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PRESENT PERFECT IN ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND CROATIAN TEXTBOOKS

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PRESENT PERFECT U UDŽBENICIMA ZA ENGLESKI JEZIK: KONTRASTIVNA ANALIZA ENGLESKIH I HRVATSKIH UDŽBENIKA

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CONTENTS

Abstract

Understanding the category of present perfect can be quite difficult for the Croatian EFL students due to its very complex nature. Therefore, the role of textbooks is to enable students to get a better insight into the layers of meaning of present perfect. However, it seems that many textbooks fail at this task as the authors themselves disagree about different interpretations of present perfect. Of course, this disagreement is not that much surprising as its origins can be found in the differences between the traditional grammars and those more contemporary ones. Hence, establishing a unique and a more simplified meaning that would cover all the similarities and differences within the category is considered to be quite challenging.

Following the analysis of present perfect as provided by Žic Fuchs (2009) in her book *Kognitivna lingvistika i jezične strukture: engleski present perfect*, the main goal of this paper is to investigate the ways in which present perfect has been represented in 36 English and Croatian textbooks, and furthermore, to analyze them according to the author's definition of present perfect as a complex network of four conventionalized meanings.

The first part of the paper is dedicated to the theoretical explanations of present perfect. The following chapters will demonstrate how tense and aspect have been defined and their role in the understanding of present perfect.

The second part of the paper involves a research study. The main goal is to analyze the textbooks and to determine the advantages and disadvantages of the representations of present perfect by contrasting them with the author's theory.

The research study will be followed by a conclusion in which all the results of the analysis will be presented.

1.INTRODUCTION

The fact that *present perfect* is a very complex grammatical category can be confirmed by a wide range of literature (Jespersen 1931, 1933; Zandvoort 1958; McCawley 1971; Comrie 1976; McCoard 1978; Brinton 1988; Comrie 1985; Langacker 1987, 1991; Depraetere 1998; Michaelis 1998; Radden and Dirven 2007; Geld and Đurđek 2009; Žic Fuchs 2009; Dahl & Velupillai 2011c; Davydova 2011; Werner 2014; Glavaš 2016) dedicated to finding out its core meaning, and furthermore by the absence of a unanimous agreement on how the category should be analyzed. Therefore, in the following chapters, a brief historical overview of different theories will be presented along with the different approaches to investigating PrPf[1]. Nevertheless, despite the many theoretical approaches, PrPf still remains quite ambiguous. Consequently, this unresolved ambiguity is reflected in the textbooks aimed at teaching English language, which thus results in wrong characterizations and categorizations of PrPf. Therefore, a very superficial representation of PrPf in the textbooks of English makes it difficult for the Croatian students of English language to better conceptualize this complex grammatical category. Instead of understanding the category, students are usually presented with a list of randomly organized definitions or adverbials that they have to memorize by heart without making any inferences about their mutual relationship. As a result, students are building their knowledge of PrPf based on the scattered pieces of information with which they try to explain both the prototypical and non-prototypical constructions (Geld and Đurđek 2009).

However, with the development of cognitive linguistics, many researchers strive to change the existing approaches to teaching of not only PrPf but of other grammatical categories as well so as to encourage a new way of teaching and learning the English language. However, in the case of PrPf, the problem lies in its complex nature and the inability of researchers to reconciliate the different views with respect to this category. Furthermore, an additional problem lies in the absence of equivalents that could substitute the category. For example, in Croatian language, there is no PrPf. It is perceived either as a present tense or a

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[1] The following abbreviations that will be used throughout the paper are:
 PrPf- present perfect
 PaS- past simple/ PS- present simple
 PaC- past continuous/ PC- present continuous
 PaPf- past perfect
 FPf-   future perfect

past tense. Therefore, the key question is: *How to convey this complex category to EFL students?*

In the attempt to provide answers to this question, this paper will analyze the representation of PrPf in English and Croatian textbooks in order to identify the advantages and disadvantages of the definitions provided, and furthermore to compare them to the analysis of PrPf provided by Žic Fuchs (2009) in her book *Kognitivna lingvistika i jezične strukture: engleski present perfect.* The reason why the theory provided by Žic Fuchs (2009) has been chosen as the basis for the analysis is that it seems to be the only one who has laid out a schematic meaning of PrPf that can explain all the similarities and differences that create a very complex semantic network. This analysis should provide explanations as to why Croatian students still have difficulties with PrPf despite having been exposed to so many rules and definitions during their education.

2. IS PRESENT PERFECT AN ASPECT OR A TENSE?

In order to understand the nature of PrPf, it is important to examine the differences between the terms *aspect* and *tense* as they underscore the complexity of PrPf. Many linguists have argued about the differences between these two terms and their role in defining PrPf. "Despite the fact that there is no unanimous agreement among the academics with respect to defining tense, many researchers (Reichenbach 1947; Lyons 1969; Comrie 1985) agree that tense is a deictic category, i.e., it relates actions, events to a certain time point known as *deictic center*" (Davydova 2011: 42). Therefore, the deictic center represents the time of utterance and tense locates a situation before, after or simultaneously with the time of utterance. Reichenbach (1947) was the one to develop three points in time such as: the time of speech (S), the time of the event (E) and the time of reference (R) thus providing a better interpretation of tenses that could explain PrPf as well (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 118).

Comrie (1976: 5) says the following with respect to tense: "As noted above, tense is a deictic category, i.e., it locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also with reference to other situations." Furthermore, from a cognitive perspective, Langacker (1991: 211) explains that "… the English tenses (PRESENT and PAST) are grounding predications and directly situate the profiled process with respect to the time of the speech event."

According to the more recent research of the tense, it is worthwhile mentioning Radden and Dirven's approach (2007) in which it has been said that tense relates to the way a situation is located in time from the speaker's viewpoint. Speech time, event time and reference time are part of mental spaces. The moment of speaking is a deictic center which allows the speaker to refer to different time spheres: past, present and future (according to Davydova 2011: 43).

It seems that, contrary to the category of tense, aspect does not figure very prominently in traditional grammars. However, according to Lyons (1977: 705), aspect is ontogenetically more basic than tense, and therefore far more commonly to be found throughout the languages. In his books *Aspect* (1976) and *Tense* (1985), Comrie provides the reader with a very thorough analysis of aspect and tense in various different languages. In order to avoid any confusions with respect to terms *perfect* and *perfectivity*, in his book on *Aspect* (1976), he makes a clear distinction between the two terms by defining the former as referring to a past situation that has present relevance and the latter by opposing it to the term *imperfective.* It denotes a

situation viewed in its entirety, without regard to the internal temporal constituency. According to Comrie (1976), aspect is seen in the following way:

> Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the situation; *one could state as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense)*. (Comrie 1976: 5)

In Radden and Dirven's analysis (2007: 175), aspect is "… the grammatical form used by a speaker in taking a particular view of a situation".

Therefore, having reviewed some of the explanations regarding tense and aspect, it can be said that the basic distinction between tense and aspect is that the former is characterized as a deictic category and the latter as a non-deictic category. However, categorizing PrPf under one or the other category has been very problematic for many linguistis, especially since English is a language in which aspect is not expressed by means of morphology. While some have namely defined PrPf as a tense, others have come to a conclusion that aspect is more suitable for understanding this complex category. Moreover, there are also those (Kortmann 1991, 1995; Bauer 1970) who do not characterize PrPf as either tense or aspect, but rather as a grammatical category in its own right. For example, Kortmann (1991, 1995) believes that PrPf should be characterized solely as a perfect category since it does not meet the criteria of either aspect or tense (according to Werner 2014: 57). On the other hand, Bauer (1970: 197) says that PrPf "… can neither be regarded as a tense nor as an aspect, but it is a category in its own right". Therefore, he creates a special category known as *status* (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 112). Furthermore, the inconsistencies stemming from different points of view regarding the categorization of PrPf can be noted in a number of grammar books such as *A Practical English grammar* from Thomson and Martinet (1988: 106) according to which PrPf is a tense or *A Communicative Grammar of English* from Leech and Svartvik (1975: 63-67) in which it is viewed as a perfective aspect. In Greenbaum and Quirk's *A Student's Grammar of the English Language* (1991), PrPf is an aspect, however, they emphasize the existence of two types of aspect: perfect and progressive (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 39).

In older English grammars (Jespersen 1931, 1933 and Zandvoort 1958), PrPf is characterized as a tense. For example, in the effort to create a very simple and coherent system of tenses, Jespersen (1931, 1933) creates a timeline which is divided into past, present and future and the tenses are determined according to the NOW, which represents the central point of the system. Furthermore, by categorizing tenses according to a simple timeline, Jespersen (1931, 1933) is only focused on the absolute tenses thus completely ignoring the relative ones.

Therefore, since he cannot provide an explanation for PrPf, he simply excludes it from the timeline and labels it as a *permansive present* or a *restrospective variety* of present that cannot be assigned to the timeline. On the other hand, Zandvoort (1958) excludes aspect from the English language since he believes that aspectuality pertains to Slavic languages. Therefore, he introduces the notion of the *experiential* PrPf in order to explain its specific nature (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 40-52). Radden and Dirven (2007) define it as a complex tense, which involves a backward-looking stance from a viewpoint at the present moment. According to the authors, PrPf has both temporal and aspectual meaning – the temporal meaning of a situation's anteriority and an aspectual meaning with respect to the inherent structure of the overall situation (Radden and Dirven 2007: 206).

 Based on the notion of current relevance, Comrie (1976: 5) makes a clear distinction between *perfect* and *non-perfect*. While *perfect* indicates a continuing presence as in *I have lost my knife* (the knife is still lost), with *non-perfect* there is no such presence as in *I lost my knife* (there is no implication that the knife is still lost). However, due to its complexity, Comrie (1976: 52) emphasizes that *perfect* is "… an aspect in a rather different sense from the other aspects treated so far".

According to Michaelis (1998), it is hard to determine whether PrPf can be characterized as an aspect or a tense. However, she analyzes it as an aspect, but emphasizes that PrPf does not represent a "… unitary aspectual construction but a complex of such constructions" (Michaelis 1998: 258).

Nevertheless, despite the fact that there are ambiguities with respect to defining PrPf as a tense or an aspect, there are two important conclusions that can be drawn from a myriad of different explanations: 1) it has been determined that PrPf definitely cannot be characterized solely as a tense based on some of its characteristics that do not match those pertaining to tense, 2) the most important feature based on which PrPf can be analyzed, and furthermore characaterized as an aspect or a tense is the notion of *current relevance* since it plays a crucial role in distinguishing the *perfect* from *non-perfect*. Moreover, it is a feature according to which different authors explain the different uses or meanings of PrPf (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 44-46). In her work, which will be presented in the following chapters of the paper, Žic Fuchs (2009) makes a conclusion that PrPf is a combination of four meanings identified based on the analysis of the verb phrases or types of situations and the notion of current relevance. The two primary meanings represent the core of meaning and are aspectual. On the other hand, the other two secondary meanings are defined as relative tenses due to the presence of certain time adverbials.

3. DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS OF PRESENT PERFECT

3.1. Monosemous accounts

In traditional grammars, there is a tendency of determining a unique meaning for a grammatical structure. The same principle is applied to PrPf. By defining a unique meaning, traditional linguistis strive to explain many different uses of PrPf. However, Binnick (1991: 104) emphasizes that "… if the tenses (and aspects) have multiple uses, the effort to capture *all* the uses of a category under the umbrella of one categorial label is a difficult and perhaps futile one". Furthermore, unique and comprehensive meanings are considered to be very general and indefinite. Therefore, the question is whether they can serve as a backbone for determining which grammatical category PrPf belongs to, and furthermore for understanding the explanations found behind the "different uses" (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 64). Thus, it seems that unique definitions are quite simplistic and incapable of providing a complete understanding of the complex category such as PrPf (Glavaš 2011: 99). Several approaches have been outlined that see the general basic principle as the expression of either current relevance or anteriority (or posteriority) and the extended now (XN) (Werner 2014: 60). According to McCoard (1978), the extended now is considered to be a unique meaning sufficient enough to cover all the realizations of PrPf (according to Glavaš 2011: 96). On the other hand, Brinton (1988: 45) says the following: "The function of the perfect is, as always, to show a past situation connected with the present". This kind of reductionism of the complexity of PrPf only highlights a liaison between past and present, but cannot explain the different meanings of PrPf that can be found in the English language (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 141-140). Radden and Dirven (2007) define PrPf as a complex tense which involves a backward-looking stance from a viewpoint at the present moment. They propose a unique prototypical meaning which is based on three basic properties such as: 1) focus on the present time, 2) the current relevance, 3) anterior situation's indefiniteness which result in different pragmatic realizations: *Resultative Perfect, Inferential Perfect, Perfect of Recent Past and Continuative Perfect* (Radden and Dirven 2007: 214-216). Langacker (1991b: 212-221) strives to achieve a unified understanding of the phenomenon by introducing the notion of subjectification. The known process is a part of a semantic shift according to which the auxiliary *have* arises from a semantic extension of the two facets of meaning assigned to content verb *have* - the spatial reference point and the potential relevance to the reference

point in time and the current relevance. On the other hand, the past-participle has two effects on the content verb it combines with: it construes the profiled event atemporally, by means of summary scanning; and it specifies that the event is prior to a temporal reference point. In the spirit of the cognitive approach, Žic Fuchs (2009) makes a distinction between four meanings of PrPf. However, her research leads her to a schematic meaning, which, according to her, is general and distinctive enough to explain the four meanings of PrPf.

3.2. Polysemous accounts

While monosemous approaches have been criticized for their inability to capture the complexity of PrPf, polysemous approaches encounter criticism as well. It is claimed that categorizations according to polysemous approaches are subjective and arbitrary. Namely, since polysemous approach is based on different semantic readings in accordance with different contexts, the hypothesis would be that there could be infinitely many meanings since there are infinitely many contexts (Meyer 1995:158, according to Werner 2014: 61).

In a brief overview of different semantic readings of PrPf provided by different linguists, one can see so many disagreements when it comes to the categorization of PrPf. For example, McCawley (1971) mentions meanings such as *Stative, Existential, Universal, Hot News* PrPf. Furthermore, Comrie (1976) talks about *Perfect Result, Experiential Perfect, Perfect of Persistent situation, Perfect of Recent Past*. Michaelis (1998: 109-110) differentiates only three "… aspectual constructions, each of which provides a unique means of bridging the gap between past and present". They are *resultative, existential* and *continuative* PrPf. According to Michaelis (1998: 157), *Hot-News Perfect* cannot be separated from the *resultative* PrPf and it is considered to be its subvariety.

Other linguists have mentioned even five semantic readings. It seems that they all agree on the four basic types of PrPf such as *resultative (indefinite)*, *recent news*, *experiential (existential), continuative (persistent)*. However, Dahl & Velupillai (2011c) add *evidential* PrPf and Depraetere (1998) mentions *iterative/ repetitive/ declaratory* PrPf (according to Werner 2014: 72).

4. FOUR MEANINGS OF PRESENT PERFECT BASED ON THE ANALYSIS MADE BY ŽIC FUCHS (2009)

Since the aim of the paper is to analyze different English and Croatian textbooks and compare them to the analysis of PrPf provided by Žic Fuchs (2009), the following chapter will be dedicated to a description of PrPf as provided by the author in her book *Kognitivna lingvistika i jezične strukture: engleski present perfect.*

According to a corpus-based analysis of 500 sentences from the *British National Corpus* which incorporates all types of texts ranging from literature to everyday speech, Žic Fuchs (2009: 95) has identified four conventionalized meanings that have been distinguished based on their semantic and syntactic features. The four meanings of PrPf are the *resultative* PrPf, *experiential* PrPf, PrPf of *persistent situation* and PrPf of *recent past*. By providing the readers with the four meanings, Žic Fuchs (2009) distances herself from the traditional linguists whose approach is more simplistic and universal. Therefore, following the main principle of cognitive linguistics, which is essentially the quest for meaning (Žic Fuchs 2009: 57), the author investigates the basic characteristics of each of these meanings which eventually lead her to a better understanding of whether PrPf falls under the category of aspect or tense. Taking into consideration the fact that both the resultative and experiential PrPf are the most frequent structures in the corpus and have aspectual meanings, they represent the core of meaning. The remaining two meanings: PrPf of persistent situation and PrPf of recent past have been defined as relative tenses based on their syntactic features. For the purpose of this research study, the goal of the paper is to briefly describe the four meanings of PrPf as presented by Žic Fuchs (2009) in her book. Afterwards, the presented descriptions will be used for the analysis of the representation of PrPf in English and Croatian textbooks.

4.1. Resultative and experiential present perfect

In the book (Žic Fuchs 2009: 95), the corpus-based analysis has shown that both the resultative and experiential PrPf are the most frequent meanings. While the resultative PrPf has emerged 244 times, the experiential has been recognized 196 times. Therefore, these two meanings are considered to represent the core of meaning unlike the remaining two. The difference between the primary and the secondary meaning is found in their aspectuality, i.e., the two primary meanings are defined by their two-layered aspectuality, which is expressed

through the relationship between verb phrases or types of situations and the viewpoint aspect. This is the reason why these two meanings cannot be placed on a timeline and it is impossible to ground a situation in time. Furthermore, the role of NOW in the case of these two meanings is quite different in that it represents a viewpoint from which the situation is observed (Žic Fuchs 2009: 199). When observed individually, the resultative PrPf and the experiential PrPf differ in several ways. The resultative is characterized by bounded and telic events; accomplishments and achievements (Žic Fuchs, 2009: 99). For example, sentences such as a) *John has broken his leg* or b) *John has locked the door* highlight the resultant outcome for both of these situations. In sentence a), the resultant outcome is that John *now* has a broken leg. Furthermore, in sentence b), the result of John's action is that the door is *now* locked. Therefore, the conclusions drawn from these sentences represent already established conventional implicatures based on the general knowledge shared by the participants in interaction (Žic Fuchs 2009: 102). The following graph (see Figure 1.1.) that was made by Radden and Dirven (2007) and upgraded by Žic Fuchs (2009: 121, 135), delineates the basic characteristics of the resultative PrPf. The image clearly depicts bounded and telic events (accomplishments and achievements) in a square situated above the timeline thus indicating the impossibility of grounding the situation in time. Furthermore, the square is specifically marked by an end-point meaning that the event has already ended, however its resultant outcome is entailed, i.e., logically concluded and is therefore situated in NOW. The head with an arrow pointing to the anterior event indicates the secondary importance of the viewpoint aspect. The second image (see Figure 1.2.) shows the importance of the notion of *current relevance* in defining the four meanings of PrPf. The NOW represents a point in which the resultant outcome is situated, which is the most important feature with respect to the notion of current relevance. Therefore, the viewpoint aspect is of secondary importance (Žic Fuchs 2009: 99-137).
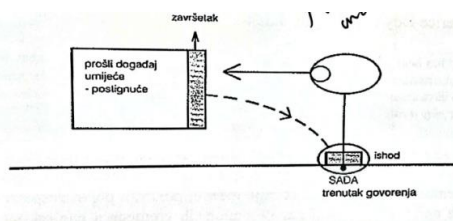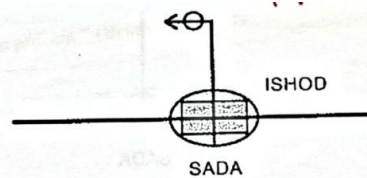

Figure 1.1. Resultative PrPf　　　　　　Figure 1.2. Current relevance

The experiential PrPf is defined by bounded atelic events; activities, acts and temporary states (Žic Fuchs 2009: 99). According to Radden and Dirven's explanations (2007: 215), these situations lack a definitive end-point

For example, in sentences such as c) *I have read Principia Mathematica 5 times* and d) *John has been to America,* it is obvious that they depict atelic situations based on which it is hard to make any logical conclusions in terms of determining the resultant outcome. As it has already been pointed out, these types of situations are not marked by an end-point. They have merely stopped before NOW, i.e., the moment of speaking. The NOW serves as a viewpoint from which the event is observed and the experiential PrPf focuses on the event as a whole instead of solely highlighting some of its aspects such as duration or an end-point. Therefore, contrary to the resultative PrPf, the experiential expresses that the anterior situation which occurred once or even a couple of times belongs to the speaker's experience or knowledge that he has about the world. Since there are no clear time adverbials which can ground the situation, the experiential PrPf is situated above the timeline thus indicating the indefiniteness just as it was in the case of the resultative PrPf. The following graph (see Figure 1.3.) demonstrates atelic, bounded activities and states placed in a square which is positioned above the timeline. In another image (see Figure 1.4.), which serves to explain this meaning with respect to the notion of current relevance, it can be seen that the viewpoint aspect is the most prominent feature since the anterior situation is observed as a whole from the present moment. The resultant outcome is, therefore, of secondary importance (Žic Fuchs 2009: 99-137).
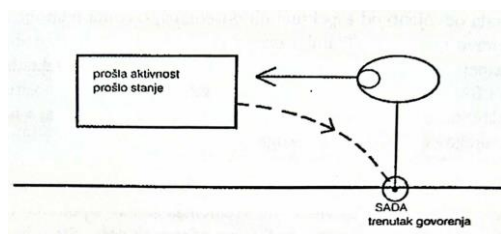
Figure 1.3. Experiential PrPf   Figure 1.4. Current relevance
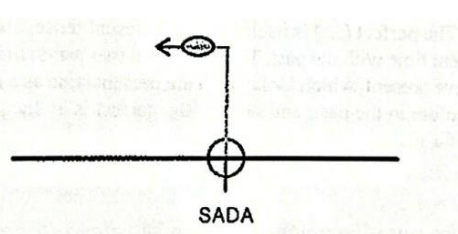
4.2. Present perfect of persistent situation and present perfect of recent past

Both PrPf of persistent situation and PrPf of recent past are defined as relative tenses. They significantly differ from the two primary meanings because of their syntactic features. While both the resultative and experiential PrPf cannot specifically place a situation in time due to their inability to incorporate time adverbials, the same does not apply to these two secondary meanings.

PrPf of persistent situation is defined by events such as activities and states. Its main property is that it is characterized by two conventionalized structures: *since* and *for*. By using *since*, the speaker may specify the beginning of the state, while *for* is used for specifying the duration. For example, sentences such as e) *We've been engaged since yesterday* and f) *I have known him for one hour,* convey the notion of beginning and duration that can range from a more distant past to a more recent one. As stated before, the ability of this meaning to become modified by a restrictive number of time adverbials emphasizes its connection to tenses. Therefore, the semantic feature of this meaning is not based on the principle of telic-atelic situations, but rather it is defined by time adverbials that have the ability to place a situation in time. When the notion of current relevance is added, it can be noted that the backward-looking stance from the present moment to the anterior situation does not imply just a mere look at the past. On the contrary, the anterior situation is *being observed* from the present moment, which also represents the end-point of that situation (Žic Fuchs 2009: 104-137). In the first image updated by Žic Fuchs (2009: 124) (see Figure 1.5.), the event is situated on the timeline, which demonstrates the grounding of the situation. The head with an arrow pointing to the anterior situation highlights the process of observing the past from the present moment, which also represents its end-point. In the graph (see Figure 1.5.), *since* clearly indicates the beginning of a situation, thus positioning it in time. On the other hand, in the second graph (see Figure 1.6.), *for* emphasizes the notion of duration which includes the present moment as well. The last graph (see Figure 1.7.) shows the representation of PrPf of persistent situation with respect to the notion of current relevance. As mentioned before, the emphasis is on the observation of the situation from the present moment.
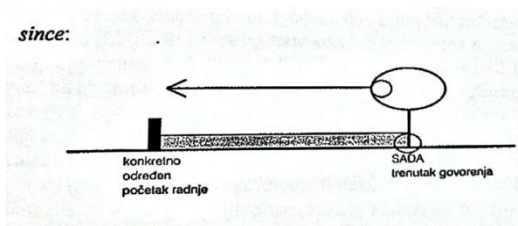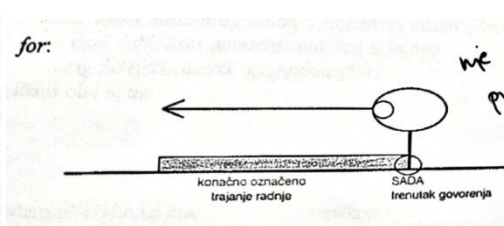

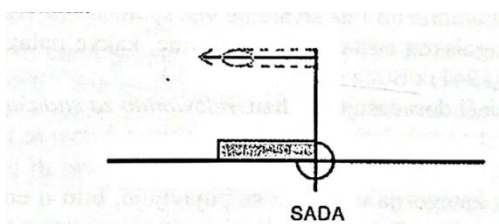Figure 1.5. Since

Figure 1.6. For

Figure 1.7. Current relevance

PrPf of recent past also known as *Hot News Perfect* is defined by events such as accomplishments, achievements, activities and states. This meaning is, furthermore, marked by a restricted number of time adverbials such as *recently, just, already, now, up to now* which render possible the process of placing a situation in time. It delineates situations that occur immediately before the present moment. It even almost coincides with the speech time (Radden and Dirven 2007: 215). Therefore, Žic Fuchs (2009: 128-133) points out that the basic characteristic of this meaning is to highlight the immediacy of the anterior situation to the present moment. For example, sentences such as g) *I have just written a receipt for Mrs.…* or h) *I have sacked him now* delineate the immediacy of the events and further imply a non-existence of the time-span flexibility from the anterior situation to the present moment. However, unlike the PrPf of persistent situation, this meaning of PrPf has the ability to appear without any time adverbial. These types of constructions can be found in newspapers, TV news or radio news. For example, in the sentence i) *The Prime Minister has been killed,* it is obvious that what is missing here is a time adverbial (*recently, just,* etc.). This adverbial emphasizes the notion of immediacy of the anterior situation to the present moment. Therefore, some researchers such as Michaelis (1998), O. Dahl and Hedine (2000) believe that this is possible because PrPf belongs to telic events and is therefore a part of the resultative PrPf (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 132).

However, Žic Fuchs (2009) contradicts this theory by stating that this type of structure represents solely a specific use of the meaning. This conclusion is supported by a great number of sentences from the corpus showing exclusively PrPf of recent past marked by time adverbials. These examples also indicate the relationship between PrPf of recent past and telic-atelic situations. Therefore, PrPf of recent past can be represented in two ways. The first one represents telic situations. The graph (see Figure 1.8.) shows the inclusion of both the resultative outcome and the duration of the anterior situation in the NOW as in the sentence j) *John has just broken his leg.* The second graph (see Figure 1.9.) represents atelic situations. In this graph, the atelic event is not included in the NOW, i.e., the moment of speech, as it has been shown in the sentence k) *Have you recently been imprisoned?* (Žic Fuchs 2009: 132-133).
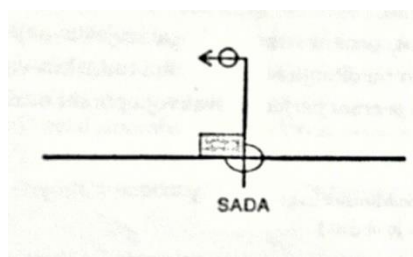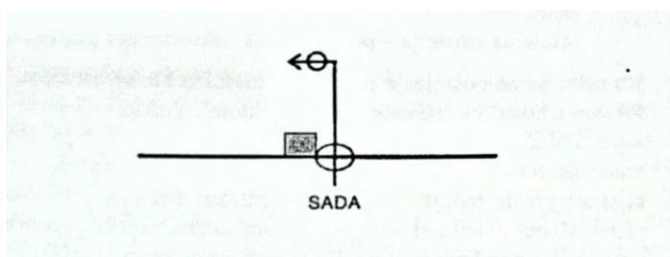
Figure 1.8. Telic situations   Figure 1.9. Atelic situations   ć 12

4.3. Towards defining the present perfect as a complex semantic network

Following Langacker's encyclopedic view on meaning which rejects a strict distinction between the encyclopedic and linguistic knowledge, thus entailing no strict demarcation in cognitive linguistics between semantics and pragmatics, Žic Fuchs (2009: 191-199) strives to provide a theoretical framework for explaining the semantic structure such as PrPf. Langacker's theory (1987: 156) says that linguistic structures are more realistically conceived as falling along a continuous scale of entrenchment in cognitive organization which means that every use of a novel structure has a positive impact on the degree of entrenchment to the point of becoming a unit, and therefore a disuse has a negative impact. Žic Fuchs (2009: 196-197) applies this theory to the explanation of the four meanings of PrPf. Therefore, she claims that the four meanings of PrPf have resulted from a repeated use of the novel structures leading to the point of a higher degree of cognitive entrenchment thus transforming them into a conventionalized meaning. According to the author, this approach explains the meaning of the resultative PrPf and experiential PrPf which has resulted from the notion of conventional implicatures. In this way, she undermines the different theories according to which there is a demarcation between pragmatics and semantics and which postulate a unique meaning that results in different instantiations of PrPf.

Furthermore, what makes the author's approach far more different and unique from other traditional and contemporary approaches to defining PrPf is the incorporation of the two important features that play a crucial role in understanding the complex nature of PrPf: *verb phrase or types of situations* and *the notion of current relevance*. By relying on the componential analysis, the author goes further into the breakdown of these two components. Furthermore, by providing a more insightful explanation about the nature of their relationship, the author distances herself from different theories such as those proposed by Michaelis (1998) or Radden and Dirven (2007) thus paving the way for a newer and a much clearer understanding of PrPf. According to her, it is the causal relationship between the verb phrase and the notion of current relevance that could provide a better insight into the wholeness of each and every meaning. The semantic structure of a verb phrase conditions the nature of the relationship with the notion of NOW and vice versa, the moment of speech represents either a viewpoint which comprises the resultant outcome of the anterior event or a viewpoint from which the event is being observed depending on the verb phrase that precedes (Žic Fuchs 2009: 142).

Therefore, a breakdown of these two elements serves as the basis for understanding the differences and similarities among the meanings of PrPf. Having analyzed the correlation between the two primary meanings (resultative and experiential PrPf) and between the two secondary meanings (PrPf of persistent situation and PrPf of recent past), and furthermore, having analyzed the correlation between both the primary and secondary meanings, Žic Fuchs (2009) identifies similarities and differences which indicate the existence of a multilayered correlation among the meanings that lead to the formation of a very complex semantic network. Therefore, the similarity that keeps the two primary meanings together is the notion of indefiniteness, i.e, the inability of the two meanings to ground a situation in time. On the other hand, the similarity that keeps the two secondary meanings together is definiteness, i.e., the ability to ground a situation in time with the help of a restricted set of time adverbials pertaining to each meaning. However, there are oppositions based on which the meanings can be distinguished. In the case of the two primary meanings the opposition is delineated by different verb phrases (RPrPf[2]- telic accomplishments and achievements, EPrPf[3]- atelic activities, acts, states) and the role of current relevance (RPrPf- the resultant outcome is present at the moment of speech, EPrPf- the situation is observed from the NOW). In the case of PrPf of persistent situation and PrPf of recent past the opposition is the duration/ non-duration of the situation, i.e., PrPf of persistent situation emphasizes the notion of duration, while PrPf of recent past emphasizes the notion of immediacy. While comparing the primary meaning (EPrPf) with the secondary meaning (PrPf of persistent situation), Žic Fuchs (2009) notices a similarity which is reflected through verb phrases (activities, act, states) that are the same for both meanings. However, the opposition lies in the different roles of NOW for each meaning. For the primary meaning, NOW represents a mere look at the anterior situation which does not stretch to the moment of speech. On the other hand, in the case of the secondary meaning, NOW serves as a point from which the situation is being observed, and it stretches to the moment of speech. In the analysis of the correlation between RPrPf, EPrPf and PrPf of recent past, the similarity lies in the use of the same verb phrase. Namely, it seems that PrPf of recent past comprises accomplishments and achievements pertaining to RPrPf and activities, acts and states pertaining to EPrPf. However, the difference lies in the mere fact that PrPf of recent past can be used with time adverbials thus emphasizing the importance of immediacy that has been expressed with this meaning, and furthermore ascribing secondary

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[2] RPrPf- resultative present perfect

[3] EPrPf- experiential present perfect

importance to the notion of aspectuality specific to the two primary meanings (Žic Fuchs 2009: 141-150).

So, the presented similarities and differences that have been identified through the process of the analysis of the relationship of the four meanings points to a completely different way of viewing this grammatical category. The breakdown of the two most important elements such as the verb phrase and the notion of current relevance results in a very complex network of meanings that comprises many differences and similarities inherent to the oppositinal links which at the same time separate and keep the category together (Žic Fuchs 2009: 179) (see Figure 1.10.). Therefore, according to these differences and similarities that are reflected in the aspectual and syntactic features of the meanings which have been, in addition, identified through the analysis of the causal relationship between the two basic elements (verb phrase and current relevance), the author manages to arrive to a schematic meaning: **temporal indefinite past and temporal definite past +NOW**. This meaning encompasses all the four meanings of PrPf as it has been formed by the process of abstraction of the four identified meanings (Žic Fuchs 2009: 157). In chapter 10 dedicated to the analysis of PrPf as a radial category, Žic Fuchs (2009: 199-208) concludes that PrPf is not a typical radial category. Namely, it seems that, in the case of PrPf, it is difficult to determine only one prototypical meaning. Therefore, based on the numerical data showing RPrPf and EPrPf as the most frequent ones and taking into consideration the similarities and differences between them, Žic Fuchs (2009: 177) concludes that RPrPf and EPrPf represent the core of meaning. The two other meanings (PrPf of persist. sit. snd PrPf of recent past) are positioned a little bit further away and are secondary. The following graph (see Figure 1.11.) represents PrPf as an atypical radial structure.
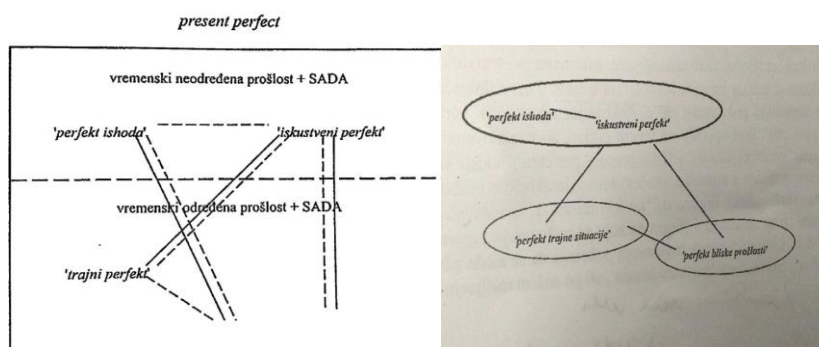

Figure 1.10. Complex semantic network   Figure 1.11. Atypical radial category

5. PRESENT PERFECT VS. PAST SIMPLE (PRETERITE)

Bearing in mind that one section of this paper will be dedicated to the analysis of the comparison between PaS (preterite) and PrPf presented in each textbook, in this chapter, some theoretical background will be provided regarding the differences and similarities between the two grammatical categories. From reviewing the textbooks, it has been shown that the introduction of different tenses goes from simple to complex categories as it will be seen later (see ch. 7.6.). Therefore, before introducing the complex category such as PrPf, textbooks firstly provide explanations for the present and past tenses. This kind of hierarchical order from simple to complex categories should not be surprising since PrPf is quite complex both in the sense of its form and its meaning/s. Davydova (2011) dedicates a whole paragraph to the analysis of PrPf, PaS and PS based on their formation. Her conclusion is that the English PrPf is structurally more complex than PaS and PS "… not only because of the greater number of morphosyllabic strings it provides for online processing, but also because of the greater number of linguistic strategies it employs for its formation" (Davydova 2011: 86-87). Therefore, PrPf employs synthetic strategies (regular suffix – *ed* and irregular forms) and an analytic marker *have/has* for its formation. Furthermore, what makes a clear distinction between PrPf and PaS is that the latter expresses an event that started and finished in the past. Unlike PrPf, PaS is defined as an absolute tense which implies a location of the situation prior to the present moment. Furthermore, it is deictic thus placing a situation or an event prior to the time of utterance on a time axis. PaS (preterite) has two primary functions: a) it refers to past actions and events occurring at a specific moment in the past, b) it has a narrative function, i.e., it is used for describing a string of events which occurred one after another at some time in the past and these events are not connected to the time of utterance (Davydova 2014: 52). Radden and Dirven (2007: 218-221) explain that there are three main properties that distinguish PaS from PrPf: focus on the past time, detachment from the present, and definiteness. Furthermore, they differentiate a bounded and non-bounded PaS. On the other hand, Davydova (2011) makes a list of different features according to which she differentiates the two categories: reference to the past, current relevance, focus on the present, focus on the past, indefiniteness, definiteness. Based on these features, she makes the following conclusion: "It is on this ground that both verb forms can be regarded as functionally equivalent, although semantically not identical" (Davydova 2011: 63). Therefore, since PaS

does not comprise elements such as indefinitess, current relevance and focus on the present, it can only collocate with time adverbials such as *yesterday, two hours ago*, etc. On the other hand, not possesing features such as definiteness and focus on the past, PrPf cannot collocate with the aforementioned time adverbials, but rather it collocates with time adverbials expressing a connection between the time of the past situation and the speech time (Davydova 2011: 63).

Table 4.1. Semantic composition of the perfect and preterite

	reference to the past	current relevance	focus on the present	focus on the past	indefinite-ness	definite-ness
preterite	+	−	−	+	−	+
perfect	+	+	+	−	+	−

Figure 2.1. Comparison between PrPf and PaS by Davydova (2011)

In his *Foundations of Congitive Grammar: Descriptive Application,* Langacker (1991b: 225-228) applies a more abstract schematic meaning to the two categoris He sees both the PaS and PrPf as "… a highly structured assembly, in which the successive combination of simpler units gives rise to schemas of progressively greater complexity, and the same units function simultaneously as components of higher-level schemas, which therefore show a great deal of overlap" (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 168).

In her analysis on PrPf and PaS, Michaelis (1998: 114-118) concludes that it is the resultative PrPf which shows the greatest semantic affinity with the PaS. Furthermore, PrPf exhibits a discourse-functional contrast with the past, where no such contrast is observable in the case of the existential PrPf. The two categories are regarded as closely aligned semantically. However, they show distinct communicative functions. For example, in sentences such as *John has broken his leg* and *John broke his leg,* the syntactic differences represent a basis for different meanings. Even though the two structures refer to a past time, the difference is in the presence of implicatum attached to the PrPf form. Thus, in the former sentence, there is an implication of a close liaison to the present. In the latter sentence, the event is finished and has nothing to do with the present moment (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 169).

On the other hand, Žic Fuchs (2009: 140) notices that contrasting only one meaning of PrPf with PaS is insufficient enough since it does not provide a much more complex correlation between PaS and the other three meanings. According to the author, defining PrPf as a combination of past and present (Brinton, 1988) is incorrect because PaS can also be viewed as a combination of past and present since it belongs to absolute tenses. However, this

relation between past and present is different from the one pertaining to PrPf because of the notion of current relevance, which plays an important role in distinguishing the four meanings of PrPf. In her comparison between the experiential PrPf, PrPf of persistent situation, PrPf of recent past and the PaS, she finds differences and similarities which, in a way, undermine the analysis provided by Michaelis (1998). For example, in a comparison of the experiential PrPf with PaS, she finds that PaS cannot substitute PrPf unless there is a time adverbial. In sentences such as *I've started my new book* and *I started my new book last month*, it can be seen that PaS requires a time adverbial for the sentence to be valid. Furthermore, from the comparison with PrPf of persistent situation, the author has concluded that PaS cannot substitute PrPf with a time adverbial such as *since (I have known Max since 1960 / *I knew Max since 1960)* for *since* indicates an event that is still ongoing. On the other hand, PaS can be used with *for* because the time adverbial can stand for a time period that is still ongoing in the past and a time period that started and is finished in the past (*We have been engaged for over a year/ We were engaged for over a year*). Thus, according to Žic Fuchs (2009), the presented similarities and differences reflect the complexity of the relationship between PrPf and PaS. Furthermore, it confirms the theory that PrPf cannot be characterized as a unique meaning, but rather it represents "…a network of conventionalized meanings, each of which realizes different kinds of correlations with other verb categories in the English language" (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 171).

5.1. Time adverbials

Time adverbials play an important role in the understanding of PrPf, and furthermore in differentiating PrPf from PaS. Therefore, there are some time adverbials that collocate solely with PrPf, those that collocate with PaS and those that can go with both categories. Comrie (1985) says that PrPf is incompatible with adverbials that have definite past time reference. However, due to dialectal and idiolectal variations, speakers of English allow these adverbials to co-occur with the perfect. For example, he mentions adverbials such as *recently*, *this morning* which are used with PrPf although they express past. According to him, they can be used with perfect because the time of the speech is included in the period of time covered by the adverbials (Comrie 1985: 32-33). Furthermore, Comrie (1976: 54) explains that a collocation between perfect and an adverbial expressing definite past such as in a sentence *I have got up at five o'clock* is only possible if it ranges over all possible five o'clocks instead

of referring to a specific instance of five o'clock. Moreover, he continues by saying that the most natural uses of perfect are those which incorporate both the present moment and the time of a previous situation which has a current relevance as in *I have seen him today*, in which *today* represents the present moment and the point of time in which the speaker saw him.

When the past situation that has current relevance is cumulative, then the sentence such as *I have collected ten signatures today* could mean that the speaker has gathered up to including *today* ten signatures. A time adverbial such as *now* refers to the present moment, but not the past situation with current relevance. In a sentence *I have now collected ten signatures, now* can be substituted by *up to now,* however, it does not include the time during which the singatures were gathered (Comrie 1976: 54). Comrie (1976) categorizes *recently* and *just* under perfect of recent past while *for* is used with perfect of persistent situation. Furthermore, he mentions *since* in an example for the experiential perfect so as to restrict the period of time by specifying an earlier limit. For example, in a sentence *Bill has been to Americe since the war* indicates that Bill has been to America at least once in the period between the war and the present moment (Comrie 1976: 57-61).

McCoard (1978) makes a classification of these time adverbials based on the notion of ± THEN. However, according to Davydova (2011), this way of categorizing time adverbials is not approapriate, especially because it is said that –THEN adverbials (*at present, up till now, so far, as yet, not yet, during these five years, since the war, before now*) should be compatible with the present tense. Since a sentence such as */ *am trying to get in touch with you during these five hours* is unacceptable, Davydova (2011) concludes that it should be the notion of *current relevance* based on which time adverbials should be categorized. Therefore, all the time adverbials expressing a definite past time collocate with PaS. On the other hand, those that refer to NOW and that include the notion of current relevance collocate with PrPf.

Table 4.3. Semantic classification of time adverbials (adapted from McCoard 1978)[11]

– current relevance	± current relevance	+ current relevance
long ago	never	at present (now)
five years ago	ever	up till now
once	always	so far
yesterday	just (now)	as yet
the other day	today	not yet
those days	in my life	already
last night	recently	during these
in 1900	lately	five years past
at 3:00	often	herewith
after the war	before	since (the war)
no longer	before now	for (three years)
in the past		long since

Figure 2.2. Classification of time adverbials by Davydova (2011)

In Radden and Dirven's (2007: 215-216) representation of different uses of PrPf, it can be seen that time adjuncts such as *just*, *already*, *now*, *so far*, *up to now* collocate with PrPf of recent past while *since* and *for* co-occur with the continuative PrPf.

In their research study, Geld and Đurđek (2009: 372) criticize the way in which adverbials indicating time frames have been presented in the textbooks. By relying on Radden and Dirven's representation of PrPf (2007), the authors propose that the time frame provided by textbooks has been presented in a very inconsistent way. It seems that most of them only provide time frames that refer to one's life or with *ever* and *never*. Other time frames that refer to adverbials such as *today, this year, in the last year* are costumarily listed together with adverbials that place an event at some point leading up to the speech event.

By relying on a syntactic feature such as either the presence or the absence of time adverbials, Žic Fuchs (2009) differentiates four meanings of PrPf thus concluding that the two core aspectual meanings are not marked by time adverbials while the other two secondary meanings are defined as relative tenses due to their markedness by time adverbials such as *just, recently, now, up to now* for PrPf of recent past and *since* and *for* for PrPf of persistent situation. According to Žic Fuchs (2009: 123), *for* highlights the notion of duration of a time period until the present moment while *since* emphasizes the beginning of the event.

6.IMPLICATIONS FOR A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS (TEXTBOOKS)

PrPf represents a very ambiguous grammatical category for Croatian students. According to Žic Fuchs (2009), there are three main reasons for this. Firstly, Croatian students have a tendency to use preterite instead of PrPf because there is no appropriate or explicit grammatical equivalent in Croatian that could substitute all the meanings of this category. Secondly, it has been noted that many grammar textbooks provide different definitions of PrPf, which, in addition, makes the category difficult to understand. Finally, one of the biggest problems is the way in which the category has been represented in textbooks for primary and secondary schools (Žic Fuchs 2009: 208).

However, it is not surprising that this problem is still existent since there haven't been enough research studies done by Croatian scientists in the field of contrastive analysis of PrPf since the 1980s. Furthermore, even in the 1980s, the explanations provided by Dubravčić (1985) and Ridjanović (1976) were not sufficient enough and could not be applied to today's

understanding of PrPf. While Dubravčić (1985) claimed that PrPf was neither aspect nor tense, but rather a specific grammatical category, Ridjanović (1976) concluded that PrPf, despite some of its apectual features, did not completely fit into the aspect category and was regarded as a present tense (Žic Fuchs 2009: 210). Thus, their traditional approach to defining PrPf as a unique meaning cannot be applied to the modern viewpoints introduced by cognitive linguistics, especially as it cannot provide more information on how to translate this grammatical category into the Croatian language. In order to find out which equivalent is more suitable in Croatian for PrPf, Žic Fuchs (2009) translated all four meanings in Croatian and made the following conclusions: 1) She has noticed that both the resultative PrPf and the experiential PrPf were translated as a combination of perfect + perfectivity, b) PrPf of persistent situation was translated as a combination of present + imperfectivity while PrPf of recent past was translated as perfect + perfectivity. The translations clearly indicate the presence of a more logical and systematic order of Croatian constructions which reflect the four meanings of PrPf. According to Žic Fuchs (2009: 211), without these four meanings there would be no clear understanding of when to use present or perfect tense in the Croatian language.

When it comes to the analysis of textbooks, it is worth mentioning two very interesting research studies carried out by Geld and Đurđek (2009) and Glavaš (2016) on investigating the role of cognitive approach to the teachings of PrPf. In one part of their studies, the authors analyze different textbooks for primary and secondary schools in order to demonstrate the complex explanations of PrPf that cause nothing but a cognitive chaos in the learner's mind. As it has already been mentioned, in their research study, Geld and Đurđek (2009) analyze textbooks for primary and secondary schools (grammar schools and private language schools) and provide further analysis of academic grammars used by students majoring in English. In their research, they propose a cognitive approach to teaching PrPf by relying on Radden and Dirven's representation of this grammatical category (2007). Based on the analysis and comparisons made between Radden and Dirven's model (2007) and a model proposed by many textbooks in schools, they make the following conclusions:

> … Students of English face the following: a) a list of rules , b) inconsistent
> lists of adverbials referring to two distinct (but not described as such)
> aspects of the present perfect tense (those signalling the time frame and
> those signalling the anteriority of the event) c) non -transparency of the time
> frame in the case of present perfect states d) imprecise schematic definitions
> and e) sharp dichotomies between the present perfect and the past simple

relying mostly on the definite/indefinite time dichotomy based on adverbials signalling anteriority of events. (Geld and Đurđek 2009: 380)

In the attempt to further investigate the reasons why the teaching of PrPf fails to enable students to properly use this complex grammatical category, Glavaš (2016) conducted a study on adult students by proposing a cognitive approach to the teaching of PrPf also based on Radden and Dirven's model (2007). She then analyzed the differences between the experimental group, i.e., students who learned about PrPf in a modern way (cognitive approach) and the control group, i.e., those who learned it in a traditional way. The final results basically showed that the experimental group acquired a better understanding of PrPf than the control group. However, in her research study, she also analyzed textbooks at both the pre-intermediate and intermediate level. Based on her observations, she made conclusions similar to those of Geld and Đurđek (2009):

a) PrPf is mostly described in terms of its different uses

b) At the intermediate level, there are three to four different uses of PrPf

c) The most prototypical type of PrPf described in the textbooks is the experiential PrPf

d) PrPf is usually represented in comparison to PaS, which enables students to decide when to use each grammatical category by analyzing their distinctive features. It is also worth mentioning that at the intermediate level PrPf is compared to the continuous PrPf in order to make students more aware of their differences,

e) In general, there is no explicit reference to the notion of time frame. Furthermore, there is no explicit differentiation of time adverbials such as today and this week which refer to the notion of time frame from already and just, which serve to provide more information about time of the event

f) The difference between the stative and active verbs has been put aside

g) There is no emphasis on speaker's subjective role in the choice of an appropriate grammatical structure. For example, students are not aware of different time span that can be covered by a time adverbial such as *just,* which can range from five minutes to two hours

h) There is usually no visual representation of PrPf, or it is not in accordance with its description. (Geld and Đurđek 2009*:* 380-381)

7. PRESENT STUDY

7.1. Aim

Following primarily the research study conducted by Žic Fuchs (2009), and taking into consideration the conclusions and approaches to analyzing textbooks in the studies conducted by Geld and Đurđek (2009) and Glavaš (2016), the aim of this study will be to analyze how PrPf is represented in Croatian and English textbooks of the English language. However, contrary to the studies conducted by Geld and Đurđek (2009) and Glavaš (2016) in which the representation of PrPf in the textbooks of the English language has been analyzed within a theoretical framework provided by Radden and Dirven (2007), the main emphasis in this study will be on comparing the representations of PrPf in the textbooks to the four previously mentioned and described meanings presented by Žic Fuchs (2009) in order to investigate the degree to which the representations distinguish from the theoretical framework proposed by Žic Fuchs (2009). Furthermore, the difference between this study and the two aforementioned ones is that the textbooks will be divided according to the level of education, but also according to their authors (English and Croatian) in order to investigate not only the differences and similarities between them, but also their compatibility with the four meanings given by Žic Fuchs (2009). The contrastive analysis of the textbooks will be based on answering four crucial research questions that have been created based on a thorough analysis of the representations of PrPf. These four research questions are a reflection of the different approaches to PrPf provided by different English and Croatian authors, and furthermore answering them should give a better insight into the advantages and disadvantages of the different approaches to teaching this grammatical category and a possible solution to creating a better approach capable of bringing together both the cognitive abilities of the Croatian students and the principles of cognitive linguistics in the process of teaching the PrPf. The following research questions are:

1) Is there one or several meanings/uses of PrPf in the textbooks?

2) Are all four meanings /uses represented in the textbooks?

3) What is the basic difference between PaS and PrPf in the textbooks and what is the role of time adverbials in that context?

4) Are there any other visual representations of PrPf in the textbooks?

7.2. Sample

The textbooks used for the analysis have been divided into two main groups: English and Croatian textbooks. The analyzed textbooks have been selected according to a website named *udzbenik.hr*. It is a catalogue which provides a list of textbooks categorized according to different levels of education and school subjects. The catalogue offers an updated list of textbooks currently used in Croatian schools. Therefore, for the purpose of the analysis, eight textbooks written by English and Croatian authors have been chosen from the list for both the primary and secondary schools. Despite the fact that the ninth textbook *New Cutting Edge* is not on the list, it has been included in the study because of its detailed representation of PrPf. Also, it is important to mention that the textbooks have not been categorized based on different types of schools such as grammar or vocational schools as in the study conducted by Geld and Đurđek (2009). All the textbooks that have been chosen are mostly for grammar schools, however, some of them such as *New Headway* and *Solutions* are for vocational schools as well. Furthermore, each textbook has been analyzed at each level. The representation of PrPf in the textbooks for primary schools has been solely reviewed from grades 5 to 8 because it has been noticed that PrPf is usually not introduced from grades 1-4. Moreover, for secondary schools, textbooks have been analyzed from grades 1 to 4. In total, there were 36 textbooks. For primary schools, there were 2 English and 2 Croatian textbooks. In the case of secondary schools, there were 3 English and only 2 Croatian textbooks. The reason why the number of Croatian texbooks for secondary schools is not equal to the number of English textbooks is that the search for the English textbooks has appeared to be easier in comparison with the Croatian ones due to their availability. The following textbooks that will be analyzed are: *Spark, Project Fourth Edition* (English text. for primary schools), *Solutions, New Headway*, *New Cutting Edge* (English text. for secondary schools), *Way to go, New Building Bridges* (Croatian textbooks for primary schools), *Log on @ In Frame, Tune up!* (Croatian textbooks for secondary schools) (see Figure 3.1.).

Figure 3.1. Classification of English and Croatian textbooks

	ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS	CROATIAN TEXTBOOKS
PRIMARY SCHOOLS	Spark, Project Fourth Edition	Way to go New Building Bridges
SECONDARY SCHOOLS	Solutions, New Headway, New Cutting Edge	Tune up! Log on @ In Frame

7.3. Procedure

The first part of the research study revolves around different representations of PrPf in English and Croatian textbooks of the English language at different levels. The main goal will be to explore the ways in which PrPf has been introduced and defined and the way in which these definitions have evolved throughout different levels of education. Therefore, the first part comprises a brief description of how PrPf has been introduced in English and Croatian textbooks. The following part of the research study involves a contrastive analysis. Different representations of PrPf in the textbooks have been compared to the analysis of the grammatical category provided by Žic Fuchs (2009). The analysis is divided into three smaller sections. In the first section, the comparison has been done between the number of meanings/uses of PrPf introduced in the textbooks with the four meanings provided by Žic Fuchs (2009). The second section is dedicated to a comparison between the way in which PrPf has been contrasted with PaS in the textbooks and to the analysis of the corresponding adverbials. The last section comprises an analysis of timelines provided by some textbooks and how they correspond to the timelines provided by Žic Fuchs (2009).

7.4. English and Croatian textbooks of the English language for primary schools

Since PrPf is usually not discussed during the first four years of education in primary schools, the aim of the paper is to analyze textbooks used from grades 5 to 8. The textbooks that will be presented are written by English and Croatian authors. The English textbooks are *Project Fourth Edition* and *Spark* while the Croatian textbooks are *Way to go* and *New Building Bridges*. In *Project Fourth Edition*, there is not a single mention of PrPf in the 5th and 6th grade. In *Spark* for the 5th grade, PrPf is used to express a result of an action. Furthermore, in the 6th grade, the textbook mentions three different definitions about its use.

Firstly, it refers to actions which started in the past and continue to the present. Secondly, it is used to express life experiences and thirdly, it is used for actions in the recent past.

While in *New Building Bridges* there is no mention of PrPf for grades 5 and 6, *Way to go* introduces the experiential PrPf in the 5th grade by explaining that it is used for expressing experiences and that it is accompanied by time adverbials such as *ever* and *never*. In the 6th grade, there is no mention of PrPf.

In *Project Fourth Edition,* the introduction of PrPf has been made in the 7th grade in which several definitions have been presented. For example, when using PrPf, there is no indication of the actual time of the event. PrPf is used to express experiences up to now and recent events. Time reference is considered to be the basic distinction between PrPf and PaS and there is also the difference between *been* and *gone*. The following adverbials are *ever* which expresses experiences up to now, *never* which expresses experiences that are not up to now, *just, recently*, *for* (period of time) and *since* (point in time). In the 8th grade, a new definition has been introduced according to which PrPf is used to express results. Other definitions are the same as those mentioned in the 7th grade.

In *Spark* for the 7th grade, there is a comparison between PrPf and PaS according to which the former is used to express actions that continue up to now and the latter to express actions that happened in the past. Furthermore, adverbials such as *yet, already, never, ever, this week, this morning, since* and *for* have been introduced and explained in more details. For example, *yet* is used in negative sentences while *already* in positive ones. Furthermore, *this week* and *this morning* refer to periods of time that are not over. Lastly, *for* emphasizes the duration while *since* refers to a starting point. In the 8th grade, apart from revising the differences between PrPf and PaS and the adverbials corresponding to each grammatical category, the textbook mentions a very important difference between *been* and *gone*. While the former expresses an action that is over, the latter is used for expressing an action that is still ongoing.

Way to Go 4 for the 7th grade emphasizes that PrPf is used for expressing actions that are up to now and that there is no time indication. The adverbials that are introduced in this context are *just, already, yet, always, for* and *since*. Furthermore, the textbook offers explanations for *already* and *yet* by saying that the former expresses something that has happened sooner than expected and the latter expresses an action that one is expecting. In the 8th grade, *Way to Go 5* introduces PrPf continuous accompanied by time adverbials *since* and *for*.

In the 7th grade, *New Building Bridges* mentions actions with a result in the present and compares PrPf with PaS by saying that the former is used to express *what* has happened and the latter to express *when* something happened. Furthermore, it introduces the following adverbials such as *ever, never, today, this week, for, since*. In the 8th grade, the textbook defines PrPf in terms of actions that have happened recently and the time of the event is unknown. It introduces new adverbials such as *yet, already, just*. Moreover, it provides another definition which says that PrPf is used to talk about a period of time that continues from the past until now. The adverbials mentioned in this context are *today, this week, this morning, ever, never, since, for*. The textbook also introduces a timeline used for demonstrating a comparison between PaS and PrPf (see Figure 3.4.).

7.5. English and Croatian textbooks of the English language for secondary schools

The English textbooks for secondary schools that will be analyzed are *Solutions, New Headway* and *New Cutting Edge* and the Croatian textbooks are *Tune up!* and *Log on @ In Frame.* Each textbook has its own way of representing PrPf throughout different levels of education.

In *Solutions*, at the elementary level, the first rule says that PrPf is used to talk about recent events that have a result in the present. In addition, this definition is supported by a time adverbial *just* which is used for expressing very recent events and should be placed between have/has and past participle. Furthermore, two more time adverbials have been added: *already* and *yet*. While *already* is used with PrPf affirmative to say that something has happened often earlier than expected and is put between have/has and past participle, *yet* is used with interrogative and negative PrPf and it should be used to say that something expected hasn't happened, or ask if something expected has happened. The textbook introduces a time adverbial *today* as well. However, it does not provide any explicit definition about it. At the pre-intermediate level, the textbook gives more definitions regarding PrPf. Therefore, it is used to express recent events and to give news. Then, it is used for expressing experiences, for an event or a situation that began in the past and continues up to now, for actions that have an effect on the present. There is also a comparison between PrPf and PaS. The difference between them is based on the opposition unfinished indefinite events vs. finished definite events. *For* and *since* have been introduced at this level as well. While the latter expresses a point in time, the former is used for a period of time. At the intermediate level, the definitions

remain the same. The only emphasis is that PrPf is used to express the duration of a current situation. At the upper-intermediate level, the textbook characterizes PrPf as a perfect tense. Everything else regarding its uses remains the same.

In *New Headway,* at the elementary level, the emphasis is more on expressing experiences. Therefore, PrPf is used to express an action that happened some time before now. It is defined in terms of an indefinite time used for expressing experiences. The corresponding time adverbials are *ever, never, just* (short time before now) and *yet* (used in interrogative and negative sentences). At the pre -intermediate level the definitions are the same. However, the textbook also explains that PrPf can be used for actions that continue into the present and probably into the future. A comparison is made between PrPf and PaS according to which the former category expresses indefiniteness and the latter definiteness. At the intermediate level, *New Headway* adds a new definition in which PrPf is used to express the result of an action and to announce news. At the upper-intermediate level, PrPf has been characterized as a perfect tense. According to the textbook, tense is divided into time and aspect can be simple and continuous.

At the elementary level, *New Cutting Edge* emphasizes that PrPf is used to describe past actions connected to the present and that very often it happens in a time period that is not finished. The textbook immediately makes a comparison between PrPf and PaS by stating that the former expresses time periods that have not finished and there is no exact time when something happened while the latter refers to definite finished actions. The time adverbials that collocate with PrPf are: *just. already, before, recently, ever, never*. At the pre-intermediate level, the definitions are the same. PrPf is seen as a combination of past and present. It is unknown when the action happened. Furthermore, new time adverbials have been introduced and defined. Therefore, *already* refers to an event that happened before a particular time and *just* refers to something that has happened only a short time before the present moment. According to the textbook, these "time phrases" do not give definite time. On the other hand, "time phrases" which refer to a time that is still in progress are *this morning*, *so far*, *since* and *for*. At the intermediate level, the only new definition is that PrPf is used to express the results of an action and to express an event in "my whole life up to now". The comparison to the PaS remains the same. Finally, at the upper-intermediate level, PrPf has been defined as a perfect tense along with future perfect and past perfect. According to the textbook there is only the continuous aspect.

The two Croatian textbooks for secondary schools are *Tune up!* and *Long on @ in Frame*. In the 1st grade, for *Tune up!* the most important feature of PrPf is expressing

experiences. Furthermore, it refers to something that happened in the past, but has consequences in the present. Moreover, PrPf is used with *for* and *since* when the situation is still true at the moment of speaking. In the 2nd grade, PrPf is defined as a present tense along with PS and PC. It is also used for expressing results and with *already, yet, just*, *for* and *since.* In the 3rd grade, the textbook provides a comparison between PrPf and PaS by stating that the former expresses indefinite time in the past while the latter expresses actions completed at a specific time. In the 4th grade, there are no explicit definitions.

In *Log on @ In Frame,* in the 1st grade, PrPf refers to a past event that took place in the past-present time. There is no precise time indicated and the time period is "in my life". Furthermore, PrPf is used to express an immediate past as well and it is contrasted with PaS. According to the textbook, PrPf refers to an indefinite time in the past and PaS to a specific time in the past. Time adverbials that have been introduced are *since, so far, already, yet.* While in the 2nd grade there are no explicit definitions regarding PrPf, in the 3rd grade, it has been characterized as a perfect aspect. The textbook for the 4th grade is mostly based on revising the already acquired forms. In the table of contents, it can be seen that the authors make a clear distinction between present and past tenses.

7.6. Contrastive analysis (Textbooks)

7.6.1. Present perfect: aspect or tense?

The results of the analysis of the textbooks of the English language have shown that they, just like many linguists mentioned earlier, struggle with providing a unique definition of PrPf that could encompass its very complex nature. However, this is of no surprise since the understanding of PrPf as provided by the textbooks is based on different theories given by different linguists. Therefore, the disagreements with respect to defining PrPf among linguists is reflected in the textbooks, and, consequently, they result in different representations and interpretations of this grammatical category. Of course, this makes the learner unable to grasp the essence of its meaning and thus contributes to the creation of a cognitive chaos (Geld, Đurđek 2009). As it has already been mentioned in the theoretical part of the paper, there are some linguists that see PrPf as having a unique meaning with different uses. On the other hand, other linguists talk of PrPf as a network of several meanings. Therefore, based on different explanations with respect to the relationship between semantics and pragmatics, linguists are incapable of categorizing PrPf as an aspect or a tense and determining its

meanings/ uses. Consequently, by relying on different theories, some textbooks make the same mistake by characterizing it solely as a tense, and some, in order to avoid the exhaustive process of breaking down the terms tense and aspect, simply avoid the whole thing.

For example, while in English and Croatian textbooks for primary schools there is no characterization of PrPf as an aspect or a tense, English and Croatian textbooks for secondary schools strive to make a logical categorization that could explain PrPf. Therefore, in all three English textbooks *Solutions*, *New Headway*, and *New Cutting Edge*, PrPf has been characterized as a perfect tense. However, not every textbook views the notion of perfect tense in the same way. According to *Solutions*, there are two basic categories based on which tenses are categorized: past and perfect. Therefore, along with PaPf and FPf, PrPf belongs to the domain of a perfect tense. However, since there are no explicit explanations regarding each category, it seems that this characterization is very superficial as it conveys a message that all tenses that have a word *perfect* in it belong to the category of perfect, while those that do not, belong to the simple past, present or future that is not perfect. *New Headway* is different in its approach as it strives to provide at least some clarification of the terms aspect and tense. Thus, the textbook divides tense into time and aspect, and furthermore talks about three types of aspect: simple, continuous and perfect. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the fact that aspect is completely different from tense since the former is non-deictic and the latter is deictic, and furthermore bearing in mind Radden and Dirven's analysis (2007) which sees aspect as a situation type and time as expressed by simple and complex tenses, it is possible to see discrepeancies in the explanations provided by the textbook. Furthermore, Žic Fuchs' characterization of PrPf (2009) as a combination of the two primary aspectual meanings and two secondary relative tenses, also demonstrates the inconsistencies in the categorization of PrPf provided by *New Headway*. According to this textbook, PrPf is a tense with a perfect aspect. This combination of aspect and tense in one phrase could superficially denote the complexity of PrPf. However, it is not sufficient enough to explain the essence of its meaning/s. In *New Cutting Edge*, PrPf is also defined as a perfect tense. However, according to this textbook, there is only a continuous type of aspect. In the Croatian textbook *Tune up!*, PrPf is characterized as a present tense. On the other hand, in *Log on @ in Frame*, PrPf is seen as a perfect tense as well. In conclusion, from the overview of the definitions provided, it can be seen that the textbooks indeed reflect the disagreements between linguists with respect to the understanding of the nature of PrPf. However, despite the fact that their way of categorizing aspect and tense seems to be inconsistent with the analysis provided by Žic Fuchs

(2009), they still, in a way, and very superficially see PrPf as a combination of tense and aspect.

7.6.2. Towards a unique or several meanings?

As it has already been mentioned in the theoretical part of the paper, based on the analysis of the causal relationship between verb phrases and the notion of current relevance, Žic Fuchs (2009) makes a clear distinction between four meanings of PrPf. There are two primary meanings: the resultative and the experiential PrPf, which represent the core meaning and the two secondary meanings: PrPf of persistent situation and PrPf of recent past. The basic difference between them can be seen in their semantic and syntactic features. The main goal is to explore how the definitions provided by different English and Croatian textbooks correspond to the given analysis and whether the definitions are transparent and similar to the meanings provided by the author. Therefore, having analyzed every textbook, it has been shown that none of them categorizes PrPf into four different meanings. Moreover, there is not a single mention of the word **meaning** in any of the textbooks. Instead, the textbooks offer a lot of different definitions talking about different **uses** or **types** of PrPf that seem to be scattered around at each level. There is no clear systemization of the provided definitions, and furthermore, the way in which they have been listed seems to be quite illogical when compared to the author's (Žic Fuchs 2009) categorization. However, it has been noticed that all the textbooks have one thing in common and that is a constant tendency of reducing the complexity of this category to a very simple and general definition that has been perpetuated for a very long time by the traditional linguists. For example, in Croatian textbooks for primary schools, *New Building Bridges* and *Way to Go*, PrPf is defined as a period of time that continues from the past until now and it is used for expressing experiences which are *up to now*. English textbooks *Spark* and *Project Fourth Edition* are no different from the previous textbooks. They both mention actions that started in the past and continue into the present moment. Croatian textbooks and English textbooks for secondary schools are no different from the previous ones as well. Both *Tune up* and *Log on @ in Frame* mention a period of time that began in the past and includes the present. In the English textbooks such as *Solutions* and *New Headway*, PrPf refers to actions, events or situations that began in the past and continue up to now. *New Cutting Edge* reduces the definition even further at the pre-intermediate level by stating that PrPf is a past and present together. Therefore, the explicit set of definitions indicates that PrPf is nothing but a combination of past and present, which

is also a view shared by Brinton (1988: 45) who says that "… the function of the perfect is, as always, to show a past situation connected with the present" (according to Žic Fuchs 2009: 139). This kind of simplification raises even more questions since this relationship of past and present can be applied to PaS as well, however, it is very different from the one referring to PrPf (see ch. 5). Thus, in the attempt to represent PrPf as a simplified and a unique meaning, textbooks make a terrible mistake of mixing together the uses of PrPf and, based on them, creating a unique and generalized meaning. For example, in *Project Fourth Edition*, the unique meaning that is the most prominent at each level, is that PrPf talks about experiences up to now. The problems with this definition are the following ones: a) experiences represent only one of the four meanings of PrPf (Žic Fuchs 2009), b) the mention of "up to now" raises new questions with respect to how the situation is perceived and whether this "up to now" refers to the notion of immediacy or a long observation of the anterior situation. Furthermore, it does not cover the importance of different types of verb phrases and their relationship with the NOW (Žic Fuchs 2009). In the Croatian textbook *Way to go*, PrPf refers to "expressing experiences in my whole life up to now."

Once more, the emphasis is on the notion of experience and this "up to now" only makes the definition more ambiguous. In *Solutions,* PrPf refers to situations that began in the past and continue up to now. Here, it is possible to infer that the definition is made in comparison with PaS. *New Headway* says that PrPf is used for an action that happened some time before now. This meaning is very deficient as it does not elaborate terms "some time" and "before now". The questions being raised are: 1) What does it mean some time before now?; 2) How long is "some time before now?; 3) Does it finish in the present moment? *New Cutting Edge* also mentions the term "connecting with the present" thus including the present moment in the time frame. From this observation, it can be seen that none of these meanings are unique. The only feature they all have in common is "up to now". However, since there is no explicit interpretation of this term, its incorporation into every definition makes PrPf even more vague and ambiguous as it raises so many questions with respect to the span of the time frame and to types of situations, not to mention the notion of current relevance which plays a crucial role in the understanding of the nature of PrPf. Furthermore, while "up to now" unifies these different definitions, the terms such as experience, in my whole life, results, etc. differentiate these meanings of PrPf in the textbooks. The reason why this could be the case is that all these textbooks take one of the four meanings as defined by Žic Fuchs (2009), then add an ambiguous term such as "up to now" and, as a result, create a definition which they use as a prototypical one. Furthermore, some of the meanings are mentioned, but mostly

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implicitly and via time adverbials. Therefore, it is possible to say that textbooks mention PrPf of persistent situation because they introduce time adverbials such as *for* and *since* which represent the syntactic feature of this particular meaning. Nevertheless, stating that this meaning is present in the textbook would be wrong as it has not been explicitly explained as such. Thus, in the following table (see Figure 3.2.), the presence of PrPf of persistent situation has been marked by +/- as it remains very ambiguous. Even though it could be said that in the textbooks of the English language a unique meaning is actually a result of a combination of any type of PrPf considered to be more frequent by that textbook (e.g. experiential or resultative) and of the notion of "up to now", it is possible to notice that textbooks offer some kind of categorization based on different uses of PrPf. Despite the fact that the categorization is not very clear, it is possible to discern some of the four meanings of PrPf as provided by Žic Fuchs (2009). The table (see Figure 3.2.) shows which meanings have been explicitly provided in the textbooks. It can be seen that not all of them have been mentioned. However, they are sometimes mixed into one category or illogically distributed throughout different levels of the textbooks. For example, in English textbooks for primary schools such as *Spark* and *Project Fourth Edition*, there are discrepeancies related to the introduction of PrPf. In *Spark*, both the experiential and PrPf of recent past have already been introduced in the 6th grade. In grade 7, the emphasis is still on the experiential PrPf, however, the textbook introduces *since* and *for* and mentions the events that happened in the past and still continue up to now. In the 8th grade, the textbook implicitly introduces both the resultative and experiential PrPf by comparing the two verbs *been* (action that is over) and *gone* (action that is ongoing). In *Project Fourth Edition*, PrPf is introduced in the 7th grade. Furthermore, in this grade, the textbook implicitly talks about the resultative and experiential PrPf as well through a comparison of verbs *been* and *gone*. In the 8th grade, the textbook explicitly shows a clear distinction between the four meanings of PrPf.

In textbooks for secondary schools such as *Solutions* at the elementary level, PrPf is used for expressing recent events that have results in the present. Here, it is quite obvious that the authors do not separate the two different meanings (RPrPf and PrPf of recent past). Instead, they are blending them into one use of PrPf. At the pre-intermediate level, *Solutions* explicitly talk about two uses: recent events giving news and expressing experiences. Furthermore, the textbook implicitly introduces the resultative and experiential PrPf by comparing verbs *been* and *gone*. At the intermediate level, the textbook mentions that PrPf expresses the duration of time with *for* and *since*, a definition that, in a way, implicitly corresponds to PrPf of persistent situation. Therefore, in *Solutions,* two meanings have been mentioned explicitly while the first

and the third meaning remain ambiguous. In *New Headway*, it can be noticed that the textbook at each level mostly highlights only the experiential PrPf. There is a mention of the resultative PrPf at both the pre-intermediate and intermediate level. Furthermore, at the intermediate level, *New Headway* provides a comparison between verbs *been* and *gone*. However, contrary to other textbooks, it explicitly says that *been* refers to the experience and *gone* to the result thus making a clear distinction between the two meanings of PrPf and confirming Comrie's analysis of *been* and *gone* (1976: 59). Moreover, PrPf of recent past could be discerned at the elementary level in which the textbook says that it is used for expressing an action that happened at some time before now, and at the intermediate level in which it says that PrPf is used to announce news. In *New Cutting Edge*, a comparison between verbs such as *been* and *gone* already implicitly points to two meanings: resultative and experiential PrPf. The categorization of meanings can be seen at the intermediate level. The textbook mentions the resultative PrPf very clearly by stating that PrPf expresses the results of a past action. The experiential PrPf is mentioned rather indirectly by saying that it is used for expressing an event in the speaker's whole life up to now.

On the other hand, PrPf of persistent situation can only be discerned via *since* and *for* and the PrPf of recent past is ambiguous as well since it has been indicated through a time adverbial *already*. In Croatian textbook *New Building Bridges* for primary schools, PrPf has not been mentioned in the 5th and 6th grade. On the other hand, *Way to go* introduces very briefly the experiential PrPf at the end of the textbook for the 5th grade. However, there is no mention of PrPf in the textbook for grade 6. In *New Building Bridges* for the 7th and 8th grade, there are some indications of all four meanings. While in the 7th grade, the textbook mentions the resultative PrPf, in the 8th grade, PrPf of recent past and of persistent situation have been added to the list as well. However, there is no clear definition of the experiential PrPf, but rather the textbook introduces the meaning through time adverbials such as *ever* and *never*. In *Way to go*, there is no mention of the resultative PrPf. However, the emphasis is on the experiential PrPf. PrPf of recent past seems to be quite ambiguous since it has been indirectly introduced by a time adverbial *already,* but there is no explicit mention of PrPf used for expressing recent events. In *Tune up!*, the categorization of the four meanings slightly ressembles to the one introduced by Žic Fuchs (2009). Unfortunately, the textbook does not say anything about PrPf of recent past. In *Log on @ in Frame*, there is no mention of the resultative PrPf. The experiential can be discerned from the phrase "the time period in his life." On the other hand, PrPf of recent past is introduced as the immediate past. Although not explicitly mentioned, PrPf of persistent situation can be recognized from *since* and *for*.

Figure 3.2. Classification of uses of PrPf according to the model provided by Žic Fuchs (2009))

	RESULTATIVE	EXPERIENTIAL	P.P. OF PERSISTENT SITUATION	P.P. OF RECENT PAST
Eng. textbooks				
Spark	+	+	+/-	+
Project Fourth Ed.	+	+	+	+
Solutions	+/-	+	+/-	+
New Headway	+	+	+/-	+
New Cutting Edge	+	+/-	+/-	+
Cro. textbooks				
New Building Bridges	+	-	+/-	+
Way to go	-	+	+	+/-
Tune up!	+	+	+	-
Log on @ in Frame	-	+	+	+

7.6.3 Present perfect vs. Past simple

In the next section of the analysis, the aim is to investigate the comparison between PrPf and PaS and the way in which the comparison has been presented in English and Croatian textbooks. Firstly, it is worth mentioning that, in the textbooks, PaS is always introduced before PrPf because it is considered to be a simple category, and therefore easier to conceptualize at an earlier age. In the following table (see Figure 3.3.), there is a set of definitions under each grammatical category. Based on the definitions, it can be seen that the comparisons provided by different textbooks are mostly the same. Moreover, they can be reduced to two basic definitions: *PrPf refers to unfinished indefinite events with indefinite time adverbials* and *PaS refers to finished definite events with definite time adverbials.* Furthermore, in the case of PrPf, the emphasis is on *what* has happened while in the case of PaS, the emphasis is on *when* something happened. Therefore, the definitions provided by the textbooks are, in a way, similar to the analyses provided by Radden and Dirven (2007) and Davydova (2011). All of the examples and definitions highlight the important properties mentioned by the aforementioned authors (Radden and Dirven 2007, Davydova 2011) such as focus on the past, detachment from the present, focus on the present, indefiniteness and

definiteness. However, since the textbooks do not offer a clear representation of PrPf as a combination of the four meanings, PaS is only contrasted with a more unique and generalized meaning of PrPf thus excluding the possibility of viewing PrPf as a network of four conventionalized meanings, each of which has its own characteristics that correlate differently with PaS. Furthermore, it raises ambiguities regarding the definite time adverbials since there are situations where some definite time adverbials collocate with PrPf. The application of the analysis of the four meanings as provided by Žic Fuchs (2009) to the definitions of PaS and PrPf found in the textbooks raises even more questions with respect to the notion of definiteness/indefiniteness. Namely, based on the presence or absence of certain time adverbials, Žic Fuchs (2009) categorizes the four meanings into a schematic meaning: **definiteness** + **NOW, indefiniteness** + **NOW**. Therefore, it seems that PrPf is just by itself a complex network of definiteness and indefiniteness. Moreover, viewing PaS as solely expressing definiteness in contrast to the indefiniteness of PrPf seems to be superficial and insufficient. Thus, including the notion of NOW in this context and understanding the semantic and syntactic features of the four meanings of PrPf plays a crucial role in distinguishing the two categories and providing a better insight into the complex nature of PrPf.

Figure 3.3. Present perfect vs. Past simple

Eng. textbooks	Present perfect	Past simple
Spark	actions that continue up to now	actions that happened in the past
Project Fourth Ed.	there is no time reference	there is a time reference
Solutions	unfinished indefinite events	finished definite events
New Headway	unifinished indefinite events	finished definite events
New Cutting Edge	used with time periods that have not finished no exact time of happening	when an action exactly happened in the past action is finished
Cro. textbooks		
New Building Bridges	what has happened	when sth. happened
Way to go	no time indication	time indication
Tune up!	indefinite actions	expressing actions completed at a specific time in the past actions that follow each other in the past
Log on @ In Frame	indefinite time in the past	specific time in the past

7.6.4 Time adverbials

The analysis of time adverbials has shown that, in every textbook, there is a different way of approaching to their categorization. Furthermore, it has been noticed that sometimes the emphasis is on the meaning of the adverbial and, on other occasions, the emphasis is on their position in the sentence. For example, in *Spark* for primary schools, adverbials such as *yet* and *already* have been defined in terms of their collocation with negative and positive statements. On the contrary, in *Solutions* for secondary schools, *yet* is defined as expressing something expected that hasn't happened and is used for asking if something expected has happened. It is specific to affirmative and interrogative sentences. *Already* is seen as expressing something that has happened often earlier than expected and is used in affirmative sentences. In *New Cutting Edge, already* refers to an event that happened before a particular time. In Croatian textbook *Way to go, already* refers to something that has happened sooner than we expected while *yet* refers to an action that we are expecting. Despite different semantic and syntactic features of each adverbial provided by different textbooks, what remains the same is an exhaustive list of time adverbials such as *ever, never, just, recently, already, yet, for* and *since.* This set of adverbials is common in each and every textbook. While *ever* and *never* are commonly associated with the experiential PrPf, *just* and *recently* are described in terms of the immediate past while *for* and *since* implicitly indicate PrPf of persistent situation. For example, in *New Headway* and *New Cutting Edge, just* refers to something that has happened only a short time before NOW. On the other hand, the meaning of *never* and *ever* is usually portrayed in senteces expressing experience in every textbook. In *Project Fourth Edition*, it has been said that *ever* expresses experiences up to now and *never* not up to now. Furthermore, textbooks are also very much the same when it comes to defining *since* and *for*. In general, *since* denotes a point in time while *for* stands for a period of time. Since *for* is able to collocate with PaS and PrPf, *New Cutting Edge* provides a timeline showing how *for* is placed depending on the grammatical category (see Figure 3.6.) Thus, when collocating with PaS, *for* talks about a past state or an action in a period of time which is finished. On the other hand, when *for* collocates with PrPf, it talks about an action or a state which continues from past to present. This representation is similar to the one provided by Žic Fuchs (2009: 171), thus indicating a different nature of the relationship between past and present in the case of PaS and PrPf. Furthermore, there are some time adverbials that are explicitely explained in some and, on the other hand, deprived of any explanation in other textbooks. The following adverbials are *this morning, today, now, so far*. For example, in *New Cutting Edge*, *this*

morning and *so far* refer to a time that is still in progress thus indicating that something has happened some time up to now. However, this way of analyzing these adverbials is especially crizicized by Geld and Đurđek (2009: 372) who claim that these definitions do not treat the adverbials as time frames. Instead, they are costumarily listed with adverbials that place an event at some point in the period that is described as leading up to the speech event.

Therefore, even though the list of adverbials corresponds to every meaning of PrPf in the textbooks (e.g. *ever* and *never* are used with the experiential PrPf, *just, recently* with PrPf of recent past), it is still a list of randomly organized adverbials whose explanation is sometimes based on sematic features and sometimes on syntactic features in the textbooks. Another way of categorizing adverbials in textbooks is by contrasting them to the adverbials that collocate with PaS. Thus, PaS usually collocates with definite time adverbials such as *yesterday, two days ago,* etc. while PrPf collocates with the indefinite time adverbials. This type of categorization can be compared to McCoard's classification of adverbials (1978) according to the notion of ± THEN. However, as Comrie (1985: 32-33) says: "…due to dialectal and idiolectal variations speakers of English allow these [definite] adverbials to co-occur with the perfect". Therefore, a sentence such as *I have got up at five o 'clock* is possible if it ranges over all possible five o'clocks. This example indicates the overlapping of definite and indefinite time adverbials. According to Davydova (2011), since the notion of ± THEN cannot cover those adverbials that can collocate with both categories, she introduces the notion of current relevance thus providing an explanation for the collocation of *never* and *ever* with PrPf and PaS. Tu sum up, time frames and adverbials are usually listed randomly without providing cognitively plausible links (Geld and Đurđek 2009: 374). Furthermore, even if they want to, these textbooks will never be able to change these exhaustive lists because they have resulted from different and inconsistent theoretical frameworks (Jespersen 1931, 1933; Zandvoort 1958; McCawley 1971; Comrie 1976, McCoard 1978; Brinton 1988; Comrie 1985; Langacker 1987, 1991; Depraetere 1998; Michaelis 1998; Radden and Dirven 2007; Geld and Đurđek 2009; Žic Fuchs 2009; Dahl & Velupillai 2011c; Davydova 2011; Werner 2014; Glavaš 2016). Therefore, in order to change the categorization of adverbials, it is important to change the way in which PrPf has been defined. Then, instead of memorizing by heart a list of adverbials, learners will be able to make connections and categorize them in a meaningful way.

7.6.5. Timelines

In the next section of the anaylsis, the aim has been to explore different timelines provided by the textbooks and compare them to the timelines provided by Žic Fuchs (2009). Timelines should give a better insight into PrPf and its meanings. However, what has been noticed is that a lot of these textbooks do not offer any kind of timeline. Instead, they only provide a list of definitions without any graphs, which makes it difficult for the student to conceptualize this complex category. Nevertheless, some textbooks such as the English textbooks for secondary schools *New Headway*, *New Cutting Edge* and one Croatian textbook for primary schools *New Building Bridges* provide timelines that should enable students to better understand PrPf. However, the graphics do not correspond to the timelines provided in the author's book (Žic Fuchs 2009). Therefore, the question remains whether these textbooks are successful in conveying the complexity of PrPf to Croatian students. In the images (see Figures 3.4., 3.5., 3.6., 3.7.) taken from the textbooks, it can be seen how these timelines differ. For example, in *New Building Bridges* for the 8th grade, there is a timeline (see Figure 3.4.) marked by *the past* on one end and *now* on the other end. It serves to make a distinction between PrPf simple and PaS. The first timeline shows PaS. A small vertical line on the timeline indicates that the event happened in the past and it is completely over. On the other hand, the other timeline shows PrPf simple. The small line on the timeline is close to *now* and it is an indication of an event that is *up to now*.

In *New Headway,* at the intermediate level, there is an image ressembling to a timeline. The image shows circles. The first circle indicates past and the last one indicates present. PrPf is situated in the middle where the two circles intertwine. Therefore, from this image (see Figure 3.5.), it can be seen that the textbook represents PrPf as present and past combined together without going any further into showing other timelines that should explain other meanings of PrPf as well.

In *New Cutting Edge*, at the pre-intermediate level, the timeline (see Figure 3.6.) is more oriented towards explaining the use of *for,* which is similar to the representation provided by Žic Fuchs (2009: 171). However, in this textbook, the distinction has been made between *for* used with PaS and *for* used with PrPf. On the first timeline (see Figure 3.6.) which is divided into past, present and future, there is a line situated above the timeline indicating that *for*, when used with PrPf, expresses an event that started in the past and continues up to now. On the second timeline*, for*, when used with PaS, indicates an event that happened in the

past and remains in the past, which can be seen from the line situated above the timeline and not intertwining with the present moment.

In *New Cutting Edge*, at the upper-intermediate level (see Figure 3.7.), the representation of PrPf is even more simplified. The image shows a timeline with a *now* in the middle, which should represent the present moment. Furthermore, just above the timeline there is a circular arrow pointing at the event that happened before *now* thus making a liaison between the moment of when the event happened and its duration up to now.

In conclusion, the images below have nothing in common with the timelines provided by Žic Fuchs (2009). The first problem is that none of them represent the complexity of the four meanings of PrPf. Secondly, the timelines are very basic and simplified. Furthermore, they do not comprise the aspectuality of the two primary meanings of PrPf, nor do they show any features of the two secondary meanings. Thirdly, the timeline is divided into past, present and future and the position of PrPf is between present and past. It is situated on the timeline, thus ignoring the features of the two primary meanings that are above the timeline (see Figures 1.1., 1.3.). It is represented as a mixture of the two categories without any insight into the basic role of NOW and the speaker's viewpoint of the situation. The last image (see Figure 3.7.) from *New Cutting Edge* shares a similar feature with the representation of timelines provided by Žic Fuchs (2009). The similarity lies in the arrow pointed from NOW to the time when the event happened, which, in a way, could represent a viewpoint from the moment of speaking to the anterior situation. All the other aspects of the timelines provided in the theoretical part of the paper are completely excluded from these images. It is obvious that a student should become more familiar with cognitive linguistics and linguistics in general so as to understand the theory behind this category. However, the question remains whether there should be more simplified representations of PrPf on a timeline or only one which could cover the essence of the four meanings of PrPf.
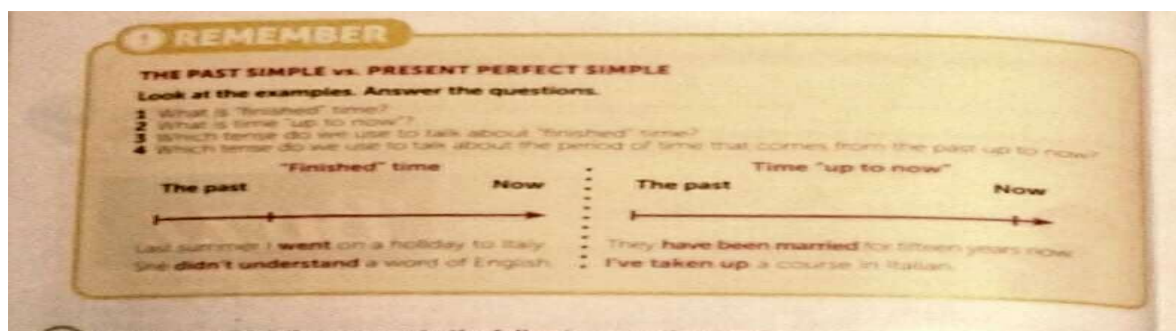
Figure 3.4. New Building bridges (8th grade)

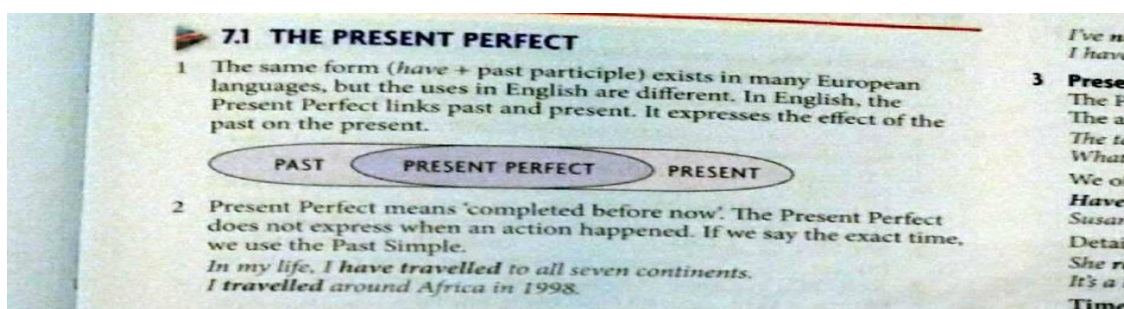Figure 3.5. New Headway (intermediate level)

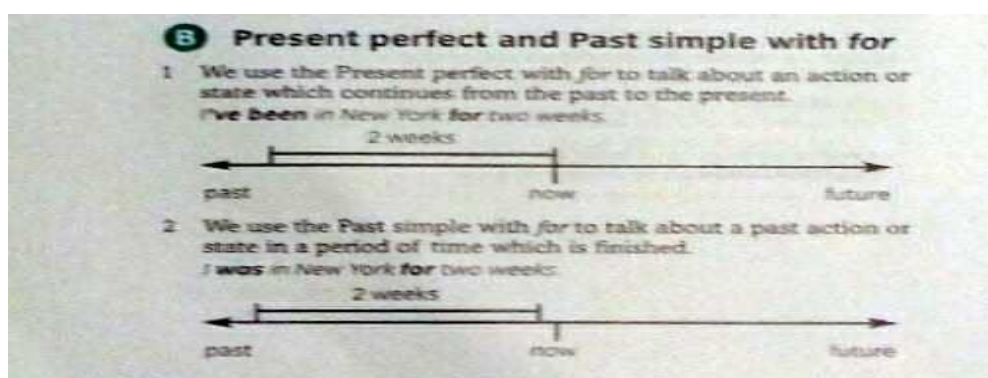Figure 3.6. New Cutting Edge (pre-intermediate level)

Figure 3.7. New Cutting Edge (upper-intermediate level)

8. CONCLUSION

Following primarily the analysis of PrPf provided by Žic Fuchs (2009), the aim of this contrastive analysis of 36 textbooks has been to provide answers to the four basic research questions: 1) Is there one or several meanings/ uses of PrPf in the textbooks?; 2) Are all four meanings/ uses represented in the textbooks?; 3) What is the basic difference between PaS and PrPf in the textbooks and what is the role of time adverbials in that context?; 4) Are there any other visual representations of PrPf in the textbooks? Based on the description of every textbook at different levels of education and on the comparison of different representations of PrPf, several conclusions have been made. Firstly, the results have shown that English and Croatian textbooks do not see PrPf in terms of the meanings proposed by Žic Fuchs (2009), but rather they mention its **uses**. Therefore, one could find definitions according to which PrPf is **used** to express sth., etc. However, the generalized meaning found in the textbooks is the one based on the principles proposed by traditional grammars according to which PrPf has a unique meaning resulting in different uses. Of course, this way of defining PrPf usually characterizes it as a tense and disregards the aspectual property of PrPf. However, it is important to mention that the unique meanings provided by the textbooks can be very ambiguous as they usually combine one of the four meanings considered to be prototypical by the textbook with the notion of "up to now". Therefore, in *Project Fourth Edition*, PrPf has been defined as "talking about experiences up to now" and this has been the leading definition throughout every level of education in that textbook. It is obvious that, in order to arrive to a unique meaning, the authors of these textbooks get tangled up in different uses/ meanings thus combining them together and contributing to the development of a cognitive chaos. Naturally, in order to find a way out if this cluster, one should establish a good theoretical framework that could explain the complexity of this grammatical category. Unfortunately, the absence of a unanimous agreement with respect to characterizing PrPf as an aspect or a tense is reflected in the textbooks as well. Therefore, some textbooks (*New Cutting Edge, Solutions*) define PrPf as a perfect tense thus categorizing aspect under the category of tense. Moreover, some textbooks, in order to avoid all the explanations, simply characterize PrPf as a present tense.

The response to the second question would be that, despite the mixed combinations of different meanings, there is a certain categorization of the four meanings which develops from lower to higher levels of education. However, the textbooks do not talk about **meanings**, but **uses**. The most prominent meaning/use in the textbooks has been the experiential PrPf, which

can be seen from a great number of lessons entitled *Experiences* in every textbook (e.g. *New Headway*)

The main goal of the third question has been to determine how PrPf is compared to PaS. The conclusion is that all the textbooks mention the same basic oppositions (indefiniteness/ definiteness). While the former expresses an indefinite past, the latter expresses definite past. However, taking into consideration the schematic meaning of PrPf as provided by Žic Fuchs (2009) and bearing in mind that PrPf is not restricted solely to the indefinite adverbials as in *I have got up at five o'clock* (see ch. 5., 7.6.3., 7.6.4.)*,* this analysis raises more questions about the differences and similarities between a simple category such as PaS and a complex network of meanings such as PrPf. Furthermore, a thorough comparison between the two categories proves the existence of the four meanings pertaining to PrPf. Therefore, defining PrPf in comparison with PaS as provided by the textbooks seems to be very superficial as it excludes the causal relationhip between types of verb phrases and the notion of current relevance. In this context, analyzing adverbials plays a crucial role in distinguishing one category from another. For example, a time adverbial such as *for* can collocate with both the PaS and PrPf. However, the notion of current relevance is what, in the case of PaS defines *for* as expressing a period of time that finished in the past, and in the case of PrPf, it is seen as expressing a duration that continues into the present (see ch. 7.6., 7.6.3, 7.6.4.).

The last question revolves around the analysis of timelines and their comparison to those provided by Žic Fuchs (2009). Firstly, it is very surprising to see that only a couple of textbooks (*New Cutting Edge, New Headway, New Building Bridges*) provide some kind of a timeline. This finding confirms Geld and Đurđek's conclusion (2009) that there is usually no visual representation of PrPf in the textbooks (see ch. 6). Secondly, the content of the timeline is so limited and has nothing in common with the graphics provided by Žic Fuchs (2009). The only one worth mentioning is the last one (see Figure 3.7.) because it shows an arrow pointed towards an anterior situation. This could, in a way, denote a backward-looking stance from the moment of speech to the anterior situation. Nevertheless, it is not a very detailed representation of PrPf.

In conclusion, the comparison of English and Croatian textbooks has shown that their approach to introducing PrPf in not so much different. The conclusions made by Geld and Đurđek (2009), and Glavaš (2016) are confirmed with this analysis (presenting a list of definitions with a list of adverbials, defining PrPf as an indefinite past and PaS as a definite past, lacking any visual representation, etc.). Furthermore, in the comparison of Croatian

textbooks for secondary schools with the English ones, the analysis has shown that the Croatian textbooks are less detailed than the English ones with respect to terms as aspect, tense, time, which have been briefly explained by the English authors and presented to students of the English language at higher levels of education. When it comes to the theoretical framework provided by Žic Fuchs (2009), it has been noticed that the textbooks are not very much familiar with this way of understanding PrPf as a very complex semantic network of four conventionalized meanings (see ch. 4). Therefore, presenting PrPf as such would be very difficult and challenging for the textbooks since it would require from both the students and the teachers some background knowledge of cognitive linguistics. Nevertheless, presenting students with a list of randomly organized definitons and adverbials without any cognitive links is not a very promising approach either because, based on the scattered and unrelated pieces of information, students cannot build their knowledge about PrPf. Therefore, a cognitive approach to teaching English PrPf is considered to be more efficient as it strives to explain PrPf in terms of its meanings. Nevertheless, it is important to introduce PrPf in such a way that students are able to understand the category, and therefore use it in everyday speech. The analysis provided by Žic Fichs (2009) is actually the least complex theory and it covers all the complexities of PrPf. Therefore, the paper proposes that PrPf should be introduced as a semantic network of four conventionalized meanings instead of providing a unique meaning with different uses as proposed by the traditional grammars and today's textbooks of the English language because it would most certainly contribute to the reduction of a cognitive chaos in the learner's mind.

9. REFERENCES

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Žic Fuchs, M. 2009. *Kognitivna lingvistika i jezične strukture: engleski present perfect*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus.

Appendix A: List of English and Croatian textbooks

Anić, B., Buljević, P., Curtis, D.S., Gilić, M. 2017. *Tune up!*. Zagreb: Profil

A, Davies, P., Falla, T. 2008. *Solutions Elementary Student's Book.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

A, Davies, P., Falla, T. 2007. *Solutions Pre-Intermediate Student's Book.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

A, Davies, P, Falla, T. 2009. *Solutions Udžbenik engleskog jezika B1+.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

A, Davies, P., Falla, T. 2009. *Solutions Upper-Intermediate Student's Book.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Anić, V. 2006. *Way to go 2*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga d.d.

Breka, O. 2013. *Way to go 3*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga d.d.

Breka, O., Mardešić, M. 2007. *Way to go 4.* Zagreb: Školska knjiga d.d.

Carr Comyns, J., Cunningham, S., Moor, P. 2007. *New Cutting Edge Elementary*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited

Carr Comyns, J., Cunningham, S., Moor, P. 2005. *New Cutting Edge Pre-Intermediate*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited

Carr Comyns, J., Cunningham, S., Moor, P. 2005. *New Cutting Edge Intermediate*.Harlow: Pearson Education Limited

Carr Comyns, J., Cunningham, S., Moor, P. 2005. *New Cutting Edge Upper-Intermediate*.Harlow: Pearson Education Limited

Čajo Anđel, K., Knezović, Ankica. 2014. *New Building Bridges 8*. Zagreb: Profil

Doolan, M., Hindlaugh S., Špaleta B. 2003. *Log on @ In Frame 1*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga d.d.

Doolan, M., Hindlaugh S., Špaleta B. 1998. *Log on @ In Frame 2*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga d.d.

Doolan, M., Hindlaugh S., Špaleta B. 1999. *Log on @ In Frame 3*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga d.d.

Doolan, M., Hindlaugh S., Špaleta B. 2006. *Log on @ In Frame 4*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga d.d.

Dooley, J., Evans, V. 2013. *Spark 1*. Newbury, Berkshire: Express Publishing

Dooley, J., Evans, V. 2013. *Spark 2.* Newbury, Berkshire: Express Publishing

Dooley, J., Evans, V. 2013. *Spark 3.* Newbury, Berkshire: Express Publishing

Dooley, J., Evans, V. 2013. *Spark 4.* Newbury, Berkshire: Express Publishing

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Hutchinson, T. 2013. *Project Fourth Edition 2.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hutchinson, T. 2013. *Project Fourth Edition 3.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hutchinson, T. 2015. *Project Fourth Edition 4.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hutchinson, T. 2014. *Project Fourth Edition 5.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Linčir Lumezi, M., Roje Charry, R., Škarica Mital, I., Treselj, B. 2015. *Tune up! 3.* Zagreb: Profil

Lubina Lekaj, B., Pavuna, J., Singer, D. 2014. *New Building Bridges 5*. Zagreb: Profil

Lubina Lekaj, B., Pavuna, J., Singer, D. 2014. *New Building Bridges* 6. Zagreb: Profil

Lukić, V., Pavuna, J., Župan Jelenc, M. 2013. *New Building Bridges 7*. Zagreb: Profil

Pavlović, I., Roje Charry, R., Špiranec, I. 2014. *Tune up!4*. Zagreb: Profil

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Soars, J. and Soars, L. 2011. *New Headway Pre-Intermediate Student's Book*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

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