

LATIN VERBAL PREFIX *EX-* IN REGARD TO ASPECT*

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the role of the verbal prefix *ex-* as a component in Latin aspect. The author provides definitions of “aspect”, “Aktionsart” and “situation type”, and particularly sets light to the term “telicity”, distinguishing between the “inherent telicity” and “maximal telicity”. Based on a meticulous examination of all occurrences of the indicative imperfect of verbs with the prefix *ex-* in a comprehensive corpus encompassing well-preserved Latin texts from Plautus to Ovid, the author verifies her hypothesis that the prefix *ex-* adds the notion of telicity to the verbs, and that the most common interpretation of their imperfects is the iterativity of telic events.

Keywords: Latin; aspect; telicity; inherent telicity; prefix *ex-*; perfect tense; imperfect tense; iterativity

1. Introduction

This work aims to contribute a fragment to the mosaic that answers to the question of the relationship between verbal prefixes and aspect in Latin.¹ In modern linguistics, relying on comprehensive linguistic corpora is crucial rather than selectively citing cases that confirm preconceived hypotheses. It would, therefore, be ideal to explore all verbs with prefixes in all their occurrences over the most extensive time span possible and compare their behavior with the simple forms of these verbs. However, considering the volume of material, it was necessary to limit the task. To narrow the focus, only one prefix was selected to examine the correlation between the telicity of prefixed verbs and perfectivity. The prefix chosen was *ex-*, as it appeared to have clear semantics and a predictable impact on telicity, reducing the likelihood of ambiguous situations. Consequently, this work serves as a case study for a single prefix, establishing a method that could potentially be applied to other prefixes, yielding broader and more generalized results.

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¹ This article represents a concise and revised rendition of the extensive research presented in the dissertation: Vaníková (2019).

The hypothesis, which I examined in my dissertation and now present in this paper, is: If verbs with the prefix *ex-* are inherently telic, then the imperfect indicative forms of these verbs do not allow for a progressive interpretation, and their most likely validity will be iterative, describing a sequence of telic actions. Since the simple forms of these verbs commonly occur with a progressive meaning, then, if this hypothesis holds true, the telicity of verbs with the prefix *ex-* is indeed derived from the prefix. In modern languages, telicity can be evaluated through introspection or tests, such as analyzing the compatibility of verbs with different modifiers, including temporal markers. However, these methods primarily assess “maximal telicity” and may not fully capture “inherent telicity” (see section 2.4). Given the impossibility of introspection for a dead language such as Latin, I focused on examining the relationship between telicity and perfectivity. Through a detailed analysis of a substantial corpus (see section 3.3.2) I thoroughly examined the behavior of verbs with the prefix *ex-* in Latin. I compared their occurrences and meanings in the imperfect tense with their respective perfect forms. By doing so, I aimed to determine whether telicity is indeed a shared feature among verbs with the prefix *ex-*. Furthermore, I explored the usage of the imperfect tense with telic verbs.

2. The components of the aspectual realm

The bibliography on aspect in Latin is extensive, yet no consensus has been reached on the matter to date. Various theories have been proposed, some suggesting that aspect cannot be found in Latin, others viewing the opposition between imperfectum and perfectum as aspectual, and some working with preverbials and/or infixes like *-sc-* as aspectual markers.² Most of these theories perceive aspect as a verbal characteristic. However, recent works in the field of aspectology convincingly demonstrate that aspect is encoded in the entire sentence and its elements – including the subject and its (un)specified quantity, adverbials, and more.³ The aspectual meaning of a sentence, in a broader sense, emerges from the interplay between viewpoint, Aktionsart (actionality), and situation type.

2.1 Viewpoint

Viewpoint⁴ is a non-temporal verbal category that expresses the speaker’s specific perspective on a situation.⁵ The speaker can view the situation as a whole (perfective aspect) or present it from within, as ongoing (imperfective aspect).⁶

² For essentially temporal view of Latin tense system see Pinkster (1983), for aspectual view see e.g. Oldsjö (2001), for the aspectual opposition with the imperfectum/perfectum tenses see e.g. Haverling (2010), for a balanced view see e.g. Pinkster (2015). For a three-dimensional view on Latin aspect see Aerts (2021), whose view differs from the one presented here and does not include prefixes.

³ E.g. Filip (1999), Nekula (1995), Verkuyl (2005), specifically for Latin Vaníková (2019).

⁴ Cf. Bertinetto, Delfitto (2000: 190); Haverling (2010: 277); brief bibliographic overview of the debate on the definition of aspect, see Haverling (2000: 277, n. 4).

⁵ The problem of the “subjective choice” of the speaker was described e.g. by Bache (1982: 70–71), Johanson (2000: 31).

⁶ E.g. Comrie (1976: 4).

Viewpoint should be understood as a universal semantic category⁷ that varies in the degree and manner of grammaticalization across different languages. It can be grammaticalized morphologically through aspectual prefixes, lexically through verb tenses, or at the sentence level through the use of definite and indefinite articles, adverbs, or even changes with the case of the object.⁸

It is necessary to mention the significant difference between the viewpoint in Slavic, Germanic and Romance languages, that is the opposite marking of the members of the aspectual opposition. In Slavic languages, the imperfective viewpoint is semantically unmarked, serving as the neutral member of the pair, while the perfective viewpoint carries the marker of a completed view of the situation. In Germanic and Romance languages, it is the opposite: the semantically unmarked member is the form of the perfective viewpoint, while the form of the imperfective viewpoint indicates incompleteness, ongoingness, or habitual nature of the situation.

The opposite marking of the members of the viewpoint opposition is summarized in the following table:

situation language group	completed	unmarked	incomplete ongoing
Slavic	<i>namaloval</i> ^{perf.}	<i>maloval</i> ^{imperf.}	
Germanic	<i>he painted</i>		<i>he was painting</i>
Romance	<i>il a peint, il peignit</i> ⁹		<i>il peignait</i>

Fig. 1 The opposite marking of the members of the viewpoint opposition in Slavic and Germanic, Romance languages

The English phrase “he was painting” must be rendered as “maloval” in Czech, while the Czech phrase “namaloval” must be rendered as “he painted”¹⁰ in English. As for the

⁷ Cf. Friedrich (1974: S1): “Aspect, in short, belongs to the set of semantic categories that are universal in some serious, cross-linguistic sense.”

⁸ Cf. Filip (1999: 157), who discusses two main strategies of aspectual marking in languages: the ‘verb-centered’ strategy involves indicating aspect on the verb form (e.g., in English, Czech); the ‘noun-centered’ strategy involves expressing aspect through certain/uncertain articles with the subject or object, cases, or morphemes originally with a locative or partitive meaning (e.g., in Finnish, German).

Also, Nekula (1995: 220) suggests that a parallel can be drawn between Czech “aspect” and German articles, and this parallel is not limited to just Czech and German but applies universally.

⁹ The passé simple is predominantly used in written contexts. According to Černý (1970: 220), the function of the French compound form passé composé has evolved from originally indicating a resultative present to expressing simple past events. Consequently, the functions of passé composé and passé simple have merged, rendering one of these tenses redundant. This has led to the disappearance of the simple form, specifically in spoken French. It is likely just a matter of time before the passé simple is entirely replaced in the written form as well.

¹⁰ The possible use of the present perfect tense is neglected for this purpose.

unmarked phrases, it becomes more complicated: the unmarked “maloval” can be translated as both “he painted” and “he was painting”, and the unmarked “he painted” can be rendered as both “maloval” and “namaloval”. However, there are constraints on the verb use at the sentence level. In the following examples, we observe differences in aspectual interpretation between English and Czech.

- (1) He painted pictures the whole weekend.
- (2) Maloval obrazy celý víkend.
- (3) *Namaloval obrazy celý víkend.

The **unmarked** English sentence (1) corresponds to the imperfective viewpoint in Czech, describing an ongoing action without indicating completion (2). On the other hand, the ungrammatical Czech sentence (3) demonstrates a mismatch between the perfective verb form and the duration phrase.

- (4) Tyto obrazy maloval Miró.
- (5) Miró painted these pictures.
- (6) *Miró was painting these pictures.

In the sentence (4), the **unmarked** Czech verb form (“maloval”) aligns with the English translation (5), which uses the past simple tense to express completeness. It cannot be expressed with the past continuous tense (6).

These examples show that the imperfective past tense in Czech cannot be automatically translated to the past continuous tense in English, and the simple past tense in English cannot be automatically translated to the perfective past tense in Czech. This is because the imperfect past tense in Czech is unmarked, just as the simple past tense in English.

2.2 Aktionsart (actionality)

The term “Aktionsart” was introduced and distinguished from the concept of “viewpoint” by S. Agrell in 1908 in his work on prefixes in Polish. Agrell divided prefixes into “aspektändernd” ones, which perfectivize an imperfective verb, and “aktionsartbildend” ones, which not only perfectivize the verb but also change its lexical meaning and thus its Aktionsart.¹¹ Unlike viewpoint, which is often to some extent grammaticalized in language, Aktionsart is anchored in the lexical level of a language and is typically not morphologically marked.¹² Verb stems belonging to the same Aktionsart exhibit com-

¹¹ Agrell (1908: 82) distinguished 20 different Aktionsart categories – specific semantic groups of verbs that always exhibit common morphological features: “resultativ, effektiv, momentan, durativ, distributiv, final, akkuratativ, augmentativ, majorativ, perdurativ, präteritiv, konsekutiv, definitiv, effektiv-definitiv, durativ-deffinitiv, augmentativ-deffinitiv, terminativ, perkursiv, kursiv, inchoativ.”

¹² Oldsjö (2001: 138): “Aktionsart deals with the phasal character of situations indicated by verb roots. To be more precise, Aktionsart is an abstract, cognitive notion for the phasal structure of situations, i.e. a characterization of the phasal properties of what is being directly signified by verb roots.”

mon semantic features that are related to the phase structure of situations. The basic opposition often defined is telic : atelic.¹³ Telic verbs (e.g., to come, to sit) have an integral endpoint as part of the described situation. If a telic situation is not completed, that is, it does not reach its endpoint, it must be indicated in the statement. Otherwise, the situation is understood as completed. The non-attainment of the endpoint can be indicated lexically:

- (7) I almost finished telic, perf. knitting your sweater.
 (8) *Nondum opere castrorum **perfecto** telic, perf. equites e statione nuntiant [...]* (Caes. Civ. II, 62, 2)
 “The work of fortifying the camp had not yet been completed when the cavalry brought the news [...]”¹⁴

or grammatically:

- (9) My grandma was finishing up knitting my sweater (when the phone rang).
 (10) *Omnis ea multitudo ad castra Samnitium **conveniebat**.* (Liv. X, 18, 2)
 “The whole crowd was gathering up at the camp of the Samnites.”

For some verbs, it can be challenging to determine their basic meaning that would help establish the Aktionsart of a given stem. Some verbs have a stem that is largely or completely unambiguous (e.g., *ebibere* = “to drink up”, *habitare* = “to live”) while others do not. Oldsjö (2001: 148–153) also highlights the influence of the verb’s immediate syntactic and semantic context on its interpretation: for instance, *proelio contendere* translates to “to fight in battle”, while *magno cursu contendere* means “to hurry”.

2.3 Situation types

The types of situations defined by Vendler (1957) are most commonly referred to as “aspectual classes” or “situation types”. What is truly significant is that Vendler does not classify verbs themselves into individual classes, but rather verbs with their objects. While “run” denotes an activity, “run a mile” is an accomplishment. In later literature,¹⁵ the categorization of situation types often appears in the following hierarchical form:

¹³ Some authors include the opposition of punctual : durative and static : dynamic within the category of Aktionsart. This classification corresponds to the division of situation types.

¹⁴ All the English translations are mine.

¹⁵ E.g. Oldsjö (2001: 163), Haverling (2000: 24), Pinkster (1990: 215).

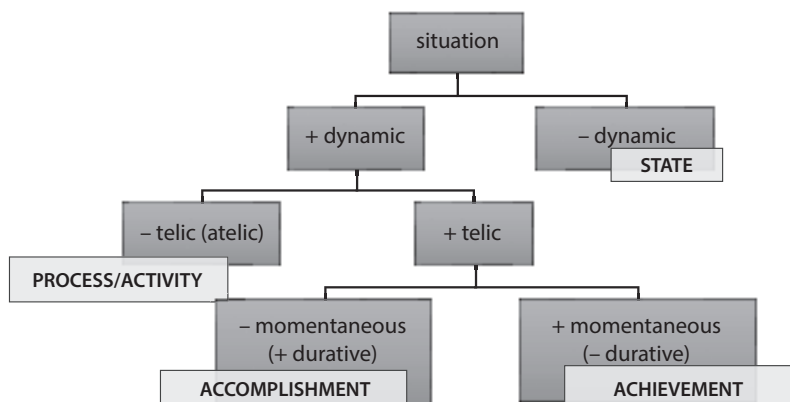


Fig. 2 The hierarchical schema of situation types

2.4 Two concepts of telicity

The terms telicity, telicness, telic are derived from the Greek word “τέλος” meaning “goal” or “end”. Telic predicates, therefore, carry the telos or goal of the verbal action. According to Vendler’s classification, they refer to accomplishments and achievements. However, it is necessary to distinguish between two fundamental conceptions of telicity: maximal telicity and inherent telicity.¹⁶

a) Maximal telicity

This conventional understanding of telicity emphasizes the requirement for the actual attainment of the inherent goal. In this perspective, “telic predicates” are only those that involve the final stage of an action where the goal was or will be achieved, such as “He drew a circle”, “He won the race”. However, if we allow for the possibility that these predicates are atelic because the goals have not been attained, then we equate atelicity with imperfectivity:

- (11) I was running. imperfective, **atelic**
- (12) I was cooking dinner. imperfective, **atelic**
- (13) I ran a mile. perfective, **telic**
- (14) I cooked the dinner. perfective, **telic**

This would mean that one of these categories (telicity or perfectivity) is redundant. Yet there is a substantial difference between the atelicity of (11) and (12). Whereas situation (12) contains a clear telos, which has not been reached, situation (11) contains no such limit.

¹⁶ The terms are borrowed from Lehečková (2011: 5, 98, etc.), where a detailed discussion of both concepts can be found (Lehečková 2011: 104–108).

b) *Inherent telicity*

In this conception, “telic predicates” include all those predicates in which a natural boundary is inherently present in their semantics, marking the completion of the action, regardless of whether they are expressed imperfectly or perfectly:

- (15) I was running. *imperfective, atelic*
(16) I was cooking dinner. *imperfective, telic*
(17) I cooked the dinner. *perfective, telic*

Inherently telic predicates expressed in the perfective aspect (17) indicate that the goal has been achieved (inherent + maximal telicity). When presented in the imperfective aspect (16), they may (but not necessarily) indicate that the final outcome was not achieved (inherent, but not maximal telicity):

- (18) I was cooking dinner **when you called**. (After your call I finished the cooking OR I had to switch the cooker off and leave).

2.5 The Interplay of Viewpoint, Aktionsart, and Situation Type

In this section, I turn to Czech examples to elucidate the nuanced interplay between viewpoint, Aktionsart, and situation type. As a Czech native speaker, I leverage the rich morphological features of the Czech language to illustrate the intricate relationships among these linguistic elements. Czech, with its distinctively marked viewpoints and prefixes that alter Aktionsart, offers a clear and accessible framework for exploring these concepts. By delving into the intricacies of Czech, I aim to establish a foundation that not only clarifies these linguistic concepts but also serves as a comparative lens for the exploration of Latin aspect.

In Czech, the primary means of (im)perfectivization are prefixation and suffixation. In most cases, prefixation results in the perfectivization of the imperfective verbs, for instance:

- (19) psát *imperfective* → **napsat** *perfective*
“to write” → “to finish writing”

Suffixation, on the other hand, leads to the imperfectivization of perfective verbs, such as:

- (20) slíbit *perfective* → slibovat *imperfective*
“to make a promise” → “to keep promising”

or the secondary imperfectivization of prefixed verbs:¹⁷

¹⁷ A less productive means is creating aspectual counterparts through suppletive stems, as seen in složit → skládat.

- (21) **podepsat** ^{perfective} → **podepisovat** ^{imperfective}
 “to write a signature” → “to keep writing signatures”

However, prefixes always add some additional trait or completely alter the meaning of the base verb. Therefore, the only grammaticalized and productive way of forming aspectual pairs is through suffixation, not the prefixation. It seems that the main role of prefixes in Czech is not changing the viewpoint or situation types, but rather Aktionsart:

	kopal 'he dug'/'he was digging'	vykopal ¹⁸ 'he dug out'	vykopával 'he was digging out'
viewpoint:	imperfective	perfective	imperfective
Aktionsart:	– telic	+ telic	+ telic
	kopal písek 'he was digging sand'	vykopal jámu 'he dug out a hole'	vykopával jámy 'he was digging out holes'
situation type:	activity ¹⁹	accomplishment	activity ²⁰
	atelic	telic	inherently telic

Fig. 3 The interplay between viewpoint, Aktionsart and situation types in Czech

The verbs “kopal” and “vykopával” are of the same viewpoint but have different Aktionsart. In most cases, telic predicates would be in the perfective viewpoint. However, the discrepancy between telicity and imperfectivity gives rise to additional meanings, as illustrated by the following English example:

- (22) He **was building** sand castles (the whole afternoon).

The most likely interpretation of this statement is that multiple sand castles were built in the real world during that period. Each individual castle was completed, yet the statement is in the imperfective viewpoint, indicating maximal atelicity (the process was terminated by time running out, not by reaching the construction of all sand castles). In other words, the act of building castles was terminated, not completed. The phase schema of this situation is:

¹⁸ In Czech, the simplex “kopat” is imperfective, the prefixed verb “vykopat” perfective, the prefixed verb “vykopávat” is secondarily imperfective, but keeps the added value of telicity added by the prefix.

¹⁹ The situation type and inherent telicity can change depending on the complement. For example, the phrase “kopat hlínu celý den” (“to dig soil all day”) is inherently atelic, while “kopat čtyřmetrovou jámu” (“to dig a four-meter hole”) is inherently telic.

²⁰ “Vykopávat jámy” is inherently telic, even with an unspecified quantity of objects, just like “vykopávat jámu”. The inherent telicity is caused by the prefix.

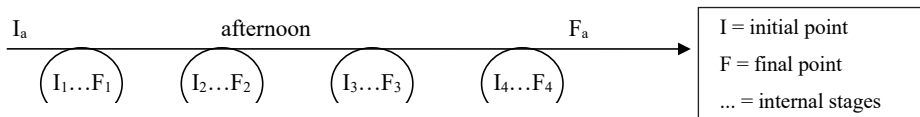


Fig. 4 The phase structure of the situation (22)

Each circle in the schema corresponds to one sand castle. The combination of the situation type (“to build something”, accomplishment) and imperfective viewpoint (present continuous tense with the object in the plural) gives rise to an **iterative meaning**. For comparison, let us consider the phase schema of the situation:

(23) He **was building** a sand castle (the whole afternoon).

It can be assumed, unless context suggests otherwise, that the castle in (23) was not completed with the time span referring to (the oval stands for the described situation, i.e. the afternoon, the span $I_1 - F_1$ stands for one sand castle):

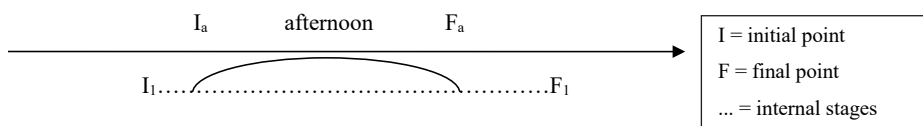


Fig. 5 The phase structure of the situation (23)

If this situation is seen as inherently telic, it is again an accomplishment portrayed in the imperfective viewpoint, but with a completely different phase structure. In this case, the situation is seen as ongoing, without regard to its beginning and end. The difference between these two particular situations, despite making use of the same lexical items, likely lies in the quantity of the object.

It is evident that multiple elements play a role in the aspectual realm of language. Through their combinations, additional meanings arise (such as progressivity, iterativity) and the hierarchy of these elements likely varies across different languages, and perhaps even within individual verbs.

3. The role of the prefix *ex-* in the aspectual realm in Latin

3.1 Prefixes in Latin

The possible aspectual role of prefixes in Latin was first mentioned by Meillet (1897), who proposed that, similar to Slavic languages or Irish, prefixes could have “la valeur perfective” (a perfectivizing function), whereby these aspectual prefixes lose their lexical meaning. His idea proved to be very inspiring, and many researchers further developed

it, dividing Latin verbs into imperfective (without prefix) and perfective (prefixed) forms, for example, *edo* × *comedo*, *fugio* × *confugio*. Other authors pointed out that the differences between prefixed and unprefixed verbs are not aspectual but semantic: they represent different Aktionsarten rather than different aspects.²¹ Most researchers claim the prefixes can have both lexical and aspectual function.²²

3.2 Semantics of the prefix *ex-*

The prefix *ex-* carries both directional and aspectual semantics. Its primary directional meaning is “out”, “away from” and it also conveys an aspectual sense of achieving the result of an action:²³

- Crossing a boundary in the direction of “out”, “away from” (e.g., *emittere*, *eicere*, *effundere*).

From the primary meaning, additional meanings can be derived:²⁴

- Transformation of an object from an X state to a non-X state (e.g., *erudire*: transforming an object from *rudis* to *non-rudis* state, i.e., the object becomes *eruditus*).
- Reaching the highest point while moving upwards (e.g., *erigere*).
- Achieving completeness or the entire consumption of an object (e.g., *ebibere*); the entire completion of an object (e.g., *efficere*).

All of the aforementioned meanings²⁵ of the prefix *ex-* imply an aspectual feature, as they all clearly imply a telos (boundary) toward which the verbal action is directed. Assuming that the prefix *ex-* simultaneously imparts telicity to its base verbs, it implies limitations for verbs with the prefix *ex-* regarding the use of morphological means. Telic verbs or telic situational types naturally align with the perfective viewpoint, which in the Latin system of past tenses corresponds with the perfect tense.²⁶ The speaker perceives a situation depicted in a perfective viewpoint as complete and whole, encompassing both its initial and final phases. The imperfect tense, on the other hand, is primarily used in Latin to indicate an action that occurred at a specific moment in the past and does not depict its initial or final phase.²⁷ This contradicts telicity, meaning that if this were the only mea-

²¹ This corresponds to a similar discussion in Czech studies, e.g. Komárek (2006), Filip (1999).

²² E.g. Haverling (2000), Haverling (2010), García-Hernández (1977), García-Hernández (1985), Jekl (2011).

²³ Cf. Haverling (2000: 324): “The prefix appears in the spatial function ‘out of, from’ and in an actional function indicating that an action is brought to an end.”

²⁴ Similarly, Jekl (2011: 204) specifies a primary separative function and some secondary functions, as upward movement, depriving function, change of position, finalizing function, and reinforcing function.

²⁵ NB: There are no sharply defined boundaries between these various meanings of the prefix *ex-*. For example, in the case of the verb *effundere*, both the meanings of “out” and “completeness” can apply.

²⁶ E.g. Oldsjö (2001: 205) states that telic situations are typically expressed in the perfective aspect, specifically the narrative perfect or the narrative present.

²⁷ E.g. Pinkster (2015: 410): “The imperfect indicative tense is used to assert that a state of affairs was taking place at some moment in the past and had not yet finished or come to an end. This is invariably the description of the Latin grammarians [...]”.

ning of the imperfect, we would have to assume that verbs with the prefix *ex-* would not appear in the imperfect form at all. However, telic expressions depicted in the imperfect form do occur and render special meanings, as shown in section 3.5. In any case, we can put forward the theoretical assumption that the occurrence of imperfect indicative forms of verbs with the prefix *ex-* would be limited, which is confirmed by statistics. Based on a mere statistical comparison²⁸ of the extracted forms, it is evident that the aforementioned assumption holds true: the occurrence of verb forms with the prefix *ex-* in the perfect²⁹ is more than five times higher than their occurrence in the imperfect. Furthermore, if we exclude complicated cases of ambiguous verbs³⁰ from the statistic, this ratio rises from 5 to 8.2. Although this number in itself may seem high, it lacks significant informative value without comparing it to unprefixes verbs. For this reason, I present the statistics of the occurrence of the imperfect and perfect in verbs with the prefix *ex-* and their corresponding simple forms:

verbs with the prefix <i>ex-</i>			their corresponding simplicia		
	pf. act.	impf. act.		pf. act.	impf. act.
occurrences	1,237	150	occurrences	10,539	2,547
ratio pf. : impf.	8.2		ratio pf. : impf.	4.1	
median ratio ³¹	15.3		median ratio	2.7	

Fig. 6 Comparison of the overall occurrence of the perfect and imperfect in verbs with the prefix *ex-* and their corresponding unprefixes forms (the extreme values excluded)

Prefixes verbs have a total of 8 times more occurrences of the perfect than the imperfect, while their corresponding simple verbs have only 4 times more perfects. If we look at the median ratio the difference is rather striking: within the group of *ex-* verbs there are 15.3 times more perfects attested than imperfects, while within the group of unprefixes verbs, the difference is only 2.7 times more.³²

²⁸ The statistics were gathered from the corpus defined in the section 3.3.2.

²⁹ Throughout the following sections, unless otherwise stated, the term “perfect” refers to the indicative perfect active form, while the term “imperfect” refers to the indicative imperfect active form.

³⁰ The following verbs were excluded from the statistics: verbs with homomorphism in the present and perfect tense (e.g., *venit/vēnit, ēdere/ēsse*); verbs with the suffix *-sc-*; verbs whose unprefixes forms are not attested in the corpus of texts used (e.g., *eminere, effeminare*), or whose meaning is already very distant from the meaning of the corresponding simplex (*exercere*); verbs with zero occurrence in the perfect or the imperfect and verbs with only one occurrence of the observed forms in both the simple and prefixed forms. Additionally, the verbs *existimare* and *expectare* were excluded as they are highly non-standard within the group and have extreme values. This resulted in a narrower selection of 94 verbs for comparison (see Fig. 7). For more detailed explanation, see section 3.3.3.

³¹ To determine the median ratio, I calculated the ratio of perfect forms to imperfect forms for each verb. After ordering all the verbs based on these ratios, I identified the median value, which corresponds to the verb situated exactly in the middle of the list. In essence, the median ratio represents a central point that aids in understanding the distribution of perfect and imperfect forms among the verbs in the study.

³² A higher occurrence of perfect tense forms compared to imperfect tense forms in Latin is caused by the fact that the perfect is used as a so-called “narrative” (unmarked) past tense. See section 2.1.

The number of verbs with an unattested imperfect is also noteworthy: among the sampled verbs, 40 out of 94 prefixed verbs do not occur in the imperfect active indicative form at all, and the same holds true for only 10 out of 94 corresponding simple forms.

3.3 Corpus

3.3.1 The excerpted authors

The Latin texts from the archaic³³ and golden³⁴ periods were excerpted using the Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina 3 database. The corpus includes the following authors: Caesar, Cato, Catullus, Cicero, Horatius, Livius, Lucretius, Nepos, Ovidius, Plautus, Propertius, Publilius Syrus, Terentius, Tibullus and Vergilius. This corpus encompasses a sufficient variety of authors and genres.³⁵ All occurrences of relevant verb forms with the prefix *ex-* were excerpted.³⁶

3.3.2 The excerpted verbs

The excerpted verb forms included the perfect active indicative³⁷ and imperfect indicative of all verbs with the prefixes *e-/ex-*, as listed in the Latin-Czech dictionary by Pražák, Novotný, Sedláček (1955). This dictionary has a reasonably restricted corpus of texts from which it draws, entirely excluding marginal verbs. Subjunctives and infinitives were not excerpted because their usage is mostly governed by rules of the sequence of tenses. In the following list, all non-deponent verbs with the prefix *ex-* are provided according to the aforementioned Latin-Czech dictionary.

³³ Due to the fragmentary nature of their preserved texts, the works of Naevius, Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, Lucilius, as well as any other fragments, have not been included.

³⁴ Texts by M. Terentius Varro were not included, particularly due to the significant number of grammatical and etymological references that could distort the statistical results. Hyginus and Cicero's translation of Plato were also omitted.

³⁵ Initially, the intention was to also include authors from the silver period and compare the two groups. However, statistical analysis did not reveal significant differences between the results of the groups, allowing the corpus to be limited to the first group, which provides adequate insights.

³⁶ The excerpting of perfect tense forms of 3rd conjugation verbs is not complete, due to the homomorphism between present indicative and perfect active forms in the 1st person plural and the 3rd person singular (e.g., *exstruimus*, *exstruit*). Most forms were included in their respective categories if it was clear from the text whether they were present or perfect tense. If it was not possible to determine, the forms were listed as "dubia" and were not counted to the sum of perfect indicative.

The verbs *excidere* and *exciderere* were omitted due to the indistinguishability of some of their forms in the databases. The verbs *edere* and *ēgerere* were omitted due to the difficulty of distinguishing them from the infinitives *esse* and *agere*, respectively. The verb *emerere* was omitted due to the interchangeability of its forms with the forms of the verb *emere*.

If a verb has alternative forms (e.g., *eierare/eiurare*) or its spelling varies (e.g., *exilire/exsilire*), all relevant forms are excerpted, but only the basic form is recorded in the tables.

³⁷ For practical reasons, the perfect passive forms, including the perfects of deponent verbs, were omitted. Distinguishing between passive perfect forms and perfect participles would be a lengthy task and would introduce a considerable number of contentious cases into the excerpted dataset. Deponent verbs were entirely excluded.

<i>ebibere</i>	<i>elaborare</i>	<i>enavigare</i>	<i>evitare</i>	<i>excoquere</i>	<i>explanare</i>	<i>exstare</i>
<i>ebriare</i>	<i>elatrare</i>	<i>enecare</i>	<i>evocare</i>	<i>excubare</i>	<i>explere</i>	<i>exsternare</i>
<i>*edere</i>	<i>elevare</i>	<i>enervare</i>	<i>evolare</i>	<i>excudere</i>	<i>explicare</i>	<i>exstimulare</i>
<i>edicere</i>	<i>elicere</i>	<i>enitere</i>	<i>evolvere</i>	<i>excultare</i>	<i>expolire</i>	<i>extinguere</i>
<i>edissere</i>	<i>elidere</i>	<i>enodare</i>	<i>evomere</i>	<i>excurrere</i>	<i>exponere</i>	<i>extirpare</i>
<i>edocere</i>	<i>eligere</i>	<i>enubere</i>	<i>evulgare</i>	<i>excusare</i>	<i>exporrigare</i>	<i>extruere</i>
<i>edolare</i>	<i>elimare</i>	<i>enuctare</i>	<i>exacerbare</i>	<i>excutare</i>	<i>exportare</i>	<i>exsudare</i>
<i>edomare</i>	<i>eliminaré</i>	<i>enumerare</i>	<i>exacuere</i>	<i>exdorsuare</i>	<i>expostulare</i>	<i>exsufflare</i>
<i>edormire</i>	<i>elinguare</i>	<i>enuntiare</i>	<i>exaedificare</i>	<i>exedere</i>	<i>exprimere</i>	<i>exsugere</i>
<i>educare</i>	<i>elocare</i>	<i>enutrire</i>	<i>exaequare</i>	<i>exercere</i>	<i>expromere</i>	<i>exsulare</i>
<i>educere</i>	<i>elucere</i>	<i>eradere</i>	<i>exaestuaré</i>	<i>exercitare</i>	<i>expugnare</i>	<i>exsuperare</i>
<i>edulcaré</i>	<i>elucubrare</i>	<i>erepere</i>	<i>exaggerare</i>	<i>exhalare</i>	<i>expurgare</i>	<i>exturdare</i>
<i>edurare</i>	<i>eludere</i>	<i>erigere</i>	<i>extaltare</i>	<i>exhaurire</i>	<i>expurare</i>	<i>exurgere</i>
<i>effeminare</i>	<i>elutere</i>	<i>eripere</i>	<i>exanimare</i>	<i>exhibere</i>	<i>exquirere</i>	<i>extendere</i>
<i>efferrare</i>	<i>elugere</i>	<i>erodere</i>	<i>exantlare</i>	<i>exhilaré</i>	<i>exsacrificare</i>	<i>extenuare</i>
<i>effercire</i>	<i>emanare</i>	<i>erogare</i>	<i>exarare</i>	<i>exigere</i>	<i>exsaeuire</i>	<i>exterere</i>
<i>efferre</i>	<i>emancipare</i>	<i>eructare</i>	<i>exarmare</i>	<i>exinanire</i>	<i>exsatiare</i>	<i>exterminare</i>
<i>effervere</i>	<i>emendare</i>	<i>erudire</i>	<i>exasperare</i>	<i>exire</i>	<i>exsaturare</i>	<i>exterrere</i>
<i>efficere</i>	<i>emendicare</i>	<i>eruere</i>	<i>exauctorare</i>	<i>existimare</i>	<i>exscindere</i>	<i>extollere</i>
<i>effigiare</i>	<i>*emerere</i>	<i>erumpere</i>	<i>exaudire</i>	<i>exobsecrare</i>	<i>exscreare</i>	<i>extorquere</i>
<i>effingere</i>	<i>emergere</i>	<i>evadere</i>	<i>exaugurare</i>	<i>exonerare</i>	<i>exscribere</i>	<i>extrahere</i>
<i>efflare</i>	<i>emetere</i>	<i>evaginare</i>	<i>excaecare</i>	<i>exorare</i>	<i>exsculpare</i>	<i>extricare</i>
<i>effluere</i>	<i>emicare</i>	<i>evastare</i>	<i>excavare</i>	<i>exorbitare</i>	<i>exsecare</i>	<i>extrudere</i>
<i>effodere</i>	<i>emigrare</i>	<i>evahere</i>	<i>excedere</i>	<i>exornare</i>	<i>exserere</i>	<i>extundere</i>
<i>efformare</i>	<i>eminere</i>	<i>evellere</i>	<i>excellere</i>	<i>exossare</i>	<i>exsibilare</i>	<i>exturbare</i>
<i>effrenare</i>	<i>emittere</i>	<i>evenire</i>	<i>excernere</i>	<i>expandere</i>	<i>exsiccare</i>	<i>exuberare</i>
<i>effringere</i>	<i>emollire</i>	<i>everberare</i>	<i>excerpere</i>	<i>expatrare</i>	<i>exsignare</i>	<i>exuere</i>
<i>effugere</i>	<i>emonere</i>	<i>evergere</i>	<i>*excidere</i>	<i>expectorare</i>	<i>exsilire</i>	<i>exulcerare</i>
<i>effulgere</i>	<i>emovere</i>	<i>everrere</i>	<i>*excidere</i>	<i>expedire</i>	<i>exsistere</i>	<i>exultare</i>
<i>effundere</i>	<i>emulgere</i>	<i>evertere</i>	<i>exciere</i>	<i>expellere</i>	<i>exsolvere</i>	<i>exundare</i>
<i>effutire</i>	<i>emundare</i>	<i>evigilare</i>	<i>excipere</i>	<i>expendere</i>	<i>exsorbere</i>	<i>exurere</i>
<i>effutuere</i>	<i>emungere</i>	<i>evincere</i>	<i>excitare</i>	<i>expetere</i>	<i>exspargere</i>	
<i>*egerere</i>	<i>enare</i>	<i>evincire</i>	<i>exclamare</i>	<i>expiare</i>	<i>exspirare</i>	
<i>eicere</i>	<i>enarrare</i>	<i>evirare</i>	<i>excludere</i>	<i>expilare</i>	<i>exspoliare</i>	
<i>eiurare</i>	<i>enatare</i>	<i>eviscerare</i>	<i>excogitare</i>	<i>expingere</i>	<i>exspuere</i>	

-sc- verbs	<i>enitescere</i>	<i>exardescere</i>	<i>expavescere</i>	frequentatives	<i>exitare</i>
<i>ediscere</i>	<i>enotescere</i>	<i>exarescere</i>	<i>exsplendescere</i>	<i>edictare</i>	<i>exoptare</i>
<i>edormiscere</i>	<i>erubescere</i>	<i>excandescere</i>	<i>exposcere</i>	<i>efflagitare</i>	<i>expectare</i>
<i>effervescere</i>	<i>evalescere</i>	<i>excrestere</i>	<i>extabescere</i>	<i>eiectare</i>	<i>exsultare</i>
<i>efflorescere</i>	<i>evanescere</i>	<i>exhorrescere</i>	<i>extimescere</i>	<i>exagitare</i>	
<i>elanguescere</i>	<i>evilescece</i>	<i>exolescere</i>		<i>excantare</i>	
<i>ematurescere</i>	<i>exalbescere</i>	<i>expallescere</i>		<i>exceptare</i>	

Fig. 7 List of all non-deponent verbs with the prefix *ex-* based on the Latin-Czech dictionary by Pražák, Novotný, Sedláček (1955). Verbs that have zero occurrences of the examined forms in the corpus are marked with a strikethrough.

A total of 145³⁸ verbs with the prefix *ex-* have been identified with at least one attested perfect indicative or imperfect active form in the examined corpus. In total, the corpus attests to 1,876 perfect active forms of these verbs, with an additional 290 forms that have an ambiguous tense identification. As for the imperfect tense, there are 353 imperfect active forms (and 79 imperfect passive) attested in the corpus.

3.3.3 Complicated cases excluded from the analysis

-sc- verbs

Haverling (2000) concludes that in early and classical Latin, most verbs with the suffix *-sc-* describe dynamic, atelic situations, referred to as “activities” (although these verbs typically denote processes rather than actions) and that prefixes add telicity to these verbs. The prefix *ex-*, classified as an egressive prefix, is common among verbs with the *-sc-* suffix and serves either a directional function or an actional function, indicating that the action has been completed and adding telicity to the situation. Haverling (2000: 126, 134) also argues that the imperfect tense of prefixed *-sco* verbs, particularly those with the prefixes *ex-* and *con-*, often carries an iterative meaning (“pluri-occasional”).

In the corpus, a total of 13 instances of indicative imperfect *-sc-* verbs with the prefix *ex-* were found (9× *extimescere*, 1× *exarescere*, *exrescere*, *exposcere*, *exsplendescere*). Out of these 13 cases, 7 denote iterativity (including 1 instance of intensifying iterativity), 3 cases indicate ingressivity, 2 cases represent epistolary imperfect with likely ingressivity, and 1 case remains unclear.

Frequentatives

Frequentative verbs carry the lexico-semantic feature of repetition. The iterative suffix itself essentially carries a meaning similar to one of the meanings of the imperfect tense. This creates a potential conflict with the telicity of the prefix *ex-* and raises questions about the interaction between the iterative suffix and the imperfect and perfect tenses.

Regarding the frequentatives analyzed in this study, *exsultare* is found in both the imperfect and perfect tenses, while *exoptare* and *exspectare* predominantly appear in the imperfect tense, and *efflagitare* solely in the imperfect tense. However, with the exception of *exspectare* (85 impf. act. + 6 impf. pas.), these verbs have only a few occurrences in the corpus (altogether 10 imperfect indicative forms), indicating a potential strong conflict between the prefix and the suffix. Consequently, drawing far-reaching conclusions from these limited instances would be premature.

Verbs with unclear etymology or meanings excluded from the analysis

expedire, *exercere*, *explicare*, *exagitare*, *excitare*: These verbs have either unclear etymology or meanings that cannot be easily explained based on the combination of the

³⁸ This count excludes verbs with the suffix *-sc-* and frequentatives which will be analysed separately (see section 3.3.3). NB: verbs marked with an asterisk (*) were not included in the examination (see n. 30).

simplex and the prefix, and whose meaning deviates significantly from the original verb, therefore they were excluded from the analysis.

Verbs where the prefix *ex-* does not induce telicity

existimare: The verb *existimare* is commonly attested in both tenses. In the imperfect, it consistently denotes a mental state, while the perfect may also be part of descriptions of atelic non-dynamic situations (states). Some forms of the perfect tense of the verb *existimare* are indeed part of descriptions of telic punctual situations (achievements). However, the telicity of these situations is encoded in adverbial and syntactic complements rather than in the verb itself, specifically in the prefix.

eminere, excellere, exstare: These verbs, meaning “to stand out above a given level”, only occur in the imperfect tense and denote states – permanent quality or the location of a subject. Except for the verb *exstare*, they are not derived through prefixation from base verbs.

excubare: Similar to *exstare*, the verb *excubare* (meaning “to sleep outside” → “to stand guard” → “to keep watch”) retains the prefix *ex-* solely for the purpose of indicating spatial location and does not affect the telicity of the resulting verb, which is part of the description of atelic dynamic situations.

Prefix *ex-* with intensifying function

Few verbs (*expetere, exorare*, the frequentatives *exoptare* and *efflagitare*, and the *-sc-* verb *exposcere*) have the prefix *ex-* with an intensifying function. Oldsjö (2001: 223) considers intensification as one subtype of iterativity but notes that “the *Aktionsart* of the verbs is not as pronouncedly telic”. Therefore, these verbs have been excluded from the comprehensive comparison.

3.4 Verbs with the prefix *ex-* in the perfect tense

Nearly half (66) of the abovementioned 145 verbs lack any attested instances of the imperfect active form (an additional 8 have only the imperfect passive form attested).³⁹

³⁹ The numbers in brackets represent the counts of homomorphic forms that can be either in the present or perfect tense.

	pf. act.						
		<i>evolare</i>	9	<i>enumerare</i>	6	<i>expolire</i>	4
<i>edicere</i>	74	<i>exclamare</i>	9	<i>exuere</i>	5 (+128?)	<i>effere</i>	3
<i>effugere</i>	54 (+3?)	<i>expirare</i>	7	<i>eruere</i>	5	<i>emovere</i>	3
<i>exsilire</i>	15	<i>exterrere</i>	7	<i>exanimare</i>	5	<i>expostulare</i>	3
<i>exhibere</i>	12	<i>ediscere</i>	6	<i>exsolvere</i>	5	<i>exsorbere</i>	3
<i>elaborare</i>	11	<i>educare</i>	6	<i>exturbare</i>	5	<i>edictare</i>	2
<i>effluere</i>	2	<i>expiare</i>	2	<i>enuntiare</i>	1	<i>exinanire</i>	1
<i>elugere</i>	2	<i>exurgere</i>	2	<i>enutrire</i>	1	<i>expatrare</i>	1
<i>enare</i>	2	<i>extundere</i>	2	<i>erepere</i>	1	<i>expilare</i>	1
<i>enarrare</i>	2	<i>ebibere</i>	1	<i>evirare</i>	1	<i>explanare</i>	1
<i>enervare</i>	2	<i>edisserere</i>	1	<i>evomere</i>	1	<i>exscribere</i>	1
<i>evastare</i>	2	<i>edolare</i>	1	<i>evulgare</i>	1	<i>exsculpere</i>	1
<i>evigilare</i>	2	<i>edormire</i>	1	<i>exacuere</i>	1	<i>exsecare</i>	1
<i>evitare</i>	2	<i>effeminare</i>	1	<i>exantlare</i>	1	<i>exterminare</i>	1
<i>excerpere</i>	2	<i>enatare</i>	1	<i>exasperare</i>	1	total	310 (+131?)
<i>excudere</i>	2	<i>enavigare</i>	1	<i>exedere</i>	1		
<i>exonerare</i>	2	<i>enecare</i>	1	<i>exhalare</i>	1		

Fig. 8 List of the verbs with the prefix *ex-* with zero attested imperfect forms in the corpus

The perfect tense is indeed in accordance with the assumed telicity of the depicted situations. In the phrases with perfect forms of the *ex*-verbs, additional specifications are frequently provided:⁴⁰

- Temporal indications of when the action took place, either through adverbs, temporal clauses, or other time-related references:

(24) *Et priusquam <a> media acie succurreretur, exspiravit.* (Liv. XXXV, 35, 18)
 “Before they could rush to help him from the halfway line, he died.”

(25) [...] *haud multo post exspiravit.* (Liv. XXXVII, 53, 8)
 “Shortly afterward, he died.”

(26) *Sed reliquis quoque rebus, quas modo enumeravi [...]* (Cic. Top. 19, 74)
 “But also in other matters that I have just listed [...]”

⁴⁰ The following illustrative examples include various verbs with the prefix *ex-* in the perfect tense, not only those where the imperfect tense is unattested within the corpus.

- Spatial indications of the direction from which / to which the situation unfolded:

(27) [...] *tamen ex illa flamma periculoque evolavit [...]* (Cic. Verr. II, 1, 70)
 “However, he still managed to escape from that dangerous flame.”

- The specified number of subjects or objects involved or affected by the action:

(28) *Itaque minus duo milia hominum ex tanto exercitu, [...], cum ipso duce effugerunt.*
 (Liv. XXIV, 16, 4)
 “And from such a large army, less than 2,000 people managed to escape along with the commander himself.”

- The number of iterations of the situation:

(29) *Quid ille, qui: “Video, video te, vive Ulixes, dum licet,” nonne etiam bis exclamavit se videre, cum omnino non videret?* (Cic. Ac. II, 28, 89)
 “Indeed, did not the one who (exclaimed) ‘I see, I see you, Odysseus, as long as it is possible,’ shout twice that he saw, even though he couldn’t see at all?”

The abovementioned specifications are not an exhaustive list, rather, they represent the most typical ones. All of them add precise boundaries, indicating when, where, and how many times the depicted situation occurred, thus further defining the telos. Some of these specifications also appear in statements with the imperfect, typically in those with the iterative interpretation, where each individual repetition constitutes a complete telic situation within the specified limits (see further).

3.5 Verbs with the prefix *ex-* in the imperfect tense

A detailed analysis of all active and passive forms of the imperfect tense in the defined corpus was conducted to verify the hypothesis that the prefix *ex-* indeed imparts telicity to its base verbs. It was revealed that the vast majority of verbs with the prefix *ex-* are indeed telic and their combination with the imperfect render special meanings. However, there are some verbs that provide more than one reading: they are ambiguous. The results of the analysis are summarized in the table below:⁴¹

⁴¹ The table does not include all 460 active and 85 passive forms of the imperfect tense forms from the corpus. Omitted are verbs that had only a single occurrence of the imperfect tense and only a few (1–3) occurrences of the perfect tense. Also excluded are *-sc-* verbs (13 impf. act.) and frequentatives (95 impf. act. + 6 impf. pas.). Additionally, the verbs with unclear etymology (56 impf. act. + 18 impf. pas.) were omitted in the analysis. There is also a small group of *ex-* verbs that are not telic (140 impf. act. + 21 impf. pas.) and have not been included in the table (for further details on the omitted verbs see section 3.3.3).

	Iterativity	Unfulfilled past plan/process	State	Progressive	Free Indirect Discourse
<i>edocere</i>	1				
<i>educere</i>	3				
<i>efferre</i>	3		1		
<i>efficere</i>	10		14	1	
<i>effundere</i>	1	2			
<i>eicere</i>	2	3			
<i>elevare</i>	2	3			
<i>elicere</i>	3				
<i>eligere</i>	2				
<i>eludere</i>	5				
<i>emergere</i>	1				
<i>emittere</i>	4				
<i>erigere</i>	1	1			
<i>eripere</i>	2	1			1
<i>erudire</i>	1				
<i>erumpere</i>	2				
<i>evadere</i>	1				
<i>evellere</i>	2				
<i>evenire</i>	1				
<i>evertere</i>	1	1			
<i>evincere</i>		1			

<i>evocare</i>	3	1			
<i>exarare</i>	1				
<i>exaudire</i>	7				
<i>excedere</i>	6			1	
<i>excieri</i>	1				
<i>excipere</i>	7		5		
<i>excludere</i>	2				
<i>excogitare</i>	2				
<i>excusare</i>		4			
<i>excutere</i>	2				
<i>exhaurire</i>	3			1	
<i>exigere</i>	7				
<i>exire</i>	9			3	
<i>existere</i>	1				3
<i>exornare</i>	1				
<i>explere</i>	3		5		
<i>exponere</i>		2			
<i>exprimere</i>	1	1			
<i>expugnare</i>	1				
<i>exquirere</i>	3				
<i>extinguere</i>		1			
<i>extruere</i>	4				
<i>extollere</i>	3				
<i>extorquere</i>	2				
<i>extrahere</i>	2				
total	119	21	25	6	4

Fig. 9 Overview of interpretations of the imperfect forms for verbs with the prefix *ex-*

3.5.1 Telic verbs

Two-thirds of the 175 analyzed forms of the imperfect indicative of prefixed verbs have **iterative validity**, either simply iterative, habitual, or distributive, expressing the repetition of telic situations (the individual subtypes of iterativity do not have sharp boundaries, but rather form more of a continuum).

The following example (30) illustrates **simple iterativity** – the situation consists of a series of iterated telic events (*erigere turrem*, “to build a tower”):

- (30) *Ibi turres cum ternis tabulatis erigebat [...]* (Caes. Civ. I, 26, 1)
 “There, he was building three-story defensive towers [...]”

In example (31) the subjects (in plural) consistently maintain the object (in plural) in front of the boundary between the unit and the open battlefield, repeatedly cutting it off from the unit:

- (31) *Cum cohortes ex acie procucurrissent Numidae integri celeritate impetum nostrorum **effugiebant** rursusque ad ordines suos se recipientes circumibant et ab acie **excluebant**.* (Caes. Civ. II, 41, 6)

“Whenever the cohorts charged fiercely from their formation, the Numidians, who were agile, swiftly evaded our attack. And when our soldiers returned back to their positions in formation, the Numidians encircled and hindered them from rejoining their unit.”

Sometimes an additional specification is added to indicate the duration or frequency of the repeated situation. In example (32), the iterativity is emphasized and specified by the adverb *semper* (“always”). Moreover, this sentence is preceded by the clear statement, that the situation repeated:

- (32) *Hoc idem per dies aliquot factum. Prior semper Poenus copias castris **educebat**, prior fessis stando signum receptui dabat; ab neutra parte procursum telumve missum [...] (Liv. XXVIII, 14, 3)*

“This is how it happened for several days. The Punics always withdrew from the camp first, giving a signal to the javelin throwers tired from standing to retreat. Neither side attacked, nor did they shoot [...]”

The following passage depicts Cicero’s struggles in delivering a speech in court and presents a list of the prosecutor’s reactions to his arguments. The use of the imperfect tense clearly serves an iterative function, representing an iterative construction of the type *Cum cecideram, surgebam*:

- (33) *Sed ut quicquid ego apprehenderam, statim accusator **extorquebat** e manibus.* (Cic. Cluent. 19, 52)

“But anything I managed to grasp, the prosecutor immediately tore away from me.”

The following examples illustrate **habitual iterativity**. In example (34) the habit is further emphasized with the phrase *sicut fere fit*:

- (34) *Principum liberos, sicut fere fit, qui scientia videbatur praecellere, **erudiebat**.* (Liv. V, 27, 1)

“The children of chiefs, as is customary, were educated by those who excelled in knowledge.”

- (35) *Itemque in lustranda colonia ab eo, qui eam deduceret, et cum imperator exercitum, censor populum, lustraret, bonis nominibus, qui hostias ducerent, **elieban-**
tur.* (Cic. Div. I, 45, 102)

“Likewise, during the consecration of settlements by the founder, or when the emperor conducted a military parade, or the censor conducted a census of the people, individuals with auspicious names were chosen to lead the sacrificial animals.”

- (36) *Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio [...] ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium pontificem maximum res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus **efferebatque** in album et proponebat tabulam domi [...]* (Cic. *De orat.* II, 12, 52)

“Historiography was nothing more than the compilation of annual records [...] from the beginnings of Rome to the time of the pontificate of P. Mucius. The pontifex would chronicle all the events of each year, inscribing them on white tablets and displaying them at home.”

- (37) *[...] quorum patres tantum labore suo frumenti **exarabant**, ut populo Romano totique Italiae suppeditare possent [...]* (Cic. *Verr.* II, 5, 99)

“[...] whose fathers obtained sufficient grain through their labor to supply the Roman people and the whole of Italy [...].”

If the same situation is performed by different subjects, we speak of **distributive iterativity** as in example (38) and (39), where witnesses or false witnesses and counterfeits begin to appear one by one:

- (38) *Ut quidem filius eius Q. Fulvius Flaccus in locum vitrici consul est declaratus, aliquanto magis infamis mors Pisonis coepit esse; et testes **existebant**, qui [...] dicebant [...]* (Liv. XL, 37, 6)

“Once her son Q. Fulvius Flaccus became consul in place of his stepfather, talk of Piso’s death intensified. Witnesses came forward, claiming that [...]”

- (39) *Nec unum genus noxae, supra promiscua ingenuorum feminarumque erant, sed falsi testes falsa signa testamentaque et indicia ex eadem officina **exibant**.* (Liv. XXXIX, 8, 7)

“And not only one kind of offense occurred there, namely, the adultery of noble men with women, but from the same den emerged false witnesses, forged signatures, wills, and counterfeits.”

The following example (40) represents the distributive iterativity in the passive voice. It describes a noisy situation where, among various noises, the repeated act of uttering curses by multiple individuals can be heard:

- (40) *[...] exsecrationesque in agminibus proficiscentium in regem, vincente odio metum, **exaudiebantur**.* (Liv. XL, 3, 5)

“[...] in the crowd of departing people, it was possible to hear curses directed at the king, as hatred prevailed over fear.”

Another example of the distributive iterativity with the verb in the passive voice:

- (41) *Aderant unguenta coronae, **incendebantur** odores, mensae conquisitissimis epulis **extruebantur**.* (Cic. *Tusc.* V, 21, 62)

“There were ointments, garlands, fragrant essences were being lit, and selected dishes were piled on the tables.”

Another, much rarer, case of iterativity is **iterative gradation** on a scale:

- (42) *Quae res in dies confirmatiorem eius exercitum efficiebat.* (Caes. Civ. III, 84, 2)
“This caused his army to become more confident day by day.”

Far less frequently, the imperfect tense of verbs with the prefix *ex-* carries the meaning of an **unfulfilled (past) plan or process**. The concept of an unfulfilled plan is well illustrated by the following examples with the verb *excusare*.

The perfect tense of the verb *excusare* anticipates the successful completion of an excuse or justification. It signifies that the act of excusing or justifying has taken place and has achieved the desired outcome – it implies that the intention of the speaker to excuse themselves or provide a valid explanation has been realized and acknowledged:

- (43) *Erectis omnibus exspectatione, quidnam postulaturus esset, oculorum valetudinem excusavit: impudentem et gubernatorem et imperatorem esse qui, cum alienis oculis ei omnia agenda sint, postulet sibi potius aliorum capita ac fortunas committi.* (Liv. XXVI, 22, 5)
“All eyes turned to him with anticipation, waiting to hear what he would say; he excused himself due to an eye condition: it would be equally disgraceful for a commander-in-chief as well as a helmsman to carry out their duties relying on the eyes of others and yet demand that the lives and fates of others be entrusted to them.”

The imperfect tense of the verb *excusare*, on the other hand, anticipates the effort or intention to excuse oneself. The subjects are aiming towards a result, namely to “extricate” themselves, but this desired outcome does not materialize. It implies that despite their efforts or intentions, they are unable to achieve the desired result:

- (44) *Ubi dies venit citarique absens est coeptus, L. Scipio morbum causae esse, cur absenset, excusabat. Quam excusationem cum tribuni, qui diem dixerant, non acciperent [...] (Liv. XXXVIII, 52, 3)*
“When the day of the trial arrived, and the absent L. Scipio began to be summoned, he attempted to excuse his absence with illness. However, when the tribunes, who set the deadline for the trial, did not accept this excuse [...]”

In the example (45), there is another case of an unfulfilled intention, with multiple subjects. If it were a case of distributive iterativity, it would mean that one horse after another escaped the claws. But in this case, each one attempted to do so in vain:

- (45) *Nam transversa feros exhibant dentis adactus / iumenta aut pedibus ventos erecta petebant, nequiquam [...] (Lucret. V, 1330–1331)*

“The horses tried to escape the deadly teeth with a swerve or by rearing up they beat the air with their legs, but in vain [...]”

In the following section, attention will be shifted to the less unequivocal cases. Only 6 out of 175 *ex-* verbs imperfects have **progressive interpretation**: The verb *exire*, which otherwise has 9 instances of the iterative imperfect documented in the corpus, appears to have the progressive function 3 times, specifically in the works of Plautus. These occurrences of the progressive aspect are consistently introduced by the clause with *cum* (*quom*) indicating a temporal circumstance as in example (46):

(46) *Sed Philocomasium hicine etiam nunc est? PE. Quom **exibam**, hic erat.* (Plaut. *Mil.* 181)

“And is Philocomasium still there? Well, when I was leaving, she was there.”

(47) *Abacta nulla Veia conscientia / lignonibus duris humum / **exhauriebat** ingemens laboribus, / quo posset infossus puer.* (Hor. *Epod.* 5, 29–32)

“Veia, without a conscience and sighing, was digging a hole with a sharp hoe, in which the boy was supposed to be buried.”

Before we move on to verbs that exhibit ambiguity, let me mention that there are 4 cases of so-called **Free Indirect Discourse** among the analyzed imperfects.⁴² This is not an interpretation arising from the clash of telicity and imperfectivity, but rather using the imperfect in place of the present:⁴³

(48) *Vixdum epistulam tuam legeram cum ad me currens ad illum Postumus Curtius venit, nihil nisi classis loquens et exercitus; **eripiebat** Hispanias, tenebat Asiam, Siciliam, Africam, Sardiniam, confestim in Graeciam persequebatur.* (Cic. *Att.* IX, 2a, 3)

“As soon as I finished reading your letter, Postumus Curtius came to me, hurrying after him (= after Caesar), and spoke of nothing else but the fleet and the army: that Caesar is liberating Spain, holding Asia, Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia, and pursuing Pompey to Greece.”

⁴² Rosén (2013: 231): “Free Indirect Discourse (FID) [...] a mix of Indirect Discourse (ID) and Direct Discourse (DD) properties conveying the stance of a figure other than the narrator”

⁴³ Pinkster (2015: 415): “In a narrative text the imperfect is used to report the words or thoughts of the person the narrative is about.”

Regarding this passage cf. Rosén (2013: 234): “... the tense, however – unless French – needs to be modified: ‘is snatching ...’, holds ...’, is pressing hard (or: ‘pursuing [Pompey]’) ...’, if this is, as I believe, the character’s speech. This is not an account of past events. The passage reports events as taking place simultaneously with the reporting, a genuine progressive present, even with shades of prospectivity.” Regarding the historical facts that confirm the accuracy of the translation, see Rosén (2013: 234, n. 7): “The letter dates from 8 March 49. Greece is Caesar’s goal, Pompey having fled there weeks earlier. Caesar’s efforts to take Spain will not produce results before May 49. Meanwhile he is gaining control, off and on, himself present or through envoys, of Sicily and parts of Africa, but more substantial conquests on his part were to take place as late as May–June. At the time of the letter Spain, Africa, Sicily are not yet occupied by Caesar.”

Cicero transcribes the words of Postumus Curtius to Atticus almost as direct speech: *eripit Hispanias, tenet Asiam [...] persequitur*. However, since the action described in it is concurrent with the main clause (*Postumus venit*), the imperfect tense is used instead of the present tense.

3.5.2 The verbs displaying ambiguity

Excluding the verbs discussed in section 3.3.3, which do not display telicity, there are three verbs, namely *excipere*, *efficere*, and *explere*, that exhibit ambiguity. Out of the 25 instances of the **stative interpretation** observed in the imperfect forms analyzed, 24 belong to these three verbs.

explere (“to fulfill a number” / “to fill”)

Out of the 7 occurrences of the imperfect tense of the verb *explere* in the examined corpus, 5 (all from Livy) have the meaning of “fulfilling a number”, indicating that specific groups of men have (not) reached a particular count, thus having a stative interpretation. In these cases, it is not a situation where the subject “fills the unit with soldiers”, that is, achieves a state of completeness or a specific quantity of units; the soldiers are presented here as individual components of the “completeness” that their sum constitutes, so each individual is a contributor to this completeness. It is a specific case on the border between **distributive-iterative** validity and a **stative** interpretation.⁴⁴ In three of these sentences, there are expressions indicating an approximate number (*non plus quam* – see the example (49), *ferme* in Liv. XXXVIII, 26, 3, *mille amplius* in Liv. XLII, 61, 2), in one case, an exact number is given (*quingentorum utriusque numerum* in Liv. XXXVII, 39, 9).

(49) *Aetolorum et Boeotorum, qui non **explebant plus quam quingentorum omnes numerum**, Lyco Achaeus praefectus erat.* (Liv. XLII, 51, 9)

“The commander of the Aetolians and Boeotians, whose combined numbers did not exceed 500, was the Achaean Lycon.”

The remaining two occurrences with the meaning of “to fill” have the iterative value.

efficere (“to accomplish” / “to make impression”)

The imperfect of this verb occurs 8 times in the corpus in an iterative function, twice of which indicating a gradation on a scale as in (42) or (50), where each innocent person becomes more and more like Catilina as the days pass:

(50) *Quod si quis etiam a culpa vacuos in amicitiam eis inciderat, cottidiano usu atque inlecebris facie par similisque ceteris **efficiebatur**.* (Sall. *Catil.* 14, 4)

“When someone innocent accidentally befriended him, through daily interaction with him and various temptations, they became similar to others.”

⁴⁴ Cf. the use of the verb *efficiebant* (see below).

This example and the other 14 where *efficiebat* stands for “(he/she/it) caused” are bordering between stative and iterative interpretation. The subject causes a change / fame / admiration / bad view etc. (reaching these abstracts is actually the telos) and does so over a longer time span as its somewhat permanent quality (which is typical for states). Moreover, typically more objects are affected, pointing at distributive iterativity. In example (51) Volux and his horsemen effect an impression on Sulla and others that they are numerous and evoke fear:

- (51) *Sed in itinere quinto denique die Volux [...] repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit, qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum amplio rem vero et hostilem metum **efficiebant**.* (Sall. *Iug.* 105, 3)

“But on the fifth day of the march, suddenly on the open plains, Volux appeared with no more than a thousand riders, who were riding around in disarray and creating an impression that there were more of them, instilling fear in Sulla and all the others.”

In the following example the double nature of the described situation is clearly visible. It is a permanent quality of the valleys that they allow good view, however this quality can only exist while someone is looking, therefore it is manifested each time someone is looking, again and again:

- (52) *Sed quia nuda e valles procul, ut conspicerentur angustias obsidentes, **efficiebant**, minus terroris tumultusque fuit apud Romanos.* (Liv. XXXVIII, 41, 6)

“But because the bare valleys around allowed for a clear view of how the attackers were occupying the gorges, there was not such fear and confusion among the Romans.”

In example (53) we read, that Atticus’ personality and behavior caused there to be no envy between Hortensius and Cicero. And yet the author does not use the verb form *effecit*, which would mean Atticus simply made it happen, but rather uses the imperfect *efficiebat*, indicating Atticus’ continuous and possibly repeated efforts to maintain such harmony:

- (53) *Utebatur autem intime Q. Hortensio, [...], ut intellegi non posset, uter eum plus diligeret, Cicero an Hortensius: et, id quod erat difficillimum, **efficiebat** ut, inter quos tanta laudis esset aemulatio, nulla intercederet obtrectatio essetque talium virorum copula.* (Nep. *Att.* 5, 4)

“He was also close friend with Hortensius, so it was impossible to say which of them loved him more, whether it was Cicero or Hortensius. He achieved something almost impossible: between these two men who competed so much for glory, there was no envy, and he was the one who brought them together.”

excipere (“to catch” / “to receive” / “to follow”)

In the sense of “to catch”, the imperfect of this verb has the expected iterative interpretation (3 instances), while in the sense of “to receive”, its imperfect can be interpreted as iterativity just in 1 case. In another case, it shows iterativity in terms of gradation on a scale, and in one (highly poetic) text, it has a stative meaning. However, in the sense of “to follow”, it has a stative interpretation in all 4 occurrences, e.g.:

(54) *“Ex usu” dicunt et “e re publica”, quod in altero vocalis **excipiebat**, in altero esset asperitas, nisi litteram sustulisses.* (Cic. *Orat.* 47, 158)

“It is said ‘ex usu’ but ‘e re publica’ because in the first case, a vowel follows, while in the second case, the pronunciation would be awkward if the ‘x’ sound were not removed.”

(55) *Illi necessario maturius quam constituerant castra ponunt. Suberant enim montes atque a milibus passuum V itinera difficilia atque angusta **excipiebant**.* (Caes. *Civ.* I, 65, 3)

“The enemies were forced to camp earlier than they had planned. This was because there were mountains nearby, and five miles away, narrow and impassable paths began.”

4. Conclusion

I conducted a detailed analysis of almost all forms of imperfect indicative of prefixed verbs to verify the hypothesis, that the telicity of verbs with the prefix *ex-* is derived from the prefix. The analysis of perfect indicative and imperfect forms confirms that the prefix *ex-* does indeed confer telicity to base verbs and that the imperfect tense of these verbs, with few exceptions, is incompatible with progressivity and predominantly carries an iterative meaning.

In the hierarchy of elements constituting the aspectual validity of a statement, the imperfective suffix appears to occupy the highest position, modifying the aspectual characteristic of the phrase. One step below is the prefix *ex-* which imparts inherent telicity to the base verbs. Among the analyzed elements, the suffix *-sc-* has the least impact, adding dynamicity to the base verbs. Thus, verbs with the suffix *-sc-* denote dynamic, atelic actions, and the prefix *ex-* transforms them into telic verbs.

As a final side note, it would be highly beneficial to apply this method of analysis not only to other prefixes where telicity is presumed (*de-*, *con-*, *per-*) and similar results can be anticipated but also to other types of prefixes.

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LATINSKÝ SLOVESNÝ PREFIX *EX-* A JEHO ASPEKTOVÁ PLATNOST

Práce zkoumá roli slovesné předpony *ex-* jako složky latinského aspektu. Autorka definuje pojmy „aspekt“, „Aktionsart“ a „situační typ“, a zvláště se zaměřuje na termín „telicitá“, přičemž rozlišuje „inherentní telicitu“ od „maximalizační“. Na základě detailní analýzy všech výskytů indikativu imperfekta sloves s předponou *ex-* v rozsáhlém korpusu obsahujícím latinské texty od Plauta po Ovidia autorka ověřuje svou hypotézu, že předpona *ex-* přidává k slovesům rys telicity a nejčastější interpretací imperfekt těchto sloves je iterativita telických událostí.

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