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## POLISH *ACHIEVEMENTS* WITH EXPRESSIONS OF DURATION AND THEIR TERMINAL RECATEGORISATION

This paper analyses the use of Polish *achievements* with durative expressions of *godzinę* (*in an hour*) and *przez godzinę* (*for an hour*) – types, their use in the progressive and finally a possible relationship between this use and the terminative recategorisation of imperfective *achievements*. In the analysis we have accounted for a number of linguistic and contextual factors that influence the possibility of the progressive use of *achievements*. This has allowed us to propose several subclasses of *achievements* that may undergo recategorisation under specific conditions set in the concluding section.

### 1. Introduction

This paper aims primarily to discuss the use of Polish *achievement* verbs used with expressions of duration of *godzinę* (Eng. *in an hour*) and *przez godzinę* (Eng. *for an hour*) – types and in the progressive<sup>1</sup> and, secondly, to determine a possible relationship between this use and the terminal recategorisation of imperfective *achievements*.

The outline of the paper is as follows. In the opening section we provide a brief characterization of *achievements*, offer their working definition and make a division of expressions of duration. The second part, which begins with a review of literature on *achievements* with *in an hour* expressions, undertakes an analysis of Polish *achievements* with right boundary-oriented durative adverbials. The third section starts with a discussion of the use of *achievements* in the process function and develops a characterization of Polish verbs belonging to this class taking into account the gradable use of process *achievements*. The fourth section focuses on imperfective *achievements*

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<sup>1</sup> Polish durative adverbials have been classified by Stawnicka (2007: 129–141). Her classification is based on Grzegorzczkowska (1975: 105) and Laskowski (1998: 169–170; 2003: 193–226; 2005: 209–225).

and their context and situation-bound meaning. The results of our analysis are summarized in the final section.

### 1.1. *Achievements Verbs*

*Achievements* are one of the classes of verb types proposed by Vendler (1957: 143 – 160; 1967: 69–121).<sup>2</sup> Hard as it is not to appreciate the significance of Vendler's proposal for the development of Slavic studies, his classification had to undergo substantial modification to be applicable for Slavic languages. Such modifications have been proposed in this respect by Bulygina (1982), Mehlig (1981), Padučeva (1996), Smith (1991), Klimonov (1997) and in the case of Polish by Laskowski (1996, 1998) on the basis of Padučeva's classification.

Virtually all definitions of *achievements* find it indispensable to include the notion of point, moment, change and temporal non-extendibility (Vendler 1967: 103).<sup>3</sup> The relevant literature abounds in terms referring to Vendler's *achievements*, such as *performance*<sup>4</sup> (Kenny 1963), *single change of state* (Dowty 1979), *punctual situation* (Comrie 1976), *momentary situation* (Lyons 1977), *punctual occurrences* (Mourelatous 1981), *punktueller Verben* (Erben 1967: 28), *Eintretensverben* (Lötscher 1974: 252), *punktueller / momentale Verben* (Drosdowski et al. 1984: 93), *punktueller Veränderungen* (Schopf 1984: 106), *event* (momentary dynamic situation) / *act* (controlled momentary dynamic situation) (Lyons 1977: 483) and *an event which is not temporally segmentable* (Freed 1979: 51).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Vendler's semantic classification of verbs (or, more precisely sentences containing verbs) is based on a classification of verbal predicates. The analysed verbs and objects may belong to different groups, e.g., *pisać list* and *pisać do gazet*. Vendler provides the following four-way division of verbs characterised by means of such parameters as dynamic/static, telic/atelic, momentary/durative: *states* (states, static situations, e.g., *have, like, want, believe*), *activities* (actions, dynamic situations, which are not movements towards a natural endpoint, e.g., *sleep, sing, tell stories, walk*), *accomplishments* (processes, dynamic situations which are movements toward a natural endpoint, e.g., *build a house, paint a picture*) and *achievements* (momentary dynamic situations, e.g., *start, recognize, notice*). These classes have been distinguished on the basis of two criteria: the possibility to be used in the progressive and the co-occurrence with adverbials like *for + temporal expression* (*for two hours* 'dwie godziny, przez dwie godziny') and *in + temporal expression* (*in two hours* 'w ciągu dwóch godzin'). *Activities* and *accomplishments* can be used in the progressive, e.g., *John is building a house*. Durative adverbials like *for an hour* are compatible with *states* and *activities*, e.g., *She was happy for a year. Peter swam for an hour*.

<sup>3</sup> 'Then we can say that achievements occur at the single moment, while states last for a period of time' (Vendler, 1967: 103).

<sup>4</sup> This group comprises both punctual *achievements* and non-punctual *accomplishments*, e.g., (*find, build a house*).

<sup>5</sup> 'An achievement essentially names an event that has no duration' (Freed 1979: 51).

Here we propose the following definition of *achievements*:

***Achievements* are verb types with a minimal change interval, i.e., they refer to actions lasting for a moment (moment = a minimal interval during which a change can be observed).**<sup>6</sup>

We attempt to demonstrate that *achievements* verbs are not a homogeneous class and to distinguish the subclasses we propose with the criteria listed below (Stawnicka 2008, 156–157):

1. the type of change: a single instantaneous change verbs (*runąć, przewrócić się, znaleźć*);
2. the status of the phase preceding and following the instantaneous change:
  - with the initial or final phase (*zamieszkać, zapachnieć, odsiedzieć wyrok*)
  - without the initial or final phase (*zgubić, upuścić coś; kichnąć*);
3. the presence or absence of the preliminary phase:
  - without the preliminary phase (*zapalić światło*)
  - with the preliminary phase (*znaleźć coś*,<sup>7</sup> *sprzedać*);<sup>8</sup>
4. the ability to enter into verbal aspect partnership:
  - *absolute perfectiva tantum* (*ocknąć się*)
  - *relative perfectiva tantum* (*znaleźć*,<sup>9</sup> *upaść, upuścić szklanę*).<sup>10</sup>

## 1.2. Classification of expressions of duration

Durative adverbials fall into two groups, namely, interval adverbials and frame adverbials. Interval adverbials (*dwie godziny*-type) can be characterised by means of the universal quantifier ( $\forall t$ ), as in:

<sup>6</sup> Cf. “Punktueller Verben haben keine zeitliche Ausdehnung, sie sind zu einem Zeitpunkt noch nicht der Fall, zum nächsten Zeitpunkt bereits nicht mehr der Fall. Sie können daher nur über Zukünftiges oder Vergangenes ausgesagt werden, im Gegenwart existieren sie nicht.” (*finden, treffen, erblicken, erreichen, gewinnen*) (Tschirner 1991: 66). The situation to which the change-of-state verbs refer concerns a minimal interval in which two moments are included. (cf. “First, there is the distinction between change-of-state verbs that normally happen at a nearly minimal interval (i.e. containing the two moments mentioned in the BECOME condition) (e.g. *reach the finish line, remember a person’s name* (inchoative reading), *notice a misprint*) and those that occur over a large interval (e.g. *walk from the post-office to the bank*).” (Dowty 1979: 181). For a definition of the class of verbs see Stawnicka (2008: 143–157).

<sup>7</sup> We mean not accidental finding of something.

<sup>8</sup> See Smith (1991: 59–61) for examples like *win the race, reach the top, recognize someone*.

<sup>9</sup> The class of *perfectiva tantum* is not homogeneous. It consists of *absolute perfectiva tantum* in terms of iterativity, terminativity and derivation (*runąć, ocknąć się*) and *relative perfectiva tantum* in terms of terminativity but not iterativity and derivation (*znaleźć, zauważyć*) and in terms of terminativity and iterativity but not derivation (*posiedzieć, zatešknić*). Within the class of *imperfectiva tantum* there can be identified *imperfectiva tantum* in respect to terminativity and derivation and *imperfectiva tantum* in terms of terminativity but not derivation (Stawnicka 2007).

<sup>10</sup> This analysis focuses on *achievements* that belong to *relative perfectiva tantum*.

( $\forall t$ ) ‘for all  $t$  (in  $t_A, t_B$ ) it is the case that...’ (During the walk Piet and Teun had a discussion about skating) (Verkuyl 1972: 107–108).<sup>11</sup>

Time-frame adverbials locate eventualities inside a larger time frame (the existential quantifier). They can be divided into two types: complex frame adverbials,<sup>12</sup> where the action denoted by the verb covers the whole interval expressed by the adverbial and noncomplex adverbials as in *Napisalem list w ciągu kilku minut* (Eng. *I finished writing the letter in a few minutes*) where the action denoted by the verb covers the whole interval expressed by the adverbial.

Considering the ability to express location on the time axis noncomplex adverbials can be further divided into the boundary-oriented and boundary non-oriented ones. The boundary-oriented adverbials locate a momentary eventuality on the time axis in respect of the left- or right boundary. When marking the left boundary the temporal interval indicates the duration of the resultative state, as in: *Przyjechałam na dwa dni do Warszawy* (Eng. *I came to Warsaw for two days*), and when it is the right boundary that is marked, then the temporal interval indicates the duration of action before the change is effected, as in *Znalazł klucz w godzinę* (Eng. *He found the key in an hour*). Non-oriented adverbials locate a momentary or non-momentary (terminal or non-terminal) action within a wider temporal interval without fixing the location within the interval, as in:

*W ciągu roku spóźnił się tylko raz do pracy.*

He came late to work only once in a year.

*W ciągu roku napisał (tylko jeden) artykuł.*

He wrote (only) one article in a year.

*Wczoraj spacerowałam (przez) godzinę w parku.*

I walked in the park for an hour yesterday.

In the present paper we focus our attention on the use of achievements with durational adverbials of the interval and right-boundary-oriented complex frame adverbials.

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<sup>11</sup> (A,B) – the interval filled with *walking*. Cf. also “... mir der Phrase *przez + Akk.<sup>m</sup>* [wird] ein abgeteilter (beidseitig eindeutig abgegrenzter) Zeitabschnitt bezeichnet..., in dem das Ereignis *E* abläuft. Die Zeitdauer des Ereignisses *E* erstreckt sich über den gesamten durch die Phrase mit *przez + Akk.<sup>m</sup>* bezeichneten Zeitabschnitt und überschreitet seine Grenzen nicht.” (Laskowski 2003: 197).

<sup>12</sup> Complex time-frame adverbials correspond to completive adverbials in Smith’s typology (Smith 1991: 155–157, 158, 329).

## 2. *Achievements with durative adverbials*

### 2.1. *Achievements with in an hour – type expressions*

Although *in an hour* – type adverbials occur with *accomplishments* and *achievements*, as in the following sentences taken from Schopf (1984: 110):

*The cloths dried in ten minutes.*  
*She washed the dishes in an hour.*  
*He found his key in a minute.*  
*We reached the station in four minutes.*

Dowty (1979: 58–59) stresses differences between the classes of *accomplishments* and *achievements* with an accompanying adverbial. Analysing two sentences *John painted a picture in an hour* and *John noticed the painting in a few minutes* he concludes that the painting of a picture took an hour (John started to paint, painted and finished painting, which lasted an hour). By contrast from *John noticed the painting in a few minutes* it does not follow that the action did fill the temporal interval of *a few minutes*:<sup>13</sup>

*John painted a picture in an hour* = *John was painting a picture during an hour.*  
*John noticed the painting in a few minutes* ≠ *?John was noticing the painting a few minutes.*

Similarly, Rothstein (2004: 40) argues that *in an hour* – type adverbials occur both with *accomplishments* and *achievements*, as in:

*The guest arrived in an hour.*  
*Dafna read a book in an hour.*

Adverbials locate eventualities within an interval. The telic point at which a change occurred is a terminal point of this interval. In the case of *accomplishments* the initial point of the interval *hour* is identified as the beginning of an action expressed by *accomplishments* or with another contextually relevant point prior to the action, as shown below:

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<sup>13</sup> If  $\phi$  is an achievement verb, then  $X \phi$ ed in  $y$  time does not entail  $X$  was  $\phi$ ing during  $y$  time (Dowty, 1979: 58–59). Cf. the observation in Padučeva (1996: 104): “[...] сочетание *написал за два часа* возможно потому, что идея ‘действовал и закончил’ входит как в семантику глагола действия *написал*, так и в семантику обстоятельства срока” [‘the combination of *write (up)* with *in two hours* is possible because the meaning ‘perform an activity and finish it’ is a part of the meaning of the verb of action and the adverbial’ (our translation)].

*I wrote that reader's report in two days.*  
*I wrote that reader's report in three months.*

In the last example the initial point of the interval precedes the event, which could be, for example, a request to write the report.

To distinguish between the structure of *accomplishments* and *achievements*. Rothstein (2004: 40, 42) makes use of paraphrases with *after* and *before* (see also Piñon 1997). For *in an hour* the telic point is situated inside the interval of *hour* as its final point, i.e., a point at which a change can be ascertained. By contrast *after an hour*, *take an hour before V-ing* place the initial point after an hour has elapsed. In practice however these intervals are not distinguished and for this reason the following paraphrases are possible for each of the sentences below:

*The guest arrived in an hour.*  
*The guest arrived after an hour.*  
*It took an hour before the guest arrived.*

*Ella reached the summit in an hour.*  
*Ella reached the summit after an hour.*  
*It took an hour before Ella reached the summit.*

On the other hand the sentences with *before* and *after* below are not paraphrases of *in an hour*-sentences:

*Neta painted a picture in an hour.*  
*Neta painted a picture after an hour.*  
*It took an hour before Neta painted that picture.*

*Dafna read a book in an hour.*  
*Dafna read a book after an hour.*  
*It took an hour before Dafna read that book.<sup>14</sup>*

Smith (1991: 157, 159) illustrates the use of such verbs with *in an hour*-adverbials with an ingressive interpretation:<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Completive adverbials are ingressive when they locate instantaneous events. The adverbial denotes an interval, at the end of which the event occurs.

*They reached the top in ten minutes.*

*He won the race in ten minutes.*

*She knocked at the door in ten minutes.* (Smith 1991: 115).

<sup>15</sup> "As ingressives, the adverbials indicate an interval at the end of which the event occurs" (Smith 1991: 157), e.g., *They reached the top in ten minutes. He won the race in ten minutes.*

*Mary believed in ghosts in an hour.  
At the end of an hour Mary began to believe in ghosts.*

In these sentences the adverbial refers to the time that elapsed from the initial point of the preliminary phase (e.g., the starting point of the talking of Mary into believing into ghosts).<sup>16</sup> *Achievement* verbs used with such adverbials would denote the duration of the preliminary phase, i.e., a non-cumulative process leading to a instantaneous change.<sup>17</sup>

Defining the class of *achievements* Dowty (1979: 181) says that it is not always possible to clearly distinguish between change-of-state verbs at a nearly minimal interval and occurring over a large interval. Examples like *It took John an hour to close the door* well illustrate the situation in which the preliminary operations took John an hour before the decision was taken to close the door and the act of closing the door was performed.

## 2.2. W godzinę *adverbials* with Polish *achievements* and *accomplishments*

The temporal adverbial *w godzinę* is an adverbial of measure of accomplishing an action and informs of the duration of a heterogeneous process preceding a qualitative change. It occurs with perfective verbs of a **terminal aspectual pair** (e.g., *Posprzątała pokój w ciągu dwóch godzin* (Eng. *She cleaned up the room in two hours*)) and **parametric** verbs (*Temperatura obniżyła się w ciągu godziny.* (Eng. *The temperature decreased in an hour*)).

Karolak (1996: 33–34) exemplifies such change-of-state verbs which exclude the possibility of there occurring a process of transition of one state into another sentences with the following sentences:

*Bomba wybuchła w godzinę.  
Ołówek złamał się dziecku w pięć minut.  
Dziewczyna spodobała mi się w jedną noc.*

In these sentences, as Karolak observes, the adverbial is an adverbial of time and not of duration, and its meaning can be explicated as follows: ‘the moment at which there arose a state expressed by the change-of-state verb determined relatively [...]’, i.e., relatively to another moment implicitly or explicitly marked in the context. Generally, in Karolak’s view (Karolak 1996: 34), the easier it is to reconstruct the moment, the more natural such sentences with the adverbials are. When the reconstruction of the initial moment of the interval poses difficulties, an indication can be the context

<sup>16</sup> “The inchoative is an *achievement* and has the ingressive interpretation that standardly occurs for *achievements* with completive adverbials.” Smith interprets them as a clash ‘[...] when adverbial and situation type have different values’ (Smith, 1991: 159).

<sup>17</sup> It should be remembered that this process is not expressed in this case by means of an imperfective verb and the imperfective verb denotes a perfective state.

itself with its use of *po-* prepositional phrases, as in, e.g., *Światło zgasło w pół godziny po naprawieniu instalacji* (Eng. *The light went out in an hour after the system was fixed*) (Karolak 1996: 35).<sup>18</sup> Karolak demonstrates further a functional identity of *w-* and *z-* prepositional phrases with the accusative as in *Napiszę artykuł w tydzień (w ciągu tygodnia) / za tydzień* (Karolak 1996: 35) and claims that any differences between the two are related to the difference of a relatively determined moment.

Similarly, for Bogusławski (2003: 22; but cf. Laskowski 1998: 170)<sup>19</sup> ‘the adverbial characteristics of duration are used to indicate the *i n t e r v a l* between a (not necessarily explicitly) marked event (moment) and the transition of something or someone to a definite new state.’

Thus any discussion of the co-occurrence of *w godzinę* – adverbials with *achievements* requires that there are two types of processes distinguished, namely, heterogeneous and homogeneous ones. Homogeneous processes can be goal-oriented (*szukać czegoś*) or non-oriented towards a goal (*spacerować*).<sup>20</sup> If an adverbial like *in an hour* is used with *achievements*, then it indicates the frames of a temporal interval within which a homogeneous goal-oriented eventuality occurs, the eventuality referring to the final point of the interval whose frames have been determined by the context or can be reconstructed independently of the context. This point is the moment occurring after the completion of a homogeneous process, as in:

*W ciągu godziny znalazłem zagubioną portmonetkę (od momentu rozpoczęcia poszukiwań).* (Eng. *I found the lost wallet in an hour (after I started to look for it)*).

If it is impossible to reconstruct the initial point, then the initial point must be expressed explicitly in the sentence. Compare the following cases:

*Zgłosiłam mieszkanie do agencji nieruchomości i w ciągu godziny otrzymałam propozycję ceny.* (Eng. *I sent my sales offer to a real estate agency and in an hour I got a price proposal*).

*Można sięść do samochodu i w dziesięć minut spotkać się z naturą (w dziesięć minut po rozpoczęciu podróży).* (Eng. *You can get into a car and in ten minutes you can enjoy nature (ten minutes after you set off)*).

However if the sentence contains an element denoting a “portionable” object, then such a sentence is also acceptable:

*W trzy godziny sprzedałem trzy pakiety ubezpieczeń.*<sup>21</sup> (Eng. *In three hours I sold three insurance packages.*)

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Rothstein’s view (Rothstein 2004) on the use of *in an hour* and *after*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. also: ‘In instantaneous verbs a retrospective expression of duration informs of the length of the period that passed from an earlier moment’ (Laskowski 1998: 170) [our translation].

<sup>20</sup> See Schopf (1984: 110) for the identification of the two processes.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *W godzinę (od wyjścia na spacer) Marysia spotkała trzy przyjaciółki.* (Laskowski 1998: 170).



Adverbials accompanying ingressive verbs set an interval at whose final point an action was initiated and its beginning is indicated by the context:

*W ciągu jednej nocy zrozumiał, że go kocham.* (Eng. *In one night he understood that I loved him.*)

*Zdenerwował się na mnie w ciągu dwóch minut.*<sup>22</sup> (Eng. *He got cross with me in two minutes.*)

A similar ingressive interpretation is proposed for atelic verbs with *in an hour*-adverbials by Smith (1991: 159) in her analysis of *Mary believed in ghosts in an hour* ('At the end of an hour Mary began to believe in ghosts').<sup>23</sup>

### 3. *Achievements* in the progressive function

It is often claimed that *achievements* have no progressive form. This view can be for instance found in Brecht (1985), who considers the sentence below questionable:

*Tom ?was forgetting his coat.* (Brecht 1985: 11).

Also Landman (1991: 212–213) claims that 'it is impossible to give a present tense report of a change [...]. We can give a past tense report of a change.' A similar argument is put forward in the following discussion by Vendler (1967: 221):

'When I say that it took me an hour to write a letter (which is an accomplishment), I imply that the writing of the letter went on during that hour. This is not the case with achievements. Even of one says that it took him three hours to reach the summit, one does not mean that the *reaching of* the summit went on during those hours. Obviously it took three hours of climbing to reach the top. Put in another way: if I write a letter in an hour, then I can say, 'I am writing a letter' at any time during that hour, but if it takes three hours to reach the top, I cannot say "I am reaching the top" at any moment of that period.'

Rothstein (2004) takes a less radical position when she analyses *How long did it take John to recognize Mary?* For her achievements are instantaneous, and as such they can only be interpreted as asking how long it was before the event took place. Notably, she claims however that although 'it makes no sense to ask how long a recog-

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Laskowski's interpretation of *W ciągu roku Jan zamieszkał w Krakowie.* (Laskowski 1998: 170).

<sup>23</sup> Smith (1991: 325) says that imperfective *achievements* are used in the sense of the preliminary phase as in *Otec uzhe umiral, kogda ja vernul'sja.* However it is worth remembering that many *achievements* do not have the imperfective form and so they belong to *perfectiva tantum.*

niton took, one can ask how long it took before a recognition took place' (Rothstein (2004: 23).

However the claim that *achievements* are not used in the progressive sense has never been fully accepted. For example, Verkuyl (1989) maintains that *achievements* are actually *accomplishments* referring to a small interval that becomes activated in the progressive so that *achievements* are disguised accomplishments with a very short activity period that can be activated in the progressive. By contrast, Mittwoch (1991) finds *achievements* a class distinct from *accomplishments*, although semantically they can be stretched into *accomplishments* when used progressively.

A different view is taken by Smith (1991) for whom *achievements* in the progressive form refer to the preliminary stages (cf. also Kamp and Ryle 1993).

The same problem of the use of *achievements* in the progressive is examined again in Rothstein (2004). The author argues that *achievements* can be used in this function, producing what she calls *an imperfective paradox*:

*The plane was landing, when it exploded in midair (so it didn't land).  
June was just reaching the summit when there was an avalanche (so she didn't reach it)* (Rothstein 2004: 39)

In such sentences *achievements* develop a kind of internal incremental structure with intermediate stages, yet as Rothstein (2004: 40–42) argues, *achievements* are not *accomplishments* and progressive *achievements* behave very differently from progressive *accomplishments*.

On the one hand achievements combine with *w godzinę* adverbials, which points to a preceding process and on the other hand their punctual character manifests in their ability to combine with time-position adjuncts, as in the following sentences:

*We reached the station in four minutes.  
We reached the station at 12.14.* (Schopf 1984: 110).

*Accomplishments* do not exhibit such properties. This observation is in agreement with Selivyorstova's (1997) analysis of the co-occurrence of perfective forms of verbs in a terminative aspectual pair with adverbials when the eventuality is located in a wider temporal interval, e.g., *Я сделала эту работу вчера* (Eng. *I did this work yesterday*) (Селиверстова 1997: 102–107). As she notes, it is not possible to ascertain the finalisation of the action with reference to the terminal moment, i.e., the reference to the initial point of the post-terminal stage on the time axis): *\*Я убрала всю квартиру в три часа* (Eng. *I cleaned the whole room at three*). This is supported further by such instances of sentences like *Мы пообедали в три часа* (Eng. *We ate dinner at three*), whose explication is related neither to the momentary character of the action nor to the fact that the action was started or finished at three o'clock. That an adverbial like *в три часа* (*at three*) can be used here follows from its synonymy with the expression *часа в три* (*about three*) denoting an interval with the initial point before three o'clock and the terminal point after three o'clock.

Also, Maslov (1948, 1984) identifies two groups of verbs that cannot be used in the progressive but are perfectly acceptable with the iterative interpretation. These are verbs expressing momentary acts like *находить* and *приходить*.

### 3.1. Polish achievements in the progressive

The discussion of the possible use of Polish *achievements* in the progressive requires as its starting point the assumption that the use of a verb in the progressive entails the existence of a continuum extending between an unrestricted use to absolute unacceptability. What follows from this assumption is the rejection of the claim that achievements cannot be used in the progressive form.

Analysing Russian data Lehmann (1998: 295) stresses that the criterion of acceptability of the progressive as defined by Vendler and Maslov must not be used for the subcategorisation of terminative verbs and provides a handful of progressivity tests<sup>24</sup> for Russian verbs.

First, as Lehmann observes, there can be the case when all valence slots are filled for the imperfective member of a terminative aspectual pair (*рисовать*), but the empty slots can also be filled with a momentary verb like *вспомнить*:<sup>25</sup>

*Она постепенно забывает свой горький опыт с мужчинами. Я слышала, как она запрещала сыну посещать этого профессора.* (Eng. *She was gradually forgetting about her bitter experience with men. I heard her forbidding her son to visit the professor.*)

Secondly, it is not possible to fill the empty slots for:

– a speech act verb (e.g., *приказывать*),

\**Она приказывала ему чистить сапоги, но так и не приказала* (Eng. lit. *She was ordering him to clean boots, but anyway she did not manage to order.*)

– parametric verbs, e.g., *чернеть*

\**Вода чернела, но так и не почернела* (Eng. *Water was darkening but anyway it didn't get dark.*)

– verbs denoting occupations (*выводить*)

*что ты там делаешь? \*я вывожу новую породу свиней* (Eng. *What are you doing? I am just breeding a new breed of pigs.*)

<sup>24</sup> See Lehmann (1998: 296) and Glovinskaya (2001) for progressivity test.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Smith (1991: 61): '[...] recognize someone is taken as an instantaneous event, an achievement. Recognizing may occur with or without preliminaries. I may meet John at a party and gradually find that he is familiar to me, eventually recognizing him as an acquaintance of years ago.'

Weither it is possible to use *приходить* (*come*) in the progressive:

\*Он приходил, но так и не пришел; (Eng. *He was coming but he did not come*)

\*Вот приходит его жена. (Eng. *Here is coming his wife.*)

On the basis of these examples Lehmann concludes the acceptability of the progressive depends on the possibility of such a semantic reinterpretation that communicates the phase-like structure of the situation (Lehmann 1998).

Padučeva (1998) points to another criterion of unacceptability of imperfective momentary verbs in the progressive saying that the progressive meaning can be achieved only in the context of a situation which can be analysed perceptually.<sup>26</sup>

However as a results of recategorisation or reinterpretation consisting in a transfer of properties of prototypical members of a category onto less prototypical components of the same category or elements of other categories, as Łaziński and Wiemer (1996: 336) claim, *achievements* can acquire the progressive meaning. The properties that are transferred are related to durative verbs denoting a terminative situation. This is particularly true of situations perceptually analysable, where the interpretation leads to the identification of the preliminary phase (Apresyan 1995: 232).<sup>27</sup> For example, the verb *sell* can be interpreted as terminative in the context as show below:

*Sprzedawałem ten samochód całą niedzielę* (Łaziński and Wiemer 1996: 337).  
(Eng. *I was selling this car all Sunday.*)

At the same time depending on the type of object a verb like *otwierać* (*open*) can be situated at various points of the acceptability scale of the progressive (*otwierać drzwi, butelkę wina, szufladę, lodówkę, książkę, właz, usta, powieki, szlaban, spadochron; otwierać sesję, konto*) as in:

*Kiedy otwierano szlaban, doszło do wypadku.* (Eng. lit. *When the barrier was opened, an accident happened.*)

*Ręce mu się trzęsły, kiedy otwierał drzwi*<sup>28</sup> (Eng. *His hands were trembling when he was opening the door.*)

<sup>26</sup> (наблюдаемость ситуации) «толкование этого значения включает фигуру синхронного наблюдателя» (Padučeva 1998: 44).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. 'Preliminaries are conventionally necessary for certain achievements. [Win a race] is one example: to win a running race one must run it. Another example is [reach the top]: To reach suggest that one has approached. If a magician whisked John and Mary to the top of a pyramid, we would not say that they had reached the top. Preliminary processes enable the events to take place, they are related to the events, but they are not part of the actual winning or reaching the top. The preliminaries are conceptually detached from the events.' (Smith 1991: 61).

<sup>28</sup> Here in the conative sense of 'próbował otworzyć [Eng. was trying to open].'

*Herman złapał go za lewą nogę w momencie, kiedy Vivash **otwierał spadochron**.* (Eng. *Herman grasped his left leg the moment Vivash was opening his parachute.*)

***Gdy otwierał szufladę**, wyleciały z niej różne przedmioty.* (Eng. *When he was opening the drawer, different items fell out.*)

In the case of lexemes denoting speech acts and social acts the progressive form is still possible with a non-literal meaning. Comparing two phrases *открывать чемодан* (*open a suitcase*) – *открывать заседание* (*open a meeting*) Anstatt (2004: 31) points out that a meeting can be opened by means of a formulaic expression or a gesture. Consequently, it would be possible to identify two sense components which are nevertheless not marked in the meaning of the lexeme: the level of the effect of an action and the level of the action itself, i.e., motor fulfillment. The likelihood of the use of a verb in the progressive increases in proportion to the degree of spontaneity of the association of the ‘motor fulfillment’ with the meaning of the lexeme, as shown below:

*Zatrzymali oni adresata w momencie, kiedy **odbierał paczkę**.* (Eng. *They arrested the addressee when he was receiving the parcel.*)

*Kiedy **odbierał** wysłany przez nas **plik**, zepsuł mu się komputer.* (Eng. *When he was receiving the file, his computer broke down.*)

*Kiedy **odbierał gratulacje**, błyszczały mu oczy ze szczęścia.* (Eng. lit. *When he was receiving congratulations, his eyes sparkled with happiness.*)

Mehlig (1981: 118–119) demonstrates that some of Vendler’s *achievements* (*win, reach the summit, die*) acquire properties of *accomplishments* and consequently can be used in the progressive, e.g., *Когда я пришел, Иван как раз выигрывал дистанцию* (When I came John was winning the race / was about to win) and in the conative sense, e.g., *Иван уже выигрывал дистанцию, но вдруг оступился и упал* (John was just winning the race when he tripped and fell down) (Mehlig 1981: 118–119).<sup>29</sup>

Under this interpretation *już* or *właśnie* + an imperfective verb means the same as *prawie, niemal* + a perfective verb (*już wygrywał = prawie wygrał*). A similar course of argumentation can be found in Rothstein’s (2004: 44) examples:

*The vase is falling → The vase is about to fall.*

*The train is arriving at the station → The train is about to arrive at the station.*

Also Łaziński and Wiemer (1996: 339) paraphrase Polish *Już go doganiałem, ale się przewróciłem, i uciekł* as *Niemal / prawie go dogoniłem*, which they render into German along the same lines as: *Ich hatte ihn beinahe eingeholt = Ich war schon dabei ihn einzuholen, als (plötzlich).*

<sup>29</sup> Achievements can be used in the imperfective form iteratively (Mehlig 1981; Timberlake 1985a: 45).

It follows then that in some context momentary verbs may refer to an action extended in time and the acceptability of such sentences follows from extralinguistic factors like encyclopaedic knowledge and the knowledge of the real world. For example, the verb *pekać* (*crack / break*) is a momentary verb, still it is easy to imagine a situation where the water frozen in a bottle causes the bottle to break when the temperature rises.<sup>30</sup>

However if imperfective forms are derived from *achievements*, then as Padučeva (1996: 111) points out, they can be used in the iterative sense or refer to either interval: the post-terminal phase (a perfective state) or the pre-initial phase.

If the perfective forms of momentary verbs refer to the pre-initial phase, then they can express *tendencies* and *expectations*.

‘Tendency’ is defined by Padučeva as a state of the subject that allows predicting the course of events leading to a new state and the properties of the new state, the state being either controllable (*wygrywać, domyslać się, zwyciężyć*) or uncontrollable (*spóźniać się*).<sup>31</sup>

For the same author (Padučeva 1996: 115–116) ‘expectation’ (*предстояние*) is a state defined by the intention of the subject to bring about a new state, e.g., (*расставаться, отправляться, отзываться (посла)*) as in: *Поезд отправляется. Поезд отправлялся в пять часов.*

Finally, the perfective state (Padučeva 1996: 116–117) is a resultative state of preceding events (*Ваня вернулся, а Федя пока остался (остается) в школе*).<sup>32</sup>

Also Apresyan (Апресян 1988: 68–71) claims that imperfective momentary verbs convey a quasi-progressive meaning, i.e., they refer to an action which is ‘sort of’ simultaneous with the speaking time. Such uses can be observed in the present tenses forms with perfective state meaning and in the sense of the nearest future events, which the speaker finds certain to occur.

The perfective state meaning is realised in a number of forms such as:

– the use of the present tense in commentaries, e.g., sport commentaries: *Łuczywek dogrywa do Wolańskiego, który niecelnie strzela z ostrego kąta* (Eng. *Łuczywek passes the ball to Wolański, who misses the goal.*)

<sup>30</sup> Cf. also *W miejscu, gdzie stał jeden z nich, powoli pękała szklana ściana, robotnicy jednak tego nie zauważyli. Nagle usłyszeli głośny trzask i zorientowali się, że kawałek szkła pod ich stopami za moment runie do wody.* (Orłowski: *Przedśionek Nieba*; <http://histeria.pl/sf/sf/przedsonok.htm>); also Mehlig (1981: 122–123) gives examples of the verb ‘лопнуть’ (platzen) and ‘потерять’, which when used with certain nouns may contextually denote situations temporally extendable, as they may combine with such adverbials as *langsam* and *allmählig*: *Бутылка лопалась медленно. Иван все больше и больше терял терпение.*

<sup>31</sup> The preinitial interval can range from ‘in remote future’ to ‘soon’.

<sup>32</sup> Among aspectual pairs *Zaliznyak* and *Šmieliov* (Зализняк, Шмелев 2000: 57) distinguish perfective pairs *видеть – увидеть, верить – поверить* and anticipatory pairs (*опоздывать – опоздать, выигрывать – выиграть*).

- the present tense of emotional actualization (Bondarko 1971: 150–153): e.g., *Przychodzisz do mnie pożyczyć pieniądze, a przecież ledwo się znamy* (i.e., you have already come and asked); *Przypominam sobie, że obiecałeś mi pożyczkę* (= I have recalled this)
- interpretative present tense:<sup>33</sup> *Pan mnie obraża. Lekceważysz swoje obowiązki. Wracasz mi wiarę w ludzi.*

Finally, the “nearest future” sense, which is a variant of the quasi-progressive meaning, is different from *praesens futurum* in the fact that the preliminary phase is simultaneous with the moment of speaking (Apresyan 1988: 70–71)

A sentence like *John zwycięża* (Eng. *John wins.*) can be interpreted as “John acts in such a way that he will probably win”. However the sentences cannot be interpreted as “John is in the course of winning” because the action is not a process (Lyons 1989: 313). In a similar way the question *Kto wygrywa?* (Eng. *Who wins?*) is a question about the present but not the final score, i.e., a question about the profile of the preliminary phases which will lead to the victory of one team (cf. *Wygrał pierwszą rundę w (ciągu) dwóch minut*, which can be interpreted as: ‘Two minutes elapsed from the beginning of the round’.

It should be noted however that the presence of the preliminary phase does not ensure the change or, as Smith (1991: 60) puts it, ‘a process associated with an achievement does not inevitably lead to the expected outcome’, as illustrated in:

*Biegacz nie wygrał wyścigu, bo upadł niefortunnie przed metą.*

Neither is the change conditioned by the presence of the preliminary phase. As Smith (1991: 60) says:

‘Achievements do not entail the existence of an associated preliminary process, or vice versa. Somewhat more formally:

If an achievement occurs at time *t*, it does not follow that a preliminary process was going on at a moment or interval that precedes it. If a process preliminary to an achievement is going on, it does not follow that an achievement will occur at a subsequent moment.’

#### 4. Imperfective *achievements* with the meaning of preliminary phase

The possibility of identifying the preliminary stage is one of factors that influence the use of durative adverbials. If the preliminary stage covers the whole interval demar-

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<sup>33</sup> «настоящее НСВ интерпретационное» (Glovinskaya 1989: 113–114) defined as ‘the speaker refers to an earlier action and its result interpreting it as behavior characteristic of the addressee’.

cated by an imperfective verb, then the adverbial refers to this stage, its beginning, continuation and the terminal point. There can be identified momentary verbs with imperfective forms used in the progressive and also momentary verbs with no imperfective form, which does not preclude the reconstructibility of their preliminary phase. Here we present the major groups:

### Group I

If the preliminary stage covers the whole interval demarcated by an imperfective verb, then the adverbial refers to this stage, its beginning, continuation and the terminal point.

*W ciągu godziny sprzedałem pakiet ubezpieczeń* (the preliminary phase lasted an hour and after an hour the sale turned out success).

Imperfective verbs undergoing the process of recategorisation of terminative type acquire the progressive meaning and can be used with interval adverbials:<sup>34</sup>

*Godzinę sprzedawałem* (tj. usiłowałem sprzedać) *pakiet ubezpieczeń*. vs.  
*Kiedy sprzedawałem pakiet ubezpieczeń, zadzwonił telefon.*

*Panna Nina Horzeńska wyludziła w ciągu nocy trzysta tysięcy od zakochanego Amerykanina.* (T. Dołęga-Mostowicz: *Doktor Murek zredukowany*) vs.  
*Całą noc wyludzała* (usiłowała wyludzić) *pieniądze od zakochanego Amerykanina, a kiedy noc upłynęła stała się posiadaczką trzystu tysięcy.*

*W ciągu tygodnia nawiązał on przyjacielskie stosunki z ordynansem porucznika, czego owocem była spora paczka bilecików pani prezesowej.* (T. Dołęga-Mostowicz: *Drugie życie doktora Murka*) vs.  
*Przez tydzień nawiązywał* (usiłował nawiązać) *przjacielskie stosunki z ordynansem porucznika.*

### Group II

The preliminary stage is not expressed by an imperfective verb forming an aspectual pair with achievements. Nonetheless it can be easily reconstructed extralinguistically or contextually.

*W ciągu trzech miesięcy znalazłem mieszkanie, a w ciągu miesiąca pracę* (Poszukiwania mieszkania trwały trzy miesiące, a pracy miesiąc) vs. *Trzy miesiące szukałem mieszkania, a miesiąc – pracy.*

*W dwie godziny od zawiadomienia ranni znaleźli się w szpitalu.* vs. *\*Ranni dwie godziny znajdowali się w szpitalu)*

<sup>34</sup> Smith (1991) calls them durative adverbials, e.g., *for two hours, from 1 to 3 p.m.*



*Wirus został wykryty w 1990 roku i w ciągu kilku lat pojawiła się szczepionka przeciwko niemu.* vs. *\*Szczepionka pojawiała się kilka lat)*

### Group III

The preliminary stage can be identified, yet it does not cover the whole interval indicated by the adverbial. In this case the decisive factor for the interpretation of the situation is the length of the interval:

*Towar dostarczono w ciągu kilku minut* (= Towar dostarczano przez kilka minut, tj. kilka minut trwało dostarczanie towaru; vs. Kiedy dostarczał towar, zadzwonił telefon)

*Towar dostarczono w ciągu czterech tygodni* ( $\neq$  Towar dostarczano cztery tygodnie),

*Jeden z pracowników słowackiej ambasady w Moskwie otrzymał polecenie opuszczenia Rosji w ciągu 72 godzin* w związku z „działalnością niezgodną ze statusem dyplomaty, wyrządzającą szkody interesom Federacji Rosyjskiej”. („Rzeczpospolita” 20.05.2004; Korpus PWN)

*Opuścił Rosję w ciągu 72 godzin*  $\neq$  *Opuszczał Rosję 72 godziny*.<sup>35</sup>

### Group IV

If no preliminary phase can be identified and there exists the imperfective form of a verb, the initial point of the interval is expressed explicitly or is entailed by the context or is a part of extralinguistic knowledge:

*Po zaplaceniu 300 złotych – w ciągu kilku dni – otrzymała gruby biuletyn samotnych.* („Przekrój” 1001/2922; Korpus PWN), vs. *\*Kilka dni otrzymywała biuletyn; \*Kiedy otrzymywała biuletyn, zadzwonił telefon.*

*W ciągu pięciu minut jego punkt widzenia uznano za ciekawy.*

*Według Igora Chalupca, wiceprezesa Pekao SA, doszło do tego, że inwestorzy zagraniczni, którzy już złożyli zapisy na akcje jego banku o wartości ok. 20 mln USD, w ciągu dwóch godzin zmienili decyzję pod wpływem wypowiedzi doradcy ekonomicznego jednego z polskich ministrów o złych perspektywach polskiej gospodarki.* („Rzeczpospolita” 04.11.2000; Korpus PWN) (vs. *Dwie godziny / przez dwie godziny zmieniali decyzję*)

– „CONTROL” – *Kontrola Biletów S.A.* – wyrecytował. *Potem zażądał dokumentu tożsamości; podał go wścawczowi, który coś z niego spisał.*

<sup>35</sup> Still it can be interpreted that the journey to the border lasted that long.

– *Platne w ciągu siedmiu dni w kasie firmy – pouczył mnie z wredną satysfakcją grubo i wręczył mandat za jazdę „na gapę”.* („Arsenał Gorzowski” 1998/6; Korpus PWN)

*W piątek około godziny 14 Jacek Dębski otrzymał wezwanie, aby w ciągu godziny stawić się w Kancelarii Premiera i złożyć premierowi wyjaśnienia.* („Rzeczpospolita” 26.02.2000; Korpus PWN)

### Group V

The imperfective verb denotes a resultative state:

*W ciągu kilku sekund w rozległym kompleksie wycoczynkowym zapanowała panika. Tłum uciekał w popłochu i w ciemnościach. Wszędzie było słychać jęki rannych, przysypanych przez resztki zawalonej konstrukcji. Pokaleczonych i przygniecionych ludzi w pośpiechu odwożono do szpitali.* („Rzeczpospolita” 16.02.2004; Korpus PWN)

*Dziewczyna spodobała mi się w jedną noc.* (Karolak 1996)

### Group VI

This group comprises *perfectiva tantum*. If no imperfective verb form is available it is necessary to indicate the point in respect of which the beginning of the interval becomes relativised.

*Ocknął się w ciągu kilku minut* (od zaśnięcia??? od momentu, w którym zacząłem go budzić)

*Runąć w ciągu kilku minut* (od wybuchu bomby???)

### Group VII

If an *achievement* sentence contains an element denoting an ‘portionable’ object, then the such a sentence is acceptable with *w godzinę* – adverbials:

*Jak powiedział „Rzeczpospolitej” Dariusz Janas, rzecznik prasowy Komendy Stołecznej Policji, w ciągu kilku dni policjanci z Wydziału Zabójstw KSP ustalili nazwiska prawie wszystkich bezdomnych zamieszkujących działki na Pradze i odtworzyli przebieg zdarzeń tragicznej nocy.* („Rzeczpospolita” 08.07.2000; Korpus PWN).

*W ciągu ośmiu pierwszych miesięcy tego roku udało się wykryć 38 tys. przestępstw związanych z handlem narkotykami, skonfiskowano 54 tony środków odurzających.* („Rzeczpospolita” 04.10.2004; Korpus PWN)

*Natomiast policja nie zaniechała sprawy. Komisarz Górny, któremu ją powierzono, w ciągu kilku dni zdołał ustalić szereg szczegółów.* (T. Dołęga-Mostowicz: *Znachor*)

In the examples above the sentences contained a collective object with the portions being elements of the same set. This is not an obligatory requirement and the portions may belong to different sets, as shown below:

*W ten sposób w ciągu lat kilku dowiedziałem się, że nie znam ziemiaństwa, chłopów, dentystów, robotników, adwokatów, przemysłowców, fryzjerów, szoferów, inżynierów, pisarzy gminnych, kolejarzy, literatów, właściciele magli parowych, rzeźników, akuszerki, dziennikarzy, radioamatorów, Żydów, bankowców, hydraulików, aktorów, kominiarzy, kobiet, mężczyzn i dzieci.* (T. Dołęga-Mostowicz: *Pamiętnik pani Hanki*)

## 5. Conclusions

Two types of momentary verbs can be identified, namely, momentary verbs with the preliminary phase (*znaleźć coś*,<sup>36</sup> *sprzedać*, *rozpoznać kogoś*) and without the preliminary phase (*zapalić światło*). When an imperfective verb denotes the preliminary phase, then imperfective forms of momentary verbs allow the progressive use, e.g., *sprzedawać samochód*. The preliminary stage may not be expressed by an imperfective verb but may follow from extralinguistic knowledge.

The factors conditioning the use of *w godzinę* – adverbials with momentary instantaneous change verbs are as follows:

1) the degree of relativisation of (reference to) the initial point of the interval indicated by the adverbial;

2) the scope of the interpretative framework of the verb, where the wide scope facilitates the reconstruction of a process which has led to an instantaneous change; the reconstruction depends on the semantics and syntax of the sentence containing such a verb, the context and the type of the direct object;

3) the possibility of using imperfective *achievements* with interval markers (*godzinę*);

4) the possibility of forming aspectual partnership (*achievements* with imperfective forms and without imperfective forms); if the imperfective forms exist then they fall into the following classes: the class in which the imperfective is used only in the iterative sense (and *praesens historicum*), the class in which the imperfective denotes a perfective state (*zrozumieć*) and the class in which the imperfective form denotes the preliminary phase and admits the progressive interpretation.

The use of momentary verbs with *w godzinę* is conditioned by the use of imperfective forms of momentary verbs with interval adverbial (*Sprzedalem samochód w ciągu godziny*; *Sprzedawałem samochód godzinę*), whereas the use of such imperfective verbs in progressivity tests is conditioned by the possibility of reconstruction of the process (linguistic and extralinguistic factors) which has brought about a change of state.

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<sup>36</sup> We mean not accidental finding of something.

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