Lithuanian in the typology of derivational aspectual systems

Peter Arkadiev

Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences /
Russian State University for the Humanities / Sholokhov Moscow
State University for the Humanities,

peterarkadiev@yandex.ru

Preliminaries

Aspect is a grammatical system expressing the "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie 1976: 3).

Preliminaries

Languages differ as to which (if at all) aspectual meanings are grammaticalised, which of them form oppositions and which are grouped together, and how they are expressed.

(Comrie 1976, Maslov 1984, Dahl 1985, Smith 1991, Bybee et al. 1994 etc.)

Preliminaries

"Two-component" theory of aspect:

Viewpoint aspect: particular ways in which the speaker construes the situation and relates it to other situations in the discourse.

vs.

Actionality: partly lexically encoded and partly syntactically determined linguistic categorisation of situations.

(Maslov 1984, Smith 1991, Breu 1994, Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000, Tatevosov 2002)

Preliminaries

Actionality: categorisation of situations as static vs. dynamic, durative vs. punctual, telic vs. atelic etc.

Viewpoint aspect: roughly, construal of situations as **perfective** (bounded, included into the reference time) vs. **imperfective** (unbounded, overlaping with the reference time).

(Smith 1991, Klein 1994)

Preliminaries

	Perfective	Imperfective
Telic	*John read the book* *Ivan pročital knigu* *Jonas perskaitė knygą*	*John was reading the book* *Ivan čital knigu* *Jonas skaitė knygą*
Atelic	*John slept* *Ivan pospal* *Jonas pamiegojo*	*John was sleeping* *Ivan spal* *Jonas miegojo*

Aspect in Lithuanian

Since the introduction of the term *veikslas* by Jablonskis (1922) it has been assumed that most Lithuanian verbs may be characterised as "imperfective" (*eigos veikslas*) or "perfective" (*įvykio veikslas*), though the status of this opposition has been subject to considerable debate (Dambriūnas 1960, Galnaitytė 1962, 1963, 1978, Ambrazas 1999, Wiemer 2001, Arkadiev 2009, 2011, 2012).

Aspect in Lithuanian

The opposition of "aspects" in Lithuanian is lexical-sematic rather than grammatical:

- The "aspect" of a verb can only be determined on the basis of the interpretations of its tense forms, since there are no grammatical (morphosynytactic) features robustly associated with each of the "aspects".

Aspect in Lithuanian

- "Perfectivisation" by means of verbal prefixes (preverbs) and especially "imperfectivisation" with the suffix *-inė-* are not fully productive and regular, being in various ways restricted by the lexical semantics of individual verbs, as well as by stylistic considerations and codified norm.

Aspect in Lithuanian

- "Neutralisation" of aspects attested in many contexts in the East Slavic languages and witnessing the obligatory grammatical nature of aspectual opposition, is not found in Lithuanian.

- The class of "biaspectual" (*dviveiksliniai*) verbs showing behaviour characteristic of both "aspects" is large and comprises many frequent lexemes.

Aspect in Lithuanian

Nevertheless, the differences between Lithuanian and Russian (and other Slavic languages) in the domain of aspect are those of degree rather than of kind.

Even if the aspectual opposition in Lithuanian is not grammatical in the narrow sense of this word, it exists and should be compared with its counterparts in other languages.

Typology (1)

Together with Slavic and a number of other languages of Eastern Europe (Latvian, Hungarian, Yiddish, Ossetic, Georgian), Lithuanian shows a type of aspectual system which is called **bounder-based perfectives** by Bybee & Dahl (1989), Bybee et al. (1994), as opposed to **anterior-based perfectives**.

Typology (1)

bounder-based perfectives	anterior-based perfectives
go back to combinations of verbs with adverbial elements	go back to resultative-perfect constructions
tend to be derivational	tend to be inflectional
show lexical idiosyncrasies and often add meanings other than perfective	tend to be semantically compositional
emphasize completion of the event and not just temporal boundedness	express temporal boundedness of an event

Typology (1)

Bounder-based perfectives themselves constitute a subtype of aspectual systems which can be called **derivational** (Dahl 1985) or **verb-classifying** (Plungian 2011).

(see Arkadiev 2014, 2015, Arkadiev & Shluinsky 2015)

Typology (1)

Derivational aspectual systems:

- aspectual interpretation is an inherent property of the verbal lexeme;

- in order to apply a different viewpoint to the same situation, a new verb has to be derived by morphological means.

Typology (1)

- perfectivisation

$V_{IPF} \rightarrow V_{PFV}$ *skaityti* 'read' →

    *per*skaityti* 'read through'

- imperfectivisation

$V_{PFV} \rightarrow V_{IPF}$ *įrodyti* 'prove' →

    *įrod*inėti* 'argue'

Typology (1)

- Being a separate lexeme, an aspectual derivate displays a full verbal paradigm, and not just some particular form or forms:

	'write (ipf)'	'write (pfv)'
Present	*raš**o***	***pa**raš**o***
Preterite	*raš**é***	***pa**raš**é***
Habitual Past	*raš**ydavo***	***pa**raš**ydavo***
Future	*raš**ys***	***pa**raš**ys***

Typology (1)

- The absence of a particular derivational marker does not necessarily signal a particular aspectual meaning:

  vesti 'lead' (ipf)

  mesti 'throw' (pfv)

Typology (1)

Derivational aspectual systems are opposed to **inflectional** ones where verbal lexemes by themselves are aspectually neutral and combine with grammatical markers indicating particular aspectual meanings.

Typology (1)

Spanish *escribir* 'write'

San Juan escribió el Apocalipsis.

'Saint John wrote (aorist, PST:PFV) the Apocalypse.'

Mientras San Juan escribía el Apocalipsis...

'When Saint John was writing (imperfect, PST:IPFV) the Apocalypse...'

Lithuanian in typology (1)

- Lithuanian allows the use of the Present tense of "perfective" verbs in habitual and narrative contexts (praesens historicum).

  Kas vakarą *išgeria* *butelį konjako*. (LKT)

  'Every evening he drinks a bottle of brandy.'

Lithuanian in typology (1)

- By this feature Lithuanian differs from Russian and Polish, but is similar to Czech and Slovene:

  Cz: *Vypije*(**PFV**) *jednu skleničku vodky denně*.

  Pol: *Codziennie* *wypija*(**IPF**) / **wypije*(**PFV**) *kieliszek wódki.*

  'He drinks a glass of vodka every day.'

  The same in Latvian, Yiddish and Hungarian.

Lithuanian in typology (1)

- Lithuanian differs from most Slavic languages in that it allows "perfective" infinitives to co-occur with phasal verbs (Holvoet 2014):

Lith *Vaikas pradeda **užmigti***.

Pol *Dziecko zaczyna **zasypać**(IPF) / ***zasnąć**(PFV)*.

'The child is beginning to fall asleep.'

Lithuanian in typology (1)

- However, (standard) Slavic languages turn out to be unique in this ban on perfective infinitives with phasal verbs: Latvian, Yiddish, Hungarian and Kartvelian languages do not have this restriction, just as Lithuanian.

Lithuanian in typology (1)

- Like Slavic languages and Ossetic, but unlike Latvian, Hungarian, Yiddish and Kartvelian languages, Lithuanian has morphological secondary imperfectivisation:

skaityti 'read' →

*per**skaityti* 'read through' →

*perskait**inė**ti* 'read through repeatedly'

Lithuanian in typology (1)

Secondary imperfectivisation in Lithuanian is lexically restricted and not very productive, but Slavic languages also differ widely in the productivity of this process (Petruxina 2000).

➲ The productivity, frequency and functions of the Lithuanian *-inė*-formations await an unbiased empirical investigation.

Lithuanian in typology (1)

- Unlike Slavic languages and Latvian (!), Lithuanian allows (with a couple of strongly lexicalised exceptions) only one aspectual prefix per verb, thus lacking **secondary perfectivisation**.

- In this respect Lithuanian patterns with most other languages with prefixal perfectivisation.

Lithuanian in typology (1)

Russian	Lithuanian
*ot*kryt' 'open (pfv)' →	*ati*daryti →
*ot*kry*va*t' 'open (ipf)' →	atidar*inė*ti –/→
*po*otkryvat' 'open a lot (pfv)'	**pa*atidarinėti

Secondary imperfectivisation feeds secondary perfectivisation in Slavic but not in Lithuanian

Lithuanian in typology (1)

Russian	Latvian	Lithuanian
pisat' 'write (ipf)' →	*studēt* 'learn (ipf)' →	*rašyti* 'write (ipf)' →
*za*pisat' 'record (pfv)' →	*ie*studēt 'learn (pfv)' →	*už*rašyti 'record (pfv) –/→
perezapisat' 'record again (pfv)'	*pāriestudēt* 'learn again (pfv)'	**peružrašyti*

Perfectivisation feeds secondary perfectivisation in Slavic and Latvian, but not in Lithuanian. (cf. Horiguchi 2014, 2015)
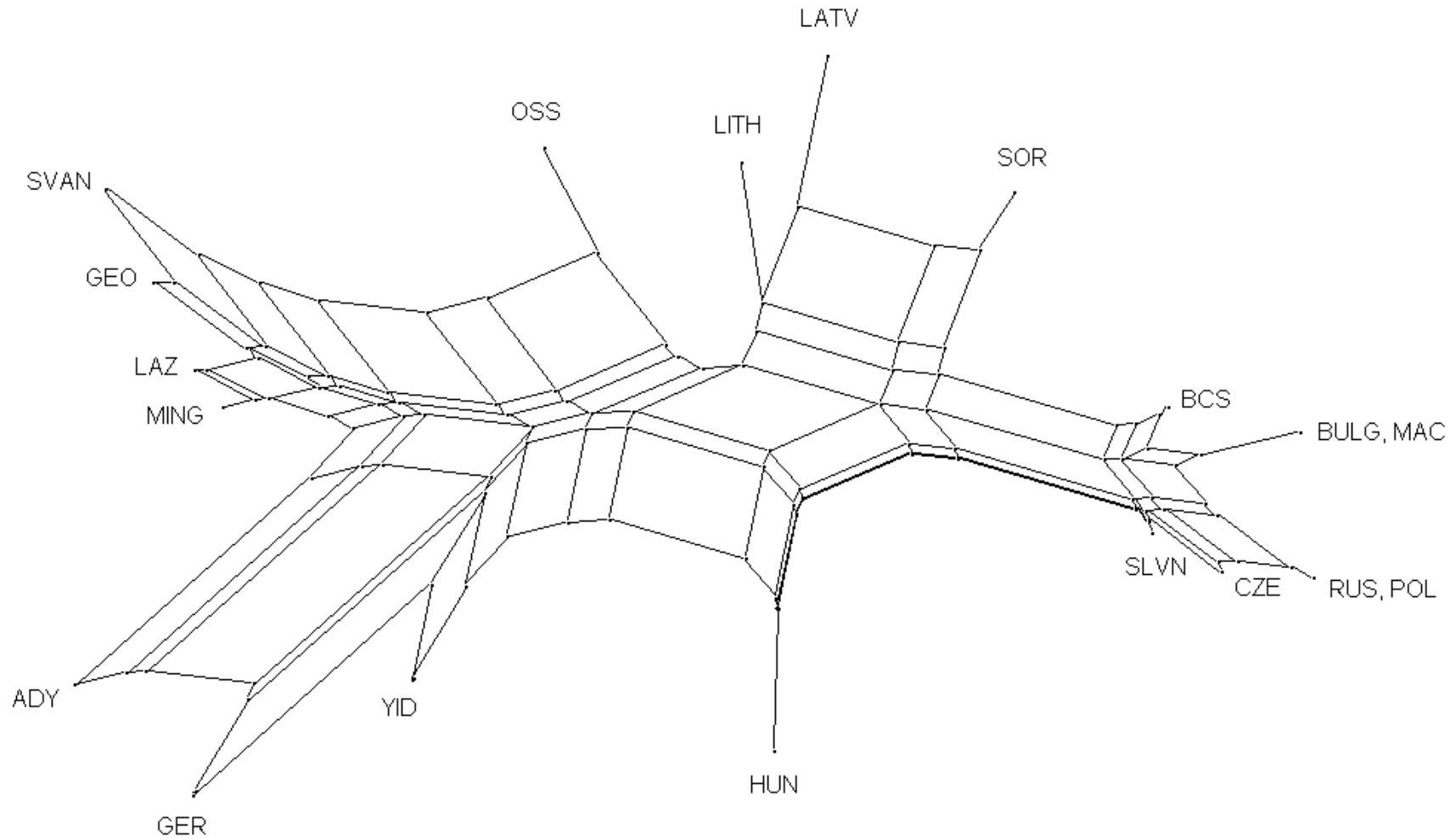
Lithuanian in typology (1)

- Lithuanian has an inflectional future tense formed from all verbs regardless of "aspect" and lacks the futurate uses of the "perfective" present.

- In this respect it is different from the North Slavic and Kartvelian languages but patterns with both South Slavic languages and Latvian and Ossetic.

Lithuanian in typology (1)

Arkadiev 2014, 2015: a multifactorial areal-typological approach to prefixal perfectivisation taking into account formal and functional properties of preverbs, prefixal verbs, and verbal systems.

Lithuanian in typology (1)

Lithuanian in typology (1)

- Lithuanian and Latvian stand apart from the fairly tight Slavic cluster, being close both to the Slavic "outsider" Colloquial Upper Sorbian, where the aspectual opposition has degrammaticalised under German influence (Breu 2000, 2012), and to Ossetic, which forms part of the Caucasian cluster of prefixal perfectivisation.

Typology (2)

Bounder-based perfectives are not necessarily prefixal.

In many languages morphemes expressing spatial and aspectual modifications of verbal semantics are suffixal.

Typology (2)

Margi (Chadic, Nigeria, Hoffmann 1963)
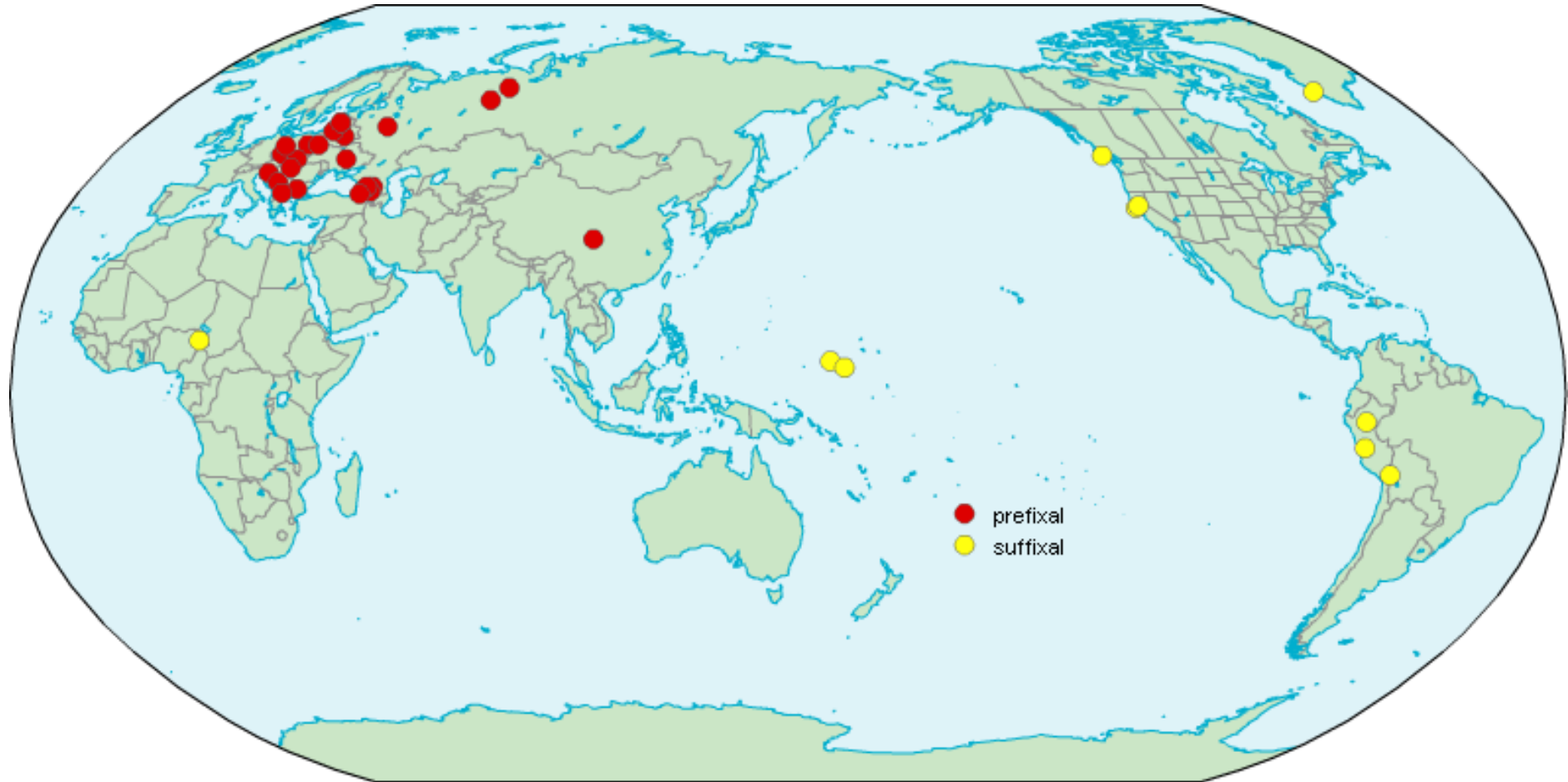
gù 'seek, look for (ipf)' →

gú-bá 'find out (pfv)'

Aymara (Aymaran, Bolivia, Haude 2003)

sawu-ña 'weave (ipf)' →

saw-su-ña 'finish weaving (pfv)'

Typology (2)

Typology (2)

- Derivational aspectual systems are not necessarily predominantly perfectivising, like Slavic and Baltic, but can be **imperfectivising** as well.
(Arkadiev & Shluinsky 2015)

Typology (2)

Enets (Samoyedic, Taymyr, Andrey Shluinsky's field materials)
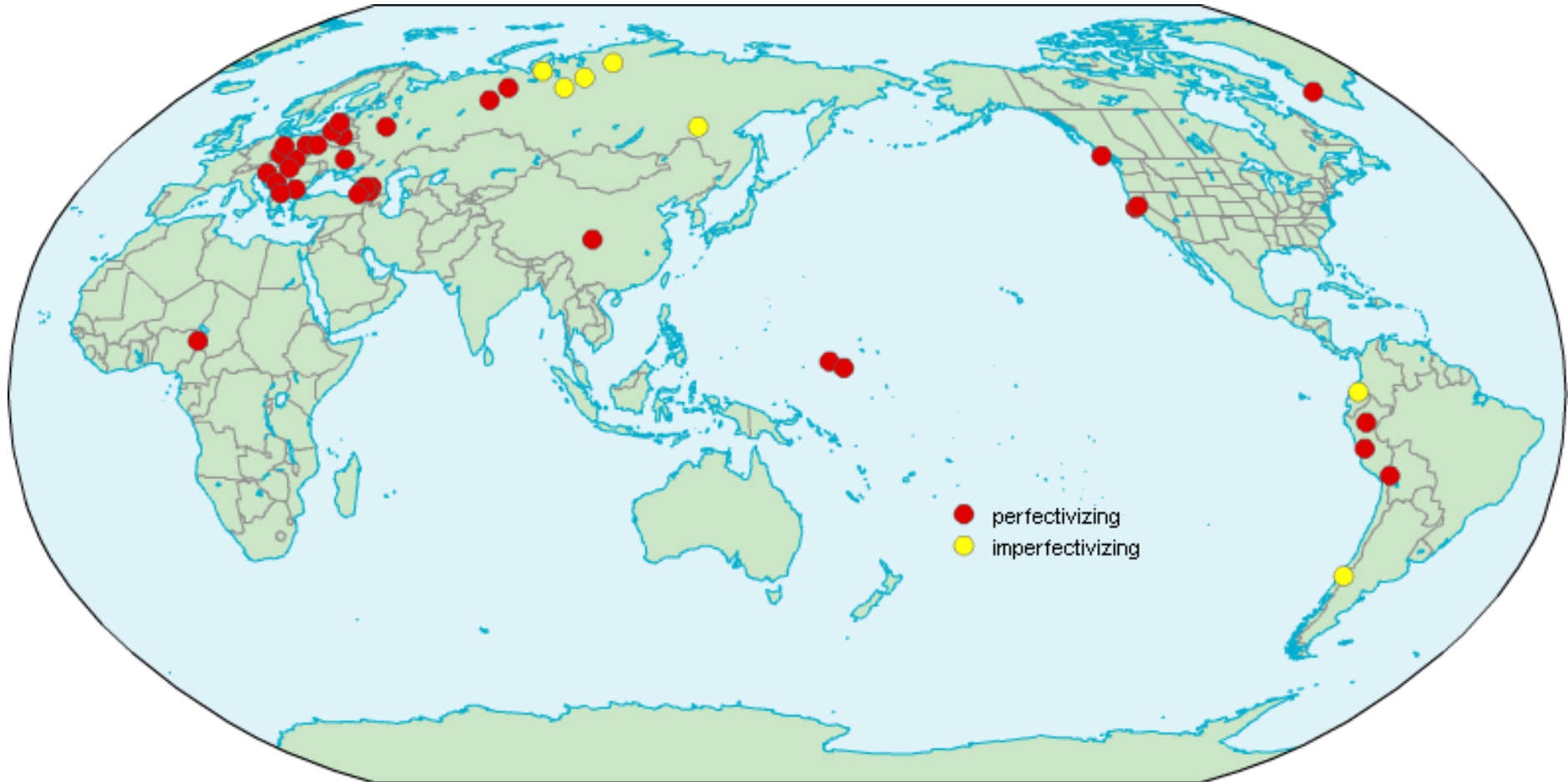
piri-ʔ 'they cooked (pfv)' →

piri-goɔ 's/he is cooking (ipf)'

Mapuche (Araucanian, Chile, Smeets 2007)

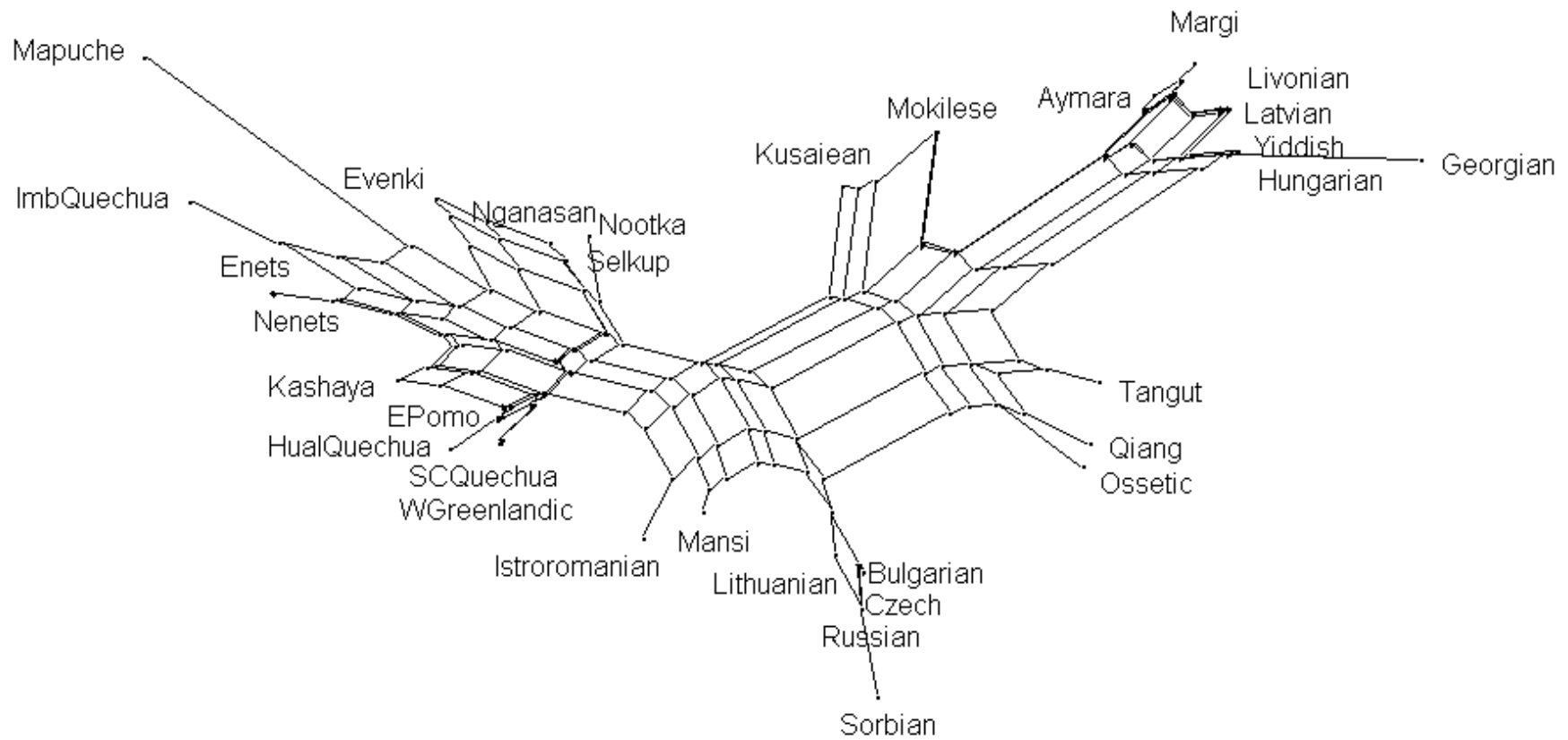*lüq-üy* 'it became white (pfv)' →

lüq-küle-y 'it is white (ipf)'

Typology (2)

perfectivizing
imperfectivizing

Lithuanian in typology (2)

Lithuanian in typology (2)

In the broader typology of derivational aspectual systems currently being developed (see Arkadiev & Shluinsky 2015), Lithuanian occupies a position close to Slavic and, notably, remote from Latvian.

Lithuanian in typology (2)

Lithuanian	Latvian
both prefixal and suffixal perfectivisation	only prefixal perfectivisation
suffixal imperfectivisation, including secondary	no morphological imperfectivisation

Lithuanian in typology (2)

- Are Lithuanian and Latvian **so** different?
- Probably not, but this depends on the typological parameters chosen, which, in turn, depend on the overall range of languages and phenomena surveyed.

Conclusions

Lithuanian (and Latvian) data are indispensable for the adequate typology of aspectual systems:

- for the understanding of possible correlations between different relevant parameters;

- from an areal and diachronic perspective.

Conclusions

Typological approach can help refine the description of the Lithuanian (and Latvian) aspectual system:

- more adequate characterisation of language-particular phenomena;
- formulation of questions in need of in-depth empirical studies.

References

Ambrazas V. (1999). Veikslas. In: V. Ambrazas (red.), *Lietuvių kalbos enciklopedija*. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 693–694.

Arkadiev P.M. (2009). Теория акциональности и литовский глагол. In: *Балто-славянские исследования*, Вып. XVIII. М.: «Языки славянских культур», 72–94.

Arkadiev P.M. (2011). Aspect and actionality in Lithuanian on a typological background. In: D. Petit, Cl. Le Feuvre, H. Menantaud (éds.) (2011). *Langues baltiques, langues slaves*. Paris: Éditions CNRS, 57–86.

Arkadiev P.M. (2012). Аспектуальная система литовского языка (с привлечением ареальных данных). In: В.А. Плунгян (отв. ред.), *Исследования по теории грамматики. Выпуск 6: Типология аспектуальных систем и категорий*. (Acta Linguistica Petropolitana Т. VIII. Ч. 2) Санкт-Петербург: «Наука», 45–121.

Arkadiev P. (2014). Towards an areal typology of prefixal perfectivization. *Scando-Slavica* 60/2, 384–405.

Arkadiev P. (2015). *Ареальная типология префиксального перфектива (на материале языков Европы и Кавказа)*. М.: Языки славянских культур.

References

Arkadiev P., A. Shluinsky (2015). Towards a typology of derivational viewpoint aspect systems. Talk at the conference "Diversity Linguistics: Retrospect and Prospect", Max-Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, 1–3 May 2015.

Bertinetto P.-M., D. Delfitto (2000). Aspect vs. actionality: Why they should be kept apart. In: Ö. Dahl (ed.), *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 189–226.

Breu W. (1994). Interactions between lexical, temporal, and aspectual meanings. *Studies in Language* 18/1, 23–44.

Breu W. (2000). Der Verbalaspekt in der obersorbischen Umgangsprache im Rahmen des ILA-Models. In: W. Breu (Hg.), *Slavistische Linguistik 1999*. München: Sagner, 37–76.

Breu W. (2012). Aspect forms and functions in Sorbian varieties. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 65/3, 246–266.

Bybee J., Ö. Dahl (1989). The creation of tense and aspect systems in the languages of the world. *Studies in Language* 13/1, 51–103.

Bybee, J.L., R.D. Perkins, W. Pagliuca (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.

References

Comrie B. (1976). *Aspect. An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dahl Ö. (1985). *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dambriūnas L. (1960). *Lietuvių kalbos veiksmažodžių aspektai*. Boston: Lietuvių enciklopedijos spaustuvė.

Galnaitytė E. (1962). Ginčytini lietuvių kalbos veiksmažodžio veikslų klausimai. *Kalbotyra* 4.

Galnaitytė E. (1963). Особенности категории вида глаголов в литовском языке (в сопоставлении с русским языком). *Kalbotyra* 7, 123–144.

Galnaitytė E. (1978). Veikslų definicijos lietuvių aspektologijoje klausimu. *Baltistica* 14/1, 66–74.

Haude K. (2003). *Zur Semantik von Direktionalität und ihren Erweiterungen: Das Suffix -su im Aymara*. Arbeitspapier Nr. 45 des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft Universität zu Köln.

Hoffmann C. (1963). *A Grammar of the Margi Language*. London: Oxford University Press.

References

Holvoet A. (2014). Phasal and proximative complementation: Lithuanian *baigti*. *Baltic Linguistics* 5, 81–122.

Horiguchi, Daiki (2014). Latvian attenuative *pa*-verbs in comparison with diminutives. In: Peter Arkadiev, Axel Holvoet & Björn Wiemer (eds.), *Contemporary Approaches to Baltic Linguistics* Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 235–261.

Horiguchi, Daiki (2015). Dubultā prefiksācija latviešu valodā. In: Andra Kalnača (red.), *Valoda: nozīme un forma. 6. Valodas sistēma un lietojums.* Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgāds, 138–146.

Jablonskis J. (1922). *Lietuvių kalbos gramatika*. Kaunas.

Maslov Ju.S. (1984). *Очерки по аспектологии.* Ленинград: Издательство ЛГУ.

Petruxina E.V. (2000). *Аспектуальные категории глагола в русском языке в сопоставлении с чешским, словацким, польским и болгарским языками.* М.: Издательство Московского университета.

Plungian V.A. (2011). *Введение в грамматическую семантику: Грамматические значения и грамматические системы языков мира.* М.: РГГУ.

References

Smeets I. (2007). *A Grammar of Mapuche*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Smith C. (1991). *The Parameter of Aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Tatevosov S.G. (2002). The parameter of actionality. *Linguistic Typology* 6/3, 317–401.

Wiemer B. (2001). Аспектуальные парадигмы и лексическое значение русских и литовских глаголов. *Вопросы языкознания* 2, 26–58.

Ačiū už dėmesį!
Thank you for your attention!