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České konstrukce tzv. slovanského akuzativu s infinitivem

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So-called Slavonic accusativus cum infinitivo constructions in Czech

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes "accusativus cum infinitive" (AcI in sequel) constructions with verbs of perception in Czech, and briefly mentions the occurrence of these constructions in other Slavonic languages. The focus is placed on the syntactic and semantic features of these Czech constructions and their relationship to their respective paraphrases (expressed by subordinated clauses). The relationship between grammatical coreference (obligatory with the AcI and only optional with the analyzed subordinated clauses), the broad possibility of word-movements in the AcI and the limited one in subordinated clauses are used as arguments for the special position of the AcI within the underlying structure of the sentence, unlike the structure of semantically close subordinated clauses.

Key words: accusativus cum infinitivo constructions (AcI), subordinated clause, verbs of perception, grammatical coreference, underlying structure of the sentence, surface structure of the sentence

Klíčová slova: konstrukce akuzativu s infinitivem (AcI), vedlejší věta, slovesa smyslového vnímání, gramatická koreference, podkladová (významová) větná struktura, povrchová větná struktura

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Uzuálnost, funkčnost a systémovost jako kritéria gramatičnosti: K jednomu typu morfologické derivace (*udělajíc – udělající*)

FRANTIŠEK ŠTÍCHA

Usage, functionality and systemicity as criteria of grammaticality: On one type of morphological derivation (*udělajíc – udělající*)

ABSTRACT: The adjective derived from the present active participle of imperfective verbs (called 'přechodník' in Czech; e.g. the adjective *dělající* derived from the imperfective participle *dělajíc*) is very common in present-day written Czech. On the contrary, the adjective derived from the present active participle of perfective verbs (e.g. *udělající* derived from *udělajíc*) is extremely rare in written texts and perhaps non-existent for the native speaker of the Czech language. That is why all grammars of Czech either argue that this kind of verbal adjective does not exist in Czech or they do not mention it at all. In this paper, I try to show that this claim (or implicit assumption) is false. This type of adjective cannot be declared as non-existent because tens (and maybe hundreds) of different adjectives of the respective type (*udělající*) are used in standard texts on the internet. It is also shown in this paper that this adjective cannot be rejected as non-systemic either. The last grammaticality criterion is valid as well: the general textual function of the verbal adjective is a nominalization of the potential attributive clause (e.g. *vytvořící* for *který vytvoří – creating* (perfective) for *who will create* (perfective).

Key words: criteria of grammaticality, usage, functionality, morphological derivation, corpus linguistics, participle

Klíčová slova: kritéria gramatičnosti, uzuálnost, funkčnost, morfologická derivace, korpusová lingvistika, participium

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Vývojová dynamika obouvidových sloves cizího původu na základě korpusových dat

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A corpus-based study of the dynamics of biaspectual verbs of foreign origin

ABSTRACT: This paper describes how the Czech National Corpus can be used in researching what is called the 'loss of biaspectuality' process. We have tried to establish that the process manifests itself as a gradual year-by-year decrease in frequency of foreign-origin biaspectual verbs in (sub)corpora with a balanced distribution of texts. We deem this decrease to be inversely proportional to the increase in frequency of newly formed perfective correlates. Though these hypotheses have not been unambiguously verified, we have nonetheless acquired a great quantity of valuable data. We have identified four general types of verbal correlation in our database: (1) the "akceptovat" type stands for biaspectual verbs with no identified perfective correlates in the Czech National Corpus; (2) the "ilustrovat" type includes biaspectual verbs with infrequent perfective correlates; (3) the "dokumentovat" type represents biaspectual verbs with moderately frequent perfective correlates (both components of the correlation can ordinarily express perfective meaning); and finally, (4) the "likvidovat" type stands for originally biaspectual verbs with very frequent perfective correlates with a tendency to become the exclusive vehicle of the perfective meaning.

Key words: verbal aspect, biaspectuality, developmental dynamics, verbs of foreign origin, corpora

Klíčová slova: slovesný vid, obouvidovost, vývojová dynamika, slovesa cizího původu, korpus

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Testy pro zjišťování vidové hodnoty vidového paradigmatu slovesa (indikátory slovesného vidu)

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Tests for determining the aspectual status of the aspectual paradigm of a verb (indicators of verbal aspect)

ABSTRACT: The aim of this contribution is to confront the perfective and imperfective paradigms of verbs and to formulate testing procedures that would allow for the determination of the aspectual status of the aspectual paradigm of a verb as reliably as possible. The main task is to find a way to detect the presence of the perfective paradigm in the set of forms of a biaspectual verb. Both paradigms were confronted from the perspective of: (1) which forms they contain; (2) the functioning of their forms under certain conditions; (3) the ability of their forms to accompany each other. The author presents methods for verifying the presence/absence of the perfective paradigm in the set of forms of the "candidates for biaspectuality". Two configurations evidence the presence of the perfective paradigm. First, the acceptability of the present tense in temporal clauses introduced by the conjunctions *až* and *než*, and second, the possibility of a double interpretation of a complex sentence with a perfective preterite in the main clause and the conjunction *když* and a preterite in the temporal clause. Subsequently, the author constructs an algorithm for determining whether a paradigm is imperfective or perfective or whether two homonymous paradigms coexist.

Key words: verbal aspect, biaspectuality, candidates for biaspectuality, aspectual status, aspectual paradigm of a verb

Klíčová slova: slovesný vid, obouvidovost, kandidáty na obouvidovost, vidová hodnota, vidové paradigma slovesa

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