

Aspect Lexemes and Secondary Imperfectives in Resian

The present article deals with the category of verbal aspect in Resian, a Slovene-based linguistic variety spoken close to the border with Slovenia in Val Resia, Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region, Italy. After giving a brief description of its aspectual derivational mechanism (prefixation, suffixation, and suppletion), I focus on the formation of aspectual units, going far beyond the traditional concept of aspect pair by including triplets and quadruplets. The aim of the article is to illustrate the functions of secondary imperfectives according to the aspect unit they belong to.

Keywords: aspect lexemes, Resian, secondary imperfectives, verbal aspect

Vidski leksemi in sekundarni imperfektivi v rezijanščini

Prispevek obravnava kategorijo glagolskega vida v rezijanščini, slovenski manjšinski jezikovni zvrsti, ki se govori v dolini Rezija, v pokrajini Furlanija - Julijska krajina, v Italiji na meji s Slovenijo. Po kratkem opisu vidskega morfemskega nabora (prefiksacija, sufiksacija in supletivizem) se osredotočam na tvorbo aspektnih enot, ki daleč presegajo tradicionalni aspektni par ter vključujejo vidske trojčke in četverčke. Namen prispevka je prikazati funkcije sekundarnih imperfektivov glede na vidsko enoto, ki ji pripadajo.

Gljučne besede: vidske leksikalne enote, glagolski vid, rezijanščina, sekundarni imperfektivi

1 Introduction

Resian is a Slovene-based variety of Slavic, which has been attracting the attention of scholars since the end of the 18th century.¹ Nevertheless, the category of verbal aspect in Resian has been addressed only recently and there is still no study dedicated specifically to aspect lexemes (aspectual units) or the functions of secondary imperfectives.² I will focus on both of these questions. The ancestors of today's Resians settled in Val Resia (in the former Province of Udine, in the Italian Region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia) around the 10th century, at the latest, most likely coming down from Carinthia. Resian has been in a situation of linguistic contact with Romance languages for centuries. Moreover, in its early history and in the first half of the 19th century, Resian was influenced by South-German varieties. In contrast, contact with northern Slovene dialects has been rather weak since the 15th century, when the connection with the Carinthian Slovene varieties was lost. Some contact remained, however, with the neighbouring Slovenian varieties, though not with standard Slovene. Despite the contact with Romance languages,

¹ In the linguistic literature, Resian is usually referred to as a Slovene dialect (*slovensko narečje*); see, for instance, Ramovš (1935) and, more specifically, Бенаккьо (2019), on the grammaticalization of the aspect category in Resian. Duličenko, however, defines Resian as literary micro-language (Дуличенко 1981).

² In the last few years several contributions have appeared concerning aspect morphology, for example Бенаккьо (2015), and the functions of perfective and imperfective aspect, for example Pila (2018).

where the aspect opposition is limited to indicative past tenses, and with German varieties, where it is entirely absent, the aspect category in Resian is well preserved. However, aspect units often go beyond the aspect pair by involving more than two verbs, including secondary imperfectives. The aim of this paper is to determine their role in the Resian aspect system. Resian consists of four major varieties, spoken in the villages of Bila (Bila/San Giorgio), Njiva (Njiwa/Gniva), Osojane (Osoanë/Oseacco), and Solbica (Solbica/Stolvizza), but with respect to verbal aspect no significant differences have been noticed between these varieties. The material I rely on for the present research mainly consists of the interviews collected during my own field work, which cover all the above-mentioned Resian major varieties although most of the examples given in this paper come from Warkota (Bila). Nevertheless, I also consider material provided in the studies by Steenwijk (Steenwijk 1992, 2005). Moreover, to give some diachronic perspective, I include the first document written in Resian, a collection of two catechisms from the 18th century (Baudouin de Courtenay 1894).³

2 The Resian aspect system

Like all other Slavic languages, Resian is endowed with the grammatical category of ASPECT, expressing an opposition of perfectivity mainly by means of aspect pairs, that is, two lexically “identical” verbs with different aspects (IPFV : PFV); see §3. The perfective member is used to convey a completed action, while the imperfective member can express either a state or an ongoing or repeated action.

As for the formation of aspect pairs, Resian has already been shown to share the same derivational mechanisms as the other Slavic languages (Benacchio, Steenwijk 2017; Бенакъо 2018b). These are prefixation, e.g. *prät*.IPFV $\Rightarrow$ *oprät*.PFV ‘to wash (clothes)’; “primary” suffixation, where an imperfective verb is derived from a perfective simplex, e.g. *dät*.PFV $\Rightarrow$ *dajat*.IPFV ‘to give’; “secondary” suffixation, where an imperfective verb is formed from a prefixed perfective, e.g. *zledat*.PFV (from *gledat* ‘to look’) $\Rightarrow$ *zlidüwat*.IPFV ‘to count’; and suppletion, e.g. *gät*.IPFV : *ričet*.PFV ‘to say’. Prefixation is always perfectivizing, whereas suffixation is generally imperfectivizing, with the only exception being the perfectivizing suffix *-n(u/e)-*. Mostly for actional reasons, Resian has *imperfectiva* and *perfectiva tantum*, too, e.g., respectively, *tižët* ‘to have a certain weight’ and *se vismëjat* ‘to laugh a lot / to death’. Some verbs, such as *čot* ‘to hear’ and *vidët* ‘to see’, are biaspectual.

2.1 Prefixation and suffixation with *-n(u/e)-*

As mentioned above, in the derivational chain, perfective verbs are derived from imperfectives mostly by means of prefixation. According to Benacchio and Steenwijk (2017: 26-32), Resian has the following prefixes: *z-/s-*, *w-*, *po-/pu-*, *za-*, *na-*, *pri-*, *par-*, *(w)o-/ (w)ob-/u-/ub-/w-*, *riz-/riž-*, *vi-*, *(w)od-*, *pod-/pud-/put-*, *pro-*, *do-/du-*.

³ In the examples below, I use the original spelling in quotations. Elsewhere the orthographical systems developed by Steenwijk (1994) are used, according to the variety in question. Infinitives used as base forms are usually given in standard Resian orthography.

From a diachronic point of view, the prefix *wz-* has to be added to this list, which is represented in only a few but very commonly used Resian verbs, especially in *wzdignut*.PFV ‘to lift’ and *wzet*.PFV ‘to take’, going back to the Slavic prefix **vŭz-* (= **vъz-*) ‘upwards’ (Vaillant 1966: 469). As shown by the given examples, contrary to the normal procedure, the prefix *wz-* is attached here to originally perfective verbs, respectively, **dvignŭti* ‘to move, to lift’ and **jeti* ‘to take’, and it somehow (redundantly) emphasizes their lexical meaning, without any effects on its aspectual properties (i.e. the verb remains perfective).⁴

In earlier times, the prefix *niz-* (with its variant *niž-*) was also used. It occurs, in fact, in the oldest Resian written text, the so-called *Resian Catechism* (Baudouin de Courtenay 1894). This prefix probably goes back to the Slavic preverb of adverbial origin **nizŭ-* (= **nizъ-*) ‘downwards’; according to Vaillant (1966: 470), this is rarely attested in Old Slavonic, which clearly prefers the prefix *sŭ-* (= *sъ(n)-*), with the same lexical meaning. A verb containing the prefix *niz-* is presented in example (1). It is a secondary imperfective, expressing a habitual state of affairs:

- (1) *Je Spúvet, ka nan nižbrišúje hrihe.* (Baudouin de Courtenay 1894: 49)⁵
 ‘There is the Confession, that **erases** (down) our sins.’

Few Resian verbs have two prefixes. The prefixal combinations are *po+po*, *z+do*, *s+po*:

- (2) *gledat*.IPFV ‘to look’ ⇒ *po-po-ledat*.PFV ‘to look (a little bit)’
vědět.IPFV ‘to know (something)’ ⇒ *z-do-vědět*.PFV ‘to get to know’
znāt.IPFV ‘to know (someone)’ ⇒ *s-po-znet*.PFV ‘to get to know’⁶

Nevertheless, out of these three verbs only *zdovědět* is accepted by all natives.

As mentioned above, perfective verbs can be derived also with the help of the only perfectivizing suffix, *-n(u/e)-*, as in the following examples, where the derived verb has semelfactive meaning:

- (3) *pjüwat*.IPFV ‘to spit’ ⇒ *pjüwnut*.PFV
stopat.IPFV ‘to step’ ⇒ *stopnut*.PFV

⁴ No Resian verb corresponding to **dvignŭti* is synchronically attested. The Resian outcome of **jeti* is *jet*.

⁵ The infinitive of the inflected form *nižbrišúje* ‘erases’ is not attested. Nevertheless, a reconstructed **nižbrišüwat*.IPFV can be assumed to be the “lacking” infinitive. In fact, we are dealing here with two archaisms, the first being the prefix *niz-* and the second the alternation *-üwa-* < *-ova-* (probably influenced by the present stem) vs. *-uje-* between the infinitive and the present. The secondary imperfective **nižbrišüwat*.IPFV ‘to erase’, in which *niz-* has lost its originally spatial meaning, was probably derived as follows: *brišat*.IPFV ‘to wipe, to clear’ => **nižbrišat*.PFV => **nižbrišüwat*.IPFV ‘to erase’. The reconstructed verbs **nižbrišat*.PFV and **nižbrišüwat*.IPFV ‘to erase’ formed an aspect pair.

⁶ The verb *popoledat* has been attested only in Warkota (Bila). The verb *spoznet* has been recorded only in Solbica, the village nearest to the border with Slovenia, where the more widespread perfective verb *poznet* (*poznāt* in standard Resian) was also recorded, with the same lexical meaning as *spoznet*. In other words: Both verbs are used interchangeably as inceptive correlates to *znet* ‘to know’ (*znāt* in standard Resian). The use of *spoznet* in Solbica could be an archaism or, less probably, a Slovenism (see *spoznati*.PFV ‘to get to know’).

Sometimes the semelfactive meaning of the suffix *-n(u/e)-* seems to fade in favour of the simple perfectivizing meaning, as in *tezat*.IPFV $\Rightarrow$ *tegnut*.PFV ‘to pull’.⁷ Moreover, the perfective verb can accept a lexical prefix, acquiring in this way a different meaning, e.g. *vitegnut*.PFV ‘to pull out’, *nategnut*.PFV ‘to stretch’, and the prefixed verb can be further imperfectivized by means of suffixation. Thus secondary imperfectives arise, which form aspect pairs with the verb from which they originated and which are provided with the full range of aspectual meanings of the imperfective aspect.

(4) (*tezat*.IPFV ‘to pull’) $\Rightarrow$ *nategnut*.PFV $\Rightarrow$ *natignūwat*.IPFV ‘to stretch’

2.2 Suffixation

Suffixation can apply both to perfective *simplicia* and to perfective verbs obtained by prefixation of an imperfective *simplex*, resulting, respectively, in primary and secondary imperfectivization. According to Benacchio (2022: 5-6), who approaches the problem from a diachronic perspective, both primary and secondary imperfectivization are realized in Resian with the help of the suffix *a* (often preceded by *-w-* or *-j-* to avoid hiatus). Note that the specific forms go back to a complex system of morphophonemic rules in Resian, resulting in several types of vowel alternation. Benacchio states that the suffix *-ūwa-* (< *-ova-*) can also occur (again provoking phonetic transformations).

Nevertheless, from a synchronic point of view four suffixes may be clearly distinguished: *-a-*, *-wa-*, *-awa-*, and *-ūwa-*. Here are some examples of primary imperfectives:

(5) <i>dāt</i> .PFV	$\Rightarrow$	<i>dajat</i> .IPFV	‘to give’
<i>se gnjet</i> .PFV	$\Rightarrow$	<i>se gnjīwat</i> .IPFV	‘to rot’ ⁸
<i>obačāt</i> .PFV	$\Rightarrow$	<i>obačawat</i> .IPFV	‘to promise’
<i>skučēt</i> .PFV	$\Rightarrow$	<i>skučūwat</i> .IPFV	‘to jump’

The same suffixes are used for secondary imperfectivization:

(6) (<i>stat</i> .IPFV ‘to stand, stay’ $\Rightarrow$)	<i>ostāt</i> .PFV $\Rightarrow$ <i>ostajat</i> .IPFV	‘to stay, to remain’
(<i>grēt</i> .IPFV ‘to heat’ $\Rightarrow$)	<i>wgrēt</i> .PFV $\Rightarrow$ <i>wgrīwat</i> .IPFV	‘to heat, to warm up’ ⁹
(<i>rivāt</i> .PFV ‘to finish’ $\Rightarrow$)	<i>durivāt</i> .PFV $\Rightarrow$ <i>durīvawat</i> .IPFV	‘to manage’ ¹⁰
(<i>bet</i> .IPFV ‘to be’ $\Rightarrow$)	<i>zabit</i> .PFV $\Rightarrow$ <i>zabjūwat</i> .IPFV	‘to forget’

In terms of frequency, the suffix *-ūwa-* is rarely used in primary imperfectivization in the Slavic lexicon (Benacchio 2022: 4-5). In contrast, the suffix *-a-* appears only

⁷ On the suffix *-n(u/e)-* in Resian, see Бенаккьо (2020).

⁸ The root of *gnjet* is *gnji-*; therefore the suffix here is only *-wa-*.

⁹ The root of *wgrēt* is *wgrē-*; therefore the suffix here is only *-wa-*.

¹⁰ In this case the derivational chain starts from *rivāt*.PFV ‘to finish’, a telic loan verb of Romance origin; cf. Fr. *rivâ*, It. *arrivare* ‘to arrive’. Despite being perfective, the verb was prefixed and then imperfectivized; therefore I consider it as a secondary imperfective.

in the Slavic lexicon and is no longer productive, whereas *-awa-* is typical for primary imperfectives of Romance origin ending in *-are* (see below).

2.3 Suppletion

Just as in the other Slavic languages, (full or partial) suppletion is not widespread as a mechanism in the derivational aspect system. From a synchronic point of view, it can affect both primary imperfectives, e.g. *ričēt*.PFV : *gāt*.IPFV ‘to say’, and (more often) secondary imperfectives, such as the motion verbs shown in (7), which are at least partially suppletive, in the sense that the historically common root is synchronically no longer clearly perceived as such. Some of these motion verbs, e.g. *vilēst*, *nalēst*, have lost the simplex from which they originally derived.¹¹

(7)	<i>tet</i> .I/PFV	‘to go’	⇒ <i>prīt</i> .PFV	:	<i>parhajat</i> .IPFV	‘to come’
			⇒ <i>prijtet</i> .IPFV	:	<i>prihajat</i> .IPFV	‘to go through’
	(* <i>lēsti</i> .IPFV)	‘to slither’	⇒ <i>vilēst</i> .PFV	:	<i>vilažat</i> .IPFV	‘to go out’
			⇒ <i>nalēst</i> .PFV	:	<i>nalažat</i> .IPFV	‘to find’

3 Functions of secondary imperfectives in different aspect units

Before focusing on the functions of secondary imperfectives, I will briefly describe how Resian uses the above-mentioned morphological means to create aspectual “correlations”. I deliberately avoid here the term “pairs”, because I will deal in the following not only with aspect pairs, but also with triplets, quadruplets and even more complex aspect units, which I will refer to as aspectual “bundles”.

Sometimes it is difficult to prove that the verbs involved in aspectual bundles share exactly the same lexical meaning, but this is a problem in standard Slovene, too. Therefore, Krvina (2018: 71-7), referring to Slovene proper, suggests expanding the concept of aspect pair into that of “aspect correlation”, because, he argues, the requirement for full semantic identity between the members of the pair is never fully realized in practice. In an “aspect correlation” the semantic difference between the aspect correlates is not zero, but tends to it in at least one word meaning common to both members of the aspect unit. Lack of semantic identity affects mainly correlations built by means of prefixation of an imperfective simplex; nevertheless, the problem is encountered even with correlations obtained by means of primary and secondary

¹¹ For more details on full and partial suppletion (in Russian), see Isačenko (1962: 378-81). Note that the verb *tet* ‘to go’ is bispectual, as is its Slovenian counterpart *iti*.

suffixation, less used in Slovene (Krvina 2018: 237).¹² In the following I will describe the situation in Resian, based on the data currently available. I am fully aware that further research, including frequency data, is needed.

3.1 Aspect pairs

Only some of the previously mentioned prefixes are able to form aspect partners for imperfective simplex verbs (“natural perfectives”¹³). These are, especially, *z-/s-*, *w-*, which behave like “empty” (or rather “lexically redundant”) prefixes. Some examples:

- (8) *mutit*.IPFV : *zmutit*.PFV ‘to confuse’
cipit.IPFV : *scipit*.PFV ‘to chop’
grabit.IPFV : *pograbit*.PFV ‘to rake’

In this case, secondary imperfectivization of the perfective verb seems unnecessary due to the lexical identity of the partner verbs, but it nevertheless sometimes occurs: Contrary to the general rule, *napišat*, the natural perfective partner of *pisat* ‘to write’, allows for secondary imperfectivization. The resulting imperfective verb *napišüwat* seems to have only iterative (excluding habitual) meaning, whereas the simplex expresses the full range of imperfective meanings. In Resian, such examples are extremely rare and even obsolete (or ungrammatical) for some speakers.

- (9) *Ko dilaš? - Pišën (*napišüwan) no letiro.* (process)
 ‘What are you doing? - I’m **writing** a letter.’
- (10) *An jë poeta, viš? An pišë (*napišüwa).* (habitual)
 ‘He’s a poet, do you know? He **writes**.’
- (11) *Wsaki din ja pišën (~napišüwan) no letiro.* (iterative)
 ‘Every day I **write** a letter.’

Moreover, it seems that the verb *pisat* can express also typical perfective meanings, for example a concluded action in a sequence of events, as shown in (12).

¹² For an alternative solution based on the concept of “grammatically induced homonymy”, claiming that the individual readings of a simplex may be grouped to distinct aspect pairs together with different perfective partners showing exactly the meaning in question, see Breu (1984). In this case there is no need for a single complex meaning of a given simplex, corresponding to all the lexical meanings of the prefixed verbs, but instead it is split up into several simplexes forming their own pairs; for example, in Russian, *bit’*₁ IPFV : *pobit’* PFV ‘to hit’ but *bit’*₂ IPFV : *probit’* PFV ‘to ring, strike (clock)’.

¹³ I refer here to the theory of Janda et al., who distinguish in Russian “natural perfectives”, that is, verbs “where the lexical meaning matches that of the imperfective simplex verb”, for example *na-pisat’* ‘to write’, from “specialized perfectives”, that is, verbs “where the lexical meaning of the verb is different from that of the corresponding simplex verb”, as in *pere-pisat’* ‘to rewrite’ (Janda et al. 2013: 3-4). Natural perfectives correspond in other terminologies to perfectives with “empty” prefixes, a concept refused by these authors. They state that prefixes are never “empty”; rather, they overlap with the meaning of the simplex verb (Janda et al. 2013: 9).

- (12) *Ė došol, Ė pīsal no letero anō Ė šol wkrej.*
 ‘He came, **wrote** a letter and went away.’

In other words, *pīsat* is (or tends to be) biaspectual. We are here dealing with a “special” triplet *pīsat.1/PFV* : *napīsat.PFV* : *napišūwat.IPFV*, in which the secondary imperfective has limited (only iterative) aspectual meanings, as in older stages was also the case for Russian *napisyvat* ‘to write’, nowadays dismissed in the standard language.

Most of the Resian prefixes create “specialized perfectives”, which usually undergo secondary imperfectivization to form an aspect correlate, e.g. *pīsat.1/PFV* ‘to write’ ⇒ *zapīsat.PFV* : *zapišūwat.IPFV* ‘to write down, to register’.

In such cases, the newly formed imperfective verb has habitual, iterative and processual meaning (if the verb belongs to an actional class allowing for an ongoing action). See the following examples:

- (13) *Ko dilaš? - Zapišūwan me dulce!* (process)
 ‘What are you doing? - I’m **writing down** my debts!’
- (14) *Avokāt an zapišūwa dulce.* (habitual)
 ‘A lawyer **registers** debts.’
- (15) *An rūdi zapišūwa jtō, ki an ma dēlat!* (iterative)
 ‘He always **writes down** what he has to do!’

A special case is represented by the secondary imperfective *parhajāt.IPFV* ‘to come’.

- (16) *Le, parhaja (~gre) očā!*
 ‘Look, the father **is coming**!’

Example (16) is particularly interesting for two reasons. The first is that *tet* means not only ‘to go’, but also ‘to come’. If we split the two meanings of *tet* into two homonymic verbs *tet*₁ ‘to go’ and *tet*₂ ‘to come’, we can easily argue that *tet*_{2.1/PFV} : *priit.PFV* : *parhajāt.IPFV* ‘to come’ form an aspectual triplet, not a pair.

The second reason is to be found in the aspectual meanings of the verb *parhajāt.IPFV* and, consequently, in the actional status of the triplet. As shown in (16), the verb in question can express a process, like its Slovenian counterpart *prihajati* but in contrast to its Russian equivalent *prichodit*.¹⁴ Thus the Resian triplet belongs to the actional

¹⁴ For more details on the actional status of the Slovenian verb *prihajati*, see Derganc (2003: 70, footnote 2).

class of accomplishments and, contrary to the Russian, not to that of achievements, according to Vendler's terminology (Vendler 1957).¹⁵

Interestingly, a few aspect pairs in today's Resian derive from "historical" triplets with a simplex and a secondary derived imperfective verb, e.g. (**kryti*.IPFV) : *skret*.PFV : *skriwat*.IPFV 'to hide, to conceal', and, from the same simplex, *pukret*.PFV : *pukriwat*.IPFV 'to cover'. In these triplets the simplex has been abandoned in favour of the secondary imperfective, inheriting all the prototypical aspectual functions of the imperfective aspect (habituality, iteration and process). A similar mechanism affected the pair *späst*.PFV : *spadiwat*.IPFV 'to fall' and *wzdignut*.PFV : *wzdigiwat*.IPFV 'to lift, to raise', which originated from the perfectives **pasti* and **dvignoti*. Unfortunately, examples with **kryti*, **pasti* or **dvignoti* are not attested. As a consequence, nothing can be said about their (previous) functional distribution.

Prefixation is not only a means to create natural or specialized perfectives, but can also give rise to *Aktionsarten* (*sposoby glagol'nogo dejstvija*). In Resian they are not as widespread as, for example, in Russian, but there are some delimitatives (with *po-*), e.g. *popraviti* 'to talk a while' (≠ *praviti* 'to talk'); "elativics" (with the prefix *vi-*), e.g. *se vismējat*.PFV 'to laugh a lot / to death' (≠ *se smējat*.IPFV 'to laugh')¹⁶; and saturatives (with both the prefix *na-* and the reflexive particle *se*), e.g. *se napet*.PFV 'to drink enough / too much' (≠ *pet*.IPFV 'to drink').

As in Russian, *Aktionsarten* usually do not accept secondary imperfectivization. There are some exceptions concerning saturatives, e.g. *se napet*.PFV ⇒ *se napīwat*.IPFV 'to drink enough/too much'. However, such secondary imperfectives seem to have only iterative or habitual meaning, as shown in the following examples:

- (17) *Ko dilaš? - Pījē!* (**se napīwan*). (process)
'What are you doing? - I'm drinking! (*I'm drinking enough!)
- (18) *Pijancar, to dān ki pījē (~se napīwa).* (habitual)
'A drunkard is one who drinks (~drinks too much).'
- (19) *An se rūdi napīwa!* (iterative)
'He always drinks enough / too much!'

In this respect, secondary imperfectives derived from *Aktionsarten* differ from the ones obtained from natural perfectives, lacking the habitual reading. The impossibility

¹⁵ In the ILA (interaction lexicon-aspect) theory, the actional class of accomplishments (a complex one, containing both a processual and a terminative component) is called GTER (gradually terminative). The class of achievements, never describing an ongoing process, corresponds in the ILA model to TTER verbs (totally terminative). For a description of these and other actional classes, missing in Vendler (1957), see Breu (2021: 441-2), where an updated overview of this theory is offered. On homonymic verbs like, in the present case, *tet*₁ 'to go', *tet*₂ 'to come', see again Breu (1984).

¹⁶ "Elativic" means "doing something till the very end of one's possibilities".

of expressing a process could be due to the lexical meaning of the saturatives, which focuses on the culmination of the event and its conclusion.

To summarize, secondary imperfectives in aspect pairs only show all the typical aspectual functions of the imperfective aspect (habituality, iteration and process) if they derive from specialized perfectives or when they are members of a pair derived from a “historical” triplet, which lost the simplex. The derivation of a secondary imperfective from a natural perfective or from an *Aktionsart* is rare; where it does occur, the functions of the derived imperfective seem to be reduced to the iterative and/or habitual.

3.2 Aspectual triplets

In modern Resian, there are also triplets consisting of an imperfective simplex and two concurring natural perfective verbs, e.g. *sjat*.IPFV ‘to sow’ : *wsjat*.PFV ~ *posjat*.PFV; see (20).

- (20) *Wčera si wsjala / posjala strok.*
 ‘Yesterday I **sowed** (the) garlic.’

As with aspect pairs, the derived (natural) perfectives do not create a secondary imperfective in these triplets.

In addition, Resian has also kept some triplets with a (natural) perfective and two imperfective verbs (a simplex and a secondary), but they are extremely rare and not always accepted by native speakers. One of these triplets is *slät*.IPFV : *naslät*.PFV : *naslüwat*.IPFV ‘to spread dry leaves’. Despite its rarity, the secondary imperfective of this triplet seems to share all the meanings of the simplex, and it is even given preference to the simplex in iterative contexts. See (21–22):

- (21) *An rüdi släl (~ naslüwal), pa ci to lälö.* (process)
 ‘He continued to spread dry leaves, although it was raining.’
 (lit. “he always **spread**”)
- (22) *An rüdi naslüwal (?släl) za pukryt strok.* (iterative)
 ‘He always **spread** dry leaves for covering garlic.’

Another triplet of this kind, accepted by all native speakers, involves the verbs *vědět*.IPFV ‘to know’ and *zdovědět*.PFV. The aspectual relationship between these two verbs is of the same type as in Russian aspect pairs like *videt*.IPFV : *uvidet*.PFV ‘to see : to perceive’ or *znat*.IPFV : *uznat*.PFV ‘to know : to get to know’ (provided that the latter is accepted as a pair, or rather a triple *znat*.IPFV : *uznat*.PFV : *uznavat*.IPFV – see below). In these pairs, the imperfective form expresses the state resulting from the event conveyed by the perfective verb.¹⁷

¹⁷ Зализняк, Шмелев (2000: 57) refer to these pairs with the label *perfektnye vidovye pary*, corresponding to the ISTA class in the ILA model, i.e. to the class of inceptively static verbs (Breu 2021: 441).

Despite forming an aspect pair with the verb *vědět* ‘to know’, the verb *zdovědět* undergoes secondary imperfectivization. As a result we have the aspectual triplet *vědět*.IPFV : *zdovědět*.PFV : *zduvidüwat*.IPFV, with two concurring imperfective forms, which seem to have a different functional distribution.

In example (23) *zduvidüwat* appears with habitual meaning.

- (23) *Po vasy ti zduvidüwaš vse mišëtarje!* (habitual)
 ‘In the village you (can) **get to know** all the news!’

What is repeated here is not the state of affairs resulting from the becoming acquainted with a piece of news, but the becoming acquainted itself, which is not expressed by the imperfective simplex. Thus, the secondary imperfective fills a gap by becoming complementary to the simplex and not really concurring with it, as in the Russian *uznavat*.IPFV ‘to get to know (repeatedly)’ in comparison to *znat*.IPFV ‘to know’.

From a theoretical point of view the triplet can be split into two pairs: on the one hand the pair *vědět*.IPFV : *zdovědět*.PFV ‘to know’, belonging to the ISTA class, and on the other hand the pair *zdovědět*.PFV : *zduvidüwat*.IPFV ‘to get to know’, belonging to Vendler’s class of achievements (TTER in ILA terminology).¹⁸

All in all, ISTA lexemes are generally rare in Resian, and they tend to be biaspectual, e.g. *čot* ‘to hear’ and *vidět* ‘to see / to catch sight of’. Those forming a pair, e.g. *mančat*.IPFV : *zmančat*.PFV ‘to be missing / to die’, usually have no secondary imperfective.

3.3 Aspectual quadruplets

In Resian there are also aspectual bundles of four verbs. In some cases an imperfective simplex has three natural perfectives (at least according to some native speakers), that do not accept secondary suffixation, for example *lumet*.IPFV ‘to break, to smash’: *wlumet*.PFV ~ *zlumet*.PFV ~ *pulumet*.PFV or *rëzat*.IPFV ‘to cut’: *wrëzat*.PFV ~ *zrëzat*.PFV ~ *porëzat*.PFV; see example (24):

- (24) *Män wrëzat ~ zrëzat ~ porëzat kroh.*¹⁹
 ‘I must **cut** (the) bread.’

On the other hand, there is also at least one quadruplet in which three imperfective verbs are involved (one simplex and two secondary imperfectives): *brät*.IPFV ~ *wbirat*.IPFV ~ *wbirüwat*.IPFV : *wbrät*.PFV ‘to gather (grass, salad, leaves)’.

¹⁸ The same holds true for Russian *znat*.IPFV : *uznat*₁.PFV ‘to know’ (ISTA) and *uznat*₂.PFV : *uznavat*.IPFV ‘to get to know’ (TTER). Actually, the situation in Russian is still more complicated, as the pair *uznat*.PFV : *uznavat*.IPFV has the additional meaning ‘to inquire’, which belongs to the GTER class, with the imperfective expressing an agentive process leading to the result of knowing (Breu 1998: 65).

¹⁹ Some (older) informants claim that *porëzat* has a distributive connotation.

- (25) *Ko dilaš? - Birën (~ wbirüwan) vije! Wbiran tin kozän!* (process)
 ‘What are you doing? I’m **gathering** leaves! I’m gathering for the goats.’
- (26) *Pa vije sa wbira (~sa birë, ?sa wbirüwa), tö zëlënë za koze!* (habitual)
 ‘Also leaves **are** (usually) **gathered**, the green ones for the goats.’
- (27) *Pujütrë wbiran (birën) vije kozän! Tami vije wbirüwan pa trawo.* (iterative)
 ‘In the morning I **gather** leaves for the goats. Together with leaves I **gather** also grass.’

As shown by the examples (25-27), it seems that all these imperfective forms are interchangeable. Only *sa wbirüwa* in (26) would be doubtful.

There is still another type of quadruplets, which combines two perfective and two imperfective verbs, sharing, according to my informants, the same lexical meaning:

- (28) *barat.PFV : barjüwat.IPFV : pobarat.PFV : pobarjüwat.IPFV* ‘to ask’
branit.PFV : branjüwat.IPFV : wbranit.PFV : wbranjüwat.IPFV ‘to protect’
püstit.PFV : puščüwat.IPFV : spüstit.PFV : spuščüwat.IPFV ‘to leave, to let go’

As for their structure, all these quadruplets are symmetrical: There is a “non-prefixed pair” (e.g. *barat.PFV : barjüwat.IPFV* ‘to ask’), which is, so to speak, “doubled” by a prefixed one (*pobarat.PFV : pobarjüwat.IPFV* ‘to ask’). Yet it is difficult to understand not only what derivational path led to the current situation, but also why these seemingly redundant forms survive in the language. With respect to the first problem, it is likely that the perfective simplex (e.g. *barat* ‘to ask’) has undergone independently both suffixation (*barjüwat*) and prefixation (*pobarat*), thus forming a triplet with two perfective verbs (a simplex and a prefixed one). Then the prefixed verb *pobarat* has undergone suffixation, thus giving rise to the secondary imperfective *pobarjüwat*.²⁰

As for the aspectual functions of the two imperfectives, the situation is not yet entirely clear. In the case of ‘to ask’, it seems that *barjüwat* is nowadays used with both processual and iterative meaning, while *pobarjüwat* seems to have only iterative meaning (with a distributive connotation).

3.4 Problems

In this section I would like to consider two problematic cases in the interpretation of aspectual and/or derivational relations between some verbs in Resian. They concern the derivatives of the verbs *ġat.PFV* ‘to put’ and *jet.PFV* ‘to take’.

The verb *ġat* ‘to put’ is the perfective aspect partner of the verb *diwat*. Бенаккьо (2018b: 154) claims that they both derived from **děti* ‘to put’, by means of suffixation

²⁰ In the case of *püstit.PFV* ‘to leave, to let go’, additionally, the verbs *püščat.IPFV* and *spüščat.IPFV* have been attested, but they seem to be archaic.

with *-a-* (preceded by *-w-* or *-j-*) and according to the phonetic evolution of Resian with **ĕ > i* (and secondary *dj > ġ*):

- (29) **děti* ⇒ **dēwati* > *diwat*
**děti* ⇒ **dējati* > **dijati* > *ġat*²¹

In Resian there are several aspect pairs “containing/reflecting/doubling” the couple *ġat*.PFV : *diwat*.IPFV, e.g. *zaġat*.PFV : *zadiwat*.IPFV ‘to close’, *parġat*.PFV : *pardiwat*.IPFV ‘to add’, *viġat*.PFV : *vidiwat*.IPFV ‘to take out’. Benacchio (2022: 7) claims that the verb *diwat* was used as a formant for the secondary imperfectivization of *zaġat*, thus producing an effect of “parallel prefixation”.²² However, the status of such an “effect” seems rather dubious. If we were dealing with a real case of parallel prefixation, in fact, the prefixed verbs containing *diwat* would all have to be perfective, because prefixation always causes perfectivization. But this is not the case here: Verbs like *zadiwat* are always imperfective.

In accordance with Karcevskij’s (1927) and Isačenko’s (1962: 347–414) claims about the secondary imperfectives in Russian verbs of motion, we could put the following argument. First, the imperfective partner *diwat* was derived from the perfective verb *ġat* ‘to put’ by means of suffixation. In addition, *ġat* got prefixed as well, thus acquiring a new meaning ⇒ *zaġat* ‘to open’. Then *zaġat* underwent secondary imperfectivization (with the help of the formant *diwat*), thus creating the imperfective aspect partner *zadiwat*.²³ What is “unusual” here is only the prefixation of a perfective verb, though this is by no means an isolated case.

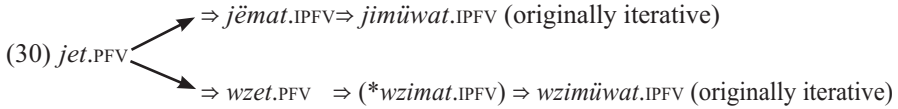
Another interesting case concerns the verb *jet*.PFV ‘to catch, to take’, which is derivationally, semantically and aspectually linked with the verbs *jēmat*.IPFV, *jimūwat*.IPFV and, indirectly, *wzet*.PFV and *wzimūwat*.IPFV. From a derivational point of view, the following chain may be assumed. On the one hand, the Resian perfective verb *jet* (< **jēti*) formed the imperfective *jēmat* through suffixation with *-a-*; the imperfective verb *jēmat* then underwent an additional suffixation (with the suffix *-ūwa-*), resulting in the verb *jimūwat*, possibly with iterative meaning, at least at first. On the other hand, the perfective verb *jet* took the “empty” prefix **vūz-* ‘upwards’, thus forming *wzet*, which is also perfective. From *wzet*, the imperfective form **wzimat* was derived by secondary imperfectivization with the suffix *-a-*, which in its turn led to the imperfective *wzimūwat*

²¹ Benacchio (2022: 5) refines this hypothesis by claiming that **dēwati* is clearly imperfective, while **dējati* would rather be biaspectual. Moreover, she assumes that the two forms specialized later as, respectively, imperfective and perfective members of the correspondent aspect pair.

²² In a way, this is the same problem as the one treated in §3.3, with the only difference being that here the prefixed pair has a different lexical meaning in comparison to the non-prefixed one. For a definition of “parallel prefixation”, Benacchio refers to Mayo (1985: 57) and Schuyt (1990: 301–3), the latter assuming that “prefixation was not yet as firmly associated with perfectivity as it is in the Slavic languages which are known to us”.

²³ The same applies to the pair *dāt*.PFV : *dajat*.IPFV ‘to give’ and its derivations, e.g. *prodāt*.PFV : *prodajat*.IPFV ‘to sell’, and even to the loan pair *rivāt*.PFV : *rivawat*.IPFV ‘to finish’ and *durivāt*.PFV : *durivawat*.IPFV ‘to manage’.

by means of suffixation, probably again with iterative meaning. The two derivational chains in question could be connected as presented in the following²⁴:



In modern Resian, the verb **wzimat* is not attested, and the other verbs seem to have developed some syntactic/semantic preferences: The verb *jěmat* can be used in a metaphorical sense, as in *to jěmljě düšo* ‘it takes away one’s breath’, whereas *jet* (and *jimüwat*) are used, for instance, in connection with transports or diseases, as in *jet trenö* ‘to catch the train’ or *jet bul* ‘to catch a disease’. The forms *wzet* and *wzimüwat* appear in a more literal sense with objects that can be grasped with the hands, as in *wzet flajšo* ‘to take the/a bottle’, but also in such examples as *wzimüwat pašilje* ‘to take pills’. Despite the semantic/syntactic split, all the derivational chains start from one and the same form, that is, *jet*.

Interestingly enough, by means of lexical prefixation with *za-* and by adding the reflexive particle *se* to the verb *wzet*, the Resian micro-language created the form *se zawzet*, from which the aspect pair *se zawzet*.PFV : *se zawzimüwat*.IPFV ‘to take something badly/to be offended’ was formed, by copying the model of *wzet*.PFV : *wzimüwat*.IPFV.

4 Restrictions for secondary imperfectives

All secondary imperfectives (and almost all primary imperfectives) lack the possibility of forming a passive past participle.

- (31) *Njän tve dulge so wse zapīsane (*zapišüwane).*
 ‘Now your debts are all **registered**.’

This means that with imperfective verbs the passive can only be expressed by the reflexive constructions of the type shown in (32), which, however, only functions as an event passive, thus excluding a stative interpretation, whereas the passive with the auxiliary verb ‘to be’ (especially in the past) can express both.

- (32) *Njän se zapišüwajo tve dulge.*
 ‘Now your debts are being **registered**.’

Moreover, secondary imperfectivization is practically excluded from the domain of borrowings. On the one hand, German-based loan verbs form their aspect pairs by means of prefixation. On the other hand, Romance-based loan verbs use primary

²⁴ Another possible explanation for the origin of *jimüwat* and *wzimüwat* is that they derived directly from *jim-* and *wzim-*, that is, from the present root of *jet* and *wzet*, with the addition of the suffix *-üwa-*.

imperfectivization of perfectly borrowed telic verbs. The special class of borrowings with *-inat* is biaspectual in Resian.²⁵

5 Conclusions

All in all, the opposition of perfectivity expressed by aspect pairs has been very well preserved in the Resian micro-language, in spite of its situation of absolute language contact with dominant varieties lacking such an opposition. Biaspectuality is rather rare, even in borrowings, with the exception of verbs ending in *-inat*. Compared with other Slavic languages there is perhaps a stronger tendency to involve more than two verbs in the expression of aspect functions, with competing affixes forming bundles of three or more verbs of either aspect.

In Resian, the aspectual mechanism of forming aspect pairs through secondary imperfectivization is mainly restricted to verbs of Slavic origin and seems to have lost its productivity. In contrast, “primary imperfectivization” of perfective borrowings is very productive; see, for instance, *priparät*.PFV $\Rightarrow$ *priparawat*.IPFV ‘to prepare’ $\leftarrow$ It. *preparare* / Fr. *préparer*, or *binidyt*.PFV $\Rightarrow$ *binidīwat*.IPFV ‘to bless’ $\leftarrow$ It. *benedire* / Fr. *bénédire*.

Secondary imperfectives are mainly derived from specialized perfectives and, only occasionally, from *Aktionsarten*. Secondary imperfectivization of natural perfectives is extremely rare, and the derived imperfectives of this type have only restricted aspectual functions (mainly iterative), just as in the case of imperfectivized *Aktionsarten*. The functions of secondary imperfectives derived from specialized perfectives do not differ from those of *simplicia* and primary imperfectives: Depending on the actional class of the aspect pair, secondary imperfectives can generally express processuality, habituality and iteration. In the case of “historical” triplets with two imperfective verbs (a simplex and a secondary imperfective), the secondary imperfective tends to assume all the prototypical functions of the imperfective aspect, whereas the simplex tends to be dismissed. Secondary imperfectives (like the primary ones) do not form a passive past participle.

ABBREVIATIONS

Fr. = Friulian	ISTA = inceptively static
GTER = gradually terminative	It. = Italian
I/PFV = biaspectual	PFV = perfective
IPFV = imperfective	TTER = totally terminative

²⁵ On the integration of loan verbs in Resian, see, for instance, Бенаккьо (2018a).

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POVZETEK

Prispevek obravnava glagolski vid v rezijanščini, slovenski manjšinski jezikovni zvrsti, ki se govori v italijanski dolini Rezija na meji s Slovenijo. Članek se osredotoča zlasti na vloge drugotnih nedovršnikov oz. sekundarnih imperfektivov v vidskih leksikalnih enotah (ne le parih, temveč tudi v trojčkih in četverčkih), ki v rezijanskem aspektualnem sistemu nastajajo s tradicionalnimi mehanizmi prefiksacije, sufiksacije in supletivizma. Zdi se, da je sekundarna imperfektivizacija v rezijanščini vidski pojav, ki zadeva le glagole slovanskega izvora in da je drugje izgubil svojo produktivnost. Drugotni nedovršniki oz. sekundarni imperfektivi so večinoma izpeljani iz »specializiranih perfektivov« (*specialized perfectives*), npr. (iz nedov./dov. glagola *pīsat* 'pisati' ⇒) dov. *zapisat* 'zapisati' ⇒ sekundarni nedov. *zapišūwat*, in le občasno iz *Aktionsarten*, npr. (iz nedov. glagola *pet* 'piti' ⇒) dov. *se napet* ⇒ sekundarni nedov. *se napiwat* 'dovolj/preveč piti'. Sekundarna imperfektivizacija »naravnih perfektivov« (*natural perfectives*) je izjemno redka, npr. dov. *napisat* 'napisati' ⇒ sekundarni nedov. *napišūwat*, izpeljani nedovršniki oz. imperfektivi tega tipa pa imajo le omejene vidske vloge (večinoma iterativne), tako kot je to v primeru imperfektiviziranih *Aktionsarten*. Vloge sekundarnih imperfektivov, izpeljanih iz specializiranih perfektivov, se ne razlikujejo od funkcij *simplicia* in primarnih imperfektivov: glede na »akcionalni razred« te vidske leksemske enote lahko njihovi sekundarni imperfektivi izražajo zlasti procesualnost, habitualnost in ponavljajoče se dejanje.