

division is not sufficient. The durative had better be further divided into two: the indefinitely durative (or durative-static) and definitely durative (or durative-dynamic).

2. 'Phasenaktionsart' (or 'Temporale Aktionsart') is quite original, but unhappily it forms no grammatical category, because it has no formal system to express it.

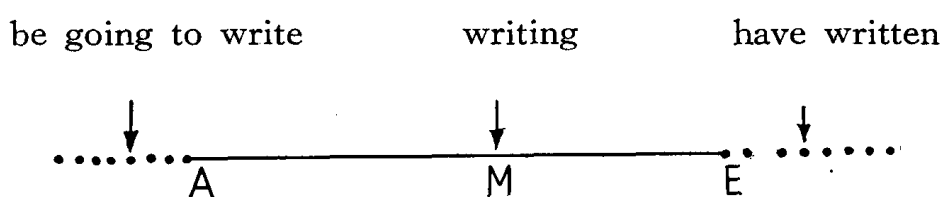
3. His binary division of Aspect, the imperfective and the perfective, is approximately the same as the general view held by the leading Slavists and comparative grammarians. But his psychological explanation of it by the concept of 'Blickrichtung' 'in bezug auf die Zeitrichtung' is a fallacy. As to the forms for the aspects, he is right when he grasps EF vs. SF for the aspect of the past tense. But he is wrong when he grasps EF vs. Present Perfect for the present tense. Present Perfect is irrelevant here. The opposition of EF vs. SF should hold good with the present tense as well. It is the same with the future tense.

4. His ternary division is a fallacy, because it is based on his concept of 'Blickrichtung' 'in bezug auf die Zeitrichtung,' which is essentially dualism. The form *be going to-*, which he assigns to the third aspect, has nothing to do with the aspectal distinction of the infinitive combined with it.

September 30, 1966.

prospectively. If the infinitive is in EF, though this is rarely found, the action is grasped imperfectly and all the same prospectively. The prospectivity of *be going to-* has nothing to do with Aspect, because even an action conceived prospectively can be grasped either imperfectly or perfectly.

It is true that the opposition of the three forms *be going to write*, *be writing* and *have written* seems to have some symmetry. The function of these forms may be illustrated as follows :



The three forms express that the speaker directs his attention to a point immediately before the action begins, a point in the midst of its process, and a point immediately after it ends, respectively. Here the word 'immediately' does not necessarily mean the immediacy in time, but that there is no intervening action or event conceived by the speaker. This symmetry may be of some significance, and might even form a grammatical category. But it will never be worth the name 'Aspect.' It might be called 'Perspective,' and then the subdivisions might rightly be termed 'prospective,' 'introspective' and 'retrospective.'

### Conclusion

1. 'Zeitcharakter' is essentially the same as what has been called 'Aktionsart' in contrast to 'Aspect' by many other grammarians. What matters is the concept of time extension of the action contained in the lexical meaning of the verb. 'Zeitcharakter' is divided into two: 'durativ' and 'nichtdurativ,' the latter being further divided into two. The concept and division are not original with Deutschbein, but his grasp of it as a matter of time extension seems to be clearer than other grammarians, and it may be called his merit that he has labeled it 'Zeitcharakter.' It has a considerable importance to syntax. But, in relation to Aspect, his

Prozesses in bezug auf die Zeitrichtung.” (See § 3.1.) And we have seen that “Zeitrichtung” with him is  $Vght \rightarrow Zkft$ . Therefore, “Blickrichtung” in relation to “Zeitrichtung” must be either the same direction  $Vght \rightarrow Zkft$ , or the opposite direction  $Zkft \rightarrow Vght$ . There can be no other direction. There can be no third direction. What is on the whole the direction  $M' \rightarrow M$ ? It may be possible to draw a line from  $M'$  to  $M$  with a pen or pencil on a paper, but it is a matter of geometry, and it has nothing to do with “Zeitrichtung.” It is nonsense, a vertical direction to the line of time progress. If we are to admit the direction  $M' \rightarrow M$ , then we are to give up the premise “in bezug auf die Zeitrichtung.” And if we give up the premise, the opposition of “Blickrichtung”  $A' \rightarrow E$  and  $E' \rightarrow A$  naturally falls, because the opposition cannot be conceived without the standard direction “Zeitrichtung.” Without this, neither the beginning nor the end can be conceivable, because we never can tell which is the beginning and which is the end. The concept of difference of “Blickrichtung” “in bezug auf die Zeitrichtung,” which seems to be the basic concept of his aspect theory, is essentially dualism, and allows no ternary division. And the idea of “Blickrichtung” is, as we have seen above (§ 3.2), irrelevant to the concept of Aspect. It will be of no use now to continue our observation on his theory.

Here, however, we will briefly point out a contradiction, or rather a trick he performs when he assigns the forms to the three aspects. He says that the third aspect (“eine dritte Auffassung”) is expressed “sprachlich durch die Formel: *I am going to write.*” In the schema, however, this third form is not assigned to the third direction  $M' \rightarrow M$ , but to the direction  $A' \rightarrow E$  instead, which is originally the first aspect, the imperfective (or introspective). And, in return, the original first aspect form  $EF$  is assigned to the third direction  $M' \rightarrow M$ . This is a trick, indeed.

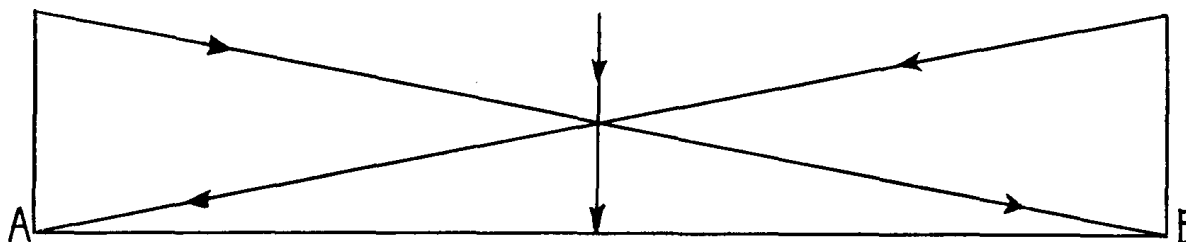
The form *be going to-* has nothing to do with the aspect of the infinitive combined with it. The aspectual distinction of the infinitive, if any, is to be given by the form it takes:  $SF$  or  $EF$ . The value of *be going to-* is to look forward ‘prospectively’ to the action denoted by the infinitive. If the infinitive is in  $SF$ , the action is grasped perfectly and

the imperfective  $A' \rightarrow A$  (or rather  $A' \rightarrow E$ ), the perfective  $E' \rightarrow E$  (or rather  $E' \rightarrow A$ ) and the third aspect  $M' \rightarrow M$ . And he says in a later section that ModE knows a formal system to express the three aspects:

Für das Ne. Sprachempfinden ist das Bewußtwerden eines Prozesses der Gegenwart nicht bloß im imperfektiven und perfektiven Aspekt möglich, sondern es besteht noch eine dritte Auffassung, die sprachlich durch die Formel: *I am going to write* ausgedrückt wird. Diese Formel tritt neben den beiden anderen in eine geschlossene Reihe, z.B. *I do not know what has happened, what is happening, what is going to happen.* (Nr. XVI)

These three aspects are called respectively as “prospektiver Aspekt, introspektiver Aspekt, und retrospektiver Aspekt.”

<i>prosp. Aspekt</i>	<i>introspek. Aspekt</i>	<i>retrospek. Aspekt</i>
<i>I am going to write</i>	<i>I am writing</i>	<i>I have written</i>



Vorgang des Schreibens als Ganzes

This ternary division can naturally be applied to the past tense as well. (Nr. XI) In *Gr.*<sup>59</sup> it is also applied to the future tense. Thus the three aspects in the three tenses are formulated as follows:

	Gegenwart	Vergangenheit	Zukunft
a ) retrospektiv	<i>he has written</i>	<i>he wrote</i>	<i>he will have written</i>
b ) introspektiv	<i>he is writing</i>	<i>he was writing</i>	<i>he will be writing</i>
c ) prospektiv	<i>he is going to write</i>	<i>he was going to write</i>	<i>he will be going to write</i>

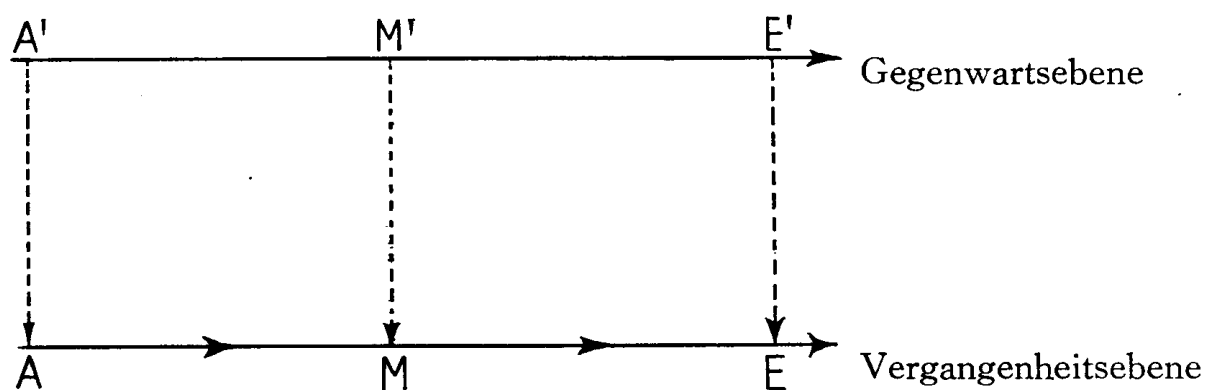
(*Gr.*<sup>59</sup>, § 116)

§ 4. 2. Now the question is whether it is possible to conceive “Blickrichtung” from  $M'$  to  $M$ , to the middle of the process of an action. According to Deutschbein, Aspect is nothing but “die Orientierung eines

speaking. The end of the action is not in contact with the moment of speaking however close it may approach this. We may go on to say as, e.g., *He arrived two minutes ago*, or even *ten seconds ago*. This use of Present Perfect is so-called 'Finished Use.' Here the action is completed before the moment of speaking. The end is before the moment of speaking. In *The old house has been left untenanted for many years*, on the other hand, the state indeed stretches to the moment of speaking. This is 'Unfinished Use.' And here the state still continues even at the moment of speaking, and so we do not have the end in our eyes. The end is after the moment of speaking. In brief, with the finished use, the speaker does not look back at the action from the end of it, because the end is not at the moment of speaking; with the unfinished use, the speaker does not look back at the state from the end of it, either, because the end is not at the moment of speaking. After all, the essential function of Present Perfect is not to express an action or state as a whole, looking back from the end of it. Therefore, it is not the proper form for the perfective aspect of the present tense.

### Ternary Division of Aspect

§ 4.1. Deutschbein proposes a ternary division of Aspect. He tries to show the possibility by the following schema.



Ich könnte von einem beliebigen Punkte M', der mitten zwischen A' und E' liegt, meine geistige Blickrichtung auf den vergangenen Tatbestand vornehmen, wir werden dann, sozusagen von der Gegenwart mitten hinein in die Vergangenheit, also auf den Punkt M stoßen. Wir würden auf diese Weise eine dritte Aspektmöglichkeit haben. (AAN, Nr. XIV) ●

This amounts to saying that there are semantically at least three aspects :

*Erweiterte*, pp. 29-30 takes it to be. One of the causes is Deutschbein's fallacy that he considers the value of SF present as essentially "iterative." Let us take the example he gives: *He writes his letters in the evening*. True, we understand here that the action to write letters has been repeated perhaps for many years and will be repeated in the future as well. But the meaning of the repetition does not come from SF itself. It comes from the context. It is merely implicit. The explicit meaning is just this: that the action occurs and concludes under certain circumstances which comprise 'he', 'letters' and 'in the evening.' The action to write is all the same grasped as a whole, as it concludes at a certain point of time under certain circumstances. The action itself is not grasped as iterative. The idea of iteration, if any, is produced in our mind by our inference that as the circumstances are supposed to occur repeatedly, so the action is supposed to occur repeatedly whenever the circumstances occur. So far as the circumstances are supposed to be iterative, the action is supposed to be iterative. This is merely the hearer or reader's conjecture. The idea of iteration, therefore, does not consist in the value of SF itself. Cp. also note 13. It is also interesting to note that Curme, in his explanation of the perfective value of SF, gives the example *He writes a letter to his mother every Sunday* (see above § 3. 3), which should be iterative according to Deutschbein.

The other big cause of his error is that he thinks that Present Perfect has the function to look back at an action as a whole 'retrospectively.' He thinks he finds a good support for it in W.F. Bryan: *JEGP*, 35, p. 375, "the present perfect tense represents the speaker as looking back from the moment of speaking over any stretch of past time he wishes to survey." However, what Bryan thinks when he says 'looking back' is not the same as the value of the perfective aspect. The speaker looks back 'from the moment of speaking,' but not from the ending point of the action. Also, what is looked back is not the action itself, but "any stretch of past time." It is true that the action is placed within the stretch of past time (*ibid.*, p. 366), but it is 'within,' and these two do not necessarily coincide at both ends. In the example given by Bryan: *The messenger has just arrived*, the action is already over at the moment of

- (4) I *leave* by the 6 : 35 train this evening.  
 If the weather *is* fine tomorrow, we shall have a picnic.  
 If you *swallow* prussic acid, you die.  
 Let's wait until he *comes*.  
 As soon as he *arrives*, you can leave.<sup>13)</sup>

Here each action is not grasped in its process as going on, but as a mere fact as a whole. This value is the same as with SF preterite except for the difference of "Zeitstufe." SF expresses an action as a whole without regard to its process or "Verlauf," either in the present, or in the past, or in the future. This perfective value of ModE SF is clearly recognized by Curme, perhaps earlier than any other English grammarians. He says :

The creation of the progressive form resulted from the desire to express the idea of progressive action, action going on . . . . This new development . . . gave us in the unburdened simple form a means of expressing an act as a whole, as an accomplished fact : 'He writes a letter to his mother every Sunday.' Today the simple form of the verb — the terminate aspect [i. e., the perfective aspect !] — is not vitally concerned with the idea of duration . . . .<sup>14)</sup>

Thus SF is the regular form for the expression of the perfective aspect in all three tenses, while EF is the regular form for the imperfective aspect.<sup>15)</sup>

§ 3. 4. Why has Deutschbein failed to see that the opposition of SF vs. EF applies to the present tense (and also to the future) as well as to the past? Why has he mistaken Present Perfect for the perfective form in the present? The cause is no such trivial and shallow thing as an insufficient distinction between "perfektiv" and "perfektisch" or "perfekt" as Dietrich

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13) The examples here are all borrowed from J. M. Ward : *The Use of Tenses*, §§ 10-15. His classification is also followed except for the first example under (2), which is given by him under the class 'repeated actions.' This kind of error of analysis seems to be persistent even among famed grammarians. Deutschbein is a case. See below § 3.4.

14) G. O. Gurme : "Some Characteristic Features of Aspect in English," *JEGP*, 31 (1932), p. 252.

15) This aspectual opposition between SF and EF is also correctly grasped by J. Raith : *Untersuchungen zum englischen Aspekt*, Teil I (1951) and *Englische Grammatik* (1952), § 231 ff.

SF preterite is also rightly assigned to the perfective aspect in the past. This form generally grasps an action as a whole as it occurred in the past time. But this aspectual value also applies to SF present. Deutschbein has failed to see this, and unhappily picks up Present Perfect instead.

As we have seen in § 3. 1, Deutschbein says that we have always the imperfective aspect when an action is going on at present before our eyes. This is not exactly true. We have there the imperfective 'on condition that we want to express the action as present, as co-existent with us.' In this case we do not see the end of the present action, because our eye is fixed to the present moment and the end of the action lies in the future. But if we do not stick to the present moment, we can direct our eye to the end of the action, which lies in the future, thus grasping the action as a whole. Then we have the perfective aspect, even though the action is going on at present. Here the end of the action lies in the future, and our eye is directed to the end, and therefore, directed to the future. Thus the perfective aspect in the present tense tends to have a futuric force. This is why the Russian perfective present tense form is usually employed as a future tense. When it has not a futuric force, it expresses habits and probability or inevitability which continue to be valid in the future as well.<sup>12)</sup> This latter value may be called an expression of generic and timeless events or actions. The perfective present form in English must have the same value. This is nothing but SF present.

SF present in ModE does not generally express an action which is regarded as going on in the present time, except for a small number of indefinitely durative or static verbs. It usually gives an expression of (1) eternal truth, (2) habits, or (3) ability, which all can be summarized as a generic or timeless expression. Otherwise, it gives an expression of (4) futurity.

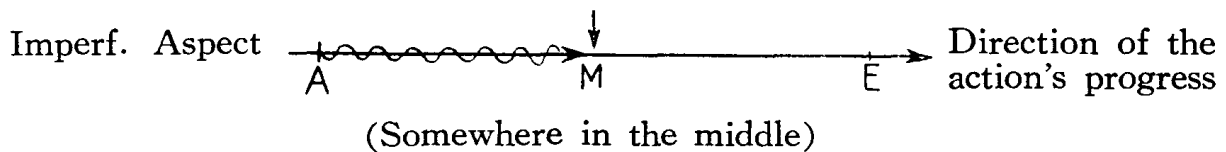
- (1) The earth *goes* round the sun.
- (2) He *comes* to my office every Sunday.  
Betty always *has* a glass of milk at 11 a.m.
- (3) That fellow *speaks* English as well as he *speaks* his own language.

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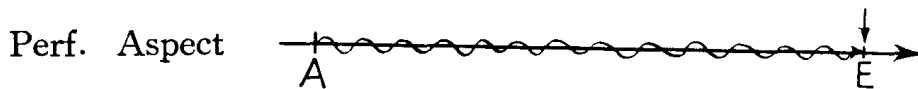
12) Igeta, S.: Грамматика Русского Языка, p.190.



### The viewpoint of the speaker



The action is grasped in its process.



The action is grasped as it reaches the end.



The action is grasped as a whole, the process  
being disregarded.

§ 3. 3. Now we are to examine the aspect forms Deutschbein sets forth. EF is an imperfective form in the past tense well as in the present. This is right. EF has, at least in ModE, the function to express that the speaker grasps an action in its process as not having reached the end.<sup>11)</sup>

11) Cp. Jespersen : *MEG*, IV. 12. 5 (1), " If we say he was (on) hunting, we mean that the hunting (which may be completed now) had begun, but was not completed at the time mentioned or implied in the sentence, and this element of incompleteness (at that time) is very important if we want to understand the expanded tenses . . . ." Poutsma : *The Character of the English Verbs and the E. F.*, p. 47 admits that the fundamental function of EF is to show an action as " continuous," as " progressive." This is ultimately the same as our grasp. Kruisinga: *Handbook*, II, I, § 185, "The only (?) regular construction serving to express aspect is the combination of *to be* with a verbal noun in *-ing*, the progressive." (? by the present writer.) Curme: *Parts of Speech*, 47. 2. a, "The expanded form usually represents an action as going on . . . . There is . . . usually an idea of progression or continuance associated with the form . . . ." J. M. Ward: *The Use of Tenses in English*, § 16, "This tense [i. e., EF present] is used to express actions that are happening at the moment of speaking . . . ." & § 52, "[EF past is used first] to show that an action was continuous at a given moment of past time, or at the same time another action happened." A. G. Hatcher : "The Use of the Progressive Form in English," *Language*, 27, p. 270, "In reference to a single present occurrence, the progressive is the norm for all verbs that describe overt or developing activity or both . . . ." Here if we grasp "overt" as "dynamic" (cp. note 6), an action which is in the present time and dynamic or developing, has not yet reached its end and therefore grasped in its actual process; hence the imperfective aspect.

a relative relation between "das Ich" and "Zeitlinie" as is conceived by Koschmieder. For Deutschbein the Zeitrichtung is always fixed to the direction Vglt→Zkft. The difference of the two aspects lies merely in this: whether "Blickrichtung" of the speaker takes the same direction as the Zeitrichtung or takes the opposite direction. His "Richtungsbezug or -beziehung" is not "Zeitrichtungsbezug," but "Blickrichtungsbezug." "Zeitrichtung" is no more than the standard direction by which to distinguish "Blickrichtung." (Cp. § 2.2 above.)

Then, the question is whether the difference of "Blickrichtung" is able to explain the opposition of the imperfective and the perfective. At first sight it seems to be easy. With the imperfective  $A' \rightarrow E$ , E is the ending point of the action, and the speaker looks forward to the end, which is yet to come. With the perfective  $A \leftarrow E'$ , the speaker looks back from the end towards the beginning, and so, as it were, he summarizes the action as a whole from the conclusion.

But what is the point A' which is outside the beginning A? And also what is the point E' which is outside the end E? We can make nothing of them. They are merely hypothetical. It is true that the speaker or observer stands outside the action observed. But the starting point of his Blickrichtung needs must be on the end E itself and thus look back from there as far as the beginning, if he wants to grasp the action as a whole from the conclusion, as perfective. On the other hand, if he wants to grasp the action as imperfective, where should the starting point of his Blickrichtung be? Deutschbein thinks it is on A'. But this is only a ghost. Then on A? But this is the beginning itself. The action has already passed through it, and for this very reason it is "geschehend." The speaker's point of view must be somewhere after A and before E. The imperfective aspect does not see either the beginning or the end. It fixes its eye somewhere in the middle. After all, it is impossible to explain the difference of the two aspects by the difference of "Blickrichtung."

It seems irrelevant to explain the concept of Aspect by a schema, but if we are forced to, the following might be better than Deutschbein's.

nicht iterative Bedeutung hat." Therefore, the ModE aspectal forms are as follows (iterative forms and the ModF forms are also shown):

	imperf. Aspekt	perf. Aspekt	Iterativ
Gegenwart	he is writing il écrit	he has written il a écrit	he writes il écrit
Vergangenheit	he was writing il écrivait	he wrote il écrivit	he used to write il écrivait

It is characteristic of English that SF in the present tense has an iterative force. On the other hand, the reason why the imperfective form has an iterative force in many languages is that "Das [i. e., iterative character] entspricht durchaus dem Wesen des imperfektiven Aspekt." (Nr. XV)

§ 3.2. Now we will examine the definition of Aspect he proposes. Apart from his various figurative and unessential statements, the following seem to be cogent: the imperfective grasps an action as "geschehend," while the perfective grasps it as a whole from the ending point, as "geschehen," as "Ereignis." Here he seems to follow the general view held by Agrell, Saussure, Porzig, Hermann, and particularly Koschmieder, who are all Slavists or comparative grammarians.<sup>10)</sup>

Now the question is whether it is right to define Aspect as "Orientierung eines Prozesses in bezug auf die Zeitrichtung von Standpunkt des Sprechenden." The word "Zeitrichtung" seems to reflect Koschmieder's "Zeitrichtungsbezug." But here as well as in the case of "Phasenaktionsart," Deutschbein has no such idea of two kinds of "Zeitrichtung" based upon

10) Cp. S. Agrell: *Aspektänderung und Aktionsartbildung beim polnischen Zeitworte* (1908), pp. 2 & 78, "daß die Handlung vollendet wird (oder unvollendet bleibt)" (quoted from A. Noreen: *Vart Språk* Bd., 5, Heft 6, p. 608); F. de Saussure: *Cours* (1922), p. 162, "le perfectif représente l'action dans sa totalité, comme un point, en dehors de tout devenir; l'imperfectif la montre en train de se faire, et sur la ligne du temps."; W. Porzig: "Zur Aktionsart indogermanischer Präsensbildungen," *IF*, 45(1927), p. 152 ff., "ob als Verlauf oder als Ereignis."; E. Hermann: "Objektive und subjektive Aktionsart," *IF*, 45, p. 207ff., "als im Verlauf begriffen vorstellt oder als man es zusammenfaßt."; E. Koschmieder: *Zeitbezug und Sprache* (1929), p. 11, as "geschehend," i. e., "er [i. e., Tatbestand] für das Subjekt geschah und weiter geschehen wird," or as "geschehen," i. e., "als Ganzes, in seiner Totalität betrachtet werden."

Im imperfektiven Aspekt nimmt der Sprechende den Vorgang auf, schreitet sozusagen den Vorgang ab . . . . . wird also ein Prozeß erfahren oder erlebt. Er wird als geschehend als *action* aufgefaßt . . . . Der imperfektive Aspekt . . . faßt demnach einen Prozeß als geschehend auf, als eine Gegenwart, die erlebt und erfahren wird . . . . . wird eine Tatsache der Vergangenheit als Bild dargestellt oder als eine Situation geschildert.

The perfective aspect has the following distinctive features :

. . . im perfektiven Aspekt faßt der Sprechende den gleichen Erfahrungsinhalt vom Abschluß aus zusammen . . . . . wird gleiche Sachverhalt als geschehen aufgefaßt. Der Tatbestand wird zusammengefaßt und erscheint als *act*. Es wird der Prozeß als Einheit begriffen und verstanden . . . . Der perfektive Aspekt faßt einen Sachverhalt als ein Geschehnis, als ein Ereignis auf, als ein historisches (in weitesten Sinne) Faktum; deshalb tritt auch der perfektive Aspekt überall da ein, so es sich darum handelt, die Faktizität eines Geschehnisses zu betonen oder einen Sachverhalt zu konstatieren . . . . (Nr. XIII)

Many languages have proper forms for the two aspects in the past tense :

	Greek	Latin	French	English
Imperfektum	ἔγραφε	scribebat	il écrivait	he was writing
Perfekte Form	ἔγραψε	scripsit	il écrivit	he wrote
(Perf. Aspekt)				

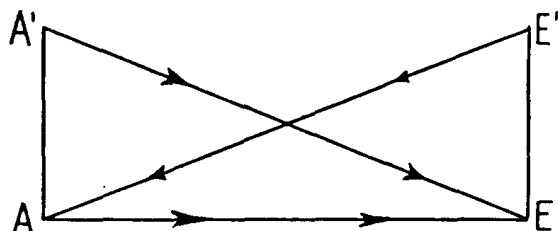
(Nr. XIV)

With the present time, however, the situation is different. "Wenn ein Vorgang sich unmittelbar vor mir, in meiner unmittelbaren Gegenwart vollzieht, liegt stets der imperfektive Aspekt vor." Therefore, "Die meisten Sprachen benutzen daher die einfache Präsensform im imperfektiven Sinne. Der zugehörige perfektive Aspekt wird dann in den meisten Sprachen durch das sogenannte Perfektum gebildet." Thus, *il écrit* & *γράφει* are imperfective, while *il a écrit* & *ἔγραψε* are perfective. English has the peculiarity to employ EF instead of SF for the imperfective aspect in the present tense as well as in the past. The reason is this: "Die einfache Verbalform des Präsens hat im Ne. wesentlich iterative Bedeutung (he *writes* his letters *in the evening*), während allerdings für die Vergangenheit

by Agrell, Hermann and Koschmieder. 1): that we should make a strict distinction between Aspect and Aktionsart. 2) that there prevails an agreement that there are fundamentally only two aspects, the imperfective and the perfective. (AAN, Nr. I)

With these results in view, Deutschbein first makes an attempt to explain in his own way the basic concept of the binary division of Aspect and to set forth their regular forms. Then he proceeds to say that there is a possibility of ternary division, and the three aspects find their formal expression in ModE at least. Here we will examine his theory on the binary division of Aspect.

According to him, a process which begins at A (=Anfang) and ends at E (=Ende) can be observed under a double "Perspektiv."



Ich kann den Prozeß in seinem Ablauf, Verlauf von einem Punkte A' außerhalb von A aus beobachten und betrachten. Dann liegt die Richtungsbeziehung  $A' \rightarrow E$  vor. Ich kann aber auch den gesamten Prozeß vom Standpunkt des Abschlusses aus betrachten, ich wende dann meine Blicke nach rückwärts von einem Punkte E' und es liegt der Richtungsbezug  $A \leftarrow E'$  vor.

This difference of perspective is the difference of the two aspects. Thus he lays down the following definition:

Der Aspekt bezeichnet also die Orientierung eines Prozesses in bezug auf die Zeitrichtung vom Standpunkt des Sprechenden aus.

Aspect differs from Aktionsart in this:

... die Aspekte haben demnach einen subjektiven Charakter, da ich den Standpunkt beliebig wählen kann, während die Aktionsarten eine Phase oder ein Stadium eines Prozesses darstellen, der objektiv dem Bewußtsein des Sprechenden in der Erfahrung gegeben wird. (Nr. XII)

The Richtungsbezug  $A' \rightarrow E$  gives the imperfective aspect, while the Richtungsbezug  $A \leftarrow E'$  gives the perfective aspect. The imperfective has the following distinctive features:

den imperfektiven Aspekt als auch die progressive-kontinuative Aktionsart bezeichnen kann." (Nr. XIX) Then it is also right to assign here such constructions as *be* + preposition + substantive, and *be* + adjective.

Now if EF is a right form for the prog.-cont. Aktionsart, we cannot admit here the circumscriptions with *go on*, *keep*, etc., and non-finites. *She went on laughing* and *She kept laughing* do not have the same value as *She was laughing*. The circumscriptions may be systematized as follows :

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>( 1 ) Ing. -inch.</p> <p>begin + infinitive, gerund<br/> get }<br/> go } + infinitive, (adjective)<br/> come }</p> | <p>( 2 ) Prog. -cont.</p> <p>keep }<br/> go on } + gerund<br/> remain + pres. participle</p> |
| <p>( 3 ) Egr. -concl.</p> <p>stop }<br/> leave off } + gerund<br/> cease + gerund, infinitive</p>                     |  |

These forms have surely a force to add the idea of "beginning," "continuation," or "conclusion" to the verbal idea of the non-finite. But they have no function to pick up the beginning, the middle, or the ending phase alone of the action. They denote no more than the idea of "beginning," "continuation," or "conclusion" itself. In (1), what is meant is merely the shift or change from some action to the action expressed by the non-finite. Similarly in (3), it is merely the shift or change from the action to some other. In (2), the circumscriptions have no function to select out the middle phase alone. They grasp the action as a whole, and express that this whole action is not interrupted but continues.

After all, the Aktionsart based on the idea of "Phasen," "Etappen," or "Stadien" might well be set up as a semantic category, but there are no systematic forms of expression enough to set it up as a grammatical category. At least Deutschbein has failed to show it.

### Binary Division Of Aspect

§ 3. 1. In the field of the Indo-European language studies, Deutschbein says, at least two important results were obtained from the polemics on Aspect and Aktionsart carried out in 1930's particularly

because it appears to denote the beginning of the "state of being clear." Then, *will be creating up* does not denote the continuation of the state, but progression towards the inchoative state *will clear up*. The corresponding continuous Aktionsart might perhaps be given by *will be clear*. But this is no more than our conjecture. Deutschbein does not show it. He does not show what ing.-inch. form corresponds to what prog.-cont. form and to what egr.-concl. form. Supposedly possible ways of expression are listed confusingly, and no more. We are at a loss in the face of this disorder. This evidently results from the fact that he very often deviates from his own premise, "Modifikationen des Zeitwortes," and has in his mind some "Vorgangsbegriffe" cut adrift from verbs themselves.

As for the grammatical forms proposed, Present Perfect for the egr.-concl. Aktionsart seems to be out of place here. Present Perfect is also assigned to the perfective aspect of the present tense. (See § 3.1.) Then should we consider that this aspect and that Aktionsart are the same in value? We will see soon that he insists upon the overlapping of the prog.-cont. Aktionsart and the imperf. aspect. But he says nothing about the coincidence or overlapping of the egr.-concl. Aktionsart and the perfective aspect. If we admit the overlapping of both these Aktionsarten and both those aspects, then most of the distinction between Aspect and Aktionsart will be useless. Present Perfect is not a form for the egr.-concl. Aktionsart. Its function in, e. g., *What have you completed today?* and *I have done it*, is to look back from the moment of speaking at a past activity as a whole. It never has the function to pick up the last phase alone in contrast to the other phases. Present Perfect is not the form to express the egr.-concl. Aktionsart.

On the other hand, EF is regarded as a form to express the ingr.-inch. Aktionsart as well as the prog.-cont. The example *It is getting cool* appears, indeed, inchoative at first sight. But this value comes from the lexical meaning of *get*, not from the EF itself. EF here expresses progression towards the beginning: *get cool*. It is natural, on the other hand, that he should assign EF to prog.-cont. Aktionsart, because he admits the overlapping or "überschneiden" (AAN, Nr. XV) of this Aktionsart and the imperf. aspect. He says, "... die EF im Ne, sowohl

In *Gr.*<sup>53</sup>, these two are united under the name “Temporale Aktionsarten,” and the subdivision is restored approximately to the same as in “Einteilung,” i.e., “Phasen” vs. “Mutation,” and these two are applied respectively to “Vorgang” and “Zustand.” Thus the criterion of “Blickrichtung” has been abandoned. This is only natural because “Blickrichtung” is irrelevant here from the first so far as we consider “Phasen” of an action, for when we speak of a phase, we naturally think of it in contrast with the preceding phase as well as the following. The distinction between “Phasen” and “Mutation” has no meaning, either, because both with “Vorgang” and with “Zustand” we think of “Phasen”: Beginn, Verlauf, and End. Both are “Phasenaktionsarten.”

§ 2.3. As for the forms for these Aktionsarten, *Gr.* enumerates quite a number of means. What strikes us here is a mixing up of means of expression at the syntactical level and those at the lexical level. It is quite impossible to gather up from this confused enumeration any system of forms for the Aktionsarten. We can hardly call this a grammatical category. Indeed as Dr. Raith says, “wir kommen nicht weiter wenn wir in einem fort syntaktische und lexikalische Dinge in einem Topf werfen.”<sup>9)</sup>

Among the forms presented, we find in one place purely lexical means of expression, e.g., inchoative: *burn*, *clear up*, and in another, what belongs to word-formation, e.g., *-en*. Also we find circumscriptions with some small verbs and non-finites. And side by side with these we find syntactical forms such as EF and Present Perfect. And surprisingly enough, EF is attributed to the ingressive-inchoative Aktionsart as well as the progressive-continuative.

We have seen in the above that Deutschbein opens his discussion by saying that Aktionsart and Aspect are nothing but “Modifikationen des Zeitwortes.” True, then of what verbs are *clear up*, *harden*, *soften*, etc., the inchoative modifications? By what are given the continuous Aktionsart forms of these verbs? By EF? But *The sky will be clearing up* does not give the corresponding continuous Aktionsart to the inchoative *The sky will clear up*. The latter must have been regarded as inchoative

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9) J. Raith: “Aktionsart und Aspekt,” a paper read on the occasion of Neu-philologentag in Würzburg, 1958.



Zeitlinie comes from Zukunft to Vergangenheit. Here the Zeitrichtung is  $Zkft \rightarrow Vght$ . This twofold relation between das Ich and the Zeitlinie is called "Zeitrichtungsbezug." (K., *op. cit.*, pp.5-12) With Deutschbein, however, such a relative relation between the speaker and the time line is not considered. He says, "während bei den prospektiven Aktionsarten der Zeitliche Blick des Sprechenden nach vorwärts gerichtet, ist derselbe Blick des Sprechenden bei den sukzessiven Aktionsarten nach rückwärts gerichtet." (Nr. XI) It is clear that what matters here is the difference in "Richtung" of the speaker's "Blick." The Zeitrichtung is always fixed to one direction:  $Vght \rightarrow Zkft$ . This is nothing but the standard with which the direction of the speaker's "Blick" is compared. If the Blick takes the same direction as the Zeitrichtung, it is "vorwärts," and, therefore, "prospektiv." If it takes the opposite direction, it is directed "rückwärts," and then it is called "sukzessiv." This is a matter of what might be called "Blickrichtungsbezug," and it is doubtful if it deserves the name "Zeitbezug."

Incidentally, in order to make clearer the difference of these two kinds of Aktionsart, Deutschbein goes on to say: "Während also bei den prospektiven Aktionsarten das Endziel (Endphase der Handlung) in der Zukunft liegt, liegt bei den sukzessiven Aktionsarten der Ausgangspunkt (Ausgangsphase) in der Vergangenheit." (Nr. XI) This is nonsensical. In each of these kinds, if we set the middle phase in the present time, it is true that the "Endziel" of the prospective Aktionsart is in the future time. But in this case the "Ausgangspunkt" must naturally be in the past time. On the other hand, with the successive Aktionsart, it is true that the "Ausgangspunkt" is in the past time. But here again the "Endziel" must be in the future time all the same. After all, the "Ausgangspunkt" is in the past time, and the "Endpunkt" lies in the future in both kinds of Aktionsart. It is clear that the above statement ultimately says nothing about the difference of the two kinds of Aktionsart.<sup>8)</sup>

The "prospekt. Akt." and the "sukz. Akt." correspond respectively to the "Phasenakt." and the "Mutationsakt." in "Einteilung" (1920).

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8) This nonsensical statement is criticised to the same effect by H. Renicke: "Die Theorie der Aspekte und Aktionsarten," *PBB*, 72, p.155.

*learning, etc*

Progressive-continuative :

1. Frequently EF: *Prices are going up, our provisions are running short.*
2. SF (durative verbs): *grow wise, the colours fade into one another, etc.*
3. *to be* + prep. + subst. or adj.: *be at supper, at prayer, in love, etc.*
4. Present participle after introductory "there is" or "here is": *there is a train coming, etc.*
5. Circumscriptions with *avoid, go on, keep (on), remain, be busy* and gerund or present participle: *she kept laughing, etc.*

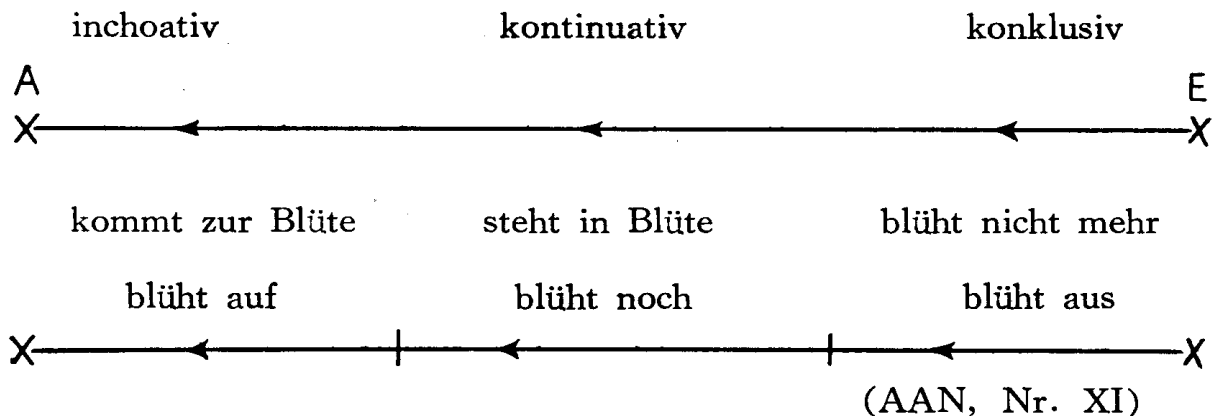
Egressive-conclusive :

1. Preferably Present Perfect: *what have you completed today?, etc.*
2. *Have done* + gerund: *have you done translating?*
3. *Become* or *come* + predicate noun: *your words came true.*
4. Circumscriptions with *stop, cease, leave off* + gerund: *stop talking, etc.*
5. *Do* (=fertig machen, erledigen): *he had done his exercise, etc.*
6. Durative verbs which assume a conclusive meaning: *sit (down), lie down, stand, know: did you know him after such a long time?, etc.*

§ 2. 2. As we have seen in the above, the difference between the prospective Aktionsart and the successive Aktionsart lies in the difference of what he calls "Zeitbezug," which is either Vergangenheit → Zukunft or Zukunft → Vergangenheit. This reminds us of Koschmieder's concept of "Zeitrichtungsbezug" (E. Koschmieder: *Zeitbezug und Sprache*, 1929). According to K., there are two ways of grasping the same phenomenon of "Zeitverlauf," which is in itself a relative relation between "Zeitlinie" and "das Ich," the speaker. If Zeitlinie is considered as stationary, das Ich moves along the Zeitlinie from Vergangenheit to Zukunft. Here the "Zeitrichtung" is Vght → Zkft. If das Ich is considered as stationary, the

“Der zeitliche Verlauf ist hier von der Gegenwart in die Zukunft: der Endpunkt, die Endphase liegt in der Zukunft, der Zeitbezug ist also Gegenwart → Zukunft.” Here the speaker’s “zeitliche Blick” is directed forwards and thus “prospektiv.” We may call this kind “prospektive Aktionsart.” The three stages are “ingressiv,” “progressiv,” and “egressiv.”

On the other hand, we can conceive “den umgekehrten Zeitbezug: Zukunft → Gegenwart → Vergangenheit.” Each stage or phase here refers back (zurückweisen) to the preceding phase. This is called “sukzessive Aktionsart.” Here, “der zeitliche Blick des Sprechenden nach rückwärts gerichtet ist.” The stages are “inchoativ,” “kontinuativ,” and “konklusiv.”



In both kinds we are concerned with the three “Etappen: Beginn, Verlauf, und Abschluß.” (*Gr.*<sup>59</sup>, § 106)

As for the forms to express these kinds of Aktionsart in English, AAN shows only one series of examples: inchoativ, *got talking*; kontinuitive, *keep talking*; konklusiv, *had done talking*. But when we come to *Gr.*<sup>53</sup> and *Gr.*<sup>59</sup>, we find quite a lot of various forms enumerated. A little simplified schema taken from *Gr.*<sup>59</sup>, §§ 107-109 is as follows:

Ingressive-inchoative:

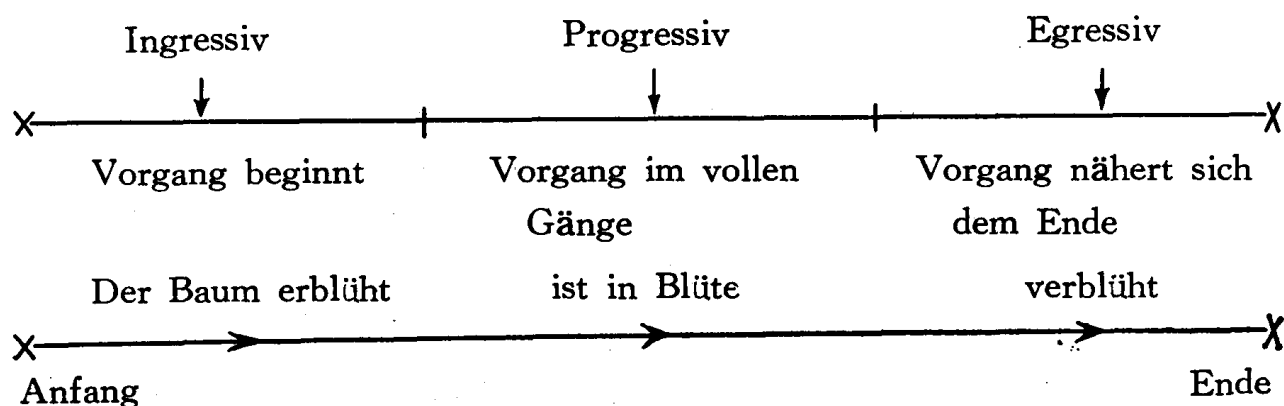
1. SF, more rarely EF: *burn, it is getting cool*, etc.
2. Verbs converted from adjectives: *clear up*, etc.
3. Verbs derived with *-en* from adjectives: *harden, soften*, etc.
4. Causative verbs derived from adjectives: *brighten*, etc.
5. Circumscriptions with *get, go, come, fall, begin*, etc., and non-finites: *get used to, get to know, begin to write, begin*

being put in EF. The other classes express continuance of an action in EF; then the definitely durative verbs generally express actual continuance, the terminative express development toward the climax, and the punctual express progression toward the beginning which is at the same time the end.

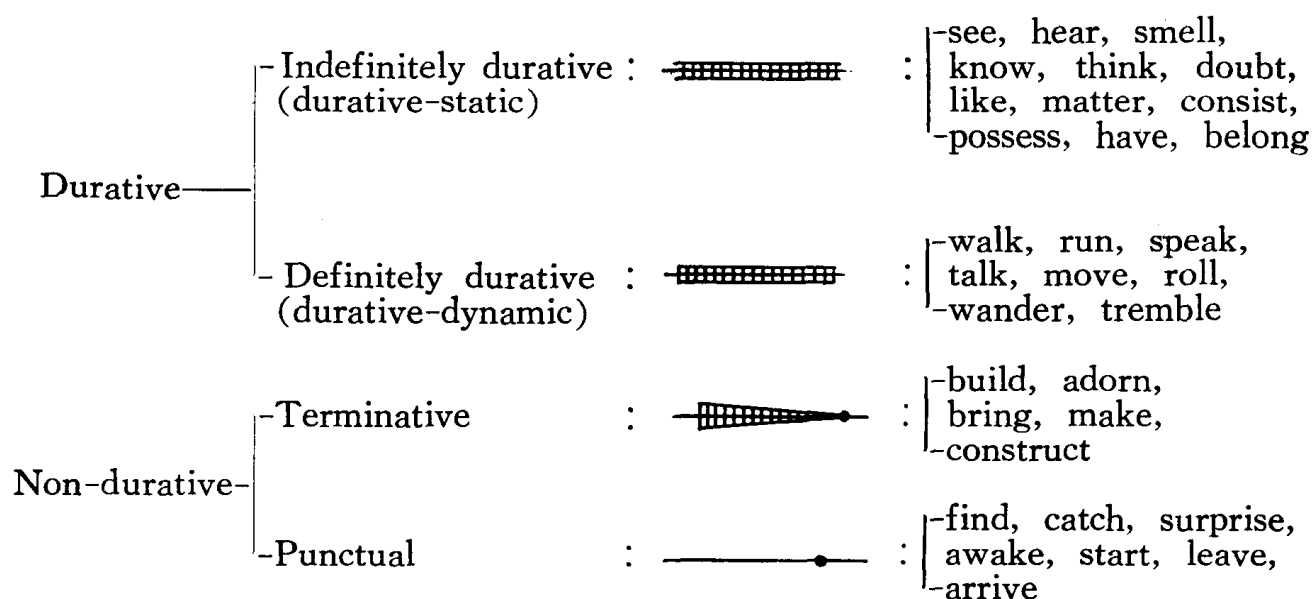
### Aktionsart

§ 2. 1. Deutschbein describes the nature of Aktionsart as follows: "daß in den Aktionsarten die allgemeinen Eigenschaften oder Merkmale, die jeder Prozeß aufweisen kann, zur Darstellung kommen." (AAN, Nr. XI) Speaking more definitely, it is "die Qualität des Geschehens, wie der Vorgang an sich ist, wie der Handlung ausführt wird." (*Gr.* 59, § 105) The number of the Aktionsarten is not limited in itself (AAN, Nr. I, *Gr.* 59, § 105), but the following kinds are particularly prominent. First, any action has in itself possibilities of iteration and repetition, so here we have the kind "Iterativum [or Non-iterativum]." Next, many actions consist of various "Phasen," and go through a certain number of "Stadien." This kind can be called "Phasenaktionsart." Further, an action can have the mark of a certain intensity, which can be called "Intensive Aktionsarten." (AAN, Nr. XI) He also speaks of "Intentionale Aktionsarten." (*Gr.* 53 & *Gr.* 59)

In connection with Aspect, "Phasensktionsart" is worth our observation. With this Aktionsart what matters is "Phasen" or "Stadien" through which an action passes. There are two kinds: "prospektiv" and "sukzessiv." An action begins at a certain point of time, lasts for a certain period of time, and then reaches its end. So we can divide the process into three stages.



can speak of “durative-static” and “durative-dynamic.” The non-durative are all “dynamic.” Now how should we explain the difference of Zeitcharakter between the durative-static and the durative-dynamic? A durative-dynamic action is in constant movement. Movement itself is the action. It is true that it can be continued to any extent that the doer wants and the external conditions permit; it has no such time limit or climax or dead end as a non-durative action has, which inevitably reaches its end and allows no further continuation. But a durative-dynamic action is unstable. We naturally expect or presuppose its ultimate cessation, its coming to rest or a standstill. On the other hand, what is durative-static is a standstill itself, and we do not normally expect or presuppose or look forward to any further change, i.e., cessation.<sup>7)</sup> Such is the difference in durativity or Zeitcharakter between the durative-dynamic and the durative-static. We may call the former “definitely durative” and the latter, “indefinitely durative.” Thus we obtain the following schema.



The indefinitely durative verbs express continuance of a state without

7) Non-presupposition of the cessation of a state with the durative-static may be seen from the fact that these verbs are not able to show the cessation even in the past tense unless a time-period is indicated. *He loved her deeply* does not tell us whether he has ceased to love her now. When a time-period is added as: *He loved her for two years*, we know that he does not love her any more now. On the other hand, with the durative-dynamic as in *He trembled with horror*, or *He walked in the park*, we generally understand that the action does not exist any more now.

my opinion, the significance of Zeitcharakter also applies to Aspekt in English. Expanded Form (EF) is the most important one for the expression of the imperfective aspect as well as, according to Deutschbein, for the expression of the progressive-continuative Phasenaktionsart. And some verbs are not used in EF by their nature. Therefore, the relation between EF and Zeitcharakter must be what we are most concerned with. Deutschbein's classification of Zeitcharakter, however, seems to fail us in this respect. It is true that the verbs which are not normally used in EF are all durative, e.g., *be, have, possess, hope, love, and understand*. But many others which equally belong to the durative are normally used in EF, e.g., *wander, walk, talk, speak, move, roll; chatter, shiver, tremble, chew and rumble*. These are durative in their own right, because they fulfil the criterion "Wie lange?" It is clear, therefore, we need a distinction of two classes within the durative, one for which EF is normal, and the other for which EF is not normal. The former class are verbs of physical movement, and the latter, of physical or mental state. The former may be called "dynamic," and the latter, "static."

As far as I know, Dietrich is the only one who admits two classes in the durative.<sup>5)</sup> He divides "Durativa" into verbs of "zeitlich unbegrenzter Ausdehnung" and those of "zeitlich beschränkter Dauer." But his examples show that the former class comprises not only static but also dynamic verbs, e.g., *spaziergehen* and *wandeln*. The characteristic feature of the second class is iterativity. The distinction of the two classes is not that of "static" vs. "dynamic," but that of "non-iterative" vs. "iterative," or, if we employ Noreen's terms, "uniform" vs. "intermittent," e.g., *wander* vs. *tremble*. This difference has nothing to do with EF.

§ 1. 4. The distinction between "static" and "dynamic" has considerable importance for us.<sup>6)</sup> If we introduce these two concepts, we

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5) G. Dietrich: *op. cit.*, p. 30. By the way, A. Noreen: *Vart Språk*, Bd. 5, Heft 16, p. 612ff., too, divides "Durativ" into two: "Virtuell" and "Agential," but the meaning of his "Durativ" is not the same as ours. It is opposite to "Momentan," and, therefore, includes our terminative.

6) This distinction of ours seems to correspond to that of "non-overt" vs. "overt" with Hatcher, *Language*, 27, p. 254ff. "Overt" explains nothing; it will turn out to be "dynamic" in the last analysis.

be borrowed from E. Hermann: "Objektive und subjektive Aktionsart," and "Aspekt und Aktionsart." In any case, these criteria should be understood like this: the durative admit both "Wie lange?" and "Innerhalb welcher Zeit?", while the non-durative admit the latter question only. Dietrich, however, points out that some verbs are sometime durative and sometime non-durative.<sup>3)</sup> This is the case with, e. g., "bauen" and "schreiben": "an einem Haus bauen" (wie lange?) & "ein Haus bauen" (innerhalb welcher Zeit?); "wie lange schreibst du an einem solchen Brief?" & "innerhalb welcher Zeit schreibst du einem vierseitigen Brief?" Dietrich is right. In both pairs, the first is durative and the other is non-durative. The difference depends on the context. The construction with '*an* + a dative substantive' has no force to set a limit to the duration of the action, while that with an accusative object clearly sets the limit. Hence the difference of Zeitcharakter. Therefore, Zeitcharakter, although Deutschbein says that it is bound to the word, is affected to some extent by the syntactical relation the verb enters. So it follows that there are some verbs of which we cannot strictly decide the Zeitcharakter unless we mention the construction they take, as "(an einem Haus) *bauen*: durative; (ein Haus) *bauen*: non-durative." With most verbs, however, this troublesome procedure will be done without.

§ 1. 3. Zeitcharakter has very much to do with syntax. One such is with the passive, as Diez noted in the Romance languages, and following him, Jespersen made a distinction between the conclusive and the non-conclusive in English. The durative give the statal passive, but not the actional.<sup>4)</sup> Further, according to Deutschbein, Zeitcharakter has a great significance for what he calls "Phasenaktionsart." (See § 2. 1.) He says that this Aktionsart is particularly valid for the terminative, while it is impossible for the punctual because these have no time span. With the durative on the other hand, this Aktionsart does not occur in general. In

3) G. Dietrich: *Erweiterte Form, Präteritum und Perfektum im Englischen*, p. 28, note 22).

4) In connection with this Deutschbein says: "Im Französischen und Ne. kann von durativen nur ein Vorgangspassiv gebildet werden, z. B. *The poet is loved, admired and honoured by his people.*" Here, "Vorgangspassiv" is surely a mistake of "Zustandspassiv."

divided into two classes:

a) The terminative verbs: these "bezeichnen eine zeitlich begrenzte Handlung, die einen bestimmten Anfang voraussetzt und gleichzeitig bis zu einem gewissen Ende vorgestellt wird." E. g., *make, bring about, adorn, beat; Gehen, Kommen, Fahren*; but not *Spaziergehen, Wandern*.

b) The momentaneous-punctual verbs: these "bezeichnen solche Vorgänge, die den Zeitverlauf in einem Punkt zusammenfassen oder deren Verlauf in einem Endpunkt kulminiert." This character becomes particularly clear where with the beginning of the action its conclusion comes at once, e. g., *Finden, Treffen, Erblicken, Ergreifen*.

A certain kind of verbs do not concentrate the process into a point, but stress the beginning, e. g., *Weggehen*, or the end, e. g., *Versinken*. The former may be called "Initiva," and the latter, "Finitiva," according to Pollak.<sup>2)</sup> (Nr. IX)

§ 1. 2. It is worth noting that Deutschbein employs the term "Zeitcharakter" for the distinction between the durative and the non-durative. The distinction itself was perhaps first recognized in the field of the Indo-European language studies by Diez (*op.cit.*, 4th ed., 1876) in connection with the passive voice in the Romance languages, though he employed there the terms "Imperfectiva" and "Perfectiva." In Germanics a similar distinction has been made with the terminology "perfectiv" vs. "imperfectiv," or "durativ" vs. "nichtdurativ" under the category of "Aktionsart" by most grammarians who treated Aspect and Aktionsart — such as Delbrück, Brugmann, Streitberg, Hirt, Agrell, Noreen, Pollak, Hermann and others. It was quite natural, because such distinction is closely related with Aspekt, and here they all admitted, implicitly at least, that "zeitliche Extension" forms an essential part of the verbal idea. But it may be regarded as Deutschbein's merit that he gave prominence to it by terming it "Zeitcharakter."

The criteria "Wie lange?" and "Innerhalb welcher Zeit?" seem to

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2) Deutschbein's documentation "PBB 44, 252ff." is not correct, which should be "...353 ff." By the way these terms are not of Pollak's making, but H. Meltzer's: "Vermeintliche Perfektivierung durch präpositionale Zusammensetzung im Griechischen," *IF*, 12(1901), 319ff. See Pollak: *op. cit.*, pp. 370-1.



verb on the whole then? There is nothing in the world that is absolute and permanent. We see a horse, for instance, at a gallop, or at amble, or at rest. Thus everything in the world appears in some sort of "Erscheinungsform." And this is given a linguistic expression by the verb. "Erscheinungsform" of a thing has in general no lasting and constant character. It is always changing. It runs through time. (AAN, Nr. VI)

Therefore, every verbal notion must have within itself some or other conception or interpretation of time. This time element in the verbal notion can be called "Zeitcharakter." This is a matter of "zeitliche Größe" or "zeitliche Extension." Here we can distinguish between "dehnbare Größe" and "undeinhbare Größe" (Nr. XI), or, in other words, "unbegrenzte Ausdehnung" and "begrenzte Dauer" (Nr. VII). Such a concept of time extension is attached to the word as a representative of a notion. Strictly speaking, therefore, Zeitcharakter belongs to semantics. (Nr. VII)

Verbs of "unbegrenzte Ausdehnung" are called "durativa." Those of "begrenzte Dauer" are called "nichtdurativa." Deutschbein says: "Während die durativen Prozesse von ununterbrochenen oder von unbestimmter bzw. unbestimmbarer Dauer sind, bezeichnen die nichtdurativen einen bestimmt-abschließenden Prozeß." A criterion to distinguish between these two classes is that the durativa permit a definition of time period to the question "Wie lange?", while the nichtdurativa cannot. These permit the question: "In (innerhalb) welcher Zeit geschieht der Prozeß?" According to Diez: *Gram. d. rom. Spr.*, III, 203, the durativa denote an activity which is not begun in order to be concluded within a time span. To the durative belong such verbs as denote a physical, psychic, or mental state or attitude, e.g., *Sein, Haben, Besitzen, Wohnen, Hoffen, Leben, Verstehen, Stehen, Schlafen*, and *Sitzen*. The durativa correspond to the "non-conclusive" proposed by Jespersen: *MEG*, IV, 7. 6. 1. (Nr. VIII)

The nichtdurativa arouse in our mind the concept of an action that consists of various "Phasen" and is marked with a beginning and an end in time. These correspond to Jespersen's "conclusive." They are broadly

# Max Deutschbein's Aspect Theory

Fumio Miyahara

Max Deutschbein is one of the prominent writers who have been particularly concerned with the problem of Aspect and Aktionsart in English. His discussion of the problem first appeared in his *System der neuenglischen Syntax* (1917), §§ 29-37, and then in a more elaborated form as "Einteilung der Aktionsarten," *ESt.*, 54 (1920), pp. 80-86, and also in Deutschbein, Mutschmann & Eicker: *Handbuch der englischen Grammatik* (1931), §§ 1-29. But in these works he did not distinguish between Aspect and Aktionsart. His thoroughgoing argument based on the distinction appeared in 1939 as "Aspekte und Aktionsarten im Neuenglischen" (AAN) in *Neuphilologische Monatsschrift*, pp. 129-48 & 190-201. His theory here was enlarged for teaching practice with a little amendment into Deutschbein-Klitscher: *Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (1953), §§ 101-16 (*Gr.*<sup>53</sup>), and, a further revised edition (1959), §§ 105-20 (*Gr.*<sup>59</sup>).

His theory in AAN is worth noting for its attempt at a detailed psychological elucidation of the categories. But it shows at the same time various kinds of errors and confusion which we should be on our guard against, and they seem to be still alive, leading not a few English grammarians to wrong conclusions.<sup>1)</sup> We should like here, therefore, to raise a criticism on his theory, and make an effort to find the right way to establish Aspect as a grammatical category. In close connection with Aspect, Zeitcharakter and Aktionsart will come into our observation.

## Zeitcharakter

§ 1.1. Deutschbein begins his argument with an observation on the nature of the verb in general, for Aspect and Aktionsart as well as Tempora are nothing but "Modifikationen des Zeitwortes." What is the

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1) E. g., B. M. Charleston: *Studies on the Syntax of the English Verb* (1941), Section II. Cp. R. W. Zandvoort, *ESts*, 24(1942), p. 42.