

On the verbal aspect in Polish descriptive grammars The Case of Grappin's *Grammaire de la Langue Polonaise*

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ABSTRACT

In the present paper, the aspect-related part of a long-forgotten Polish descriptive grammar written in French will be investigated. In the light of our historical knowledge, this work by Henri Grappin, professor of Slavic linguistics at École nationale des langues orientales vivantes can be thought-provoking both in terms of the date (1942) and place of its publication (Paris). The part of Grappin's grammar examined in this paper, which deals with the Polish verbal aspect and its formal exponents, accounts for about 13% of the entire work. The method used by the author, in accordance with which he first reviews the means of verb formation (mainly prefixes and suffixes) and the phonetic alternations taking place during this process, can be considered particularly appropriate from the point of view of language learning. An overview of the meanings of prefixes and suffixes and the presentation of their derivatives formed with base verbs (simplicia) provide a suitable basis for a more detailed description of the Polish aspect system in chapter 22. By talking about the semantic value of prefixes and suffixes, Grappin draws attention to the fact that these morphemes not only have an aspect-marking function, but can also enrich base verbs with various additional nuances of meaning. Grappin does not yet speak here of concepts known in contemporary aspectology, such as boundedness or telicity, but the dual function of prefixes, the difference between aspect and *Aktionsart* (action mode), perhaps following Agrell's dissertation, appears clearly in the grammar. In the section on prefixes, it is important to highlight the attention paid to the prefix *po-*, it seems to be a valid recognition even today that *po-* is the most homonymous prefix of the Polish language. In the subsection on verbs of motion, Grappin correctly points out the complex relationship between definiteness and indefiniteness as well as aspect, which can be the source of many mistakes for students of Polish as a foreign language. The author deals with iterative, augmentative, delimitative, perdurative and distributive verbs under other

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names in separate subsections, and points out the essentially conative meaning of imperfective verbs and the resultative meaning of perfective verbs. Although the work under investigation is hardly ever cited in the relevant literature on the topic, its part dealing with the verbal aspect in Polish contains valuable linguistic data that on the one hand may be of interest to aspectologists of our time, and on the other can be utilized in teaching Polish as a foreign language.

KEYWORDS

word-formation in Polish, Polish prefixes, Polish suffixes, Polish grammar, Aktionsart or action type in Polish, aspect and aspectuality in Polish

Henri Grappin's name is not well known in Slavic studies, and perhaps even less so in Polish aspectology. Based on his works, it can be said that he was mainly interested in topics related to Polish linguistics, but at the same time he was quite a versatile scholar. His interest extended not only to Polish phonetics and morphology (GRAPPIN 1942, 1944), but also to Polish history, with a particular focus on the question of Silesia from a Polish-Czech perspective (GRAPPIN 1919, 1922). In this paper, we attempt to review Grappin's views on Polish verbal aspect based on his Polish grammar published in Paris in 1942. For this, however, it seems also necessary to outline the historical background of Polish aspectology, as only this framework enables a realistic interpretation and evaluation of Grappin's views.

Philosophers, linguists and grammar scientists have been preoccupied with the linguistic phenomenon for which now the term 'verbal aspect' is used for a relatively long time. In fact, the abundance and variety of often inconsistent approaches and terms that have been produced over time to describe this category is, at least partly, due to this long time. One should bear in mind that semantic verb classes can already be found in Sanskrit grammars (5th century BC), although the first classification of actions was carried out by Aristotle. In his works, one can read for the first time about the contrast between states and activities, as well as accomplishments and achievements. One should not forget furthermore that the grammatical opposition of *verbum perfectum* : *verbum imperfectum* or rather *actio perfecta* : *actio imperfecta* manifested in the form of tenses can already be found in early Latin grammars. *Verbum perfectum* as an expression can also be found in the grammar of French-born Piotr Statorius-Stojeński published in 1568, which is the first Polish grammar (STATORIUS-STOJEŃSKI 1568). However, Statorius-Stojeński used this expression in a somewhat different meaning than it has today. In his grammar, the term *verbum perfectum* means the base verb, the opposite of which is the *verbum frequentativum* having an iterative meaning. In the Polish or multilingual dictionaries and grammars of later centuries, the issue of verbal aspect is either ignored (KNAPIUSZ 1621), or the aspect forms are described as tenses (TROTZ 1764). Sometimes they are treated as formal semantic opposition types of the verb (cf. KOPCZYŃSKI 1806: 31–33; see also PÁTROVICS 2004: 174–197).

Aspect itself as a modern linguistic term originating from Wilhelm Streitberg is rather late: it only began to spread in the linguistic literature towards the middle of the 19th century, and a little later, the closely related term 'Aktionsart' (action mode, types of action or procedurals) also appeared (KIEFER 2006: 10). The term 'Aktionsart' was used for the first time by the Swedish linguist Sigurd Agrell in his dissertation published in 1908 on the types of action in the Polish language (AGRELL 1908; see also PÁTROVICS 2018: 9). Agrell was the initiator of thinking about



the aspect on a synchronic level. He is also responsible for demarcating the concept of aspect from action mode or rather type of action as originally there was no clear-cut difference between them. Even today, the consistent differentiation between these two concepts is more typical of linguistic works on the subject of Slavic studies (FRĄCZEK 2000: 206). However, Viktor V. Vinogradov attributes the primacy of the long-known, but not clearly articulated recognition that verbal prefixes can denote other nuances of meaning in addition to the aspectual one, to Oleksandr Potebnja, a 19th-century Russian linguist of Ukrainian origin, who called these ‘protoaktionsarts’ or action modes degrees (Rus. *степеню* [*stepeni*]) (cf. Потебня 1941; Виноградов 1986¹; see also ŁAZIŃSKI 2020: 240).

Additionally, although most linguists agree that Agrell can be considered the pioneer of aspect and action mode research, it is still important to draw attention to the fact that a Polish grammarian, a certain Łazowski, in his Polish grammar published in Cracow in 1848, that is about 60 years before Agrell, distinguished imperfective verbs (*czasowniki niedokonane*) from perfective ones (*czasowniki dokonane*) and also pointed out the important role of verbal prefixes. (In Łazowski’s terminology *przyimki*, the meaning of which is now ‘prepositions’.) Łazowski thus recognized that verbal prefixes, in addition to their perfectivizing role, can enrich the base verb with other nuances of meaning (ŁAZOWSKI 1848; Łoś 1925). Although he did not yet know and use terms such as *aspect* (Pl. *aspekt*) and action mode or type of action (Pl. *rodzaj akcji*), we can rightly call him Agrell’s forerunner, who first distinguished between these two concepts and categories.

Erwin Koschmieder is also one of the aspectologists whose oeuvre is a milestone in Polish aspectology. In his 1934 monograph entitled *Nauka o aspektach czasownika polskiego* ‘Teaching about the Aspects of the Polish Verb’, he distinguished several types of aspectual pairs in Polish. Koschmieder also distinguished between concrete and abstract facts. According to him, concrete facts occupy a specific, unique place on the timeline, and have their own time and place value (*Zeitstellenwert*) (cf. (KOSCHMIEDER 1929, 1934: 25). He held the view that concrete facts are temporal, while abstract facts are out of time, that is, they do not have a so-called ‘time-place value’. The aspectual usage is related to the type of situation (i.e. the reality outside of language). The focus of Koschmieder’s research was on the use of aspects, and he only touched on the category of actional classes tangentially. Regarding the latter, however, he considered it important to note that in Polish verbs can be grouped according to the type of action they represent. Such a group of verbs, in his view, usually differs from other verbs in terms of the formal exponent associated with the expression of the given additional nuance of meaning. According to Koschmieder, types of action belong to the semantic categories, since they are distinguished based on their meaning. Aspects, however, differ in function, not in meaning (KOSCHMIEDER 1934).

This is how the situation of aspectual research in the 1940s can be broadly outlined, with particular regard to Polish aspectology. It cannot be known whether the aforementioned theories were familiar to Grappin, but he must have read the old Polish grammars and the work of Agrell, and perhaps the above work of Koschmieder was not unknown to him either.

Although Grappin devotes a separate section in his grammar to the aspect system of the Polish language, which is dealt with in some detail in chapter 22nd of the work (*Chapitre XXII. Système de l’aspect*, pp. 252–269), before that he discusses the issue of verbal compounds and verbal derivation in two chapters (*Composition verbale XX*, pp. 231–242; *Dérivation verbale*, pp. 243–251).

¹ It should be noted here that the first edition of the work of Viktor V. Vinogradov referred to above was published in 1947.



This procedure seems expedient, if only because the means of the formal exponents of Polish verbal aspect are actually covered by prefixes and suffixes. The author then relies on the findings described in these chapters, illustrated with examples, when presenting the aspect system in Polish. Grappin begins his description of verbal compounds by stating that verbs can form compounds with elements called prefixes which in other cases also fulfill the function of prepositions (GRAPPIN 1942: 233). He illustrates this phenomenon with the example of the verb *kończyć* ‘finish’ (cf. *skończyć*, *dokończyć*, *ukończyć*, *pokończyć*, *zakończyć*, *wykończyć*) and then lists the most frequently occurring prefixes in Polish. These are the following: *do-*, *nad-*, *nad(e)-*, *o-*, *ob(e)-*, *od(e)-*, *po-*, *pod(e)-*, *prze-*, *przez(e)-*, *przy-*, *roz(e)-*, *u-*, *w(e)-*, *wy-*, *wz-*, *(wez)-*, *z(e)-*, *za-*.

Grappin notes that certain Polish verbs, such as *mieć* ‘to have’ or *woleć* ‘to prefer’, cannot be prefixed. He also points out that the vast majority of derived imperfective verbs are compounds (e.g. *po-magać* ‘help’, *u-kładać* ‘arrange’, *z-na-jdować* ‘find’) and that there are some verbs that contain several prefixes (e.g. *na-z-bierać* ‘amass’, *po-na-wy-bierać* ‘successively select a quantity of sg’). Speaking about the semantics of verbal prefixes, Grappin makes a very important statement, which occurs several times in further chapters of his grammar, in a somewhat modified form (GRAPPIN 1942: 234). This statement says that verbal prefixes in Polish have two basic functions: one is the aspect marking function,² the other is the so-called modifying function, that is, when the prefix modifies the meaning of the base verb. In the case of the second function, Grappin is most likely referring to the action mode (type of action). He goes on to note that a prefix can sometimes translate the meaning of the base verb into its exact opposite (e.g. *kryć* ‘hide’ – *odkryć* ‘uncover, discover’, *łączyć* ‘connect, join’ – *rozłączyć* ‘disconnect, separate’), or it can sometimes enrich the base verb with two opposite meanings at the same time. Examples of the latter include the verbs *odrodzić się* ‘revive’ and ‘degenerate’, as well as *skreślić* ‘draw, outline’ and ‘erase, cancel’. Grappin illustrates the aspect-marking function of prefixes with the prefix *z-* and the aspectual pair *starzeć się* : *zestarzeć się* ‘grow old’, adding that apart from the prefix *z-*, mainly the prefixes *u-*, *za-*, *o-* and *po-* appear in this function. It is worth noting that the author here uses the term *vid* in its French form (*vide*) in the sense of ‘verbal aspect’, which may show the influence of the Russian aspectological literature.

In the section on basic prefixes Grappin explains that the base verbs in Polish have different properties regarding their ability to be prefixed (GRAPPIN 1942: 235–236). Certain verbs, such as *robić*, ‘do, make’ have a perfective, in Grappin’s usage definite, aspectual partner (which in the case of *robić* is *zrobić*), but several other prefixes can be added to them. Each of these prefixes can modify a given base verb with a different nuance of meaning. In addition, the author also touches on the issue of the lexical meaning-distribution, and also points out that there are base verbs with multiple meanings, to which different prefixes in different meanings can be added in the process of perfectivization. He illustrates this phenomenon with the verbs *krzyżować* and *topić* (cf. *ukrzyżować* ‘crucify’, *skrzyżować* ‘thwart (sy’s plans)’, *utopić* ‘drown in water’ *stopić* ‘melt’).

In the next section covering about seven pages, Grappin deals with the value of the various prefixes, by which semantic value should be understood. This includes the aspect value as well as the various additional nuances of meaning, also those denoted by types of action. Among other things, Grappin is talking here about prefixes such as *do-* ‘to, until’, *na-* ‘on’, and *wy-* ‘out’, which can have a perfectivizing role but also ones such as *nad-*, which expresses diminutive actions

² According to Grappin ‘(it) consists of giving a certain aspect value to a verbal form’ “l’une [...] consiste à donner une certaine valeur d’aspect à une forme verbale” (cf. GRAPPIN 1942: 234).



(i.e. actions with reduced intensity), in addition to movement towards the surface of an object. It can be stated that, thanks to Grappin, in this section the reader can obtain a relatively detailed overview of the system of Polish verbal prefixes, their basic and additional meanings, as well as about their functions. Grappin here draws attention to the fact that, from a functional point of view, the *po-* prefix is the most homonymous verbal morpheme of the Polish language. On the one hand, it is the most common exponent of perfectiveness, on the other, it is able to enrich the base verb with several lexical nuances of meaning, such as distributiveness, delimitativeness (determinativeness) or augmentativeness (GRAPPIN 1942: 238). The importance of this prefix is clearly shown by the fact that several studies were devoted to its complex role in the post-Grappin aspectological literature (see ANSTAT 2003: 359–385; PÁTROVICS 2012: 269–276).

In the next chapter (*Chapitre XXI*), Grappin provides a brief description of verbal derivation in Polish (GRAPPIN 1942: 245–248), but here, unlike the previous sections, he examines suffixes rather than prefixes. In this section, among other things, the suffixes *-a-*, *-awa-*, and *-ywa/-iwa-*, which participate in reimperfectivation, receive increased attention. One can clearly see the procedure used by Grappin, who first lists the formal exponents of the category of aspect in Polish, then supplements this with a description of the main phonetic alternation types (GRAPPIN 1942: 249–251), and only then turns to the description of the aspect system itself. This procedure seems appropriate, as a thorough knowledge of the formal exponents of aspect is indispensable for at least a basic understanding of the functioning of this grammatical category.

The section of Grappin's grammar on the Polish aspect system (*Chapitre XXII. Système de l'aspect*) is almost 20 pages long (GRAPPIN 1942: 252–269). This does not seem like much in the case of a 300-page grammar, but if one includes the 19-page section in which the author describes the formal means of aspect formation (mainly prefixes and suffixes), as well as the phonetic changes that take place during this process, then in a broader sense, the part dealing with verbal aspect totals 13% of the entire grammar. The author first presents the imperfective and the perfective aspects on the example of the verb *rwać* 'tear' and its derivatives (*obrywać* : *oberwać* 'tear off, pick'), pointing out that the two latter verbs differ only in terms of imperfectivity and perfectivity, otherwise they have the same meaning. With this Grappin draws attention to an essential criterion for establishing an aspectual partnership. At the same time, he does not forget to point out that the difference between the base verb (*rwać*) and its derivative (*obrywać* 'tear off several times') is not aspectual (since both verbs are imperfective) but actional in nature. Grappin defines the meaning of the imperfective form (for him *postać*) as expressing an action in progress (*une action en cours*), and the perfective form as denoting a completed action, one that has already been completed in the past or will be completed in the future ("une action réalisée, dans le passé ou dans l'avenir"; GRAPPIN 1942: 253).

After that the author writes about the tense and participle formation characteristics of imperfective and perfective verbs in Polish. In doing so, he notes that the imperfective verbal lexemes have at their disposal three temporary paradigms (*praeteritum* – *praesens* – *futurum*, e.g. *pisal(a/o)*, *pisze*, *będzie pisał* '(s)he/it wrote, writes, will write', while the perfective ones have two tenses only (*praeteritum* and non-*praeteritum* e.g. *napisał(a/o)*, *napisze* '(s)he wrote/has written, will have written'), where non-*praeterital* forms reveal the formal features of *praesens*, but the semantic function of *futurum*; the third feature is manifested by certain limitations in formation of participles (e.g. the anterior adverbial participle can only be formed from perfective verbs).

In the next subsection, Grappin illustrates with numerous examples the process of perfectivation and reimperfectivation of base verbs with the help of prefixes and suffixes, respectively,



covering various types of action and the phenomenon of suppletive formation (GRAPPIN 1942: 253–259). Here, however, the author does not include the linguistic material he presents in an organized framework, rather, only the various examples and verb-formation methods are listed with occasional references. Literally, the type of action as a category is here, for example, not mentioned. Grappin's method is understandable, if one considers that determining the aspect value of a given verb can cause quite a few difficulties for a native French speaker, which justifies the relatively large number and variety of examples.

In the following short section below point 218, Grappin informs the reader that the meaning component of conativity is basically present in imperfective verbs, while perfective verbs carry the meaning component of resultativity. Conative verbs denote actions which are oriented towards achieving a result but are not successful. Their name is related to the Latin word *conatus* meaning 'experiment, effort'. Conative verbs are typically imperfective. In contrast, resultative verbs express completed actions and are typically perfective. In this section, Grappin actually points to the essential meaning elements of imperfectivity and perfectivity. In connection with this, it should be noted that contemporary aspectology interprets conativity, unlike Agrell, as a specification of the telicity of actions (ŁAZIŃSKI 2020: 62).

In the next section (*Déterminés et indéterminés*), Grappin writes about the relationship between definiteness, indefiniteness and aspect in a few pages (GRAPPIN 1942: 260–263). He makes the general statement that indefinite actions are expressed primarily by the imperfective verbs, and definite actions by the perfective verbs adding that this issue is much more complex than that. The author considers sentences such as *człowiek mówi* 'a man/one says', *dziecko już czyta* 'the child already knows how to read'³ or *pamięć jego wszystko zatrzymuje* 'he has a retentive memory' (literally: 'his memory holds everything'), which today one would more accurately call general-factual (i.e. fact stating), to be indefinite. Later, in connection with some verbs of motion, Grappin points out the difference between the unidirectional *chodzić* 'go several times, go here and there' and the monodirectional *iść* 'go' which he illustrates with the sentences *dziecko chodzi do szkoły* 'the child goes to school/the child attends school', and *dziecko idzie do szkoły* 'the child is going to school'. The different Polish meanings are rendered into French with different verbs (cf. Fr. *il fréquente l'école* vs. *il s'en va à l'école*). In this section, Grappin also provides a short list that differentiates between the indefinite imperfective and the definite imperfective verbs of motion. The former can express an unidirectional repetitive movement in space, while the latter express a monodirectional movement. It is important to emphasize here that the monodirectional verbs *jechać* 'go, travel' or *leżeć* 'go, mosey' are imperfective in the same way as the unidirectional *jeździć* 'go, travel (often)' and *łazić* 'wander'. The difference between them is only in terms of definiteness and not of aspect. Failure to recognize this is a common source of mistakes for students of Polish as a foreign language. Bearing this in mind, Grappin's list, albeit incomplete, can be considered useful.

In the following, the author provides base verbs and their derivatives represented by *czytać* – *czytywać* 'read – read several times', *jeść* – *jadać* 'eat – eat several times', *pisać* – *pisywać* 'write – write several times', *siedzieć* – *siadywać* 'sit – sit several times', which he considers indefinite. It can be concluded that the latter derivatives are actually iterative verbs expressing repeated actions, but Grappin calls them indefinite. He gives examples such as *tak to bywa* 'that's the way it is'

³ One should keep in mind that the Polish sentences above allow for other interpretations (cf. *człowiek mówi* and *dziecko już czyta* can also translate into English as 'a man is talking' or 'the child is already reading', separately).



literally: ‘this is how it usually goes’, *chętnie śpiam w tym pokoju* ‘I like to sleep in this room’, and *cztery już lata jadam w tejże restauracji* ‘I have been eating at the same restaurant for four years now’. It is obvious that the above cases are repetitive (iterative, frequentative or habitual) actions. Regarding the example *czy pan grywa/gra w pokera?* ‘do you play poker?’, Grappin notes that in similar utterances the base verb (*grać* ‘play’) sounds more natural than the frequentative form (*grywać* ‘play several times’). The author also gives examples of sentences like *rdza żre żelazo* ‘rust eats into iron’, which express general truths and laws of nature, among the indefinites, although here, to be more precise, one actually has to do with the so-called gnomic meaning, which in Polish is always expressed with the imperfective aspect.

Grappin devotes the next major section of the book to iterative verbs and their various classes (GRAPPIN 1942: 264–269). He considers the iterative meaning component as a variant of imperfectivity and already in point 211, which provides a general characterization of iterativity, states that the most typical formal exponent of this meaning in Polish is the suffix *-ywa/-iwa-*. Using the example of the verb *wolać* ‘call’, Grappin shows that one of its derivative *nawoływać* denotes ‘a repeated calling’, or ‘a calling of several people in a row’. Grappin further mentions verbs belonging to subgroups of iterativity, such as *pobłyskiwać* ‘flash up several times’, *pochrapywać* ‘snore up several times’ or *przebąkiwać* ‘whisper, drop hints about sg. several times over a long period’. The forms whose formation includes the prefix *po-* in addition to the suffix *-ywa/-iwa-*, belong to the diminutive-iterative group. These verbs denote actions of weak intensity that are repeated at irregular intervals. The other group, which can be formed using the prefix *prze-* and the suffix *-ywa/-iwa-* is called perdurative iterative. These verbs indicate repeated actions extending over a long period of time.

In the next section, Grappin talks about verb groups, or more precisely, he lists verbs that are called augmentative, delimitative, resultative and perdurative in modern aspectological terminology. He sometimes illustrates what has been said with various examples, e.g. *pochodzić po bulwarze* ‘walk along the boulevard (a bit)’, *rozchodzić* ‘wear out’, *obuwie rozchodzone* ‘shoes worn out’, *ujeżdżić* ‘dress (a horse)’, *koń dobrze ujeżdżony* ‘a well-dressed horse’, *nachwytał ptaków* ‘he caught a lot of birds’, *przejeździł cały miesiąc* ‘he drove for a whole month’. It may seem strange to the contemporary reader that the author considers the above types of action to be a subgroup of iteratives, but in fact it is the case that, at least in Grappin’s opinion, each of the above types of action implicitly refers to a sequence of actions. (This is relatively easy to see, for example, in the case of catching birds or training horses.) The classification of the above types of actions into one large collective group actually indicates a lack of systematization. However, one should not forget that although Agrell’s study on Polish verbal aspect and action mode had been known for more than 20 years at the time of the publication of Grappin’s work, the classification of verbs according to action types had not yet been fully crystallized in its current form. If one wants to be honest, the classification of verbs according to their type of action and the terminology of action types cannot be called fully crystallized even today. Taking this into account, it is understandable why Noreen stated as early as 1912 that in principle there could be an infinite number of action types, because a more differentiated classification than the previous one can always be created (cf. NOREEN 1962: 335). This opinion is accepted by several linguists (COCKIEWICZ 1992: 14; GECSŐ 1989: 4).

Grappin concludes the section on the aspect system in Polish with a description of distributive verbs (GRAPPIN 1942: 267–269). He also considers these to be perfective iteratives, which also seems appropriate according to our current knowledge of aspectology. He states furthermore



that the prefix *po-* takes part in their formation (e.g. *powychodzili z wagonu* ‘they got out of the carriage in a row’, *gwiazdy pozachodziły* ‘the stars were going out one after another’). Grappin also classifies the verbs now called exhaustives into this group, that is among the iteratives, which modern aspectology considers a subgroup of resultatives.

It is not true to say that Grappin’s work is a perfect Polish grammar from an aspectological point of view. This may be, among other things, due to the fact that in 1942 the author could not have possessed the knowledge that modern aspectology possesses. Consequently, one cannot read here about boundedness, telicity or definitional use, as these concepts were not yet known at the time when the book was written. The same holds true of the somewhat confusing terms used by the author in some places. Based on what has been said above, it may seem that Grappin’s grammar can be of value today only from the perspective of the history of aspect research. However, it can be stated that the aspect-related part of the grammar in question contains many valuable linguistic data and illustrative examples which can be utilized, too, in teaching Polish as a foreign language. And one more remark in closing: Grappin’s *Grammaire* was published at a time when many things must have been on people’s minds, but there were only few who thought that the Polish language would ever have a future. Henri Grappin was one of these few.

Conflict of Interest. Péter Pátrovics is a member of the Editorial Board of the journal and was not involved in the review process in any capacity.

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