approaches (Gramatica limbii române I and II 2005) make a clear distinction between mood and modality, arguing that modal meanings are conveyed not only through mood markers but also through a wider set of linguistic resources: modal verbs, adverbs, periphrastic constructions, and more (Margan 2018: 152).

Modalisation in Romanian is primarily achieved through modal verbs that function as operators in combination with main verbs. These verbs do not have full semantic autonomy and include auxiliaries such as *a trebui* (must), *a putea* (can), *a vrea* (want), *a avea* (have), and others, which convey epistemic, deontic, or volitive modalities (Guțu Romalo 1968; Gramatica limbii române I 1966; Constantinescu-Dobridor 1996). Moreover, linguists emphasise that modality is not confined to these auxiliaries, as it extends to lexical elements, modal adverbs, periphrases, and other grammatical mechanisms (Biber et al. 1999; Leech 2013).

The *New Grammar of the Romanian Language* (Gramatica limbii române I and II 2005) offers a more dynamic framework for understanding modality, shifting the focus from verb moods alone to a broader spectrum of modal expressions, including periphrastic constructions and modal adverbs. This perspective enhances the description of how modality

operates across discourse and underscores the diversity in how languages grammaticalise modality. In Romanian, predominantly through modal verbs at the verbal level.

The process of modalisation thus encompasses multiple means depending on the type of utterance and the speaker's communicative intention. These include grammatical markers like verbal moods; lexico-grammatical expressions such as semi-adverbs and modal phrases; lexical verbs with inherent modal meaning; and prosodic features like intonation, which play a significant role in conveying modal attitudes in spoken discourse (Margan 2018: 153).

Guțu Romalo (1968) identifies Romanian modal verbs or auxiliaries as *a trebui* (must), *a putea* (can), *a fi* (to be), *a avea* (to have), *a vrea* (to want), *a părea* (to seem), and *a(-i) veni* (to feel like). The earlier *Grammar of the Romanian Language* (Gramatica limbii române I 1966), however, omits *a părea*, but lists *a putea*, *a trebui*, *a avea*, *a fi*, and *a voi* (to will) as semi-auxiliaries, but does not include *a veni* and *a părea*. In contrast, Constantinescu-Dobridor (1996) expands this list by adding modal semi-auxiliaries such as *a se cădea* and *a se cuveni* (both meaning *to be fitting*). The *New Grammar of the Romanian Language* (Gramatica limbii române I 2005) mainly discusses *a putea* and *a trebui* when analyzing modal operators in complex predicates, especially in the context of epistemic and deontic interpretations.

On the other hand, the Romanian literature on the translation of modal verbs explores the complex relationship between linguistic modality and its cross-linguistic equivalence, emphasising the challenges of preserving nuanced meanings in translation. The translation of modal meanings from English into Romanian requires a deep understanding of both context and function. The translator must determine whether the original modal expresses possibility, necessity, intention, or deduction and must choose Romanian equivalents that preserve these nuances (Lipan 2018: 122). She further emphasises the translator's responsibility to convey the original speaker's attitude with precision, which often requires selecting structures that retain equivalent modal strength. She also underlines the importance of rendering the speaker's stance as faithfully as possible (Lipan 2018: 121).

In conclusion, Romanian modality is characterised by the use of specific auxiliary verbs to express different modality types, integrated within a broader system that includes lexical, grammatical, and prosodic elements, aligning with modern theoretical frameworks that differentiate mood from modality and acknowledge the diversity of expression mechanisms.

3. Corpus and Methodology

3.1. Corpus Selection

This study is based on five selected novels by Julian Barnes: *Flaubert's Parrot* (Barnes 1990, abbreviated in the chapter as FP), *The Noise of Time* (Barnes 2016, abbreviated as NT), *Before She Met Me* (Barnes 1992, abbreviated as BM), *Love, etc.* (Barnes 2000, abbreviated as LE), and *The Only Story* (Barnes 2018, abbreviated as OS), along with their official Romanian translations: *Papagalul lui Flaubert* (abbreviated as PLF), *Zgomotul timpului* (abbreviated as ZT), *Până când m-a cunoscut* (abbreviated as PCC), *Dragoste etc.* (abbreviated as DE) and *Singura poveste* (abbreviated as SP). These works were chosen for their linguistic richness and for the specific challenges they pose in translation, particularly in the domain of modality.

Julian Barnes' prose is characterised by a refined use of modal verbs, which he employs to express uncertainty, irony, emotional subtlety, and underlying social conventions. His narrative style frequently relies on delicate modal constructions to shape tone and convey the narrator's point of view. The availability of authorised Romanian translations enables a

reliable contrastive analysis, focusing on how modals are rendered across languages and whether their semantic and stylistic functions are preserved, modified, or lost in translation.

The data set consists of all occurrences of modal verbs extracted from the English versions of the selected novels (about 930 pages of prose text). After the electronic search of these 930 pages, six modals were selected for the analysis (*can, could, may, might, must, should*) because they were frequent enough to allow valid analysis (*need, dare, ought to* were recorded only 3, 4 and 17 times respectively). Moreover, *shall, will* and *would* were frequent enough, but their use was primarily related to the future tense, not modality. The corresponding equivalents of the selected modals were identified manually in the Romanian translations. In the categorisation of examples, the general terminology from modal theory (epistemic, deontic, dynamic modality) is typically used, but the classification is additionally based on pragmatic components, that is the specific function of the particular modal verb in the context. This functional approach allows for a more accurate understanding of how modality operates across languages and genres.

Table 1 presents the number of examples in the English part of the corpus. Additionally, the corpus includes the Romanian equivalents of these English examples. So, the total number of English examples is 2203, with the largest participation of *could* and *can*, then *might*. The corpus includes a relatively small number of negated modals, modals used in questions and with the perfect infinitive (*have+past participle*).

Table 1: Number of examples with the analysed modals from the English part of the corpus.

No	Modal	Total number of examples	Negated	Questions	+ have + past participle
1	can	544	131	45	0
2	could	621	34	44	50
3	should	227	7	40	25
4	must	199	3	3	51
5	may	161	15	5	21
6	might	451	13	7	100
	TOTAL	2203	203	144	247

3.2. Analytical Approach

The aim of this research is to examine the contextual usage and interpretative nuances of selected English modal verbs, identify their typical Romanian translation equivalents, and highlight both the similarities and differences in modal expression between English and Romanian. A frequency analysis was conducted to determine how often each modal verb appears in the English texts and how these frequencies compare to their Romanian translations.

The qualitative component explores semantic shifts that occur during translation, such as the weakening or loss of epistemic nuance. It also examines syntactic and pragmatic variation between source and target texts, with attention to how modal choices affect narrative tone, character development, and reader interpretation. Special focus is given to the translator's strategies in maintaining or adapting Barnes' distinctive voice.

The analysis is framed within a contrastive linguistic approach, integrating elements of translation studies and modality theory. The goal is to compare and evaluate how English modal expressions function in the original texts and how effectively they are transferred into Romanian, considering both linguistic equivalence and stylistic fidelity.

4. Analysis

This part of the study presents a systematic analysis of the core English modal verbs and their Romanian translational equivalents, based on the selected bilingual corpus. The focus lies on identifying how each modal verb (*can, could, may, might, should, and must*) functions within various syntactic and semantic contexts, and how these meanings are translated in Romanian. Given the complexity and multifunctionality of modal verbs in English, special attention is paid to the challenges posed in translation, including semantic shifts, the use of periphrastic or lexical constructions, and context-dependent interpretative choices. The analysis also highlights instances of modal ambiguity, loss of modality, or pragmatic compensation in translation. Each subsection explores one modal verb, illustrating patterns, divergences, and common translational strategies observed in the corpus. This contrastive approach aims to shed light on the broader implications of modality transfer between English and Romanian and to contribute to a deeper understanding of cross-linguistic modality.

4.1. Can and Could

The first pair of English modals (*can* with its formal past counterpart *could*) is very frequent in various types of discourse, used to denote author's tentativeness or the speaker's ability to perform an act.

4.1.1. Can

The English modal verb *can* expresses a range of meanings, including ability, possibility, and permission, each of which has distinct Romanian equivalents such as *poate, poate că, e posibil să, or ai voie să*. In translation, particular attention is required when *can* functions epistemically, as Romanian typically renders this through modal or periphrastic expressions like *poate fi, e posibil să fie, or se întâmplă să fie*, depending on the nuance and context. Such constructions are often used to soften the assertion or align with natural Romanian phrasing. These variations demonstrate the need for context-sensitive translation strategies. The following corpus examples illustrate the diverse uses and Romanian translations of the English modal *can* in different semantic contexts.

1) a) *Only the pigeons can see the full extent of the writer's baldness. (FP 14)*

b) *Singuri porumbelii pot admira chelia scriitorului în splendoarea ei totală. (PLF 8)*

In the first English example (1a) the modal *can* is used with the verb of perception (*see*) and the animate subject (*the pigeons*), so this context points to the subject's ability, not to the possibility or the circumstances enabling the subject to achieve a goal. Thus, the English modal *can* refers to the pigeons' ability to see something, and the Romanian translation uses *pot (can)* to directly express this ability. The translation is straightforward and maintains the sense of capability in both languages, ensuring that the pigeons' unique ability is emphasised in the same way.

2) a) *The gift can be seen as a symbolic salute to Realism from Naturalism. (FP 30)*

b) *Cadoul poate fi considerat un salut simbolic prin care Naturalismul omagiază Realismul. (PLF 22)*

In (2a) the modal *can* is followed by the passive infinitive of the verb *see* which in this case denotes a verb of cognition (rather than perception) with the unspecified but human subject who makes a statement about the possibility of a certain interpretation.

Thus, in (2a) *can* expresses possibility, suggesting that the gift in question has the potential to be interpreted in a certain way. In Romanian, *poate fi* is used to convey the same meaning. While *poate fi* directly mirrors *can be*, it maintains the neutral tone of possibility, making it sound equally natural. This translation keeps the sense of an interpretation or option without implying any necessity or certainty.

3) a) *So when can I see them?* (FP 50)

b) *Așadar, când pot să-i văd?* (PLF 42)

The last example with *can* (3a) is a question requiring answer, permission from the listener for a visit or an appointment (here *see* obviously means *to visit*). So, the modal *can* is used to ask for permission, and in Romanian, *pot* is used in the same way. The Romanian translation mirrors the English sentence in both structure and meaning, with *pot* directly expressing the permission being asked. The tone is neutral and polite in both languages, focusing on the request for permission to do something.

4.1.2. Could

The English modal verb *could* functions formally as the past tense form of *can*, expressing (with some restrictions, cf. Palmer 1989, Quirk et al. 1985) past ability, possibility, permission, or hypothetical scenarios. The corpus examples demonstrate that Romanian translation equivalents differ based on context and intended meaning, with common renderings including *putea*, *ar putea*, *aș putea*, and *era în stare să*. When *could* conveys hypothetical or conditional meanings, Romanian often uses the conditional mood (*ar putea*, *aș fi putut*) to retain the modal nuance. In cases where *could* expresses epistemic possibility or polite suggestion, equivalents such as *s-ar putea să* or *poate că* are often used. Translating *could* poses challenges due to its multifunctionality and subtle shifts in modality, requiring context-aware interpretation to maintain its semantic precision. The corpus examples below illustrate how the English modal *could* is translated across different modal uses in Romanian.

4) a) *I think the remark I then made was deeply unfair to Mr. Gosse both as a writer and as a sexual being; but I do not see how I could have avoided it.* (FP 52)

b) *Cred că remarca pe care am făcut-o atunci era profund nedreaptă față de domnul Gosse, atât ca scriitor, cât și ca ființă sexuală, dar nu văd cum aș fi putut să mă abțin.* (PLF 44)

In this example (4a), the English modal *could* appears in the past conditional construction *could have avoided* (that is, *could* is followed by the perfect infinitive). The modal *could* in this construction implies past unreality, a possibility which was not realised in the past. In other words, in this example it expresses a speaker's comment about the impossibility to prevent a preceding activity. The Romanian translation renders this with the conditional perfect form *aș fi putut* followed by the reflexive verb *să mă abțin*. This is a direct and faithful translation of the English modal structure into Romanian conditional perfect, which is typically used to express hypothetical situations or actions that were possible but did not occur.

The verb *ar putea* (to be able to) in the conditional perfect form *aș fi putut* captures both the modal meaning of *could* and the past temporal reference. The addition of the subjunctive *să mă abțin* completes the verbal phrase, preserving the reflexive and modal nuance. In summing up, the translation closely mirrors the English modal structure and meaning, maintaining the sense of reflection on past ability or impossibility.

In the next English example (5a), the modal *can* occurs with the lexical verb *tell* and an animate subject, implying a cognitive process:

5) a) “37A” was painted on the brickwork in a hand I could tell wasn’t Gillian’s. (LE 50)

b) Pe zidul de cărămidă, o mână pe care am recunoscut-o ca nefiind a lui Gillian scrișese: 37A. (DE61)

Thus, the modal *could* in the expression *I could tell* indicates the speaker’s ability or capacity to recognise or conclude something. The Romanian translation does not use a direct equivalent of the modal *could*. Instead, it renders the meaning with the past tense verb *am recunoscut* (*I recognised*), which conveys the same sense of ability and certainty retrospectively.

This is an example of a semantic rather than structural translation: the modal *could* is replaced by a simple past perfect verb form in Romanian that inherently expresses the speaker’s capability to identify the handwriting. The choice reflects a common tendency in Romanian to prefer explicit verbal forms over modal auxiliaries when expressing ability in the past. Thus, the Romanian version focuses on the act of recognition itself, rather than the potential or ability implied by *could*.

Nevertheless, the translation effectively preserves the original meaning, though it opts for a more direct expression of the speaker’s cognitive act without the modal auxiliary.

In (6a), the speaker expresses his or her judgement about the possibility in a given situation, what would be typically possible and this sense is underlined with the adverbial *always*:

6) a) I could always climb out of a window afterwards. (OS 50)

b) Aș putea să plec pe fereastră după aia. (SP 78)

So, in this example, the English modal *could* expresses the hypothetical possibility to perform a certain action — in this case, escaping through a window. As it has been already mentioned, the use of *always* reinforces the idea of a consistently available option, suggesting that the speaker sees this as a reliable alternative, even if not immediately needed. The English adverb *always* is omitted in the Romanian version. While not essential for the propositional content, *always* contributes an important modal aspectual layer of habituality or alternative reliability, which is not explicitly retained in the target sentence.

The Romanian translation uses the conditional form *aș putea* as a direct equivalent of *could*, thereby retaining the modal meaning of potentiality or hypothetical possibility. This choice successfully preserves the modal nuance and mirrors the original structure more closely than in the previous example.

Furthermore, while the modal function is retained, some of the stylistic richness and contextual nuance are reduced in the translation. The Romanian translation maintains the core epistemic modal function of *could* through an appropriate conditional-subjunctive structure. Nonetheless, it simplifies both the lexical specificity and the modal-aspectual richness of the original utterance. As such, while the hypothetical meaning is preserved, some of the stylistic nuance, pragmatics, and expressive force embedded in the original phrase are diminished in the target version.

4.2. May and Might

The second pair of English modals in the corpus, *may* and *might* (*might* being formally the past tense in the indirect speech, but also implying a more tentative attitude, a lower degree of possibility) is also very frequent and occurs with several meanings and uses. Some of them are analysed in the examples from the corpus which follow.

4.2.1. May

The English modal verb *may* is commonly used to express permission, possibility, or a polite request. In Romanian, its translation depends on the modal function in context. When *may* indicates permission, it is typically rendered as *ai voie să* or *este permis să*. When expressing possibility or probability, Romanian equivalents include *poate*, *poate că*, *e posibil să*, or *s-ar putea să*, with the choice influenced by the degree of certainty or formality. In the case of polite requests, especially in interrogative forms (*May I...?*), the Romanian translation often uses *pot să...?* or more polite formulations like *aș putea să...?*. Due to the overlap between epistemic and deontic meanings, translating *may* requires careful contextual interpretation. The corpus examples below illustrate the various ways in which *may* is translated into Romanian depending on its modal function.

7) a) *You may not have noticed, Graham, and I doubt if you care, but your daughter's growing. She's changing ... size. (BM 37)*

b) *Poate că n-ai observat, Graham, și mă-ndoiesc că-ți pasă, dar fata ta crește. Își schimbă. (PCC 38)*

In the abovementioned example (7a), the English modal *may* is followed by the perfect infinitive which indicates epistemic possibility or uncertainty in a past event. The Romanian translation uses the modal phrase *poate că* combined with the perfect tense verb *n-ai observat*. This structure conveys the same epistemic modality of possibility regarding the past event.

Since Romanian lacks a direct equivalent of the English modal auxiliary *may*, it commonly uses modal adverbial phrases like *poate că* to express similar meanings. Thus, the modal meaning is effectively retained in the translation through a periphrastic construction rather than a single modal verb.

The example (8a) illustrates the use of *may* with the inanimate subject and with the implication that the speaker makes an assessment about the situation:

8) a) *All of which may be bad news for Gillian. (LE 114)*

b) *Și totul pică prost pentru Gillian. (DE 151)*

Therefore, the English modal *may* expresses epistemic possibility, indicating that it is possible the situation is bad news for Gillian but not certain. The Romanian translation does not include a direct equivalent of the modal *may*. Instead, it uses a simple present tense verb phrase *pică prost* (*turns out / ends up badly*), which conveys the meaning more assertively, losing the original modal uncertainty.

Thus, the modal meaning of possibility is not explicitly retained in the Romanian version, resulting in a more definite statement rather than a tentative one.

The last English example in this part (9a) includes the use of *may* in a question:

9) a) *"Please may I get down now, Mummy?" I asked with an eight-year-old's whine. (OS 17)*

b) *„Te rog, mami, acum pot să plec?” am întrebat cu miorlăiala unui copil de opt ani. (SP 23)*

In this example, the English modal *may* is used to express polite permission or a respectful request. It signals that the speaker is asking for approval to perform an action. The Romanian translation uses the modal verb *pot* (*can*) to express ability or permission. Although, the Romanian modal *pot* is less formal than *may* in English, it functions here to request permission, preserving the polite tone of the original. In other words, the translation retains the modal meaning of requesting permission but replaces the more formal and tentative English *may* with the more common Romanian modal *pot*, reflecting natural usage in Romanian. Therefore, the modal function is preserved, though with a slight difference in formality and nuance.

4.2.2. Might

The English modal verb *might* primarily expresses epistemic possibility, hypothetical situations, or polite suggestions, often indicating a lower degree of certainty than *may* or *could*. In Romanian, *might* is typically translated using constructions such as *s-ar putea să*, *ar putea*, *poate că*, or conditional subjunctive forms like *ar fi putut*. When expressing hypothetical past events, Romanian uses forms like *ar fi putut să fie*, capturing the counterfactual or speculative nature of *might*. Because *might* often conveys subtle shades of uncertainty or tentativeness, its translation requires careful adaptation to preserve both grammatical and pragmatic meaning. The following corpus examples demonstrate how *might* is rendered in Romanian across various modal contexts.

The first English example with *might* includes the perfect infinitive which points to a past situation, that is its likelihood with the weak or neutral modal component as the speaker's standpoint:

10) a) *Strange facts that Flaubert might not have found strange. (FP 59)*

b) *Chestii ciudate, pe care, poate, Flaubert nu le-ar fi socotit stranii. (PLF 48)*

The English modal *might* expresses epistemic possibility or hypothetical uncertainty about Flaubert's perception in the past. It suggests that it is possible he did not find the facts strange, but this is not certain. The Romanian translation uses the modal adverb *poate* along with the conditional perfect verb form *ar fi socotit*. This construction conveys a similar sense of epistemic possibility and hypothetical judgment.

Hence, the modal meaning of uncertainty and possibility is preserved in Romanian through a combination of a modal adverb and a conditional verbal form, maintaining the nuance of the original *might*.

In the next example (11a) *might* also adds a component of a weak modality to the statement, that is presents this situation without a speaker's strong conviction about its certainty:

11) a) *He could easily have picked up something from Ann at a subliminal level, and then his brain might decide to break the news to him tactfully in his sleep. Why not? (BM 83)*

b) *Ar fi putut prelua cu ușurință ceva de la Ann la un nivel subliminal, după care mintea lui s-o fi decis să-i dea vestea cu tot tactul de rigoare, în somn. De ce nu? (PCC 68)*

In the sentence (11a), the English modal *might* expresses future possibility or hypothetical likelihood. In other words, it indicates that the brain's decision is uncertain but possible. The Romanian translation uses a subjunctive conditional construction combining the subjunctive particle *s-* with the perfect infinitive *fi decis*. This form conveys a similar sense of uncertainty and hypothetical action, reflecting the tentative nature of *might* in English.

Therefore, the modal meaning of possibility and uncertainty expressed by English modal *might* is preserved in Romanian through a complex verbal form that combines subjunctive and conditional moods.

The last analysed instance of this modal (12a) implies a speaker's moderate statement about the possibility of the proposition focussed around the passive structure *be moved* (the verb *moved* here pointing to an emotional response):

12) a) *...while, further along the road, an audience might be silently moved by one of his string quartets; ... (NT 134)*

b) *în timp ce, altundeva, mai departe, un public era mișcat, în tăcere, de unul dintre cvartetetele lui pentru coarde; (ZT 122)*

In the sentence (12a), the English modal *might* expresses epistemic possibility or hypothetical potential, suggesting that it is possible, though not certain, that the audience experiences this emotional response. The Romanian translation uses the simple past tense verb *era mișcat*

(*was moved*) without a modal equivalent. This results in the loss of the original modal uncertainty or possibility.

Consequently, the modal meaning conveyed by *might* in English is not explicitly retained in the Romanian version, which states the event more as a fact than a possibility.

4.3. Must

The English modal *must* clearly expresses a strong level of modality in both of its main uses, deontic and epistemic. Therefore, it implies a speaker's or subject's strong conviction about the proposition denoted by the lexical verb which follows.

The research conducted for this chapter has revealed that the modal verb *must* in English conveys both necessity (deontic) and strong certainty (epistemic). In Romanian, it is often translated as *trebuie* for necessity, but alternative expressions like *sigur că* (*surely*) or *probabil că* (*probably*) are used for expressing certainty. Translation shifts occur when *must* is weakened, such as when a sense of obligation shifts to a suggestion, often necessitating a softer Romanian expression like *e necesar să* (*it is necessary to*). While *trebuie* is the most common translation for *must*, context plays a key role in determining whether the Romanian equivalent remains straightforward or calls for a more nuanced expression based on the tone and strength of the obligation or certainty in the original sentence. The following corpus examples illustrate the different functions and meanings of the modal verb *can* in English, alongside its Romanian translational equivalents, showcasing its use in various contexts.

The English example (13a) with *must* illustrates strong modality with a high level of conviction on the part of the subject:

13) a) He knew he must protect those closest around him, and to do so needed to be calm, but could only be frantic. (NT 40)

b) Știa că trebuia să-i apere pe cei mai apropiați... (ZT 34)

In the examples above, *must* expresses a strong obligation, and it is translated into Romanian with the modal *trebuia*, which reflects the past obligation. The modal verb *trebuia* conveys the same sense of duty or necessity, in line with the English modal. The translation remains focused on maintaining the sense of moral or personal obligation in both languages.

The authors may provide an alternative translation for this sentence: *Știa că era obligatoriu să-i apere pe cei mai apropiați...* Namely, the alternative translation *era obligatoriu* (*it was mandatory*) emphasises the strong, non-negotiable obligation in a more formal and imperative tone. While *trebuia* is correct, *era obligatoriu* adds a sense of duty that might feel stronger in this context.

In the English example (14a) the speaker imposes a strong obligation on the listener, something which is necessary to be done:

14) a) You must recall every detail of all the discussions regarding the plot against Comrade Stalin, of which you were one of the chief witnesses. (NT 40)

b) Trebuie să vă amintiți toate detaliile discuțiilor privind complotul împotriva Tovarășului Stalin, la care ați fost unul dintre principalii martori. (ZT 34)

In these examples, the English modal *must* expresses an imperative obligation, and it is translated with *trebuie*, which is the usually used for expressing necessity or obligation in Romanian. The modal *trebuie* captures the force of the command in both languages. It indicates an essential and non-negotiable action.

Finally, in the conditional sentence (15a) *must* also implies strong modality within the deontic meaning:

15) a) If the wider world becomes uncontrollable, you must make sure to control what areas you can. (NT 105)

b) *Dacă lumea largă devine necontrolabilă, trebuie să fii sigur că dirijezi ce sectoare poți.* (ZT 95)

The modal *must* here expresses an obligation to ensure control. In Romanian, *trebuie* is again used to express this strong necessity. The addition of *să fii sigur* (*to be sure*) slightly softens the tone, yet the core meaning of obligation remains intact.

4.4. Should

The English modal *should* is of medium strength and has a variety of uses, from epistemic possibility, deontic advice or recommendation, to the so-called *putative should* (Quirk et al. 1985: 100).

The corpus analysis has shown that the modal verb *should* in English expresses advice, expectation, obligation, probability, and past regret. In Romanian, it is typically translated as *ar trebui* for advice and recommendation, *trebuie* for stronger obligations, and *ar fi trebuit* for past regret or missed opportunities. Translation shifts occur based on the context: *trebuie* conveys a more direct sense of necessity, while *ar trebui* softens the obligation into a suggestion. Additionally, *ar trebui* can indicate probability or expectation, and *ar fi trebuit* reflects on past actions. These shifts allow for a nuanced translation that adjusts the force and tone of the modal based on the specific meaning in context. To illustrate the usage of the modal verb *should* in both English and Romanian, the following corpus examples demonstrate its various functions across different contexts.

In (16a) the modal *should* occurs with the perfect infinitive locating nonoccurrence of an event in the past (*have added*). Namely, the speaker uses this modal structure to indicate deontic advice:

16) a) *When he wrote of himself, "I attract mad people and animals", perhaps he should have added "and ironies".* (FP 73)

b) *Când scria despre el însuși: „Atrag nebunii și animalele”, ar fi trebuit să adauge: „Și ironiile”.* (PLF 61)

In the above examples, the English modal *should* is translated directly into the Romanian modal *ar fi trebuit* (the conditional form of *trebui*). This is a direct modal translation, where the structure is retained, but the conditional component adds a layer of reflection or distance, as in English when using *should have* suggesting a missed opportunity or recommendation.

In the next example (17a) the modal *should* is negated and is used to denote deontic discouragement without the strength of a prohibition:

17) a) *From which you should not conclude that he favoured tyranny, or absolute monarchy, or bourgeois monarchy...* (FP 140)

b) *Dar nu trebuie să trageți concluzia că ar fi fost partizanul tiraniei, al monarhiei absolute, al monarhiei burgheze, al totalitarismului birocratic, al anarhiei sau al vreunei alte forme.* (PLF 122)

In this example, the English modal *should* is translated into Romanian as *nu trebuie să*, which is a present tense construction combining negation with the modal verb *ar trebui* (*to have to*). This is not a direct modal correspondence but rather a semantic adaptation. While *should not* in English often expresses a recommendation or a soft warning, *nu trebuie să* in Romanian can sound more categorical, closer to *must not* or *are not supposed to*.

This shift reflects a stronger sense of logical or moral obligation, which in Romanian is commonly used in argumentative or interpretive contexts. The translator opts for a more decisive tone, possibly to align with the rhetorical style of the Romanian target audience.

Unlike in the example (16a,b) where *should have* was rendered as *ar fi trebuit* (conditional past), in this case (17b) the present form *trebuie* is chosen to retain immediacy and assertiveness, shifting the tone from reflective to directive.

The last example with *should* (18a) denotes the speaker's recommendation of medium strength:

18) a) *His music should be played on its merit, not because of some posthumous campaign. (NT 124)*

b) *Muzica să-i fie cântată după merit, nu ca rezultat al unei campanii postume. (ZT 122)*

In this example, the English modal *should* is translated into Romanian using the subjunctive mood introduced by *să* in the phrase *să-i fie cântată*. This is an example of a modal rendering through a subjunctive construction, which is common in Romanian for expressing obligation, recommendation, or expectation.

Unlike the English modal auxiliary *should*, which directly marks modality, Romanian often uses the subjunctive with the particle *să* combined with a form of the verb *a fi* (*to be*) plus the past participle to convey a similar meaning of advisability or normative expectation.

In the example (18b), *să-i fie cântată* implies a recommendation or ideal way the music ought to be treated. The translation does not include a direct equivalent word for the modal *should* but conveys its force through mood and structure.

This translation effectively captures the advisory and evaluative sense of the English *should*, though in a more implicit and grammaticalised means typical of Romanian, rather than by a direct modal verb equivalent.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

This contrastive research provided a general comparison between the most frequent English modal verbs and their Romanian equivalents. A parallel English-Romanian corpus was compiled for the research within a specific genre: a contemporary literary prose, namely selected novels by J. Barnes, and their translations into Romanian. As it has been explained in the introduction, six English modal verbs were chosen for the research (the modals *can/could*, *may/might*, *must* and *should*) using two criteria: 1) their frequency in the corpus and 2) the expression of modal meanings, not future tense (like in the case of *shall*, *will/would*). The main goals of the research were the following: 1) to specify the uses of the selected English modals and the influence of the context on their interpretation; 2) to track down typical Romanian translation equivalents and 3) to specify possible similarities and differences between the use of modals in these two languages.

As for the selected English modal verbs, their use in the corpus pointed to the cases which needed clarification in the context, particularly when it comes to the modal meanings of possibility and ability on the one hand, as well as possibility and obligation on the other.

As for the first pair of English modals, *can/could*, in the corpus they predominantly denote possibility and ability with some infrequent occurrences of deontic meanings (order or permission for instance *Can we please have Faubert's parrot back, FP 206*). The need for clarification mentioned in the preceding paragraph may be observed in the sentence *Who could resist such sentiments? (FP 154)*. Namely, this sentence can be interpreted as dynamic ability to resist or epistemic possibility for the subject to resist. In this case, the analysis opted for the dynamic reading because of the implied animate subject (*who*), the lexical verb *resist* which implies subject's ability rather than possibility provided by the circumstances, as well as the direct object *sentiments* again requiring subject's mental ability. Therefore, the criteria applied in the contextual analysis include the correlation between some semantic features and theta-role of the subject, the verb and its complements.

The second pair of English modals, *may* and *might*, predominantly denotes possibility and in a few instances permission. In this case, the overlapping between these two basic uses of *may/might* (possibility and permission) was easier to solve because the use of *might* for giving permission was not recorded in the corpus and *may* is rather formal in this use (like in 9a). For example, in *This may sound a trifle ungalant...* (BM 66) the modal *may* denotes possibility with an inanimate subject. Likewise, in *He might as well take a pair of scissors to the map, shear straight across it-from Pisa to Rimini...* (BM 54) the modal *might* refers to the possibility for the subject to perform a particular activity, there is no implication of giving permission for it.

The last two analysed English modals, *must* and *should*, are typically centred around two primary uses each in the corpus. So, the uses of the modal *must* include epistemic necessity and slightly less frequent deontic obligation: in both cases, the modal *must* implies a strong level of modality, the speaker's or writer's high commitment to the proposition or his or her certainty about the obligation in question. Thus, in *He must check, if he could find the book.* (NT 105) the writer imposes a strong obligation to the animate subject, while in *The grown-ups thought the builders must have muddled their measurements...* (NT 17) the writer makes a strong assessment about the possibility in the past.

The last English modal, *should* denotes the medium-level modality with two basic uses in the corpus: prevailing epistemic, moderately strong possibility and less frequent deontic obligation. The example *I should have thought of that earlier.* (OS 36) denotes a rather strong conviction of the speaker about the necessity, while *Everyone should remember their dead, you believe...* (OS 99) implies an obligation imposed on the animate subject everyone.

Regarding the typical Romanian translation equivalents, the contrastive analysis of English and Romanian modal verbs has revealed both structural correspondences and subtle variations in modal expression.

Through the detailed study of modal verbs such as *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *must*, and *should*, the study has highlighted how Romanian often relies on periphrastic constructions, conditional and subjunctive moods, and lexical substitutions to convey meanings that in English are compactly encoded in modal auxiliaries.

The study has revealed that *can* is typically translated as *pot* for ability and permission, and as *poate fi* for possibility, maintaining the core modal meanings across contexts. *Could* is rendered through various conditional forms such as *puteam*, *aş putea*, or *ar fi putut*, depending on whether the context involves past ability, hypotheticals, or epistemic possibility, with Romanian relying more heavily on mood and aspect to preserve nuance.

The modal *may* is translated using periphrastic constructions such as *poate*, *poate că*, *e posibil să*, or *ai voie să*, depending on whether the function is to express possibility, probability, or permission. *Might*, indicating a lower degree of certainty or hypothetical meaning, is often rendered as *s-ar putea să*, *ar putea*, *poate că*, or *ar fi putut*, though at times its nuance is weakened or omitted in translation.

Must shows consistent correspondence with *trebuie* or *trebuia*, reflecting necessity or obligation, while epistemic uses are occasionally reinforced with modifiers like *sigur că* to retain strong certainty. Finally, *should* is translated as *ar trebui* for advice or expectation, *trebuie* for stronger obligation, and *ar fi trebuit* for past regret, with subjunctive constructions also employed for normative or evaluative meanings.

A key finding lies in the variable retention of epistemic nuance during translation. While Romanian equivalents like *poate*, *s-ar putea să*, *ar fi putut*, and *ar trebui* often succeed in preserving degrees of uncertainty or probability, many instances showed a weakening or loss of epistemic subtlety—particularly when modals like *might* or *may* were rendered as indicative statements (*era mişcat*) or replaced by more assertive verb forms. These shifts

reflect broader syntactic and pragmatic differences between English and Romanian, especially in the treatment of modality and speaker stance.

The qualitative dimension of this study further illuminated how translation choices affect narrative tone, character portrayal, and reader perception. In several cases, modal expressions in English that conveyed hesitation, possibility, or tentativeness were translated into more categorical or emotionally detached forms in Romanian, subtly altering the communicative intent of the original. The translator's strategies, ranging from preserving grammatical structures to adapting modal force through mood or rephrasing, played a crucial role in mediating Julian Barnes' distinctive voice and maintaining stylistic fidelity.

Overall, this contrastive linguistic and translational analysis confirms that while there is a high degree of functional equivalence between English and Romanian modals, achieving precise semantic and pragmatic correspondence often demands interpretative sensitivity and contextual nuance. These findings confirm that while Romanian has reliable strategies to reflect English modal meanings, translation often involves shifts in modality strength, formality, and tone. The translator's interpretative choices are therefore crucial in preserving both linguistic accuracy and the stylistic and pragmatic integrity of the original text.

The findings contribute to both modality theory and translation studies by demonstrating how modal verbs operate not only as grammatical tools but also as carriers of authorial tone, narrative perspective, and cross-cultural communicative depth.

SECTION IV

TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS AND CROSS-LINGUISTIC COMPARISONS AND INSIGHTS

Predrag Novakov and Mihaela Lazović

ASPECTUALIZERS AND THEIR COMPLEMENTATION IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

1. Introduction

Aspectualizers, also known as aspectual verbs, catenatives, phase verbs (Brinton 1988: 59-60; phase verbs or *fazni glagoli* in Serbian, cf. Ivić 1970) specify phases (initial, final, continuative) of the situation denoted by the lexical verbs in the complementation of aspectualizers. Therefore, English aspectualizers create tight syntactic and semantic structures with the nonfinite clauses in their complementation, which has been a topic of frequent research. The research in this chapter relates to the function of aspectualizers and the link with their complementation in two languages, English and Romanian, with the goal to point out to the possible similarities and differences in that area.

2. Theoretical Background

This part provides basic facts about the structures with aspectualizers in English and Romanian.

2.1. Aspectualizers in English

English aspectualizers (though with that and other names) have always been a relevant issue in English grammars and studies (e. g. Kruisinga 1931, Joos 1964, Palmer 1989, Freed 1979). In one of the earlier studies of English aspectual system, Brinton (1988: 59-94) discusses the grammatical status and functions of aspectualizers, viewing them as an important secondary system of aspect marking (1988: 59-60). She writes that these verbs collocate with English infinitives and gerunds and indicate the beginning or initiation of a situation, continuation of a situation or an endpoint or cessation of a situation. Thus, they are clearly divided into three groups: a) ingressive (e. g. *begin, start, commence*), b) continuative or iterative (e. g. *continue, keep, go on*) and c) egressive (e. g. *finish, stop, cease, quit*). Brinton also lists habitual aspectualizers (1988: 61, e. g. *used to, have a habit*) which would not be included in the analysis in this chapter. The second significant issue Brinton discusses is the grammatical status of aspectualizers (1988: 65-74), because there have been opinions that aspectualizers are functionally and semantically more like auxiliaries than lexical verbs. However, since English aspectualizers do not meet all the syntactic tests for auxiliaries, one can (in Brinton's opinion) either assume that there is a continuum from a lexical verb to an auxiliary or treat them as specific operators.

In a more recent account, Nagy (2008, 2010), starting from the assumptions made by Freed (1979), writes that events (or situations) denoted by lexical verbs are complex and consist of an onset, a nucleus and a coda. The onset is a temporal segment preceding the nucleus, so on the time axis it is located before the initiation of the nucleus; the nucleus is the temporal segment during which the event is going on (excluding its beginning and end) and it can be subdivided into subphases of time – the initial, middle and final subphase; the coda denotes the final ending of an event. It is important to underline the link between the

aspectualizers and these lexical verbs, because aspectualizers point to a specific part of the event denoted by the lexical verb, like beginning, continuation or end. Namely, the aspectualizer can point to the onset, a specific part of nucleus or to a coda, which results in possibly different interpretations of the entire structure. For example, if the lexical verb is an achievement (momentary), its combination with the ingressive aspectualizers usually implies repetition, because the event cannot be divided into the onset, nucleus and coda. In addition, this specific link can be used to explain the differences between the pair of ingressive aspectualizers in English *begin* and *start* (Nagy 2010: 93-112) if they are followed by the infinitive as their complement, which can be useful for the analysis in this chapter.

On the basis of these theoretical sources about English (as well as some others like Antonić 2000, Novakov 2018), we can assume that the aspectualizers are a part of a complex predicate which consists of an aspectualizer and a lexical verb as its syntactic and semantic complement (in English, the complement is a subordinate non-finite clause). Finally, as it has been underlined, aspectualizers themselves are semantically incomplete and require a complement, indicating the three phases of the event in that complement: beginning, continuation and end.

2.2. Aspectualizers in Romanian

Aspectualizers in Romanian serve to encode a wide range of temporal and aspectual information, including the beginning, duration, termination, repetition, and completion of actions. Understanding the selection and usage of these aspectualizers is essential for grasping the subtleties of the Romanian verb system.

The topic of the Romanian aspectual verbs has been a significant subject of interest in Romanian grammatical studies and broader linguistic research (Guțu Romalo 1961, 2013, Dragomirescu 2013, Gramatica limbii române I 2005). In the first comprehensive study of the characteristics of aspectual verbs in Romanian, Guțu Romalo (1961) offers a detailed account of aspectual verbs, subcategorising them in three relevant groups.

Namely, Guțu Romalo (1961: 3-11) categorises these verbs into three main groups based on the specific phase they emphasise. The first group signifies the initiation or beginning of a situation. This group includes verbs such as *a începe* (*begin*), *a prinde* (*begin, start*), *a se pune* (*start*), *a se apuca* (*begin, start*), and *a (se) porni* (*start*).

The second group of aspectualizers denotes the continuation or persistence of a situation. This category comprises verbs like *a continua* (*continue*), *a urma* (*continue*), and *the construction sta și + Verb* (*sit and + V*).

The final subcategory of Romanian aspectualizers focuses on actions that signal the end or termination of a situation. This group includes verbs such as *a termina* (*end, stop*), *a înceta* (*cease, stop*), *a isprăvi* (*end*), *a conteni* (*stop, cease*), *a sfârși* (*end*), and *a se opri* (*stop, cease*). In more recent research focusing on the Romanian aspectualizers, (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 457) introduces the term "aspectual verbs proper" to describe verbs that exclusively function as aspectualizers in all contexts. These are verbs that solely convey the beginning, continuation and end of a situation without any additional semantic meaning beyond their aspectual role. According to the authors (Gramatica limbii române I 2005: 457) aspectual verbs proper: *a începe* (*begin*), *a continua* (*continue*), *a termina* (*end, stop*), *a înceta* (*cease, stop*), *a isprăvi* (*end*), *a conteni* (*stop, cease*), *a sfârși* (*end, finish*).

In addition to the specific verbs listed above, Romanian also employs periphrastic constructions to express aspectual distinctions. For example, *a începe să* (*to begin to*) and *a se opri din* (*to stop doing*) are periphrastic constructions that convey aspectual nuances.

The theoretical background has also revealed that Romanian aspectual verbs select both finite and non-finite clausal complements: a subjunctive complement, a supine clause,

and an infinitive clause (Lăcătuș 2023: 82-85). She observed two behavioural patterns of Romanian aspectualizers: the verbs that correlate with the aspectualizer *termina* (*finish*) occur with a supine complement, while verbs that correlate with *începe* (*begin*) and the *continua* (*continue*) usually occur with infinitive and subjunctive complements.

Like their counterparts in English, aspectualizers in Romanian also require a complement that signifies the three stages of the event within that complement: beginning, continuation and end. Thus, on the basis of the relevant Romanian linguistic literature, it can be argued that Romanian aspectualizers are a part of a complex predicate which consists of an aspectualizer and a lexical verb functioning as its complement, as well as subordinate non-finite clauses.

Aspectualizers play a crucial role in determining the aspect of a verb in Romanian. The choice of aspectualizer can transform the verbal meaning significantly, indicating whether an action is viewed as completed, ongoing, or just initiated.

3. Empirical Research

The research in this chapter is corpus-based, so this part first provides information, about the corpus and goals, followed by the analysis of the typical examples from the corpus.

3.1. Corpus and Goals

The corpus compiled for the research is literary, the relevant examples were excerpted from the following novels written by two contemporary British authors: 1) Ishiguro, K. *The Remains of the day* (1990, marked as I1 after the examples analysed), 2) Ishiguro, K. *Never Let Me Go* (2005, marked I2 after examples), 3) Rowling, J. *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (1998, marked HP1 after examples) and 4) Rowling, J. *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (1999, marked HP2 after examples). The Romanian translational equivalents were taken from the translations of the above-mentioned novels into Romanian: 1) Ishiguro, K. *Rămășițele zilei* (1994, marked as I1, followed by page number and R which stands for Romanian translation) translated by Radu Paraschivescu, 2) Ishiguro, K. *Să nu mă părăsești* (2006, marked I2 followed by page number and R) translated by Vali Florescu, 3) Rowling, J. *Harry Potter și camera secretelor* (2004, marked HP1 followed by page number and R) translated by Ioana Iepureanu and 4) Rowling, J. *Harry Potter - prizonier la Azkaban* (2001, marked HP2 followed by page number and R) translated by Ioana Iepureanu.

These novels (with almost 1000 pages) were chosen because they reflect contemporary language use in two target audiences (youth and adult), which makes a sound sample for the analysis and balanced discussion about aspectualizers. As for the aspectualizers themselves, the three most frequent aspectualizers were chosen for this research for each temporal type: a) *begin, start, commence* for the ingressive type, b) *continue, keep (on), go on* for the continuative type and 3) *finish, stop cease* for the egressive type. The following table specifies the number of excerpted examples:

Table 1: Aspectualizers in the corpus

No	Verb	Number of examples	Percent
1	begin	177	26.14%
2	start	192	28.35%
3	commence	1	0.14%
4	continue	48	7.09%
5	keep (on)	145	21.41 %
6	go (on)	53	7.82 %

7	finish	13	1.92%
8	stop	43	6.45%
9	cease	5	0.73 %
	TOTAL	677	100%

These examples contain only aspectualizers directly followed by an infinitive or a gerund, without the nominal in-between, because the structures with the nominal require additional specific syntactic and semantic analysis. For example, such structure is *And it wasn't just that he'd kept me waiting out in the Square* (*Never let me go*, page 185). Some older grammarians call these structures catenatives with an intervening NP (Christophersen and Sandved 1977).

The main goals of this research are: 1) analysis of the structure in the complementation of aspectualizers in the two languages, 2) similarities and differences between English and Romanian in that respect, 3) influence of grammatical (imperfective and perfective) and lexical (dynamic stative, momentary etc.) aspect on the structures with aspectualizers in English and Romanian.

3.2. Analysis of the English Examples and their Romanian Equivalent

This part discusses relevant English examples and their Romanian translation equivalents in order to point out the use of aspectualizers in these two languages as well as the possible similarities and differences between them. Relevant examples are divided into three groups, depending on the type of aspectualizers, that is ingressive, continuative and egressive.

3.2.1. Ingressive Aspectualizers

The typical ingressive aspectualizers, as it has been already indicated, are *begin* and *start*, along with the less frequent *commence* represented only once in the corpus. It is particularly challenging to explain the possible differences within the *begin/start* pair itself or the differences in the implication when they are followed by to-infinitive or the gerund. Thus, an older pedagogical grammar by Thomson & Martinet (1992: 234, the first edition 1960) simply states that either infinitive or gerund may be used without any difference in meaning, but some other approaches tackle possible differences (like Freed 1979, Nagy 2008, 2010, Milivojević 2021). These are some typical examples from the corpus:

- 1) a) ... *I believe one may begin to distinguish what it is that separates a "great" butler from a merely competent one.* (II 29)
b) ... *cred că se poate începe să distingă ceea ce separă un „mare” majordom de unul pur și simplu competent.* (II 23R)
- 2) a) *The company had seated themselves again, and conversation was just beginning to resume...* (II 168)
b) *Oaspeții se așezaseră la loc și erau pe punctul de a relua conversația...* (II 115R)
- 3) a) *I must confess I'm beginning to feel rather exhausted ...* (II 29)
b) *Nu mă deranjează să recunosc că, la început, m-am simțit oarecum deprimat...* (II 123R)
- 4) a) ... *they seized the ends of their trunks and began dragging them up the grassy slope...* (HP1 65)
b) ... *se apucară să-și târască după ei cuferele, pe panta de iarbă...* (II 37R)
- 5) a) ... *about how one day we'll start giving donations.* (I2 26)
b) ... *despre cum într-o bună zi vom începe să facem donații.* (I2 41R)

- 6) a) *Powerful enough to start feeding Miss Weasley a few of my secrets, to start pouring a little of my soul back into her...* (HP1 264)
 b) *Suficient de puternic pentru a începe să-i hrănesc domnișoarei Weasley cu câteva dintre secretele mele, să încep să reverse puțin din sufletul meu în ea...* (HR1 153R)
- 7) a) *The Hall was starting to empty as people headed off towards their first lesson.* (HP2 71)
 b) *Marea Sală începu să se golească, pe măsură ce elevii și profesorii plecau la ore.* (HP2 68R)
- 8) a) *... but this had no effect other than to make the creature commence pecking at something on the ground.* (II 146)
 b) *... dar aceasta nu a făcut altceva decât să determine creatura să înceapă a ciuguli ceva de pe jos.* (II 137R)

The English examples with *begin* are followed by the infinitive (1a, 2a, 3a) and the gerund (4a); however, the aspectualizer itself is in the progressive (that is imperfective) aspect in (2a) and (3a), which points to the gradual initial segment of the event, not an abrupt beginning. The aspectualizer *start* is also in the progressive aspect and is followed by the infinitive in (7a) with the implication of a structured onset phase of the event (*empty*), while in (5a) and (6a) it is followed by the gerund. The only example with *commence* (8a) also contains the gerund as the complement.

The examples in which *begin* (like in 1a) and *start* (like in 7a) are followed by the infinitive can corroborate the already mentioned assumption that *begin* refers to the first part of the nucleus while *start* refers to the onset. Namely, the unacceptability of *begin* in the test *X *began/started to sneeze but then X did not sneeze* (Nagy 2008) proves that *begin* relates to the first part of the nucleus, and the acceptability of *start* proves that it relates to the onset, not the nucleus. This test can be applied to the examples from the corpus like *...his lordship began to devote more and more hours to the matter of the crisis in Germany* (II 150) **but then he did not devote it*. The example with *start* is acceptable: *... and started to swing it in great circles like a lasso* (HP1 31) *but then he did not swing it*.

As for the lexical aspect of the verbs in the complements, they are durative activities (*drag* in 4a, *feed* and *pour* in 6a, *empty* in 7a and *peck* in 8a), durative states (*distinguish* in 1a, *feel* in 3a) or momentary achievements (*resume* in 2a). Duration of an event makes it possible to divide the event into segments indicated by the aspectualizers, while the aspectualizer with the momentary achievement *resume* implies the preparation in the onset for the realization of this achievement. Finally, aspectualizers in (1a) and (5a) are used with modal verbs (*may*, *will*) which is an argument against treating these aspectualizers as typical auxiliary verbs.

The English ingressive aspectualizers are translated with the Romanian aspectualizers respectively *a începe* (*begin*), *a prinde* (*begin*, *start*), *a se pune* (*start*), *a se apuca* (*begin*, *start*), and *a (se) porni* (*start*). This research has revealed that the vast majority of the English ingressive aspectualizers have been translated by the Romanian aspectualizer *a începe* (*begin*). This is illustrated by the corpus examples (1b, 5b, 6b and 7b) in which the Romanian verb *a începe* (*begin*) is followed by present subjunctive specifying the beginning of the situation. Similarly, in (4b) the aspectualizer *a se apuca* (*begin*, *start*) is also followed by present subjunctive signifying the initiation of the situation. While in the example (8b) the verb *a începe* is followed by infinitive *a ciuguli* also denoting the beginning of the situation. Furthermore, some of the English aspectualizers were not translated by Romanian aspectualizers. Nevertheless, even though the translation was paraphrased, the meaning of the initiation or beginning of a situation has been retained. This is the case with the examples in (2b) and (3b) where the translator used the phrases *pe punctul de* (*at the point of*) and *la*

început (in the beginning) to convey the initial segment of the event expressed by verbs in the complements. Moreover, the translation of the English progressive aspectualizers in (2a, 3a, and 7a) indicative of the imperfective aspect retained the meaning of the structured onset phase of the event especially in the example (7b) where the Romanian simple perfect is used (*începu*).

The analysis of the lexical aspect of the Romanian verbs in the complements has revealed a striking similarity with their English equivalents. Namely, the Romanian verbs in the complements are durative activities (*târască* in 4b, *hrănesc* and *reverse* in 6b, *golească* in 7b and *ciuguli* in 8b), durative states (*distingă* in 1b, *simțit* in 3b) or momentary achievements (*relua* in 2b). The duration of the situation allows its division into phases specified by aspectualizers. In the case of a momentary achievement in (2b), the aspectualizer suggests that there is a preparatory phase at the beginning leading to the actual realization of the achievement.

3.2.2. Continuative Aspectualizers

The second type of aspectualizers underlines a prolonged realization of the event in the complement, not its ending. The verbs *continue* and *go on* in the corpus are followed both by the infinitive and the gerund, whereas *keep* (*on*), as expected, is followed only by the gerund. For example:

- 9) a) *He is doing what he can, after all, to ensure that peace will continue to prevail in Europe.* (I1 153)
 b) *...la urma urmelor, face tot ce îi stă în putință ca se asigura că pacea va continua să prevaleze în Europa.* (I1 122R)
- 10) a) *To have continued pronouncing aloud my thoughts on the future of Darlington Hall would have been, to say the very least, presumptuous.* (I1 11)
 b) *Dacă aș fi continuat să-mi exprim cu voce tare gândurile despre viitorul reședinței de la Darlington Hall aș fi comis o impertinență.* (I1 7R)
- 11) a) *But Harry continued to stare at the front cover of the book...* (HP2 38)
 b) *Dar Harry continua să se uite țintă la carte...* (HP2 26R)
- 12) a) *... and I don't care what Fudge keeps telling the Daily Prophet ...* (HP2 47)
 b) *Nu te lua după ce le tot spune Fudge celor de la „Profetul zilei” ...* (HP2 32R)
- 13) a) *That way she could go on talking at least with Chrissie...* (I2 100)
 b) *În felul ăsta putea să continue să vorbească cel puțin cu Chrissie...* (I2 177R)
- 14) a) *There was, too, a curiously deliberate edge to the way he went on to inquire again...* (HP1 140)
 b) *De asemenea, a făcut o pauză destul de curioasă înainte de a continua să întrebe încă o dată* (HP1 112R)

Examples from the corpus point to the conclusion that the infinitive after *continue* (like in 9a, 11a) relates to the onset, while the gerund relates already to the initial part of the nucleus, that is, the continuation refers to event itself. In the example (10a) the aspectualizer *continue* is paired with the auxiliary *have* in an implicit unreal conditional structure, indicating the desirable absence of continuation. In the example (12a) the aspectualizer *keep* refers to the beginning of the nucleus, as well as the aspectualizer *go on* in (13a and 14a). As for the lexical aspect of the verbs in the complementation, they are durative activities (*stare* in 11a, *tell* in 12a, *talk* in 13a), a durative state (*prevail* in 9a) or momentary achievements (*pronounce* in 10a, *inquire* in 14a) with the implication of repetition which makes continuation possible.

The research has indicated that the English continuative aspectualizers are translated with the Romanian aspectualizers *a continua* (*continue*), *a urma* (*continue*), *sta și + Verb* (*sit*

and + V) denoting the continuation or prolonged realization of the situation expressed by the complement. The analysis has revealed that the most often used Romanian translational equivalent is *a continua* (*continue*). As shown in the corpus examples (9b, 10b, 11b, 13b and 14b) in which the Romanian aspectualizer *a continua* (*continue*) is followed by present subjunctive specifying the ongoing nature of the situation.

Furthermore, not all the English continuative aspectualizers were translated by the Romanian ones, as it can be observed in the corpus example (12b) where the translator used the adverb *tot* to indicate repetition of the event in the complement (*spune*). Even though the aspectualizer was not used in the translation, the notion of duration and continuation of a situation has been retained.

Analysis the lexical aspect of the verbs in the complementation has shown that the complements of the Romanian continuative aspectualizers are most often durative activities (*uite* in 11b, *spune* in 12b, *vorbească* in 13b), states (*prevaleze* in 9b) or momentary achievements (*exprim* in 10b, *întrebe* in 14b) denoting repetition.

3.2.3. Egressive Aspectualizers

The typical representatives of the third type of aspectualizers (*finish*, *stop* and less frequent *cease*) indicate termination of the event in the complement:

- 15) a) *I had just finished serving a glass to a gentleman when a voice behind me said... (II 72)*
 b) *Tocmai terminam de umplut paharul unui gentleman, când o voce a rostit în spatele meu ... (II 58R)*
- 16) a) *...there's a general feeling they never properly finished converting the place. (I2 146)*
 b) *... te copleșește sentimentul că așezămîntul a fost dat în folosință mult înainte ca reconversia lui în spital să fi fost finalizată (I2 260R)*
- 17) a) *... reminds me of the old Silver Arrows — a pity they've stopped making them. (HP2 184)*
 b) *...îmi amintește de vechiul model „Săgeata de Argint... Păcat că nu se mai fac și azi... (HP2 124R)*
- 18) a) *Pinch it hard, it'll stop bleeding in a second... (HP1 163)*
 b) *...ține strâns, se oprește din sângerare într-o secundă... (HP1 95R)*
- 19) a) *Perhaps, then, there is something to his advice that I should cease looking back so much... (II 165)*
 b) *Prin urmare, poate că nu e inutil sfatul lui de a înceta să privesc atît de mult înapoi ... (II 131R)*

As expected, all these three verbs (*finish*, *stop*, *cease*) in the corpus are followed by the gerund and refer to the final part of the nucleus. It is worth noticing that *finish* and *stop* are found in the past/present perfect form (15a and 17a); *stop* also occurs with the modal *will* for future (19a) and *cease* with the modal *should*, which is another argument against their status as auxiliaries. As for the lexical aspect of the verbs in the complements, these verbs are durative activities (*serve* in 15a, *make* in 17a, *bleed* in 18a, *look back* in 19a), and a durative accomplishment (*convert the place* in 16a). Finally, the telic accomplishment (16a) indicates that the event was stopped without reaching the goal in a satisfactory way.

As for the Romanian translational equivalents of the English egressive aspectualizers, it can be pointed out that they are usually translated with *a termina* (*end*, *stop*), *a înceta* (*cease*, *stop*), *a isprăvi* (*end*), *a conteni* (*stop*, *cease*), *a sfârși* (*end*, *finish*). The most common Romanian egressive aspectualizer in the corpus is *a termina* (*end*, *stop*) illustrated by the example (15b) followed by the phrase *de + participle* (*a termina de umplut / finish filling the*

glass) and corresponding to the English gerund also indicating the final part of the event. Similarly, the corpus example (18b) *se oprește din sângerare / stop bleeding* records the structure *din* + verbal noun *sângerare*, semantically indicating the final part of the nucleus. Furthermore, the Romanian egressive aspectualizer *a înceta* (*cease, stop*) is followed by present subjunctive specifying the final segment of the situation expressed by the complement verb (*să privesc*). In the examples (16b and 17b) egressive aspectualizers were not used but verbs denoting termination or end point were used instead: *finalizată* (*finalised*), *nu se mai fac* (*not made anymore*).

When analysing the lexical aspect of the Romanian verbs in the complements, it can be argued that these verbs express durative activities (*privesc* in 19b) and telic accomplishments (*umplut* in 15b) which characterise a situation that stopped before reaching the goal.

4. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

This English-Romanian contrastive study discusses the non-finite complementation of aspectualizers in English and their Romanian translation equivalents. In the source language, English, the analysed structures included the three aspectualizers in each of the three segments (ingressive, continuative and egressive). Some of these aspectualizers can be followed by both *to*-infinitive and gerund, and some only by one of the two options - the former group includes the aspectualizers *begin, start, continue, go on, cease*. Namely, in the ingressive group, the aspectualizer *begin* occurs with the gerund in about 11% of the examples, while the aspectualizer *start* combines with the gerundial complement in about 30% of the examples. In the continuative segment, *continue* occurs almost only with the infinitival complement (about 93%), but *go on* almost exclusively with the gerund (about 98%). Finally, in the egressive segment, in the only 5 examples with *cease*, this verb is almost equally followed by the gerund (60%) and *to*-infinitive (40%). As it has already been mentioned, English aspectualizers combine with modal verbs (*may, shall, should, will*); moreover, ingressive aspectualizers combine with progressive aspect pointing to an onset of the event (e. g. *was just beginning to resume* II 68) and egressive aspectualizers with perfect aspect underlying the final part of the nucleus (e. g. ... *once we had finished interviewing the girl...* II 104).

As for the lexical aspect of the verbs in the complementation in the English part of the corpus, most of the verbs are activities (about 60%, for example *climb, laugh, read, scrub, speak, walk, write*), while states make about 5% examples in the corpus (for instance *prevail, suffer, understand*). These two groups are durative and atelic, which means that they can be freely combined with aspectualizers in order to indicate the beginning, continuation and end of an event. The two telic groups (accomplishments and achievements; this analysis uses the general term achievements, without making a distinction between achievements and semelfactives) are significantly less frequent in the English part of the corpus: momentary achievements make about 20% (e. g. *arrive, get out, kick*) and VPs which represent durative accomplishments about 15% of the English corpus (e. g. *clear the table, roll up one's sleeves, tell the story*). Being momentary, achievements cannot be structured into beginning, middle and end, so their use with aspectualizers indicates a repetition of the momentary event (like *stopped coming*) or the preparation for the event (that is the onset of the momentary situation, like *began to realise*) leading to the realization of that momentary situation. Telic accomplishments in the English part of the corpus occur with the ingressive and egressive aspectualizers, implying that the event was initiated (ingressive) or that the event was ended before reaching the goal (egressive, e. g. ... *he was attempting to finish cleaning Mr. Malfoys shoes* HP1 285). However, telic accomplishments in the English part of the corpus do not

occur with continuative aspectualizers; this combination seems to be ruled out because telic situations cannot be continued, they can be terminated before the goal is reached or started again as a new event after the goal was reached.

Finally, the analysis of the English part of the corpus confirmed the possible difference between the ingressive aspectualizers *begin* and *start* when followed by the to-infinitive, namely that *begin* relates to the first phase of the nucleus and *start* to the onset.

The Romanian part of the corpus included the translational equivalents of the English structures with aspectualizers indicating the ingressive, continuative and egressive meaning based on the specific phase they emphasise.

The first group of Romanian aspectualizers signifies the initiation or beginning of a situation. The research conducted for this chapter has shown that the vast majority of the English ingressive aspectualizers 74% have been translated by the Romanian aspectualizer *a începe* (*begin*), followed by the aspectualizer *a se apuca* (*begin, start*) with 12% of the Romanian corpus and *a (se) porni* (*start*) 10%, and the remaining aspectualizers *a prinde* (*begin, start*) and *a se pune* (*start*) were scarcely used, only in 4% of instances.

The second group of aspectualizers denotes continuation of an event. Within this group, the analysis has revealed that the most often used Romanian translational equivalent is *a continua* (*continue*) with 81% of the corpus examples, followed by *a urma* (*continue*) used in 17% of the cases and finally the construction *sta și + Verb* (*sit and + V*) appears in only 2% of the corpus examples.

The final subcategory of Romanian aspectualizers focuses on the end or termination of an event. The Romanian egressive aspectualizer *a termina* (*end, stop*) is most often used in 68% of the corpus examples, followed by *a sfârși* (*end, finish*) with 17% and *a înceta* (*cease, stop*) 12% and the rest appearing in only 3% of the Romanian part of the corpus.

The most frequently used Romanian aspectualizers in the corpus, *a începe* (*begin*), *a continua* (*continue*), *a înceta* (*cease, stop*), are followed by present subjunctive indicating the phases in the development of events: ingressive (denoting beginning), continuative (denoting continuation) and egressive (denoting ending).

In some instances, other syntactic constructions were used in the translation of English aspectualizers. Namely, it is the adverb *tot* to indicate repetition of the event in the complement or the structures *de + participle* and *din + noun phrase*, designating the final part of the nucleus. In some cases, some Romanian translations do not record aspectualizers, but verbs indicating a segment or phrase of an event were used instead: *finalizată* (*finalised*), *stau* (*stand / stop*). Nevertheless, it can be argued that even though some of the English aspectualizers were not translated by means of Romanian aspectualizers, the meaning of the beginning, continuation or termination of an event has been retained.

The comparison conducted in this chapter has shown that both the English and the Romanian languages use aspectualizers to denote phases in the development of situations, i.e. their beginning, continuation or ending. In both languages, these aspectualizers require specific complementation which implies the lexical aspect (activities, states, accomplishments, achievements). The research has shown that the structure of the complementation differs in the analysed languages. Some of the English aspectualizers can be followed by both *to*-infinitive and the gerund, and some only by one of the two options. In Romanian, the aspectualizers are most often followed by present subjunctive. Furthermore, the Romanian translators were more flexible in denoting the phrases in the development of the situation, not always using aspectualizers, but other syntactic structures as well.

On the other hand, the analysis has confirmed that there is a difference between the English ingressive aspectualizers *begin* and *start* followed by the to-infinitive. In such instances, *begin* relates to the first phase of the nucleus and *start* to the onset. Such distinction

was not verified in the Romanian language. Since both English aspectualizers were translated by the Romanian *a începe*.

Finally, the research has revealed a correlation in the two languages analysed when it comes to the lexical aspect of the verbs in the complementation. Namely, the majority of verbs are activities, while states occur rarely in such contexts in both languages. Since activities and states are durative and atelic, they can be more frequently used with aspectualizers to indicate the beginning, continuation and end of a situation. On the other hand, accomplishments and achievements seldom occur because of their telic notion. Furthermore, achievements do not have phrases, and structure and in both languages indicate repetition. Telic accomplishments usually imply that the event has started, but the goal was not reached.

To conclude, we may add that this research pointed to certain tendencies in the use of aspectualizers in English and Romanian (particularly to their complementation), as well as to some similarities and differences between these two languages in that respect. It goes without saying that the conclusions reflect the literary corpus which was analysed and should be compared to similar or larger studies discussing different functional styles.

Predrag Novakov and Mihaela Lazović

ENGLISH PHRASAL VERBS WITH THE PARTICLES *OFF* AND *UP* AND THEIR ROMANIAN AND SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS

1. Introduction

English phrasal verbs, also called particle verbs or multi-part verbs, represent a specific construction frequent particularly (but not exclusively) in colloquial speech. Different characteristics of these verbs have been studied (morpho-syntactic, semantic, pragmatic) as well as their translation equivalents in various languages. This chapter focuses on their translation equivalents in Romanian and Serbian, languages which lack formal equivalents of English phrasal verbs. The research is corpus-based, with a contemporary British novel and its Romanian and Serbian translations.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. English Phrasal Verbs and their Features

English phrasal verbs are traditionally defined as a phrasal lexeme consisting of a lexical verb and an adverbial particle functioning as its modifier (Palmer 1989, Prčić 2016). Therefore, this combination has a semantic cohesion and its components are merged into one lexical unit. In addition to phrasal verbs, in English there are combinations of a verb and a prepositional particle (traditionally called prepositional verbs) as well the three/part combination of a lexical verb, adverbial particle and a prepositional particle (traditionally called phrasal-prepositional verbs). These three multi-part verbs differ in some features, so this chapter focuses on the phrasal verbs alone.

As for the morphosyntactic features of phrasal verbs, they are related the position of particle in transitive units (before or after the direct object), position of the particle in relation to the relative pronoun in relative clauses, adverbial insertion and the possibility of passivisation (with transitive phrasal verbs). However, semantic features, particularly the level of idiomaticity, are more relevant for the analysis in this chapter.

English phrasal verbs are phrasal lexemes with semantic coherence, but their meaning is very complex, varying from literal to extended abstract. As some authors claim (Bolinger 1971, Palmer 1989), the literal meaning typically implies motion: the verb itself denotes motion and the adverbial particle direction of that motion, that is motion-through-location, or a terminus or result (Bolinger 1971: 85) (e. g. *run away*). As for more abstract meanings, they can be divided into semi-idiomatic and idiomatic (Prčić 2016). In the semi-idiomatic combinations, the verb retains its original meaning, while the particle extends it (e. g. *eat up*), and in the idiomatic combinations both the verb and the particle extend their meanings (e. g. *give up*).

Within the traditional and structuralist traditions, the variety of meanings of specific phrasal verbs was recorded as a taxonomy (for instance, like in *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*). However, unlike this taxonomy which does not specify possible links between these meanings, more modern cognitive approach tries to establish

these links on the basis of conceptual metaphor, extending or mapping the meaning from the source domain to the target domain on the basis of a feature common for both domains (Lakoff 1993: 9-10). Even before the full development of cognitive theory, Bolinger (1971) wrote about related meanings of particles; for example, he writes (1971: 102-104) that the adverbial particle *away* has two semantic areas: the first literal (to/at a distance from the scene), and the second is more abstract implying intensity. Cognitive approach to phrasal verbs has also been applied by Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) and it discusses literal and metaphorical or extended meanings of particles, the former being transparent and typically denoting movement, the latter being more abstract.

3. Corpus, Methodology and Goals of the Research

This research is based on the literary corpus with the examples from two modern British novels, the two novels (608 pages) of the Harry Potter series: *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (1998, abbreviated as HPC) and *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (1999, abbreviated as HPA), as well as their Romanian and Serbian translations. The Romanian translations are titled *Harry Potter și Camera secretelor* (1998, abbreviated as HPC) and *Harry Potter prizonier la Aykaban* (1999, abbreviated as HPA). Both Romanian editions were translated by Ioana Iepureanu. The Serbian translations are *Hari Poter i Dvorana tajni* (1998, abbreviated as HPD) and *Hari Poter i zatvorenik iz Askabana* (1999, abbreviated as HPAS), both translated by Vesna Roganović and Draško Roganović.

The following tables provide the data about the English part of the corpus.

Table 1: Number of examples in *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*

No	Particle	Number of examples	Percent
1	<i>off</i>	119	30.7%
2	<i>up</i>	269	69.3%
	TOTAL	388	100%

Table 2: Number of examples in *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban*

No	Particle	Number of examples	Percent
1	<i>off</i>	166	34.3%
2	<i>up</i>	318	65.7%
	TOTAL	484	100%

Table 3: Number of examples in both novels

No	Particle	Number of examples	Percent
1	<i>off</i>	285	32.7%
2	<i>up</i>	587	67.3%
	TOTAL	872	100%

This research is contrastive, comparing Romanian and Serbian with the English original text, based on the structuralist approach. The basic goals of this research are: a) to determine the level of idiomaticity of phrasal verbs in the corpus; b) to analyse morpho-syntactic structure of the translation equivalents and c) to investigate the possible similarities and differences between Romanian and Serbian translation equivalents. Both languages lack direct translation equivalents and it is expected that the Romanian and

Serbian equivalents would differ in terms of morphological and syntactic means used as translation equivalents, particularly when it comes to prefixation

4. English Phrasal Verbs with the Particles *Off* and *Up* and Their Translation Equivalents

This part first discusses the meanings of the English phrasal verbs with the particles *off* and *up* and then their Romanian and Serbian translation equivalents.

4.1. English Phrasal Verbs with the Particle *Off* and their Translation Equivalents

The phrasal verbs with the particle *off* denote a variety of meanings, which can be classified in different ways, depending on the theoretical starting point. For example, a traditional lexicographic classification lists the taxonomy like the one in *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1990: 471-473): a) departure (*slip off*), b) removal or disposal (*take off*), c) obstruction or separation (*split off*) d) rejection (*shrug off*), e) prevention and protection (*warn off*), f) beginning (*trigger off*), g) stopping and cancelling (*switch off*), h) decrease (*cool off*), i) completion (*round off*), j) consumption (*run off*), k) falling asleep (*doze off*), l) displaying (*show off*), m) deception (*rip off*), n) irritation (*browned off*) and o) scolding (*tell off*).

4.1.1. Serbian and Romanian Translation Equivalents

Assuming that the level of idiomaticity determines the translations equivalents, the first group of examples illustrates the literal, spatial meaning of *off*:

- 1) a) ... *feeling he was going to slip off over the beak ...* (HPA 84)
b) ... *osećajući da bi mogao da preleti preko kljuna...* (HPAS 74)
c) ...*simțea că e gata să alunece spre ciocul Hipogrifului.* (HPA 105)
- 2) a) ... *and Harry was forced to fly off at full speed.* (HPC 144)
b) ... *primoravši Harija da odleti punom brzinom.* (HPD 108)
c) ... *și Harry fu nevoit să se îndepărteze cu toată viteza.* (HPC 83)
- 3) a) *You know what Harry and Ron are like, wandering off by themselves...*(HPA 46)
b) *Znaš kakvi su Hari i Ron, vole sami da lutaju ...* (HPAS 43)
c) *Doar știi cum sunt Harry și Ron! Hoinăresc de capul lor toată ziua...* (HPA 59)

In the first three examples with the literal meaning, English phrasal verbs contain lexical verbs of motion *slip* (1a), *fly* (2a) and *wonder* (3a) and the particle *off* the physical separation or distancing in the manner denoted by the lexical verb. The Serbian translations include verbs with the prefixes *pre-* (1b) and *od-* (2b) which themselves carry the literal meaning of spatial separation; in the third Serbian translation (3b), the translators opted for the verb of motion *lutati* (3b), though the equivalent could be again the verb with the prefix *od-* (*odlutati*).

The Romanian translation equivalents include verbs with prefixes *a-* (1c) and *în-* (2c) which indicate the literal meaning of spatial separation (*DEX - Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*. 1998). In the third Romanian sentence (3c), the English phrasal verb was translated by the lexical verb of motion *hoinări*.

The second group of examples illustrates semi-idiomatic and idiomatic phrasal lexemes:

- 4) a) *Harry had to admit that some of the fun was wearing off...* (HPC 61)
b) *Hari je morao da prizna da je ponešto od te zanimljivosti iščilelo.* (HPD 49)

- c) *Harry trebui să recunoască, totuși, faptul că distracția își cam pierduse din farmec. (HPC 35)*
- 5) a) *“She didn’t want us **showing off**,” said Ron sagely. (NPC 71)*
 b) – *Nije htela da se **pravimo važni** – objasni Ron mudro. (HPD 55)*
 c) *S-a temut să nu ne **grozăvim**... (HPC 40)*
- 6) a) *The only time Harry and Malfoy had faced each other in a Quidditch match, Malfoy had definitely **come off** worse. (HPA 70)*
 b) *Jedan jedini put kada su se Hari i Melfoj odmerili u kvidiču Melfoj **je izvukao deblji kraj**. (HPAS 63)*
 c) *Singura dată când s-au înfruntat direct, într-un meci de Vâjthaț, Draco **a ieșit șifonat rău**. (HPA 88)*
- 7) a) *I bet he’s all excited because the Dementors are going **to finish off** Sirius ... (HPA304)*
 b) *Kladim se da je sav ushićen što dementori idu da **dokrajče** Sirijusa... (HPAS 259)*
 c) *Pariez că e așa de fericit numai fiindcă Dementorii urmează **să-i dea Sărutul Morii** lui Sirius... (HPA 360)*

The example (4a) contains a semi-idiomatic phrasal verb *wear off*, in which the lexical verb *wear* keeps its basic meaning, but the particle extends its spatial meaning (distancing) into the implication of decreasing; it is transferred into Serbian with a prefixed verb (*iščileti*, 4b) where the lexical meaning of the verb and the prefix convey the meaning of the original. Similarly, example (7a) is also semi-idiomatic, with the particle acquiring the implication of completing, finishing the event denoted by the lexical verb. The translation *dokrajčiti* (7b) conveys the same meaning as the English original. The remaining two examples illustrate idiomatic phrasal verbs: *show off* (5a), *come off* (6a), since both the verb and the particle acquire a more abstract meaning; the particle *off* in (5a) indicates displeasure or irritation (*Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* 1990: 473) and in (6a) the resulting state. The translator opted for phrases *praviti se važan* (5b) and *izvući deblji kraj* (6b), because they convey the complex semantic structure of the English originals.

The Romanian translational equivalents are slightly different than the Serbian. Namely, the semi-idiomatic phrasal verb *wear off* in (4c) is translated with a perfective lexical verb *pierduse* in the past perfect tense (*mai mult ca perfectul*) (*Gramatica limbii române I* 2005: 433-436). The Romanian equivalent reflects the meaning of the original in the sense that implies decreasing of the notion expressed by the verb. Likewise, example (7a) is also semi-idiomatic, where the particle *off* also indicates completion of the event denoted by the lexical verb. The Romanian translation *să-i dea Sărutul Morii* (7c) conveys the same meaning as the English original, but with a slightly more poetical note literally translated as *to give a kiss of death*. In the examples (5a and 6a) the verbs and the particles have abstract meaning of irritation (5a) and resulting state (6a). The Romanian translation equivalents *grozăvim* (5c) and *a ieșit șifonat rău* (6c) semantically correspond to the English originals.

4.2. English Phrasal Verbs with the Particle *Up* and their Translation Equivalents

The particle *up* is a very frequent component of English phrasal verbs with different meanings. *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1990: 486-490) lists the following ones: a) movement and position (*run up*); b) increase and intensification (*speak up*); c) improvement and preparation (*tidy up*); d) fastening and restriction (*lock up*); e) approach (*line up*); f) disruption and damage (*mess up*); g) completion and finishing (*drink up*); h) rejection and surrender (*sell up*); i) happening and creation (*bring up*); j) collection

and togetherness (*store up*); k) disclosure (*show up*) and l) separation (*cut up*). These meanings include both literal combinations (movement, position) and the more abstract ones (increase, intensification). Bolinger (1971: 98-102) writes about the directional meaning from which other (extended directional) meanings developed: the level moving upwards, rising, can be associated with completion. So, the extended meanings include resultant condition and higher intensity.

4.2.1. Serbian and Romanian Translation Equivalents

We start again with the literal phrasal verbs:

- 8) a) *Harry hissed, **springing up** and pulling Dobby back onto the bed.* (HPC 11)
 b) ... *prosikta Hari, **skoči na noge** i odvuče Dobjija nazad na krevet.* (HPD 13)
 c) ... *Întrebă Harry, **stupefiat**. Îl dezlipi de fereastră și îl aduse iar pe pat.* (HPC 6)
- 9) a) *Ron **stood up** so quickly he knocked Crookshanks's basket to the floor.* (HPAS 57)

- b) *Ron **ustade** tako naglo da je oborio Krukšenkovu korpu na pod.* (HPAS 52)
 c) *Ron **se ridică** atât de brusc, încât răsturnă coșul lui Șme-cherilă pe podea și profesorul Lupin scoase im niic sforăit.* (HPA 73)

In (8a) and (9a), the lexical verbs with the particle *up* are the verbs of motion (*spring*) or implying motion (*stand*) and the particle clearly indicates the upward direction of that motion, as well completion of the movement. The Serbian translations are perfective momentary verbs (*skočiti*, 8b, *ustati*, 9b). Likewise, in the Romanian translation (5c) a perfective momentary verb is used (*ridică*). However, in (9c) the translator opted for a looser descriptive translation using the adjective *stupefiat* instead of the verb *ridica*.

The next examples are semi-idiomatic or idiomatic:

- 10) a) *I always find that **cheers me up**...* (HPC 281)
 b) *Mene to uvek oraspoloži...* (HPD 207)
 c) *Pe mine mă **înveselește** întotdeauna.* (HPC 162)
- 11) a) *He had **patched up** his wand with some borrowed Spellotape, but it seemed to be damaged beyond repair.* (HPC 81)
 b) *Zakrpio je svoj štapić nekim pozajmljenim činotejpom, ali je štapić, izgleda, bio toliko oštećen da se nije mogao popraviti.* (HPD 62)
 c) *Își **lipise** el bagheta cu niște Magicscotch, dar se pare că era distrusă de tot...* (HPC 46)
- 12) a) *Harry opened his mouth to say he was sure they'd be able **to mend it up** at the school, but he never even got started.* (HPC 64)
 b) *Hari otvori usta da kaže kako će sigurno moći da ga **poprave** u školi, ali nije stigao ni da progovori.* (HPD 50)
 c) *Harry deschise gura, vrând să spună că era sigur că o puteau **repara** la școală, dar nu apucă.* (HPC 36)
- 13) a) *So, Harry had been **brought up** by his dead mother's sister and her husband.* (HPC 4)
 b) *I tako su Harija **odgojili** sestra njegove pokojne majke i njen muž.* (HPD 7)
 c) *Astfel, Harry fusese **crescut** de sora mamei lui și de soțul.* (HPC 2)
- 14) a) *The crowd seemed to be **made up** mostly of witches around Mrs. Weasley's age.* (HPC 50)
 b) *Gomilu su većinom **činile** veštice, vršnjakinje gospođe Vizli.* (HPD 41)
 c) *Mulțimea părea să fie **compusă** din vrăjitoare cam de vârsta doamnei Weasley.* (HPC 29)

In the phrasal verbs from the first three examples, *cheer up* (10a), *patch up* (11a) and *mend up* (12a), the particle *up* obviously does not indicate a higher position on the vertical axis, but the physical higher position is linked to a higher intensity (10a) or completion (11a and 12a) – so these examples are semi-idiomatic. In all the three cases, the translator opted for the Serbian prefixed perfective verbs (*oraspoložiti*, 10b, *zakrpiti*, 11b) and the perfective verb *popraviti* (12a), which imply intensification and completion. In the Romanian translation (10c) the verb is prefixed and perfective (*a înveseli*). On the other hand, in the Romanian sentences (11c and 12c) the verbs are perfective and lexically correspond to the semi-idiomatic meaning of the English phrasal verbs.

The last two examples (13a and 14a) are idiomatic, because both the lexical verbs and the particle extended their meaning: the verbs (*bring, make*) acquired abstract instead of dynamic physical quality, and the particle made a shift from the meaning of a higher position to the meaning of reaching an implied goal. The Serbian translations include the perfective verb *odgojiti* (13b) and the imperfective verb *činiti* (14b). In the Romanian translations, on the other hand, perfective verbs have been used to indicate the idiomatic notion of the English phrasal verbs.

5. Conclusion

This corpus-based research, focused on the English phrasal verbs with the particles *off* and *up*, aimed at analysing the level of idiomaticity of the phrasal verbs in the corpus and their Romanian and Serbian translation equivalents. On the basis of relevant theoretical assumptions about the level of idiomaticity, the English phrasal verbs from the corpus were divided into three groups: transparent (literal), semi-idiomatic and idiomatic. The following table presents the distribution of these levels in the corpus.

Table 4: Level of idiomaticity of English phrasal verbs in the corpus

No	Particle in phrasal verbs	Transparent	Semi- idiomatic	Idiomatic
1	<i>off</i>	75%	18%	7%
2	<i>up</i>	36%	53%	11%

The numbers indicate that that the phrasal verbs with the particle *off* kept their original meaning in a very high percent (about 75%), with the particle denoting physical horizontal movement away from a given position, separation.⁴ Semi-idiomatic combinations are much less frequent and in these cases the particle denotes completion in decrease (e. g. *wear off*). The numbers for the second particle (*up*) are rather different: the highest number is with the semi- idiomatic phrasal verbs (53%) and the particle *up* indicating intensification (e. g. *cheer up*) of completion (reaching the goal of the dynamic activity denoted by the verb, e. g. *patch up*); there were fewer cases of literal vertical movement. Taking into account the entire corpus (all the English phrasal verbs both particles), transparent combinations make about 48%, semi-idiomatic about 42% and idiomatic ones about 10%.

Since the Romanian language lacks formal or direct equivalents of English phrasal verbs (Evseev 1974: 28, Dumitru 1976: 77), the research has shown that the English phrasal verbs from the corpus are most often translated by Romanian lexical verbs which denote telicity and completion (e.g. *a lipi, a se ridica*). Only 14% of the Romanian corpus are

⁴ It goes without saying that these tendencies reflect the situation in this specific literary corpus, with the plot implying movements and changes of position, which creates the environment for literal meanings of phrasal verbs.

prefixed verbs (e.g. *a aluneca, a se îndepărta*) which convey literal meaning of the English particle. On the other hand, Romanian translational equivalents include phrases (e.g. *a ieși șifonat rău, a da Sărutul Morii, a pierde din farmec*) most often used to translate semi-idiomatic and idiomatic notions of the English phrasal verbs.

As expected, Serbian translation equivalents in the corpus include verbal lexemes without a prefix (e. g. *lutati*) and with a prefix (e. g. *zakrpiti, iščiliti*); prefixed verbs are frequent, particularly with the transparent and semi-idiomatic combinations, but can be found in idiomatic combinations as well, because Serbian verbal prefixes, like English particles, can denote both literal and abstract, extended meanings (Klajn 2003, Novakov 2018, Novakov 2019). In addition, Serbian translation equivalents include phrases (e. g. *spring up – skočiti na noge*). The verbal lexemes are typically (but not exclusively) perfective, because English phrasal verbs (with some exception) point to a telic quality, a reached goal.

In conclusion it can be stated that the research conducted for this chapter has shown that since both Romanian and Serbian lack direct equivalents, the translations differ in terms of morphological and syntactic means used in translating, especially when it comes to prefixation. As expected, Serbian and Romanian translation equivalents in the corpus include verbal lexemes with and without a prefix. In Serbian translation, prefixed verbs are more frequent than in Romanian, especially with the literal and semi-idiomatic combinations. Unlike the Romanian translation equivalents, the Serbian equivalents can be found in idiomatic combinations as well, because Serbian verbal prefixes, like English particles, can denote abstract, extended meanings. Most translated verbal lexemes in both languages are perfective, because majority of English phrasal verbs indicate telicity and the completion of the situation.

Furthermore, both Serbian and Romanian translation equivalents include different verbal phrases which convey semi-idiomatic and idiomatic meanings of the English prefixed verbs. When it comes to semi-idiomatic and idiomatic meanings the analysis of the Romanian corpus has shown an extent of freedom of translation when compared to Serbian equivalents.

This contrastive analysis of Serbian and Romanian translational equivalents of English phrasal verbs is significant because English phrasal verbs represent specific lexemes which typically cannot be transferred directly to other languages. Moreover, English phrasal verbs denote a range of meanings, from literal to idiomatic, which also causes difficulties in translation.

Mihaela Lazović

TRANSLATION OF SERBIAN PREFIXED VERBS INTO ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN GASTRONOMY TERMINOLOGY

1. Introduction

The idea for this chapter emerged from the fact that when faced with Serbian prefixed verbs, gastronomy and hospitality students in general have difficulties translating them into English. More often than not, they seek a prefixed verb in English as well, and failing to find it they do not know how to translate Serbian prefixed verbs. This chapter attempts to facilitate this process and offer solutions to this translational problem.

On the other hand, the study of verbal prefixes is significant because prefixation has both lexical and grammatical function in the Serbian language, thus it affects the meaning of verbs as well as the verbal aspect. The analysis has shown that the correlation between the lexical meaning (Aktionsart) and grammar (aspect) is often realised via the distinctive feature [goal], i.e. semantic category named telicity. The research conducted for this chapter has shown that Serbian prefixed verbs include the notion of telicity and are perfective, as oppose to their base verbs i.e. non-prefixed verbs which are imperfective.

Hence, this chapter analyses the link between verbal aspect, telicity and prefixation and examines the presence of certain distinctive features with prefixed verbs in order to determine the aspect.

1.1. The Corpus

The research conducted for this study is corpus based. The corpus consists of 100 Serbian verbs with prefixes and their English and Romanian translational equivalents. In addition, the analysis included the base verbs onto which the prefixes were added.

The selection of prefixes was based on their frequency. The corpus includes contemporary Serbian prefixed verbs. Thus, archaic verbs as well as provincialisms and dialects were not incorporated in the corpus. The corpus consists of verbs which are found in monolingual and bilingual dictionaries together with the prefix. The corpus consists of Serbian verbs with the following prefixes: *do-*, *za-*, *iz-*, *na-*, *od-*, *po-*, *pre-*, *pro-*, *s(a)-*, *u-*. The analysed prefixed verbs were taken from: *Rečnik srpskohrvatskog književnog jezika*. The Serbian prefixed verbs have been translated into English and Romanian. The translation equivalents were taken from the following dictionaries: *Dicționar român-englez*, *Dicționar englez-român*, *Veliki hrvatsko-engleski rječnik*, *Veliki englesko-hrvatski rječnik*, *Srpsko-rumunski*, *Rumunsko-srpski rečnik*, *DEX (Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române)*, *M. Webster, English Language and Culture*, *Oxford Advanced English Dictionary*.

The central part of the study is a contrastive analysis of Serbian prefixed verbs and their translational equivalents in contemporary English and Romanian. The aim of the research is to determine the existing correlations between the analysed prefixed verbs and their translational equivalents with respect to verbal aspect and Aktionsart. Namely, the study attempts to determine whether the use of prefixes modifies the distinctive features of base verbs and whether a change in verbal aspect and/or Aktionsart has occurred.

Furthermore, the chapter studies the translation equivalents of prefixed verbs and determines which syntactical and morphological means have been used to translate the prefixed verbs in the other two languages.

1.2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The category of aspect is most often connected with Slavic languages since there aspect is morphologically expressed via prefixes. For this reason, the starting point of this research is Serbian.

Numerous Serbian linguists (Belić 1924, Grubor 1953, Riđanović 1976) agree that in Slavic languages, verbal aspect is morphologically expressed by the use of prefixes. Furthermore, in Serbian linguistic literature, aspectual meanings are conceived as a grammatical issue, while *Aktionart* is a lexical i.e. semantic category (Riđanović 1976: 7).

Babić (1986: 477) points out that prefixed verbs are perfective since imperfective verbs are rendered perfective if a prefix is added to them. On the other hand, if a prefix is added to a perfective verb it stays perfective.

Similarly, Novakov (2005: 81) argues that base verbs onto which prefixes are added almost always differ in *Aktionsart* from their prefixed counterparts. The prefix alters the distinctive feature [goal] and introduces the final segment of the situation. He also points out that, in Serbian, the connection with the grammatical category of aspect is achieved via the distinctive feature [goal] (Novakov 2005: 85). Namely, verbs with the distinctive feature [+goal] present the situation as a single whole (perfective aspect) while verbs with the distinctive feature [-goal] present the situation as a structure (imperfective aspect). Thus, prefixation in Serbian has both a lexical and a grammatical function and as such it influences both verbal semantics and aspect and the connection between these two categories is achieved through telicity.

This study starts from the typological definition of aspect as a category which makes it possible to view and present a situation as a single whole (perfective aspect) or as a structure (imperfective aspect) (Comrie 1976: 3, Novakov 2005: 140). By analogy, all three languages distinguish: perfective aspect (Serbian prefixed verbs, English non-progressive forms, Romanian perfective forms) and imperfective aspect (Serbian non-prefixed verbs, English progressive forms, Romanian imperfective).

The semantic category of telicity represents the basis for lexical, i.e. semantic classification of verbs and verb phrases into activities, states, achievements and accomplishments (*Aktionsart*). Each of the four types of the verb situation was defined according to three distinctive features: *stativity*, *duration* and *telicity*.

Based on the semantic characteristic of telicity, situations can be divided into telic and atelic. Telic situations tend towards a specified goal, thus they have a natural endpoint, while atelic situations do not tend towards a goal and do not have an endpoint (Comrie 1976: 44, Declerck 1979: 761-793, Brinton 1988: 54, Novakov 2005: 115, Rothstein 2004: 1).

2. Verbal Prefixation in Serbian

In Serbian, prefixes play a very important role in the process of perfectivisation since they influence the verbal aspect in the sense that they render the imperfective verbs perfective.

The Serbian prefixes relevant for determining the verbal aspect are: *do-*, *za-*, *iz-*, *na-*, *od-*, *po-*, *pre-*, *pro-*, *s(a)-*, *u-*, etc. (Klajn 2002: 205-286, Novakov 2005: 61-86).

The analysis has proven the hypothesis that the Serbian prefixed verbs denote perfectivity, while their base verbs are imperfective. The base verbs onto which the prefixes are added are usually activities.

Prefixation primarily alters the feature [goal] i.e. it introduces the final segment or a natural ending of a situation.

Thus, in Serbian, the link between grammatical category and verbal aspect is realised by the distinctive feature [goal]. Consequently, the lexical feature [goal] can be directly linked to verbal aspect in the sense that a situation which tends towards a goal can be perceived as a whole (perfectivity), and a situation which does not tend towards a goal as a structure (imperfectivity). For example:

1) *skuvati (ručak) / to cook (lunch) / a gāti (prânzul)*

In the example (1) the situation tends towards a specified goal – *cooked lunch*, thus the situation is perfective.

On the other hand, the absence of a goal denotes a situation which can last without any limitation or boundary. Such a situation can be interrupted at any time without changing the features of the situation itself. The absence of a goal allows the situation to be presented as a structure, for example:

2) *kuvati / to cook / a gāti*

Therefore, prefixes modify both telicity and aspect in Serbian. Due to the fact that Serbian prefixed verbs indicate the feature [goal] at the lexical level, it is not necessary to introduce other lexical means, as is the case in English and Romanian.

The analysis of the Serbian part of the corpus has proven that prefixation has both a lexical and a grammatical function. Thus, it influences both verbal semantics and aspect, and the link between verbal meaning and grammar is realised via the distinctive feature [goal].

Translation of Serbian prefixed verbs was rather challenging due to the fact that different syntactic constructions had to be introduced in order to translate Serbian prefixed verbs into English and Romanian. The analysis of the corpus had shown that Serbian prefixed verbs are very rarely translated by prefixed verbs (examples 3-6), most often they are translated by verbal phrases with direct objects and adverbials (examples 7-12). Furthermore, in English some translational equivalents are phrasal verbs (examples 13-16). Prefix *re-* in Romanian as well as in English introduces iterative meaning (examples 3).

Correspondingly, the English prefix *en-*, and Serbian prefix *za-*, the Romanian prefix *în-* have a telic meaning (examples 5, 13). The Serbian prefix *pre-* in (4) indicates that the situation is overdone, or done more than enough, and it is translated by a prefixed verb in English as well, and in Romanian a construction V+Adv. was used. The Romanian prefix *de-* and the English prefix *un-* indicate a situation contrary to the situation denoted by the base verb (examples 6). The corpus has shown that Serbian prefixed verbs are more frequently translated by prefixed verbs into Romanian than into English language, as it can be seen from examples (3-6, 13).

3) *Pregrupisati (to regroup / a regrupa)*

4) *Presoliti (to oversalt / a săra prea mult)*

5) *Zaokružiti (to encircle / a înconjura)*

6) *Odviti (to unwind / a desfășura, derula)*

7) *Dokuvati (to cook more until ready / a termina de gătit)*

8) *Dotrčati (to come running / a veni în fugă)*

9) *Zapevati (to begin to sing / a începe să cânte, a întona un cântec)*

10) *Odbraniți (to defend successfully / a reuși să apere)*

11) *Pobesneti (to become furious / a se înfuria)*

12) *Pobacati (to throw away one by one / a arunca unul după altul)*

13) *Zagrejati (to warm up / a încălzi)*

- 14) *Izgoreti* (to burn down / a arde complet)
 15) *Izbaciti* (to throw out / a da afară)
 16) *Nabrati* (to pick up enough / a astrânge destul)

3. Translation of Some Serbian Prefixed Verbs into English and Romanian – Gastronomy Terminology

In Serbian, verbal aspect and telicity are morphologically expressed by means of verbal prefixes. Therefore, aspectual and semantic distinctions are visible in the infinitive which is not the case in English and Romanian where different syntactic means are used to express verbal aspect.

In order to illustrate the richness of the Serbian language when prefixed verbs are concerned the table 1. offers all the derivations of the base verb *kuvati* (to cook / a găti) in the Serbian language and their translational equivalents in English and Romanian.

Table 1. Derivational forms of *kuvati* in Serbian, English, and Romanian

Verb	English	Romanian
KUVATI	to cook	a găti
Skuvati	to finish cooking	a termina de gătit
PROkuvati	to boil	a fierbe
DOKuvati	to cook more until ready	după fiert ii mai lași puțin să clocotească
PREkuvati	to overcook	a fierbe prea mult
RASKuvati	to overboil	a răsfierbe
NAkuvati	to cook a big quantity of food	a găti o cantitate mare de produse alimentare
ZAKuvati	start boiling / bring to the boil	a începe să fiarbă
Ukuvati	to boil / cook in	A fierbe/ a găti în
ISKuvati	boil out / boil away / boil off	A scoate (o pată de ulei) prin fierbere (de pe o haină) A fierbe un lichid până se evaporă (a se evapora prin fierbere) În chimie – a scoate impuritățile prin fierbere (boil off impurities)

The table 1. shows that Serbian prefixed verbs are very rarely translated by prefixed verbs (*raskuvati* / to overboil / a răsfierbe), most often they are translated by verbal phrases with direct objects (*nakuvati* / to cook a big quantity of food / a găti o cantitate mare de produse alimentare) and adverbials (*dokuvati* / to cook more until ready / după fiert ii mai lași puțin să clocotească), Serbian prefixed verbs are sometimes translated with the construction start / finish and V+ing (*skuvati* / to finish cooking / a termina de gătit, *zakuvati* / start boiling /

a începe să fierbe). Furthermore, in English some translational equivalents are phrasal verbs (*ukuvati / cook in, iskuvati / boil out / away / off*). The research also shows that, Romanian translational equivalents of Serbian prefixed verbs are often descriptive (*dokuvati / to cook more until ready / după fiert ii mai lași puțin să clocotească, nakuvati / to cook a big quantity of food / a găti o cantitate mare de produse alimentare, iskuvati / boil out / a scoate (o pată de ulei) prin fierbere (de pe o haină) / boil away / a fierbe un lichid până se evaporă (a se evaporă prin fierbere) / boil off / în chimie – a scoate impuritățile prin fierbere (boil off impurities)*)

Furthermore, the analysis of the corpus has shown that Serbian prefixed verbs (*skuvati, prokuvati, dokuvatim, prekuvati, raskuvati, nakuvati, zakuvati, ukuvati, iskuvati*) and their translational equivalents are perfective since imperfective verbs (*kuvati*) are rendered perfective if a prefix is added to them. Similarly, base verbs (*kuvati*) onto which prefixes are added differ in Aktionsart from their prefixed counterparts (*skuvati, prokuvati, dokuvatim, prekuvati, raskuvati, nakuvati, zakuvati, ukuvati, iskuvati*). Namely, in the examples *kuvati / skuvati* the prefix – *s* alters the distinctive feature [- goal] into [+ goal] and introduces the final segment of the situation, thus the situation is completed and the goal has been reached. In such a way, in Serbian, the connection with the grammatical category of aspect is achieved via the distinctive feature [goal].

Thus, prefixation in Serbian has both a lexical and a grammatical function and as such it influences both verbal semantics and aspect and the connection between these two categories is achieved through telicity.

The analysis has proven the hypothesis that the Serbian prefixed verbs denote perfectivity, while their base verbs are imperfective. The base verbs onto which the prefixes are added are usually activities, while prefixed verbs are achievements or accomplishments.

As it was previously mentioned, in the Serbian language, verbal aspect is morphologically expressed by means of verbal prefixes. Therefore, aspectual and semantic distinctions are visible in the infinitive which is not the case in English and Romanian. Translation wise, the matter is further complicated when Serbian prefixed verbs are used in the context. For example:

17) *Maja je sinoć skovala večeru. Maia cooked dinner last night. Maia a gătit cina a seară.*

As oppose to:

18) *Maja je sinoć kuvala večeru. Maia was cooking dinner last night. Maia gătea cina a seară.*

In the examples (17 and 18) the perfective verb *kuvala / was cooking / gătea*) and its imperfective pair *skuvati (cooked / a gătit)* are used in the context which greatly influences the translation of the Serbian prefixed verb into English and Romanian. The above examples show that Serbian prefixed verbs can be translated with English non-progressive forms and Romanian perfective forms while Serbian non-prefixed verbs, or base verbs are usually translated with English progressive forms and Romanian imperfective.

On the other hand, the analysis has shown that the direct object affects verbal semantics and influences the translation of the prefixed verbs into English and Romanian. In fact, the very presence or absence of the direct object has an impact on the verbal semantics, as well as the type of the verb situation (Aktionsart). For example:

19) *On je jeo.*

He was eating. El mânca.

20) *On je pojeo sendvič. He ate a sandwich.*

El a mâncat un sandviș.

Sentences (19) denote activities. Thus, the lack of the direct object excludes a goal and implies imperfectivity. On the other hand, the existence of a direct object entails a goal in sentences (20) rendering the situations perfective.

The analysis had shown that in addition to the presence or absence of the direct object in a sentence, the very structure of the noun phrase functioning as the direct object has an impact on the type of the verb situation. Moreover, the structure of the direct object has a great influence on the translation of the whole sentence. For example:

21) *On je pio vodu.*

He was drinking water. El bea apă.

22) *On je popio tri čaše vode.*

He drank three glasses of water. El a băut trei pahare de apă.

Sentences (21) indicate situations which do not tend towards a goal. The direct object realised as an uncountable noun *apă* / *water* renders the situation imperfective. On the other hand, in sentences (22) the direct object (*three glasses of water* / *trei pahare de apă*) denotes a final point, or a goal which was actually reached and after which the situation could not be continued. Thus, sentences (22) are perfective situations, while sentences (21) are imperfective. Based on the analysis, it can be argued that perfective aspect can be indicated by Serbian prefixed verbs, English non-progressive forms and Romanian perfective forms (examples 20 and 22) and imperfective aspect by Serbian non-prefixed verbs, English progressive forms and Romanian imperfective (examples 19 and 21).

4. Conclusion

This study has shown that prefixes express aspectual meanings in all three languages.

The analysis of Serbian prefixed verbs and their translational equivalents in English and Romanian involved many difficulties because the prefixation influences the verbal aspect as well as the meaning of verbs. Consequently, it is not always easy to differentiate the semantic and grammatical level, or to determine the domain of aspect, on one hand, and Aktionsart, on the other. This research has proven that the change in aspect and verbal semantics brings about a change in Aktionsart as well. Thus, some prefixes introduce additional meanings to the base verb which alters the verbal aspect and Aktionsart. Namely, the research for this chapter has proven that prefixation primarily alters the feature [goal] i.e. it introduces the final segment or a natural ending of a situation.

In Serbian, verbal aspect and telicity are morphologically expressed by means of verbal prefixes. Therefore, aspectual and semantic distinctions are visible in the infinitive which is not the case in English and Romanian where different syntactic means are used to express verbal aspect. For example:

23) *kuvati* (to cook / a găti) vs.

24) *dokuvati* (to cook more until ready / a termina de gătit)

This is the reason why Serbian prefixed verbs represented the basis for this research.

The analysis has shown that the primary function of Serbian prefixes is to perfectivise the base verb.

The contrastive analysis of the translational equivalents has shown that Serbian prefixed verbs are very rarely translated into English and Romanian by prefixed verbs, most often they are translated by phrases with or without modifiers like adverbials, direct objects, catenative constructions consisting of phase verbs like *begin* / *a începe* / *početi*.

On the other hand, the context can influence the translation of the Serbian prefixed verbs and their base verbs in the sense that they can be translated by non-progressive or progressive forms in English and perfective and imperfective verbs in Romanian respectively. To be more precise, in the Serbian language, perfectivity i.e. the completion of a situation can

be expressed by prefixes while in English and Romanian it can be expressed by English non-progressive forms and Romanian perfective forms. On the other hand, imperfectivity i.e. incompleteness of a situation can be expressed by Serbian non-prefixed verbs while in English it can be expressed by progressive forms and in Romanian by imperfective forms.

On the other hand, the research has proven that verbs like *eat* have perfective meaning when their direct objects have definite, quantified or numerical determiners and have imperfective meaning when the same objects are a mass noun or a bare plural.

Moreover, the research conducted for this chapter has shown that perfective aspect can be indicated by Serbian prefixed verbs, English non-progressive forms, Romanian perfective forms and imperfective aspect by Serbian non-prefixed verbs, English progressive forms, Romanian imperfective.

The analysis has proven the hypothesis that the Serbian prefixed verbs denote perfectivity, while their base verbs are imperfective. The base verbs onto which the prefixes are added are usually activities. Prefixation primarily alters the feature [- goal] into [+ goal] i.e. it introduces the final segment or a natural ending of a situation.

SECTION V

APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Predrag Novakov and Mihaela Lazović

ASPECTUAL ERRORS IN ROMANIAN AND SERBIAN ESP LEARNERS MAJORING IN TOURISM AND HOSPITALITY MANAGEMENT

1. Introduction

This chapter investigates the influence or interference of the mother tongue, Romanian and Serbian, among ESP students of English for Tourism and Hospitality at the university level in regard to verbal aspect.⁵

This study focuses on verbal aspect and the influence of the native Romanian and Serbian languages on the use of English aspect. The research analyses the interference among Romanian and Serbian native speakers in this context, respectively, and then compares the interference in these two languages.

1.1. Research Methodology

This questionnaire-based study analyses the influence and interference of the native Romanian or Serbian language on the students of English for Tourism and Hospitality (ESP) at the university level in the field of verbal aspect. These students/examinees were not provided with additional instructions regarding the uses of English aspect prior to filling in the questionnaire, as the aim was to determine how the knowledge acquired about English aspect in the course of regular teaching within their curriculum could help them answer the relevant questions in the questionnaire. The research included the following stages: a) reviewing the regular teaching materials about English aspect for the examinees, without additional teaching about aspect; b) preparing the questionnaire; c) filling in of the questionnaire (30 minutes); d) analysis of the results.

The examinees (B1 level of English according to the Common European Framework of Reference) included two groups according to their native language: Romanian (40 second-year students of Tourism Management attending The Faculty of Management in Tourism and Commerce in Timișoara, a branch of the Dimitrie Cantemir Christian University in Bucharest) and Serbian (40 second-year students of Hospitality and Restaurant Management from The Academy of Applied Studies Belgrade, The College of Hotel Management Department).

The multiple-choice questionnaire consisted of 20 sentences, encompassing English aspectual oppositions (perfective/imperfective and perfect/non-perfect) with secondary aspectual meanings such as habitual, perfect of result, experiential perfect, perfect of recent

⁵ In addition to Business English, the students at the College of Hotel Management learn an elective foreign language, i.e. French, German, or Russian (elementary level), while students at the Faculty of Management in Tourism and Commerce learn business French, German, Spanish, or Italian. However, the authors consider that these elective languages do not significantly influence the learning of English aspectual oppositions, whereas research has shown that students' native language has an impact on the acquisition of the English aspect.

past, and temporariness. The questionnaire was intended to provide insight into the aspectual interference of the native language in ESP learning and into common aspectual mistakes ESP students might make, as the sentences were constructed to reflect English usage and contexts typical of the ESP B1-level students.

1.2. Initial Hypotheses and Expected Results

For the Romanian native speakers, the following initial hypotheses were formulated:

R1 – The Romanian language lacks a direct equivalent of the present perfect, so the English resultative and experiential present perfect are frequently replaced with the simple past.

R2 – Because Romanian present simple is commonly used to denote the imperfective aspect, the English perfective aspect may be erroneously used instead of the imperfective.

R3 – The reverse type of present perfect – simple past error is expected because the Romanian compound perfect (perfectul compus) resembles the English present perfect.

As for the Serbian native speakers, the following initial hypotheses were formulated:

S1 – Serbian does not have a direct equivalent for the present perfect, so the English resultative present perfect and the perfect of recent past may be replaced with a simple past tense.

S2 – The English present perfect for a persistent situation may be interpreted as Serbian present tense.

S3 – Serbian perfective and imperfective aspect do not completely correspond to the English non-progressive and progressive aspect, which may lead to errors among Serbian native speakers.

S4 – English stative verbs are typically not used in the progressive aspect, and Serbian native speakers may not recognise this distinction.

2. Theoretical Background

This part briefly discusses the concept of interference and aspect in Romanian, Serbian, and English.

2.1. Language Interference and Error Analysis

The notion of language interference,⁶ introduced by U. Weinreich (1953), concerns the influence of the native language (L1) on foreign language (L2) learning, implying a broader transfer of various patterns of L1 to L2 or a narrower negative transfer, which impedes learning of L2. This is also indicated as occurring in ESP learning due to the application of the native language rules on the target language. Language interference is reflected in mistakes typically made by ESP students, and these errors can range from grammatical, morphological, lexical, and semantic, to syntactic. Namely, ESP learners undergo several stages (interlanguages) as they acquire L2; errors may appear when learners make incorrect deductions about a structure in L2, relying on the patterns of L1, providing evidence about the learning process (Crystal 1991: 372). Moreover, a distinction should be made between mistakes (non-systematic errors) and errors (systematic errors reflecting the

⁶ As Ellis (1996: 301) points out, the terms *language interference* or *transfer* are often associated with behaviourist theories of L2 learning, so there is also a theory-neutral term *crosslinguistic influence*.

learner's transitional competence); only the latter are of significance for L2 learning (Corder 1974: 25). Errors in comprehension and production may stem from the "faulty comprehension of distinctions in the target language" (Richards 1974: 178), overgeneralization, ignorance of rule restrictions, incomplete application of rules, etc. (Ellis 1996: 174–176), resulting from the negative transfer from L1. Therefore, errors may indicate the possible influence of native language on L2 performance, which is a key assumption of this research.

Error analysis, as a component of contrastive studies, enables the tracking of the interlanguage during second language acquisition and of the possible interference of the native language, as well as the potential intrusion of other foreign languages. This research concentrates on the interference of the native language, drawing upon relevant preceding studies and research about contrastive studies and error analysis such as those of Richards (1975), James (1998), and Ondrakova (2016). Also relevant to this study are particular papers examining errors in acquiring and teaching English (Collins 2007, Khansir and Pakdei 2018) and certain papers comparing English verb categories (tense-aspect) with other languages (like Arabic, Gad 2018). Finally, papers on contrastive linguistics (English–Serbian and vice versa), with translation equivalents (Mandić 2016, Balek 2017), were consulted in the designing of the questionnaire.

2.2. Aspect in English, Romanian, and Serbian

The typological linguistic literature defines aspect as a category which enables the viewing of a situation as a single whole (perfective aspect) or as a structure (imperfective aspect) (Comrie 1976: 3). Furthermore, Comrie specifies that the imperfective aspect (in addition to the general reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation) also includes the concepts of habituality and continuousness (Comrie 1976: 24–26), thus partially overlapping with the perfective (like in the habitual domain), which is relevant for this research.

Although Serbian, Romanian, and English belong to different branches of Indo-European languages, some similarities can be established when aspect is concerned. This study presents insights into the nature of aspect in all three languages and into their systematic similarities and differences, thereby making a specific contribution to aspectology in general.

According to Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985: 90), English has two sets of aspectual contrasts: a) progressive (typically denoting imperfectivity) and non-progressive (typically denoting perfectivity) and b) perfect and non-perfect.⁷ Discussing the concrete uses of the English progressive aspect, that is, the imperfective aspect, Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985: 92–94) make the following distinctions: a) temporariness vs indefinite time; b) limited duration vs habitual activity; c) emotionally coloured tone vs objective tone;

d) incompleteness vs completion. This complexity of English progressive is a reason why English aspect represents a key area where errors may occur among B1-level learners. Bearing this in mind, this study focuses on those uses of English progressive aspect typically taught to ESP students at the B1 level such as temporariness, limited duration, and incompleteness. Finally, this study also examines the use of English stative verbs like see, hear, and feel, which are non-progressive in their involuntary, stative meaning (for example: He

⁷ These authors use the terms perfective and non-perfective, but they have chosen to apply the terms perfect and non-perfect to avoid possible confusion with the traditional term perfective from Slavic grammar.

felt cold.), but which can be used in the progressive aspect, by which they acquire a dynamic, voluntary quality (for example: The doctor was feeling the boy's arm.).

Declerck, Reed, and Capelle (2007: 28–38) also distinguish (2007: 28) the perfective aspect as presenting the respective situation in its entirety and the imperfective aspect as presenting a situation as ongoing (or progressive). These authors discuss two English aspects systematically expressed by special verb markers – the progressive and non-progressive aspect; the former implying that the situation is complete, presented in its entirety, the latter suggesting that the situation is ongoing, with internal temporal structure, durative, and continuous. Finally, these authors do not recognise perfect as a specific aspect in English.

As regards the perfect/non-perfect opposition, other linguistic sources (Comrie 1976: 56–61; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik 1985: 91; Novakov 2005) regard perfect in the category of aspect, stating that the English perfect aspect connects the verb situation with another situation or state. Thus, the present perfect connects the past and the present, indicating that the situation happened in the past but has links to the present. According to its usage, English perfect aspect is usually divided into four types – perfect of recent past (e.g. They have just arrived.), perfect of result (e.g. He has washed his hands.), experiential perfect (e.g. She has been to China twice.), and perfect of persistent situation (e.g. I have been waiting for hours) (Comrie 1976: 56–61).

Traditional Romanian linguistic literature (Găgeanu 1985, Evseev 1974, Dumitru 1976, Dimitriu 1979, Lucian 2007: 26, Pungă and Părlog 2015: 167) did not consider aspect a separate and independent verb category. The verb form was regarded exclusively as a morphological category, which must be morphologically expressed (Savin-Zgardan 2001: 38). Poghirc (Poghirc 1953: 21) also asserted that aspect in the Romanian language is exclusively a temporal opposition. On the other hand, some linguists (Cemârtan 2001: 155) have argued that the verbal aspect in the Romanian language should be considered a semantic category, as aspect and tense represent a continuum that should be understood as a whole. Furthermore, Mișan (1969: 140) claimed that aspect is a binary category that is realised through the perfective/imperfective opposition, which can be correlated with similar theses presented by English linguists (Comrie 1976, Brinton 1988, Dahl 1987). Moreover, Luchian (2007: 28) propounded that verb tenses in the Romanian language define situations as perfective or imperfective. Namely, the present, imperfect, and future denote a situation that lasts, so they signify the imperfective aspect, while the compound perfect, simple perfect, and pluperfect express the perfective aspect. Similarly, verbs denoting duration imply imperfectivity if they are used in the present, imperfect, or future, while in other verb tenses they have a perfective meaning.

Contemporary Romanian linguists have recognised aspect as a meaningful characteristic of Romanian verbs. In the Encyclopaedia of the Romanian Language (Avram–Sala 2001: 65–68), the authors point out that the relevant oppositions, which have been treated as temporal in the past, are in fact of aspectual nature. Thus, in the Romanian language, the perfective/imperfective aspectual opposition is expressed by verbal tenses named perfectul compus/imperfectul, where perfectul compus denotes a completed situation, and imperfectul represents an ongoing situation: *am venit / veneam - I came / I was coming*. An imperfective verb can denote an action that lasts (durative), but also an action that repeats (iterative). In addition, in the Romanian language, the perfective/imperfective opposition is morphologically expressed only in the past tense, and, accordingly, a distinction is recognised between the imperfect (imperfectul), which most often represents the situation as a single whole without differentiating the phases that make up this situation, and the simple and complex perfect (perfectul simplu / perfectul compus) and pluperfect (mai-mult-ca-perfectul), which presents the situation as a structure divisible into segments.

Moreover, contemporary Romanian literature offers contrastive studies of English and Romanian aspectual systems (Bodean-Voizan 2015; Hanganu 2014; Hanganu 2015), as well as features error analysis and examines language interference between the Romanian and English languages (Presada and Badea 2014, Pungă and Pârlog 2015).

Based on the relevant Romanian linguistic literature, it can be argued that verbal aspect is an independent category that is only partially grammaticalised in Romanian in the sense that aspectual oppositions on the morphological level exist only in the past tense, while each verb tense in the Romanian language also expresses certain aspectual meanings.

There is a correlation between the English past perfect and the Romanian pluperfect in the sense that these forms both denote situations that occurred before some other situation in the past.

As a Slavic language, Serbian has a morphologically-marked verbal aspect, with verb lexemes having two aspectual forms in the infinitive: imperfective or perfective (with a small number of bi-aspectual verbs which determine their aspect in the context). As traditional Serbian linguists pointed out (for instance, Belić 1924 and Stevanović 1979), imperfective verbs imply unlimited duration, while perfective ones denote the limited duration of a situation. Some other linguists, such as Grubor (1953), stated that the imperfective aspect indicates situations as structured, while the perfective aspect presents situations as wholes, in their entirety. Similarly, Riđanović (1976) asserted that aspect deals with the divisibility and indivisibility of situations in time. Thus, it can be argued that, in Serbian, aspect is dominantly a morphological category, usually without contextual influences. These aspectual properties may influence the aspectual choices of Serbian native speakers when learning English as an L2.

The three mentioned languages were chosen for this analysis because they involve one concept of aspectuality yet three different ways of expressing it. Namely, in the Serbian language, aspect is a specific verbal category expressed at the morphological level in the infinitive, which is not the case for either Romanian or English verbs. In the English language, aspect can be expressed in all tenses by means of the progressive/non-progressive opposition. In Romanian, however, aspect can be morphologically distinguished only in the past tense using perfectul compus and imperfectul, which are perceived as tenses in the Romanian language. This is why, in traditional Romanian linguistic literature, aspect was not regarded as an independent verbal category but rather either connected it to the verb tenses or made no reference to the category of aspect at all (Gramatica limbii române I 1966). However, Romanian offers a somewhat restricted possibility to express aspectual values through prefixes (dormi / adormi). Consequently, Romanian lacks morphemes that can express the category of aspect, though some modes and tenses can express the notion of duration and incompleteness, as opposed to perfective situations.

3. The Study

3.1. Results for the Romanian Native Speakers

The Romanian sample comprised 40 respondents, i.e. B1-level students of Management in Tourism and Commerce in Timișoara, who completed the tailored questionnaire. All the respondents were Romanian native speakers. The primary aim of the study was to determine the influence or interference of respondents' mother tongue on the uses of English aspectual oppositions.

Figures 1–3 present general information about the participants:
Figure 1. Year of birth of the respondents

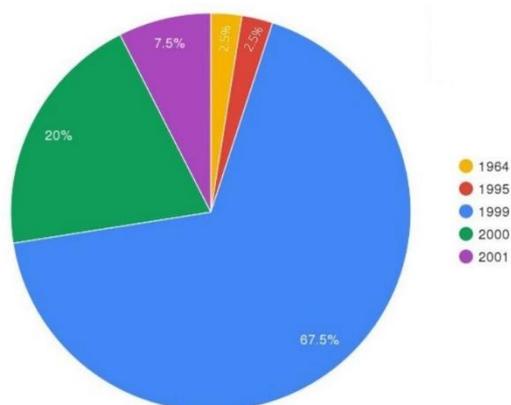


Figure 1 displays the age of the respondents: the vast majority of the 40 respondents (27, or 67.5%) were born in 1999, while 8 (20%) were born in 2000, 3 (7.5%) in 2001, and 1 (2.5%) in 1995 and 1964 respectively.

Figure 2. Gender of the participants

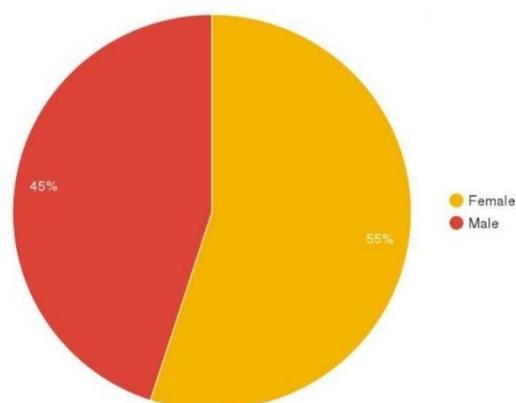
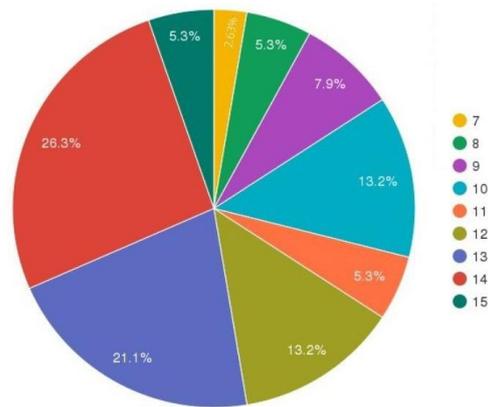


Figure 2 indicates that there were 22 (55%) female respondents and 18 (45%) male respondents, meaning the gender structure was quite balanced.

Figure 3. Years of active English learning of the participants



Finally, Figure 3 shows the respondents' active years of learning English as a foreign language: the Romanian respondents were documented as having learned English for: 15 years (2 respondents, or 5.3%); 14 years (11 respondents, or 26.3%); 13 years (8 respondents, or 21.1%); 12 years (5 respondents, or 13.2%); 11 years (2 respondents, or 5.3%); 10 years (5 respondents, or 13.2%); 9 years (3 respondents, or 7.9%); 8 years (2 respondents, or 5.3%); 7 years (1 respondent, or 2.5%). (NB: 2 participants did not fill this field.)

The analysis of the Romanian ESP learners first addresses sentences connected to the English progressive aspect and then the English perfect aspect. Furthermore, the sentences featured in the questionnaire were divided into subgroups according to their aspectual meanings and uses. The respondents' answers to particular tasks are presented in the samples below, displayed in brackets according to the participants' answers in the following manner: in each bracket, the first number corresponds to the number of respondents who circled a particular answer, and the second represents the respective percentage of this response from among the total amount of responses.

Regarding the Romanian ESP learners, the study conducted for this chapter has indicated a significant problem among these participants in comprehending or expressing the English present progressive aspect due to the interference of their native Romanian language. As opposed to the English language, where the progressive aspect is freely combinable with all tense forms, the Romanian imperfect is restricted to past situations. Therefore, there is actually no possibility to express the Romanian present progressive aspect using tense forms, inflection, and/or derivational affixes. It is either expressed by lexemes or implied contextually. These would seem to be the reasons for Romanian native speakers having difficulties in grasping the features specific to this category in English. Specifically, aspectual errors were shown to occur in situations in which the English imperfective aspect should be used in the present tense. This is a typical mother-tongue-triggered error of misusing the English simple present instead of the characteristic present progressive. This can be illustrated by example sentences (1, 2, 3, and 4), where in each instance 60% or more of erroneous answers were recorded in regard to the incorrect use of the perfective instead of the imperfective verbal aspect.

- 1) He _____ on a cruiser this month.
 a) lived (2/5%) b) lives (24/60%) c) **is living** (14/35%)
- 2) The receptionist _____ the guests into the hotel right now.
 a) **is checking** (10/25%) b) checks (25/62.5%) c) was checking (5/12.5%)
- 3) (In an e-mail to a hotel) I _____ to book a room at your hotel.
 a) write (30/75%) b) **am writing** (7/17.5%) c) wrote (3/7.5%)
- 4) I _____ to call home, but I can't get an outside line.
 a) try (28/70%) b) **am trying** (8/20%) c) was trying (4/10%)

Since in the Romanian language the imperfective aspect cannot be morphologically expressed in the present, the present indicative is used to indicate both perfective and imperfective aspect in the present, apparently causing confusion among ESP learners. Consequently, other syntactic elements, such as adverbials (examples 1 and 2), or context play a very important role in determining the aspectual scope of the situation. In the first sentence, the adverbial *this month* implies limited duration, which requires the use of the present progressive (*is living*), though this was successfully recognised by only a very low percentage (35%) of the respondents, with a relatively high percentage (60%) of respondents using the present simple, and a small percentage (5%) even employing the past simple.

Furthermore, the contexts in sentences (2, 3, and 4) demand the real present use of the English progressive. The Romanian ESP students did not appear to successfully recognise the necessity to use progressive aspect in such instances, as only 25% of the respondents' answers to sentence (2), 17.5% to sentence (3), and 20% to sentence (4) employed the progressive aspect, while a rather high percentage of respondents erroneously chose the present simple: 62.5% in task 2, 75% in task (3), and 70% in task (4).

In brief, in such situations in the native Romanian language, the Romanian present indicative would be used to express the imperfective aspect, which the respondents seemingly mistakenly applied to the English examples. This would appear to be the reason why the majority of Romanian students opted for the wrong aspect. On the other hand, Romanian ESP learners correctly used the English past progressive to indicate the imperfective aspect, as can be seen in the sentences just below. Very likely, this can be explained by the existence of a grammatical correspondent called the imperfective (imperfectul) in their mother tongue.

5) *The maid _____ the room when the guest entered.*

a) ***was cleaning (36/90%)*** b) *is cleaning (2/5%)* c) *cleaned (2/5%)*

6) *The waiter _____ Mr Smith morning coffee in the breakfast room when the new guest arrived.*

a) *served (0)* b) ***was serving (37/92.5%)*** c) *has served (3/7.5%)*

The above two sentences tested the use of the progressive as a temporal frame for a situation which interrupts the activity in progress. In both instances, the vast majority of the respondents (90% in example 5 and 92.5% in example (6) seemed to recognise these contexts and successfully used the past non-progressive, with only a very low percentage opting for the wrong answers.

In the Romanian language, the imperfect (imperfectul) is typically used to denote imperfective aspect, which likely explains why the students scored very high in the examples above.

As an unexpected result, the study conducted for this chapter appeared to reveal an interesting curiosity, which was not accounted for in the original hypotheses. Namely, traditional grammar states that the verbal aspect does not exist as an independent category in Romanian, which seems to explain what appears to be a lacking understanding of the imperfective concept among Romanian ESP learners since the participants made unexpected errors in distinguishing the perfective/imperfective aspectual values. Moreover, this occurred only in the present tense, but not in the past, which is assumably explained by the Romanian language morphologically expressing imperfectivity only in the past tense by the imperfectul. This is further illustrated by examples (7 and 8), where 90% and 50% of the examinees, respectively, mistakenly employed the present progressive instead of correctly applying the present simple.

7) *Hotel employees _____ two or more foreign languages.*

a) *are speaking (36/90%)* b) ***speak (4/10%)*** c) *have spoken (0)*

8) *Every year we _____ two trips to the seaside.*

a) *are making* (20/50%) b) *were making* (12/30%) c) ***make*** (8/20%)

These results strongly suggest that there is confusion amongst native Romanian speakers in the use of the imperfective aspect in the present tense induced by mother tongue interference.⁸

In the next three sentences from the questionnaire, the authors intended to test the use of English stative verbs which require the non-progressive aspect:

9) *Whether I get the job of a receptionist _____ on my skills and education.*

a) ***depends*** (34/85%) b) *is depending* (6/15%) c) *was depending* (0)

10) *The chicken _____ delicious.*

a) *is tasting* (2/5%) b) *was tasting* (0) c) ***tastes*** (38/95%)

11) *Hotel facilities _____ a large indoor pool, Jacuzzi and a sauna.*

a) ***include*** (32/80%) b) *are including* (0) c) *were including* (8/20%)

The analysis reveals that Romanian ESP students were seemingly familiar with this rule, as they chose the correct answer 85% (task 9), 95% (task 10), and 80% of the time (task 11) respectively.

Apart from examining the English perfective/imperfective opposition, this chapter also analyses the use of the perfect aspect in English, focussing on the present perfect, both in the non-progressive and progressive aspects.

The English present perfect has been recognised as causing confusion among Romanian native speakers, mainly because the concept of connecting the past with the present in one situation that does not exist in Romanian. Consequently, it was assumed that the Romanian ESP learners participating in the survey would make mother-tongue-triggered errors in this context and mistakenly employ the present perfect for the typical English simple past.

This indicated misperception is likely further deepened by the dual nature of the Romanian compound perfect (perfectul compus). Namely, the Romanian compound perfect can be used to express completed situations in the past, and thus it can be directly correlated with the notion of the perfective aspect. On the other hand, the Romanian compound perfect may also imply a situation characteristic of the English perfect aspect.

The dual nature of the Romanian compound perfect was a key notion for the investigation of this chapter and its initiation as there was no clear indication as to where the respective findings would lead.

Nevertheless, this analysis has revealed that the Romanian ESP learners seemingly tend to overlook the resultative use of the English present perfect and replace it with the simple past, thereby making an aspectual mistake.⁹

12) *The guest _____ . He is waiting in the lobby.*

a) ***has arrived*** (14/35%) b) *arrived* (24/60%) c) *arrives* (2/5%)

13) *I just _____ the window.*

a) *closed* (32/80%) b) *had closed* (1/2.5%) c) ***have closed*** (7/17.5%)

⁸ As has already been mentioned, even though the students at both universities study other foreign languages, the authors consider that the elective languages do not play a major role in the learning of English aspectual oppositions. The study indicates that it is the students' native language which has a significant impact on the acquisition of the English aspectual system.

⁹ Please note that this (in the examples 12 and 13) reflects the use of present perfect in British English, because in colloquial American English the simple past could also be a correct answer. The British use is expected to be familiar to the examinees as this is the primary system in which they are instructed.

The above sentences illustrate a typical use of the English present perfect: recent activity in the past with an obvious result in the present, a concept with which the respondents should be familiar at their established B1 level of learning. However, a high percentage of the Romanian ESP students appeared to not recognise this rule, employing the past simple most frequently in both instances (80% in task 13 and 60% in task 12), whereas only 17.5% and 35% of the respondents chose the correct answer in examples (13 and 12) respectively.

Furthermore, the results of the study confirm the initial hypothesis that the Romanian ESP learners may misuse the experiential present perfect for the standard English simple past, which can be considered a learning-induced error that learners of English for specific purposes tend to make. Evidence of such an error can be seen in examples (14 and 15) below, where 80% and 60% of students mistakenly applied the past simple rather than the correct perfect aspect:

- 14) I _____ London three times so far.
 a) visited (32/80%) b) **have visited** (8/20%) c) was visiting (0)
- 15) I _____ in this hotel twice so far.
 a) am staying (0) b) **have stayed** (16/40%) c) stayed (24/60%)

On the other hand, the results of the study also confirmed the reverse type of present perfect – simple past error. Namely, likely due to the Romanian compound perfect (perfectul compus) resembling the form of the English present perfect (the present indicative of the auxiliary verb *avea / to have* + past participle), 50% of the Romanian ESP learners wrongly chose the English present perfect instead of the past simple, as demonstrated in example 16 just below, which can be logically assumed to be a mother-tongue-triggered error rather than a learning-induced one:

- 16) Martha _____ in India when she was young.
 a) has lived (20/50%) b) had lived (2/5%) c) **lived** (18/45%)

Similarly, for example 17, only 30% selected the correct answer (past non-progressive) against a very high 60% of students choosing the present perfect.

- 17) When he was young, he _____ The College of Hotel Management and graduated in 2019.
 a) was attending (4/10%) b) **attended** (12/30%) c) has attended (24/60%)

Given that the Romanian language does not conceptualise the semantic merge of the present and the past in a single situation, the mother-tongue-triggered error of misusing the present perfect for the typical English simple past is understandable and expected. Nonetheless, an interesting curiosity revealed by this research is the occurrence of the apparent incorrect use of the English present simple instead of the present perfect, as evidenced in the misapplication of the perfect aspect in examples (18) 62.5% and (19) 42.5%:

- 18) I _____ English for tourism and hospitality purposes since 2016.
 a) **have been studying** (15/37.5%) b) study (25/62.5%) c) am studying (0)
- 19) I _____ a receptionist for over 15 years now.
 a) a) am (17/42.5%) b) was (4/10%) c) **have been** (19/47.5%)
- 20) He _____ in this hotel for 10 years now.
 a) **has been working** (16/40%) b) is working (16/40%) c) worked (8/20%)

Sentences (18, 19, and 20) were intended to test the use of the English present perfect to denote a period of time up to the present. It seems that approximately half of the respondents disregarded this rule and opted for the present simple option. Most of the remaining respondents recognised that the context implied the period up to the present and used the perfect aspect appropriately.

3.2. Results for the Serbian Native Speakers

The sample of Serbian native speakers comprised 40 respondents in order to establish the possible influence of their mother tongue on the uses of English aspectual oppositions. The respondents were B1-level students of Tourism and Hospitality in Belgrade, all of whom completed the administered questionnaire. Figures 4, 5, and 6 present general information about the informants. Figure 4 shows the age breakdown of the respondents: the vast majority out of the 38 respondents¹⁰ (24, or 63%) were born in 2000, while 4 of them (11%) were born in 1999, 8 (21%) in 2001, and only 2 (5%) in 1996.

Figure 4. Year of birth of the respondents

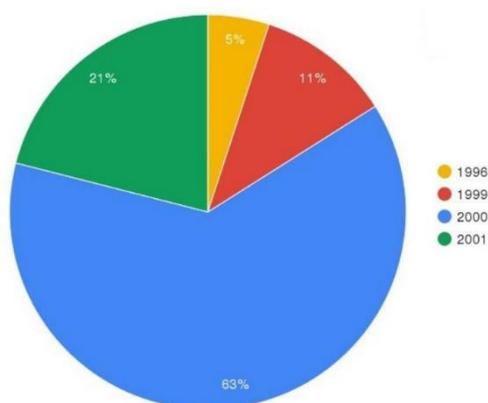


Figure 5 shows the gender makeup of the sample. As there were 22 (55%) female respondents and 18 (45%) male respondents, the gender structure is quite balanced.

Figure 5. Gender of the respondents

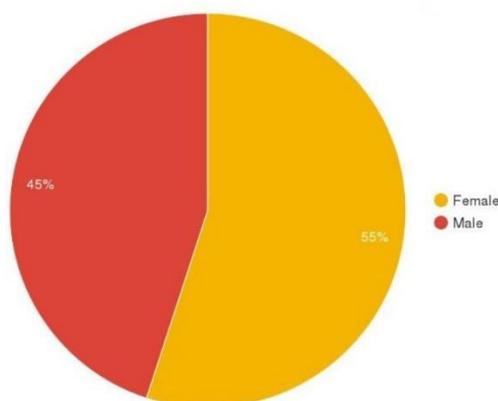
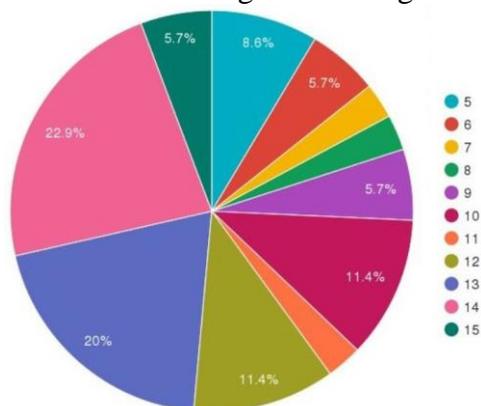


Figure 6 presents the respondents' respective active years of learning English as a foreign language: the Serbian respondents had been learning English for the following time

¹⁰ Two respondents did not fill in this field.

periods: 15 years (2 respondents, or 6%), 14 years (8 respondents, or 23%), 13 years (7 respondents, or 20%), 12 years (4 respondents, or 11%), 11 years (1 respondent, or 3%), 10 years (4 respondents, or 11%), 9 years (2 respondents, or 6%), 8 years (1 respondent, or 3%), 7 years (1 respondent, or 3%), 6 years (2 respondents, or 6%), and 5 years (3 respondents, or 8%).

Figure 6. Years of active English learning of the respondents



NB: 5 informants did not fill this field.

For the purposes of the analysis, the sentences related to the use of the English progressive and perfect aspect were divided into several groups according to the meanings and uses tested in these sentences. The respondents' answers are indicated in brackets following the offered solutions: first, the number of respondents who circled a particular option and then the percentage. The respondents' answers to particular tasks are presented in the samples below, displayed in brackets according to the participants' answers in the following manner: in each bracket, the first number corresponds to the number of respondents who circled a particular answer, and the second represents the respective percentage of this response from among the total amount of responses. The first group includes the following sentences:¹¹

- 1) *Hotel employees _____ two or more foreign languages.*
a) are speaking (14/35%) b) speak (24/60%) c) have spoken (2/5%)
- 2) *Every year we _____ two trips to the seaside.*
a) are making (13/32.5%) b) were making (3/7.5%) c) make (24/60%)
- 3) *He _____ on a cruiser this month.*
a) lived (7/17.5%) b) lives (12/30%) c) is living (21/52.5%)

Sentences (1 and 2) were designed to test the use of the progressive aspect in the context signifying a repeated situation or a general skill. A clear majority of the respondents (60%) apparently recognised these contexts, as they employed the non-progressive present correctly; still, the percent of those who incorrectly opted for the present progressive in sentence (1) (are speaking) is rather high (35%), while a slightly smaller but still high percentage (32.5%) of the students circled the present progressive in sentence (2). In the last sentence (3), the adverbial *this month* implies limited duration, which requires the present progressive (is living). This was seemingly recognised by 52.5% of the respondents, as they correctly selected the present progressive aspect, though a rather high percentage (30%) incorrectly applied the present simple, with a small group even selecting the past simple (17.5%).

¹¹ One informant did not answer question (12) of the questionnaire, represented by example (17), while two did not answer question (6) (shown in example 7).

The contexts in the following group of sentences demand the real present use of the English progressive, also called temporariness:

- 4) *The receptionist _____ the guests into the hotel right now.*
a) **is checking (38/95%)** b) *checks (1/2.5%)* c) *was checking (1/2.5%)*
- 5) *(In an e-mail to the hotel) I _____ to book a room at your hotel.*
a) *write (5/12.5%)* b) **am writing (21/52.5%)** c) *wrote (14/35%)*
- 6) *I _____ to call home, but I can't get an outside line.*
a) *try (3/7.5%)* b) **am trying (24/60%)** c) *was trying (13/32.5%)*

In the instances just above, the respondents did not seem to fully recognise the necessity to use the progressive aspect: only in example (4) did they overwhelmingly and correctly apply the progressive (95%), while only 52.5% of students applied this aspect correctly in sentence (5) and 60% in sentence (6). Apparently, in example (5), some of the students failed to recognise the typical standard tense used in the opening line of an e-mail, while in sentence (6) certain respondents seemingly disregarded the present tense of the modal (can't), since they incorrectly selected the past progressive of the missing verb.

The following three sentences were intended to test the use of English stative verbs, which require the non-progressive aspect:

- 7) *Whether I get the job of a receptionist _____ on my skills and education.*
a) **depends (31/81.5%)** b) *is depending (6/15.8%)* c) *was depending (1/2.7%)*
- 8) *The chicken _____ delicious.*
a) *is tasting (4/10%)* b) *was tasting (1/2.5%)* c) **tastes (35/ 87.5%)**
- 9) *Hotel facilities _____ a large indoor pool, Jacuzzi, and a sauna.*
a) **include (31/77.5%)** b) *are including (9/22.5%)* c) *were including (0)*

The respondents appeared to recognise this rule, as they chose the correct answer in 81.5% (sentence 7), 87.5% (sentence 8), and 77.5% (sentence 9) of the time. Only in example (9) did a rather large percent of respondents (22.5%) choose the present progressive incorrectly.

Finally, the last two sentences, presented just below, were meant to test the use of the progressive as a temporal frame for a temporal clause which interrupts the activity in progress:

- 10) *The maid _____ the room when the guest entered.*
a) **was cleaning (34/85%)** b) *is cleaning (4/10%)* c) *cleaned (2/5%)*
- 11) *The waiter _____ Mr Smith morning coffee in the breakfast room when the new guest arrived.*
a) *served (0)* b) **was serving (37/92.5%)** c) *has served (3/7.5%)*

The respondents answered both tasks with a high degree of success, with 85% of them choosing correctly in example (10) and 92.5% in example (11).

The questionnaire was also intended to test the use of the perfect aspect in English, focussing on the present perfect (non-progressive and progressive), as demonstrated in the example task sentences below:

- 12) *Martha _____ in India when she was young.*
a) *has lived (16/40%)* b) *had lived (6/15%)* c) **lived (18/45%)**
- 13) *I _____ English for tourism and hospitality purposes since 2016.*
a) **have been studying (36/90%)** b) *study (4/10%)* c) *am studying (0)*
- 14) *He _____ in this hotel for 10 years now.*
a) **has been working (30/75%)** b) *is working (9/22.5%)* c) *worked (1/2.5%)*
- 15) *When he was young, he _____ The College of Hotel Management and graduated in 2019.*
a) *was attending (4/10%)* b) **attended (22/55%)** c) *has attended (11/27.5%)*

Sentences (12, 13, 14, and 15) were all aimed at testing the students' ability regarding the temporal component of the English present perfect – a period of time up to now – but without specifying the exact period in the past. It seems that the respondents widely disregarded this rule, as in (12), 40% of them, a rather high level, opted for the present perfect despite there being a clear indication of the past period without any link to the present, while another 15% mistakenly selected the past perfect. Contrastingly, in example (13), the respondents seemed to recognise that the context implied the period up to now, as 90% correctly employed the present perfect (90%). Their response success was similar in example (14), with 75% selecting the correct answer though a rather high percentage (22.5%) did incorrectly choose to apply the present progressive, while for example (15) only 55% of the respondents selected the correct answer (past non-progressive), with 27.5% opting for the present perfect.

The last group of sentences, just below, presents contexts that demand typical uses of the English present perfect, cases which should have been familiar to the respondents given their established B1 level:

- 16) I _____ a receptionist for over 15 years now.
 a) am (17/42.5%) b) was (2/5%) c) **have been (21/52.5%)**
- 17) I _____ in this hotel twice so far.
 a) am staying (0) b) **have stayed (27/69%)** c) stayed (12/31%)
- 18) I just _____ the window.
 a) closed (32/80%) b) had closed (27/69%) c) **have closed (7/17.5%)**
- 19) The guest _____. He is waiting in the lobby.
 a) **has arrived (27/67.5%)** b) arrived (11/27.5%) c) arrives (2/5%)
- 20) I _____ London three times so far.
 a) visited (15/37.5%) b) **have visited (24/60%)** c) was visiting (1/2.5%)

Yet despite their B1 language level, only 52.5% of the respondents opted for the correct present perfect in sentence (16), while 42.5% incorrectly opted for the present non-progressive form. In example (17), 69% selected the right answer, yet 31% used the past simple incorrectly. Surprisingly, in example (18), only 17.5% employed the correct present perfect against 80%, who mistakenly opted for the past simple. Yet in a seemingly similar context, recent activity in the past with the result in the present, as demonstrated in example (19), the percentage of students selecting correct answers was much more numerous: 67.5% against 27.5% who incorrectly chose the past simple. Regarding sentence (20), despite its similarity to example (17), only 60% of the respondents answered correctly, while 37.5% opted for the incorrect past simple.

In summary, when it comes to the English aspectual opposition progressive – non-progressive, the analysis indicates that the Serbian informants managed to basically grasp the differences formulated through the grammatical rules they were supposed to acquire. However, in some examples (for instance, 1 and 2), a quite high percentage of Serbian speakers wrongly chose the progressive form to denote general abilities, probably because the Serbian imperfective aspect is used in this context, which the students then relate to the English progressive. As for English stative verbs, non-progressive is the norm even with the meaning of temporariness; examples (7, 8, and 9) indicate that the Serbian imperfective aspect likely did not cause a negative transfer. Finally, progressive as a temporal frame (examples 10 and 11) was solved for the most part successfully by the respondents. The English perfect aspect presented a different problem for the sampled Serbian native speakers: the students had to recognise its link to the present moment (continuation, results), as well as that it is not used with the exact past time indication. The results for sentence tasks (12 and 15) show that the Serbian speakers likely did not fully recognise the exclusion of specific past time adverbials. However, they did seem to recognise that continuation up to the present

requires the present perfect, based on their responses in examples (13 and 14), though in contrast, in example (16), more than 40% employed the present simple incorrectly.

4. Conclusions

The study has confirmed the initial (R1) hypothesis that since the Romanian language lacks a direct equivalent of the present perfect, the simple past (with 60% of the respondents employing it in the relevant tasks) would be used in place of the English resultative and experiential present perfect. The reverse type of present perfect – simple past error was also documented, likely due to the morphological resemblance between the Romanian compound perfect (*perfectul compus*) and the English present perfect. Furthermore, the results of the study focused on the Romanian language have corroborated the second hypothesis (R2), with over 60% of incorrect answers to tasks in this context involving the mistaken use of the perfective instead of the imperfective verbal aspect. This can assumedly be attributed to the Romanian present simple being commonly used to denote the imperfective aspect: such aspectual errors seem to occur when the English imperfective aspect is used in the present tense. This would appear to be a typical mother-tongue-triggered error of misusing the English simple present instead of the present progressive. The third hypothesis (R3) was partly substantiated by the results of the study: Romanian ESP learners produced two types of errors related to the English present perfect: they used either the past simple (60%) or the present simple (70%), which indicates that while the notion of connecting the past and the present conceptually exists in the minds of Romanian ESP learners, their documented tendency to not express this connection on the morphological level is a seeming indicator of limitations in their ability to recognise and determine situations when the present perfect should be used (the mother tongue interference).

One of the main strengths of this chapter is that it identifies key areas where aspectual errors may occur and where additional attention could be focused so as to improve the teaching of English aspectual oppositions. Regarding Romanian native speakers, the results of the study imply that emphasis should be placed on the resultative and experiential notions of the English present perfect. Furthermore, it would seem to be prudent in this context for English language professors to direct students' attention to the morphological similarity between the Romanian compound perfect and the English present perfect in order to avoid the present perfect – simple past error. Based on the results related to the imperfective aspect, it is recommended that relevant professors should emphasise the difference between perfective/imperfective aspectual oppositions in the present tense, especially as this study has shown that aspectual errors occur when the English imperfective aspect should be used in the present tense. Finally, it is suggested that English language professors of native speakers of Romanian underline the connection between the past and the present, since the Romanian language does not express this connection on the morphological level.

In regard to the phase of the study involving native speakers of the Serbian language, several pertinent findings were brought to light. Serbian does not have the direct equivalent for the English present perfect, and the study evidenced that Serbian native speakers tend to use the past tense instead, particularly if the situation is clearly in the past (clearly ended) or produces consequences (perfect of recent past or perfect of result). This was particularly apparent in sentence (18), where 80% of the respondents used the simple past instead of the present perfect, though to a lower degree in sentence (19); therefore, hypothesis S1 was partly confirmed. Hypothesis S2 was also partly confirmed, as the Serbian native speakers used the English present tense instead of the present perfect a relatively high percentage of the time, with more than 40% of the respondents doing so in sentence (16), with similar results for sentence (20). Hypothesis S3 was also partly corroborated; namely, the negative

transfer of the uses of the Serbian imperfective verbs probably caused errors in sentence tasks (1 and 2) a high percentage of the respondents (over 30 of them) applied the English present progressive aspect instead of the present simple. As for hypothesis S4 about English stative verbs (tested by using items 7, 8, and 9), it was not confirmed since the respondents used the present non-progressive correctly in more than 80% of the time, with only a slightly lower yet still very high percentage (about 77%) making the correct selection in sentence (9) involving the verb include. Additionally, the results of the study have also revealed areas where errors may occur and which would thus seem to require particular attention in order to improve the teaching of English aspectual oppositions of native speakers of Serbian at the B1 level. Moreover, based on the results of the Serbian respondents, it is suggested that particular attention be paid in instruction in English involving native speakers of Serbian to the concepts of result, continuation to now, and recent past, which trigger the use of present perfect. For the imperfective aspect (English progressive), the study's results indicate that teachers should underline the concepts of temporariness and limited duration in this context.

In closing, a concise comparison of the answers provided by the Romanian and Serbian native speakers is highly relevant and offers a further contribution to this field of research. In this regard, the mistakes made by both groups of respondents were similar in the examples involving the English perfect aspect: likely due to both languages lacking direct equivalents, the English past or present tense were used quite frequently instead. Here, the decisive factor seems to be the completion of the English situation in the past (past tense) or its continuation up to now (present tense). Finally, Romanian respondents made more errors in the use of the English present progressive than Serbian participants did, seemingly on account of the specificities of the distinct aspectual systems of the Romanian and Serbian languages.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This monograph offers an infrequent comparison of English, Serbian and Romanian when it comes to certain components of lexical and grammatical aspect, tense and modality. All these three languages belong to the Indo-European language family, but to different branches (Germanic, Slavic and Romance respectively) of the family, which provides ground for possible typological differences, similarities and tendencies within that family.

Section I

Outlining the general theoretical assumptions, section I both points out to the specific topics (related to tenses, aspect, telicity etc.) of this monograph and to the interlingual comparisons which are to follow. Thus, the first chapter discusses the application of the Reichenbach's influential general theory of tense in the English and in the Serbian language. Reichenbach based this theory mainly on the analysis of English tenses with the assumption that all the three points he discusses (the point of speech, the point of reference and the point of event) are used to define all tenses, along with the possible temporal relations between these points including simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority. Therefore, it is linguistically relevant to verify the application of this theory to other languages, in this case in Serbian. The English-Serbian comparison showed that Serbian tense system in some respects (that is in the formation and uses of tenses) interacts with verbal aspect which may require additional operators in the analysis. In that sense, some Serbian tenses (like *aorist* and *imperfekat*) pose problems because they typically denote near past (*aorist*, like English present perfect of recent past) or imply a durative event (*imperfekat*, similarly to some uses of English past progressive).

The second chapter tackles the concepts of aspect, boundedness and telicity, namely their interdependence as well as their expression in English and Romanian. The analysis particularly focused on how the semantic features stativity, duration and telicity relate to aspect and boundedness. In English, stativity is particularly significant for progressive aspect because it is (with some exceptions) incompatible with progressively presented situations, which require an ongoing process with dynamic segments. In Romanian, stative verbs can denote imperfective aspect, and are unbounded and atelic. As for the concepts of boundedness and telicity, the chapter assumes that they should be separated, the latter implying that there is a goal, and the former that this existing goal was reached (encompassed within the event) or not. The four possible combinations of these two notions (bounded and telic, unbounded and telic, bounded and atelic, unbounded and atelic) can be attested both in English and Romanian. Moreover, following Declerck 1979, it seems that both in English and Romanian boundedness can be viewed as a three-fold division: bounded, unbounded and ambiguous.

The last chapter in this section extends the discussion about telicity by comparing English, Romanian and Serbian, starting from the assumption that telicity (tendency towards a goal, a final segment) represents a significant component in the analysis of verbs and verb phrases which interacts with the concept of boundedness. Namely, verbs in Romanian and Serbian can be divided into telic and atelic, but this only indicates the existence of a goal, and not that the goal was actually reached. Therefore, the concept of boundedness (as outlined in Declerck 1979) can be combined with telicity to indicate that the goal was realized and that the situation is bounded in that respect. Moreover, the comparison pointed out that in English and Romanian the meaning of verbs is not the only important segment which determines the verb class or telicity; namely, telicity is also influenced by certain syntactic elements. Finally,

the analysis showed that the concept of telicity and the notions related to it (goal and boundedness) exist in all the three studied languages, which leads to a conclusion that these notions can be included into the general semantic features and possibly language universals.

Section II

Section II has provided a general cross-linguistic analysis of verbal aspect, telicity, boundedness, and Aktionsart in English, Romanian, and Serbian, combining theoretical discussion with empirical investigation.

One of the central issues addressed in this study is the intricate relationship between aspect and telicity. Specifically, the interaction between telicity and perfective aspect entails that the goal of the situation is achieved within its endpoints, whereas the interaction between telicity and imperfective aspect leaves the attainment of the goal unspecified. Within this framework, the research highlighted both similarities and differences between English and Serbian. In both languages, telicity interacts with aspect; however, its realization differs. In English, telicity is typically not encoded at the lexical level and can be neutralized within the imperfective (progressive) aspect, whereas the perfective (non-progressive) aspect generally implies goal attainment. In contrast, Serbian usually encodes telicity at the lexical level in conjunction with perfective aspect. Namely, in Serbian, telicity is typically determined lexically while in English and Romanian, telicity is influenced by additional syntactic elements, including periphrastic constructions, tense, adverbials, subject, and direct object, as well as broader discourse context. The study demonstrated that, in English and Romanian, telicity is not inherently a lexical property: most verbs in their base or infinitive forms are aspectually neutral, and telicity is derived through syntactic and contextual factors. Conversely, in Serbian, the perfective/imperfective distinction and the semantic categories of telicity and boundedness are usually morphologically encoded within the verb itself, i.e. in its infinitive form.

A central focus of the section is the intricate relationship between grammatical aspect and lexical aspect (*Aktionsart*). The analysis reveals how these categories interact and influence each other differently in each language. Romanian expresses aspect through morphological means i.e. prefixes in the past tense and periphrastic constructions in other tenses; Serbian employs verbal prefixes marking perfective/imperfective distinctions; and English relies predominantly on periphrastic forms and lexical features of verbs. These differences illuminate the diversity of morphological and lexical strategies for encoding aspect, while the study also establishes systematic links between prefixation, telicity, and verbal aspect across all three languages.

Another key factor examined in this study is lexical aspect, or Aktionsart. The monograph demonstrates that Vendler's verb classifications, though originally developed for English, are also applicable to Serbian and Romanian, indicating a potential general cognitive basis for aspectual distinctions grounded in fundamental event features such as dynamism and stativity. In English, the link between lexical aspect and grammatical aspect is established primarily through the feature of dynamism, whereas in Serbian it is realized via the feature of telicity. In light of these cross-linguistic observations, the research points out that although English and Romanian linguistic literature provide broadly similar definitions of Aktionsart, the actual analysis and classification of verbs in the two languages differ substantially due to the use of different classification parameters. In English, verb classification is based on distinctive semantic features, whereas in Romanian it is determined primarily by the lexical meaning of the verb. The research further demonstrated that Romanian verbs can be organized into a substantial number of semantic classes, many of which correspond conceptually to English verb classes.

Another significant area of investigation is the influence of the semantic feature of boundedness on aspect and Aktionsart in English and Romanian. The study of Aktionsart (lexical aspect) interplays with aspectual semantics, offering insights into the overall semantics of verbs and the contribution of these components to overall sentence meaning. The analysis demonstrates how stativity, duration, and telicity are related to aspect and boundedness, and it argues for separating the notions of telicity and boundedness, where telicity indicates the existence or absence of a goal, and boundedness specifies whether that goal was reached or not. The study also confirms the existence of aspectual oppositions in Romanian and Serbian differentiating between bounded and unbounded situations, offering insights into the specific semantics of verbs and their contribution to overall sentence meaning. The analysis further revealed that the notion of boundedness is directly related to the category of aspect in such a way that perfective aspect implies bounded, and the imperfective unbounded situations.

The section also examined the role of prefixation as a mechanism for modifying aspectual and telic properties in all three languages. The corpus-based analysis revealed that prefixation often interacts with the lexical meaning of the base verb (Aktionsart) to influence grammatical aspect, and that the semantic category of telicity, encoded via the distinctive feature [goal], serves as a key link between lexical and grammatical properties. Drawing together the key findings on prefixes and their influence on aspect and Aktionsart in all three languages, the analysis has shown that prefixes convey aspectual meanings in English, Romanian, and Serbian, though their function differs across languages. Namely, in Serbian, prefixes morphologically typically encode aspect and telicity, making aspectual and semantic distinctions visible even in the infinitive. The primary function of Serbian prefixes is to perfectivise imperfective verbs, while perfective verbs remain unaffected. In contrast, English and Romanian prefixes rarely modify aspect or telicity and typically introduce new or altered meanings. In Romanian, only a few prefixes (e.g., *a-*, *-pre-*) carry aspectual values, and some prefixed verbs retain the meaning of borrowed forms from Serbian or Latin. Romanian verbs may exhibit perfective or imperfective interpretation depending on the context. English prefixes mainly denote spatial meaning, direction, or goal orientation; when added to verbs, they often signal achievements or accomplishments and rarely transform atelic verbs into telic ones.

Contrastive analysis has shown that Serbian prefixed verbs are seldom translated into English or Romanian using prefixed verbs; they are more often rendered via phrases, adverbials, direct objects, or periphrastic constructions such as phase verbs (e.g., *begin / a începe / početi*). Across all three languages, the lexical feature [goal] is closely linked to verbal aspect: goal-oriented situations are perceived as perfective wholes, whereas non-goal-oriented situations are viewed as imperfective structures.

Ultimately, the findings in section II shed light on the influence of the direct object on aspect and Aktionsart in English and Romanian. The analysis confirmed that the direct object plays a decisive role in shaping aspectual interpretation and Aktionsart across English, Romanian, and Serbian, but with language-specific mechanisms. In both English and Romanian, the telic or atelic character of a situation largely depends on the properties of the direct object: definite, quantified, or numerically specified noun phrases tend to induce telicity, whereas bare plurals or mass nouns give rise to atelic readings. These languages also allow telicity to be reinterpreted syntactically and contextually through additional elements such as prefixes, tense, adverbials, and broader discourse factors. By contrast, Serbian typically encodes aspect and telicity morphologically within the verb system itself, which makes the aspectual value more resistant to reinterpretation by the structure of the direct object. Ultimately, the study of the influence of the direct object in English and Romanian

showed how syntactic structures can introduce or modify telicity, altering verb situation types and demonstrating the interplay between semantics and syntax in aspectual interpretation.

In light of the above discussion, the findings of section II underscore both the general quality and language-specificity of verbal aspect, telicity, and boundedness. They provide a systematic framework for understanding how grammatical and semantic categories interact in different linguistic systems and contribute to a deeper understanding of cross-linguistic similarities and differences. By connecting theoretical perspectives with corpus-based evidence, this section offers significant insights into aspectology, and the typology of verb systems.

Section III

This section opens with the discussion about the English present perfect which has both aspectual and temporal components. Starting from the definitions of the categories of tense and aspect as well as from the earlier treatments of present perfect in the professional English literature, the chapter scrutinizes the features and uses of present perfect in order to determine its dominant aspectual or temporal components. This analysis proved the complexity of English present perfect as a verb form, because the comprehensive analysis of the uses of this verb form requires a combination of aspectual, temporal and pragmatic components. For instance, temporal elements include implication of recent past and a period of time in the past continuing to the point of speech. However, these elements are not quite enough to explain the actual uses of present perfect because the English present perfect does not fulfil the primary function of tense forms – location of events in a well-defined temporal segment on the time axis. Moreover, the speaker's/writer's subjective evaluation of the validity or significance of the situation seems also to be of great significance in the determination of the uses of this English verb form.

The other two chapters in this section tackle the category of modality in Serbian and Romanian on the one hand, that is English and Romanian on the other. The first comparison between Serbian and Romanian focuses on epistemic and deontic modality in scientific discourse based on the Romanian and Serbian examples excerpted from the articles in the field of social sciences and humanities recently published in scientific journals. The empirical research has shown that in both languages the authors more frequently opted for epistemic than deontic modality. However, as for the strength of modality, in the analysed Romanian part of the sample there prevailed modals of higher strength, while in the Serbian part of the sample there prevailed modals of weaker strength.

The last chapter in this section provides a general English-Romanian comparison of the expression of modality in literary style, namely in several contemporary British novels and their Romanian translations. The chapter concentrated on the most frequent modals in the compiled corpus (*can/could, may/might, should, must*) with the aim to specify the uses of these English modals, particularly the influence of the context on their interpretation, to determine their typical Romanian equivalents, as well as to specify possible similarities and differences between these two languages in that respect. The contrastive analysis of English modals and their Romanian translation equivalents has confirmed that there was a high degree of functional equivalence when it comes to the use of English and Romanian modals, but that achieving adequate semantic and pragmatic correspondence in some cases requires the inclusion of certain contextual components relevant for the interpretation of modal uses.

Section IV

Section IV examined the translation and cross-linguistic representation of aspectual phenomena in English, Romanian, and Serbian, with a focus on aspectualizers, phrasal verbs, and prefixed verbs within both general and specialized (gastronomy) contexts.

The first part of the section analysed the non-finite complementation of English aspectualizers and their Romanian equivalents, highlighting how ingressive, continuative, and egressive aspectualizers denote the beginning, continuation, or ending of events. The study has confirmed that the choice of complementation is closely linked to the lexical aspect of verbs: durative and atelic verbs such as activities and states frequently occur with aspectualizers, whereas telic verbs, i.e. accomplishments and momentary achievements, appear less often, primarily with ingressive or egressive markers to signal onset or termination. Romanian translations of English aspectualizers were found to retain the aspectual meaning while employing present subjunctive constructions, alternative syntactic structures, or lexicalized phrases, reflecting both semantic equivalence and stylistic flexibility. Additionally, subtle distinctions such as the differentiation between *begin* and *start* in English were neutralized in Romanian translations, indicating language-specific variation in mapping aspectual nuances.

The second chapter focused on English phrasal verbs with the particles *off* and *up* and their Romanian and Serbian translation equivalents. The research has revealed significant differences in the levels of idiomaticity, with *off* largely retaining literal meanings and *up* often forming semi-idiomatic constructions. Since Romanian and Serbian lack formal equivalents of English phrasal verbs, translations relied on a combination of lexical verbs, prefixed verbs, and verb phrases. Serbian translations frequently employ prefixed verbs even in idiomatic contexts, reflecting the language's morphological capacity to encode abstract meanings, while Romanian equivalents display greater syntactic and lexical flexibility. In both target languages, translated verbs were mostly perfective, corresponding to the telic nature of English phrasal verbs, while semi-idiomatic and idiomatic meanings were expressed through more complex syntactic structures.

The final part of the section examined the translation of Serbian prefixed verbs into English and Romanian, with a particular focus on gastronomy terminology. The study has demonstrated that Serbian prefixes systematically encode perfectivity and telicity, introducing the feature [+goal] to indicate event completion. Thus, in Serbian, aspectual and Aktionsart distinctions are morphologically visible in the infinitive form, whereas English relies on non-progressive forms and Romanian on perfective forms to convey similar meanings. Imperfectivity is expressed correspondingly by Serbian non-prefixed verbs, English progressive forms, and Romanian imperfective forms. The research has also confirmed that translation into English and Romanian often requires verbal phrases or catenative constructions rather than simple prefixed forms. These findings underscore both typological differences and functional equivalences across the three languages, highlighting the role of context and syntactic strategies in preserving aspectual meaning in translation.

Overall, the section illustrates that aspectual phenomena, whether encoded through aspectualizers, phrasal verbs, or verbal prefixes, are mediated by language-specific morphological and syntactic strategies. English primarily relies on syntactic complementation and phrasal constructions, Romanian combines morphological markers and flexible syntactic strategies, and Serbian typically encodes aspect and telicity morphologically through prefixes. Despite these differences, all three languages reflect general patterns in representing event structure, phase, and goal-directedness, providing valuable insights into cross-linguistic equivalence and the challenges of translation in both general and specialized registers.

Section V

Extending this analysis, in section V, the study examines aspectual errors made by the Romanian and Serbian native speakers learning English, offering insights into areas where additional focus is needed to improve the teaching of English aspectual oppositions. In other words, the last section of the monograph has brought theoretical and contrastive findings into the applied domain of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), focusing on Romanian and Serbian learners in tourism and hospitality management. The study has confirmed that native-language structures strongly influence learners' use of English aspect. Romanian learners frequently replaced the English present perfect with the simple past or present tense, reflecting interference from the Romanian compound perfect and the imperfective-present system. Serbian learners also substituted the present perfect with the past or present tense but showed greater accuracy with stative verbs. Across both groups, errors highlight the need for explicit instruction on perfective/imperfective distinctions, resultative and experiential meanings, and the conceptualization of temporality, goal completion, and event duration.

As a result, the monograph sheds light on interference and transfer phenomena in second-language acquisition, illustrating how native language structures influence the use of tense and aspect in English by Romanian and Serbian speakers. This insight has practical implications for language teaching and learning, especially in ESP contexts, where understanding these transfer effects can improve pedagogical strategies.

Drawing together the key findings, this monograph underscores its importance for contemporary linguistics by providing a detailed cross-linguistic analysis of verbal categories across English, Romanian, and Serbian. By identifying both general tendencies, such as the correlation between the lexical feature [goal] and verbal aspect, the conceptualization of perfective versus imperfective situations, and the use of prefixes as aspectual markers, and language-specific distinctions in the realization of Aktionsart, telicity, boundedness, and modality, the study advances our understanding of general concepts in linguistics and typological diversity. Its integration of theoretical insights with corpus-based and learner-based evidence offers an innovative framework for examining tense, aspect, and modality in typologically distinct languages.

The monograph makes a significant contribution to contemporary linguistics by clarifying the complex interplay between grammatical and semantic categories, providing relevant insights for contrastive linguistics, aspectology, language acquisition, ESP teaching, translation, and typological research.

This monograph stands as a significant study, contributing to the contemporary perspectives on verb meaning and structure, understanding the general principles and typological particularities of verb systems, and setting an example for comparative, and applied linguistics research.

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