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**On the crosscut between areal linguistics
and lexical typology:
Perspectives for Baltic, especially Lithuanian linguistics**

I. Morphological categories,

defined on the relation between lexical stems and affixes (cf. Lehmann 1999)

1. derivational opposition:

stem A vs. stem A & **affix X**.

- e.g., Slavic aspect, diminutives (in the proper sense)

2. classifying opposition:

stem A \supset affix X vs. **stem B** \supset affix Y.

- e.g., Slavic aspect, substantival gender

3. flectional opposition:

stem A & **affix X** vs. stem A & **affix Y**.

- e.g., case, tense

II. Relevance Principle (Bybee 1985)

relevance on the meaning of the stem	nouns	verbs
no or low	1. declination 2. case 3. gender 4. article	1. conjugation 2. mood 3. tense 4. propositional (subjective) modification a) epistemic modality b) evidentiality
high	number diminutives (proper)	1. aspect 2. (synthetic) causative

Notice: there is no smooth correlation between relevance and stem-affix relation!

derivational	classifying	flectional
		declination: (1) <i>namas – troba</i>
		case: (2) <i>karvei – karvę</i>
	gender:	residually flectional:

	(3) <i>karvė – arklys</i>	(4) <i>narys—narė viršininikas—viršininė</i>
	number: (5) <i>stalas – stalai</i> (6) <i>senaisiais laikais, dideliais kiekiais</i> (7) <i>jaunatvės meilės (?)</i> (8) <i>trys kavos, alūs, vynai (?)</i> (9) Rus. <i>tri vodý, piva, vinà</i>	
diminutives: (10) <i>ranka ⇒ rankelė</i>		conjugation: (11) <i>sako, sakė – liepia, liepė</i>
		mood: (12) <i>pasakau – pasakyčiau – pasakyk!</i>
		tense: (13) <i>pasakau – pasakiau – pasakysiu</i>
(14) Pol. <u>pf. : ipf.</u> <i>przepisać ⇒ przepisywać</i> ‘to rewrite’ <i>napisać ⇐ pisać</i> ‘to write’ suppletion <i>powiedzieć – mówić (że ...)</i> ‘to say’ biaspectual <i>kazać (pf.—ipf.)</i> ‘to order’ „pairless” <i>ocknąć się – ∅</i> ‘to awake (anew)’ <i>∅ – należeć (do)</i> ‘to belong (to)’	Slavic aspect: Romance aspect: (15) Italian <u>aorist imperfect</u> <i>pre-si prend-evo</i> (<i>ho pre-so</i>) ‘to take’ (1.SG)	
causative, curative (synthetic): flectional: (16) <i>kilti – kelti</i> ‘rise – raise’ derivational: (17) <i>augti ⇒ auginti</i> ‘grow tr.—intr.’ (18) <i>atstatyti ⇒ atstatydinti</i> ‘dismiss – make s.o. dismiss’ derivational + flectional: (19) <i>(nu)džiugti – džiaugtis – (nu)džiuginti</i> ‘rejoice – rejoice – make rejoice’ (20) <i>lipti ⇒ laipinti</i> ‘exit, descend – make exit, descend’ derivational (?): (21) <i>aiškėti – aiškinti</i> ‘become clear(er) – make clear(er)’		

Notice:

In Lithuanian morphology (resp. grammatical categories) suppletion is virtually absent!

Problematic:

„Parasitic“ categories (functional distinctions) like

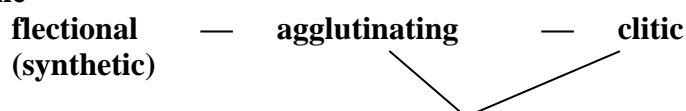
- passive
- reciprocals (see below)

1) show overlap with other categories / meanings

2) situated on the border between grammar and lexicon (see III. below).

See further:

+ cline



tmesis

- (22) definite article:
flecional (?) —
agglutinating: Sw. *hus-et* ‘house.the’, *det vackra hus-et* ‘the nice house.the’ —
tmesis: Bulg. *kăšta-ta* vs. *xubava-ta kăšta* —
clitic: Germ. *das Haus*, *das schöne Haus* (coll. *'s Haus*, *'s schöne Haus*)
- (23) reflexive marker (Lith.)
spiria-si vs. *ne-si-spiria*, *kelia-si* vs. *at-si-kėlė*
‘resists’ ‘does not resist’ ‘rises’

+ analytic paradigmatic forms

Lith.

- (24) (past) perfect: *buvo pasakęs*
(25) past conditional: *būčiau pasakęs*
(26) optative (hortativ e): *tegul pasako*
(27) non-present / non-indicative predicatives: *buvo, bus, būtu gaila (gėda ...)*
(28) English Simple vs. Continuous: *goes* vs. *is going*, *went* vs. *was going*

III. Changing the direction of view: on the conditioned (restricted) character of grammatical morphemes (affixes)

„all prominent typologies of the past are grammatical typologies. in which lexical-semantic variability does not play an important role“ (Behrens/Sasse 1997: 2).

Only recently has the perspective changed toward an account of

- (a) lexical restrictions on grammatical morphemes (resp. constructions)
(b) patterns of lexicalization (cf., e.g., Talmy’s ‘event conflation’).

For an overview and delimitation cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2008).

- (a) is tightly related to lexicon—grammar interaction, whereas (b) is more closely related to the internal structure of a language’s lexicon (= inventory of lexical items, lexemes).

Examples referring to (a):

1. complementary distribution of subject-oriented (+ possessive) vs. object-oriented resultatives in both Baltic languages (cf. Wiemer/Giger 2005: 43-45, 49f.):

Lith. *šukuoti(s)* ‘to comb (one’s hair)’

(29a) *Berniukas yra nusišukavęs.* SubRes

‘The boy has combed (himself).’

(29b) *Berniukas yra užsimovęs kepurę.* PossRes

‘The boy has put on a cap.’

(corresponds to productivity of „refl.-benefactive“ verbs, see below)

(29c) *Berniukas yra nušukuotas.* ObRes

‘The boy is combed / has been combed.’

Latv. (dial.)

- (30a) *tâ! nu esam padarījuši.* SubRes
'well! now we have done (it).'
- (30b) *esmu paņēmusē vīnu dziju.* PossRes
'I have taken his threads.'
- (30c) *nu visi darbi (ir) pabeigti.* ObRes
'now all work has been done.'

2. possessive resultative with HAVE (absent in Latvian; cf. HAVE/BE-patterns in general):
Lith.

- (31a) *Jonas po kėde turi pasislėpęs butelį.*
'Jonas **has** a bottle **hidden** under his chair.'
- (31b) *O kokių drabužių ji turi pasitaisiusi!* (Simonaitytė)
'Oh, which dresses she **has repaired**.'

- Highly restricted lexically, only with transitive verbs that are telic (in the strict sense); doesn't show tendency to change into a perfect.

3. causative—inchoative alternation (with ablaut and *n/st*-infix of the present tense stem)

- morphological devices predominantly distinguish this diathetic difference
- but: there are quite a couple of groups of verbs with other semantic distinctions, e.g. (cf. Arkad'ev 2009):

process—beginning of (intense) process

- (32) *verkti* ⇒ *pra-virkti*, *su-virkti*
'to cry' 'to start crying'
- kneibti* ⇒ *į-kneibti*
'to pick (at one's nose)' 'to apply o.s. to s.th.'

multiplicative—semelfactive

- (33) *belsti* ⇒ *su-bilsti*
'to knock (continuously)' 'to knock (once)'
- staugti* ⇒ *su-stugti*
'to howl' 'to howl once'

uncontrolled—controlled event

- (34) *klupti* ⇒ *klaupti*
'to stumble' 'to kneel (down)'

Notice however that many (most?) of the derived verbs also add a prefix (which may be the component really responsible for the aspectual change)!

4. Reciprocal constructions in Lithuanian (cf. Geniušienė 2007):

- canonical vs. natural reciprocals are quite evenly distributed over marking devices RM (→ natural rec.) vs. *vienas kitą* 'one another, each other' (→ canonical rec.)

natural reciprocals

- (35) *bučiuoti* ⇒ *bučiuoti-s* ‘to kiss’ (≠ *bučiuoja vienas kitą*)
matyti ⇒ *matyti-s* ‘to see (e.o.)’ (≠ *mato vienas kitą*)
pravardžiuoti ⇒ *pra-si-vardžiuoti* ‘to call (e.o.) by nickname’
sutikti ⇒ *su-si-tikti* ‘to meet’, *kryžiuoti* ⇒ *kryžiuoti-s* ‘to cross’

canonical reciprocals

- (36) *ginti* ‘to defend’ ⇒ *ginti vienas kitą* ‘to defend each other’
(≠ *ginti-s* ‘to defend oneself / oneselves’)
įgristi ‘to bore’ ⇒ *Jie įgriso vienas kitam.* ‘They bored each other.’
pažvelgti kažkam į akis ‘to look in s.o.’s eyes’
⇒ *Jie pažvelgė vienas kitam į akis* ‘They looked each other in the eyes.’

contrasts with *pažvilgčioti* ‘to cast looks’:

- (37) *Motina pažvilgčiojo į dukrele.* ⇒ *Motina ir dukrelė pasižvilgčiojo.*
‘The mother looked at her daughter.’ ‘Mother and daughter looked at each other.’

- natural reciprocals show stronger tendency toward lexicalization (i.e., toward non-trivial or even idiosyncratic lexical shifts)

„reflexive derivation of reciprocals is not an active process in Lithuanian in the sense that no new reflexive reciprocals are formed“ (Geniušienė 2007: 663).

→ compare with ablaut-type of morphological inchoative-causative derivation (see above)

- fits into areal E—W-continuum (intermediary between East and West Slavic)

In Lithuanian the distribution of refl. vs. rec. function is complementary with regard to the deriving stems. In other words: in Lithuanian the refl. or rec. function of the RM is conditioned lexically (within the inventory of verb stems), inter alia if we look at deriving stems which by themselves do not denote any symmetric situations.

Table 1: REC-REF distribution in Lithuanian (some prominent cases)

	⇒ reciprocal		⇒ reflexive or similar (e.g., autocaus.)
<i>stumdyti</i> ‘to push, shove’	<i>Žiūrovai stumdosi.</i> ‘The spectators are shoving (and justling) one another.’	<i>stumti</i> ‘to push, shove’	<i>Jie stumiasi į priekį.</i> ‘They nose forward.’
<i>mušti</i> ‘to beat’ <i>kauti</i> ‘to hit’	<i>Beraiukai mušasi / kaunasi.</i> ‘The boys are thrashing each other.’		
<i>pliekti</i> ‘to whip, lash’	<i>Jie pliekiasi (dvare).</i> ‘They are lashing each other (in the yard).’	<i>perti</i> ‘to birch’	<i>Jie periasi (pirtyje).</i> ‘They are birching each other.’
<i>kirsti</i>	<i>Sportininkai kertasi.</i>	<i>užmušti</i>	<i>Sargybininkai</i>

‘to fell, chop down (a tree)’	‘The athletes are fencing (fighting) with each other.’	‘to kill, murder’	<i>užsimušė.</i> ‘The guards killed each other.’
<i>barti</i> ‘to insult, call sb. names’	<i>Kaimynai barėsi.</i> ‘The neighbors called each other names/railed at each other.’		
<i>glamonėti</i> ‘to pet, caress’	<i>Jie glamonėjasi.</i> ‘They caress/are caressing each other.’ [found in pornographic contexts]	<i>lepinti</i> ‘to pamper, spoil’	<i>Jie lepinasi.</i> ‘They are coddling/pampering each other.’
		<i>šukuoti</i> ‘comb’	<i>Mergaitės šukuojasi.</i> ‘The girls comb their hair.’
<i>paraginti</i> ‘encourage’	<i>Jie pasiragina.</i> ‘They encourage each other/comfort each other/give themselves a boost.’	<i>padrašinti</i> ‘encourage’	<i>Vaikai pasidrašino šokti per upelį.</i> ‘The children screwed up their courage and jumped across the brook.’
<i>liesti</i> ‘berühren’ ‘touch’	<i>Jų rankos lietėsi.</i> ‘Their hands touched.’		
<i>labinti</i> ‘greet, say ‘hello’’	<i>Kasryt namiškiai labinasi.</i> ‘Every morning the residents greeted/said hello to each other.’	<i>girti</i> ‘applaud, praise’	<i>Mokiniai giriasi.</i> ‘The students applauded themselves/each other.’
		<i>ginti</i> ‘defend’	<i>Draugai gynėsi.</i> ‘The friends defended themselves.’
<i>pavaduoti</i> ‘deputize’	<i>Kolegos pasivaduoja.</i> ‘The colleagues deputized for each other.’		
		<i>apgauti</i> ‘deceive, fool, cheat, trick’	<i>Kolegos apsigą</i> ‘The colleagues deceived/cheated each other.’
		reciprocal meaning only with <i>vienas kitą</i> ‘one another’	

Compare, by contrast, with Polish and German equivalents:

	<u>Polish</u>	<u>German</u>	
(38)	<i>pchać</i> ⇒ <i>pchać się</i>	<i>stoßen</i> ⇒ <i>sich stoßen</i>	‘to push’
	<i>bić</i> ⇒ <i>bić się</i>	<i>schlagen</i> ⇒ <i>sich schlagen</i>	‘to beat’
	<i>smagać</i> ⇒ <i>smagać się</i>	<i>peitschen</i> ⇒ <i>sich peitschen</i>	‘to whip, flog’
	<i>głaskać</i> ⇒ <i>głaskać się</i>	<i>streicheln</i> ⇒ <i>sich streicheln</i>	‘to caress’
	<i>czesać</i> ⇒ <i>czesać się</i>	<i>kämmen</i> ⇒ <i>sich kämmen</i>	‘to comb’
	<i>pobudzać</i> ⇒ <i>pobudzać się</i>	<i>anspornen</i> ⇒ <i>sich anspornen</i>	‘to encourage’
	<i>zachęcać</i> ⇒ <i>zachęcać się</i>	<i>ermutigen</i> ⇒ <i>sich ermutigen</i>	‘to stimulate’
	<i>dotykać</i> ⇒ <i>dotykać się</i>	<i>berühren</i> ⇒ <i>sich berühren</i>	‘to touch’
	<i>chwalić</i> ⇒ <i>chwalić się</i>	<i>loben</i> ⇒ <i>sich loben</i>	‘to praise’
	<i>bronić</i> ⇒ <i>bronić się</i>	<i>verteidigen</i> ⇒ <i>sich verteidigen</i>	‘to defend’
	<i>oszukiwać</i> ⇒ <i>oszukiwać się</i>	<i>täuschen</i> ⇒ <i>sich täuschen</i>	‘to deceive’
	<i>przekonać</i> ⇒ <i>przekonać się</i>	<i>überzeugen</i> ⇒ <i>sich überzeugen</i>	‘to convince’

Reciprocals with the RM

- Lithuanian: 480 reciprocal verbs (all types), among them 53% with RM
- Latvian: less than in Lithuanian – 260 reciprocal verbs, among them 42% with RM
- East Slavic languages: not more than 25 items.
- Estonian, Finnish: not registered
- Swedish: not more than 15 items
- West Slavic, German, French: much more productive (regular)

Furthermore

- hardly any reciproca tantum (with RM) in Lithuanian (compare, e.g., Russ. *zdorovat’sja* ‘to exchange greetings’ ⇐ **zdorovat’*); Geniušienė (2007: 644)
- natural reciprocals (= RM-reciprocals) can be classified into lexical groups „denoting situations that are likely to be reciprocal pragmatically“ (Geniušienė 2007: 647):

– with standard relation between motivating and derived unit:

1) ‘to beat each other, to fight’ (about 90 items)

(39) *mušti-s, lupti-s, plunksnuoti-s, smugiuoti-s*

2) ‘to abuse each other, to quarrel’ (about 55 verbs)

(40) *barti-s, plūsti-s, žodžiuoti-s*

3) ‘to caress, hug each other’ (about 15 items)

(41) *bučiuoti-s, mylėti-s, ap-si-imi*

4) ‘to greet, invite each other’ (15 items)

(42) *labinti-s, su-si-tikti, at-si-sveikinti, už-si-prašyti*

5) ‘to stand in for each other’

(43) *pa-si-vaduoti, už-si-vaduoti, pa-si-keisti, pa-si-kaityti, pa-si-mainyti*

6) ‘to defeat, overcome each other’ (7 items)

(44) *už-si-galėti, per-si-veikti*

7) ‘to avoid, miss each other’ (3 items)

(45) *lenkti-s, ap-si-lenkti, pra-si-lenkti*

8) intersection of (typically) inanimate objects (13 items)

(46) *siekti-s, riboti-s, liesti-s, kirsti-s*

– with lexical shift:

9) ‘to beat each other’ (12 items)

(47) *pešti* ‘to pluck, pull’ ⇒ *pešti-s* ‘to fight, struggle’
imti ‘to take’ ⇒ *imti-s* ‘to wrestle’

10) ‘to abuse each other’ (20 items)

(48) *pjauti* ‘to cut’ ⇒ *pjauti-s* ‘to squabble’
ravėti ‘to weed’ ⇒ *ravėti-s* ‘to quarrel, abuse each other’

derived from two-place intransitives

- with dative object

(46a) *talkinėti, padėti + kam.DAT* ‘to help’

(46b) *Jie talkinėja kaimynui.* ⇒ *Jie talkinėjasi.*
‘They help the neighbour.’ ‘They help each other.’

Jie padeda tėvams. ⇒ *Brolis ir sesuo pasideda vienas kitam.*
‘They help their parents.’ ‘Brother and sister help each other.’

- with prepositional argument:

(47a) *pykti + ant ko.GEN* ‘to be angry on sb.’, *pažvilgčioti + į ką.AKK* ‘to look at sb.’

(47b) *Jos pyksta ant kolegės.* ⇒ *Kolegės pykstasi.*
‘They are angry on their colleagues.’ ‘The colleagues are angry on each other.’

Motina pažvilgčiojo į dukrelę. ⇒ *Motina ir dukrelė pasižvilgčiojo.*
‘The mother looked at her daughter.’ ‘Mother and daughter exchanged glances.’

- speech acts, with dative object or „sociative“ argument:

(48a) *šnibždėti kam.DAT (į ausį)* ‘to whisper into sb’s ear [lit. to sb. in the ear]’
kalbėti kam.DAT / + su kuo.INS ‘to speak to sb. / with sb.’

(48b) *Berniukas šnibžda kažką mergaitei.* ⇒ *Berniukas ir mergaitė šnibždasi.*
‘The boy is whispering s.th. to the girl.’ ‘The boy and the girl are whispering among themselves.’

Aš tau kalbėjau apie savo nuotykius. ⇒ *Mes kalbėjomės apie savo nuotykius.*
‘I told you about my adventures.’ ‘We talked about our adventures.’

By contrast:

Table 2: Reciprocals from two-place intransitives

	German	Polish	Russian
with dative object	‘to help e.o. / oneself’ <i>sich helfen</i>	<i>pomagać sobie</i>	<i>pomogat’ drug drugu</i>
with prepositional argument	‘to be angry’ <i>wütend aufeinander</i> (≠ <i>auf sich</i>) <i>sein</i>	<i>złościć się na siebie nawzajem</i> (without <i>nawzajem</i> ambiguous)	<i>zlit’sja druga na druga</i> (≠ <i>na sebja</i>)
	‘to look at each other’		

	<i>aufeinander</i> (≠ <i>auf sich</i>) <i>schauen</i>	<i>patrzeć na siebie nawzajem</i> (ohne <i>nawzajem</i> ambig)	<i>smotret' drug na druga</i> (≠ <i>na sebja</i>)
speech acts: + dative object	'to whisper (into sb's ear) * <i>sich flüstern</i> , <i>sich ins Ohr flüstern</i> (<i>sich</i> = <i>einander</i>)	* <i>szeptać się</i> , <i>szeptać sobie do ucha</i>	<i>šeptat'sja</i> , <i>šeptat' drug drugu na ucho</i>
+ „sociative“ argument	'to speak with e.o., converse' <i>sich sprechen</i> ; <i>sich unterhalten</i> (only with RM, lexical reciprocal)	* <i>mówić się</i> , <i>mówić ze sobą</i> (= <i>rozmawiać</i>)	# <i>govorit'sja</i> , <i>govorit' drug s drugom</i> (= <i>razgovarivat'</i>)

5. different kinds of RM-verbs, in the first place

- „reflexive-benefactive“ verbs: *nu-si-pirkti*, *ap-si-rengti*, *į-si-vaizduoti*

Are formed productively and frequent in speech (i.e., low degree of lexical restrictions).

- converse verbs:

(49) emotive subgroup:

džiaugtis 'to rejoice', *stebėtis* 'to be surprised', *žavėtis* 'to be charmed', *susivilioti* 'to become attracted', *nusivilti* 'to feel disappointed', *tenkintis* 'to be satisfied'

(50) perceptive subgroup:

- matytis* 'to be seen', *girdėtis* 'to be heard', *pasirodyti* 'to appear', *sapnuotis* 'to appear in dream'
- atsispindėti* 'to be reflected', *atsimušti* 'to reverberate', *atsišviesti* 'to be reflected' (about light), *persiduoti* 'to be passed, descend', *jaustis* 'to feel (somehow)'

(51) physical contact subgroup:

apsiniaukti 'to become cloudy', *apsivalkstyti* (*debesimis*) 'to become gloomy', *trauktis* (*debesimis*) 'to become gloomy', *laikytis* (*ant ko*) 'to be supported', *remtis* 'to be supported', *užsilaikyti* 'to be retained'

- generic („modal“) passive verbs:

(52) *Dviratis susideda* 'The bicycle folds.'

Marškiniai plaunasi lengvai 'This shirt washes easily.'

Sviestas susisuko 'The butter has churned'.

(cf. Wiemer 2006: 293)

- absolute (compare antipassive) verbs; shows regular overlap with reciprocal meaning:

(53) *Vaikai mušasi*.

1. 'The children beat (often, with pleasure).', 2. 'The children are beating each other.'
Arkliai spardosi.

1. 'The horses kick.', 2. 'The horses are kicking each other.'

Šunys kandžiojasi.

1. 'Dogs bite.', 2. 'The dogs are biting each other.'

Krepšininkai keikiasi / barasi.

1. 'Basketballers curse.', 2. 'The basketballers are cursing.'

- no real passive! (contrary to, e.g., Russian)

On the lexical vs. grammatical status cf. Holvoet/Semėnienė (2004: 41-54).

Examples referring to (b):

1. „aquamotion“ in Lithuanian (cf. Arkad'ev 2007)

2. coding alternatives with „impersonal“ verbs

Types of „impersonal“ (subjectless) verbs (cf. Holvoet/Judžentis 2005 for a discussion of terminology focussing on syntax):

A basic classification

A. Lexical zeroes

→ always impersonal in the strict sense (i.e. [- human] „agent“)

A.1. primary (no human agent possible; can take tautological subjects):

(54) *Lyja. Sninga. Aušta. Griaudžia.* ‘It is raining, snowing, dawning, thundering.’

A.2. Secondary (derived from predicates with [+ human] agents):

(55) *Be perstojo purškia.* ‘It is drizzling without any break.’

Pakilus vėjui, valtyje mus.ACC pradėjo mėtyti ten ir atgal.

‘When the wind rises, **we were being thrown** from one side to the other.’

- intermediate cases occur, which simultaneously raise questions about the direction of semantic derivation; cf., inter alia, *griausti, purkšti.*

→ problem of polysemy (cf. also Katkuvienė 1989):

(56a) *Rasa purškia rožes vandeniū.*

‘Rasa is sprinkling the roses with water.’

(56b) *Eglė purškia vandenį ant perdžiūvusiu skalbinių.* (→ „spray-paint“, see below)

‘Eglė is sprinkling water on the too much dried washing.’

(56c) *Purškia alus iš statinaitės.* (intrans. → labile verbs, see below)

‘The beer is sprinkling from the keg.’

(56d) *Be perstojo purškia.* (tautological subject possible?: *Lietus purškia.*)

‘It is drizzling with any break.’

- Lexical zeroes ought to be strictly distinguished from grammatical zeroes (and of course from ellipsis!): 3rd person, 2.SG; e.g.

(57) *Mūsų vienkiemyje karvių.GEN jau nebemelžia.3 savo rankomis, o tik mašinomis.*

‘In our single farm cows **are no longer melked** by hand, but only with machines.’

(58) *Jis tiek padėdavo žmonėms, kad nepamirši.2SG jo gerumo.*

‘He so much used to help people that **you can’t forget** his goodness.’

→ implies [+ human] agent; show restrictions identical to „impersonal“ *ma/ta*-participles (unless used with evidential function; cf. Wiemer 2006: 299-301):

(59) *Salėje buvo šokoma. / Čia rūkyta.*

‘In this hall people danced.’ / ‘Here somebody smoked.’

(60) **Auditorijoje bliunama ir lojama.*

≈ ‘In this lecture-room there is some bleating and barking.’

**Pelkėje ką tik kvarkta.*

≈ ‘In the swamp it just has quacked.’

B. ‘Exceptional case marking’: two-place

B.1. verbs

- (61a) *Jai.DAT pagailo šuns.GEN.* ‘She felt pity for the dog.’
 (61b) vs. *Ji.NOM pasigailėjo šuns.GEN.* ‘She pitied the dog.’
 (62) *Ritai.DAT reikia patarimo.GEN.* ‘Rita needs advice.’

Some units allow for one argument being marked with the nominative, e.g.

- (63a) *Jam.DAT skauda skrandį.ACC.* ‘His stomach is aching.’
 (63b) *Jam.DAT skauda skrandis.NOM.*

B.2. predicative adjectives (predicatives ?)

- (64) *Man baisu vilko.* (= *Aš bijau vilko.*) ‘I fear the wolf.’
 (65) *Jam buvo gaila vaiko.* (= *Jis galėjosi vaiko.*) ‘He felt pity for the wolf.’

Can be described via the Actor-Undergoer scale and language-specific tendencies to neutralise (conflate) semantic contrasts in the syntax, if the respective arguments are located closer to the centre of this scale (cf. Van Valin 2005). Notice that all predicates with „quirky“ case marking denote states:

Figure 1: Actor-Undergoer-hierarchy

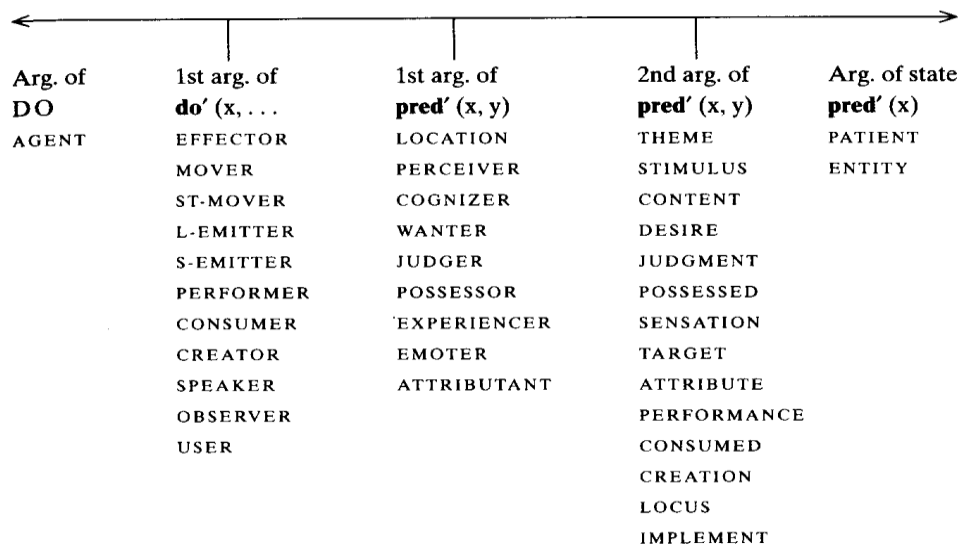


Figure 3.2 Thematic relations continuum in terms of LS argument positions

Figure 2: Conflation of specific argument positions

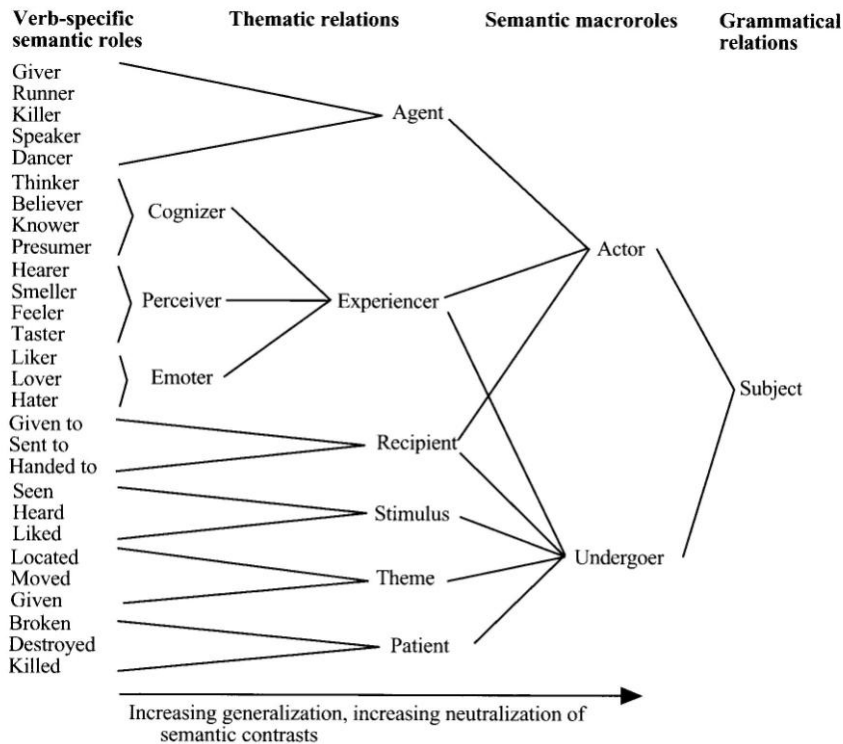


Figure 2.2 Continuum from verb-specific semantic roles to grammatical relations

3. „exceptional“ marking of lower-ranking argument (Undergoer)

3.1. with genitive:

(66) *ieškoti, siekti, norėti, pageidauti, laukti, reikalauti* → demanding, requiring, longing
 ‘seek, reach, want, wish, wait, demand/require’

compare Polish and Russian

(67) *szukać, pożądać, pragnąć, wymagać*
 ‘seek, desire, wish, demand’

(68) *trebovat’, želat’*
 ‘demand, wish’

Almost all these verbs allow for a foregrounding passive (with PSA):

(69) *Jis.NOM buvo ilgai laukiamas (ieškomas ...).*

lit. ‘He was being awaited (searched for ...) for a long time.’

- Different phenomenon as compared to pseudo-partitive genitive (which does not show lexical restrictions)!

3.2. with instrumental:

- no items in Lithuanian (unless with RM like, e.g., *naudotis*), with the possible exceptions of

(70) *vairuoti vairu, valdyti vairu* (questionable).
 ‘to drive, steer (a car)’

compare Polish and Russian

(71) *kierować, sterować, manipulować*

- ‘to lead, steer, manipulate’
 (72) *rukovodit’*, *dirižirovat’*, *upravljat’* → manipulation, regulation, ruling
 ‘to lead, conduct, rule’

3.3. with dative

two-place

- (73) *padėti*, *vadovauti*, *atstovauti* (coll. also with U = ACC)
 ‘to help, direct, represent’

vadovauti allows for passive with PSA (only in attributive position?):

- (74) *Kiek atviresnė buvo MRF direktorė p. L. Stulgienė, trumpai aptarusi artimiausius jos vadovaujamos organizacijos planus.*

‘The director of the MRF, Ms L. Stulgienė, who reported on the next plans of the organization **directed** by her, was a bit more straightforward.’

(„Lietuvos Aidas“ 1998-58)

- obsolete with *padėti*

3.4. three-place

- (75) *liepti* (+ propositional argument) ‘to order’
 (76) ? *duoti* (obsolete, dialectal) ‘to give’
 (77a) *Dviratis buvo duodamas kaimynui.* ‘The bike was given to the neighbour.’
 (77b) ? *Kaimynas buvo duodamas dviratį.* ‘The neighbour was given the bike.’

No parallels in contemporary East Slavic or Polish!

4. „locative alternation“ (‘spray-paint’ verbs)

	<u>Russian</u>	<u>Lithuanian</u>
(78a)	<i>обмотать шею шарфом</i> ‘to wind one’s neck with a scarf’	<i>apvynioti kalką šaliką</i>
(78b)	<i>обмотать шарф вокруг шеи</i> ‘to wind a scarf round one’s neck’	<i>apvynioti aplink kaklą šaliką</i>
(79a)	<i>набить стол бумагами</i> ‘to stuff the table with documents’	<i>prikimšti stalą popierių</i>
(79b)	<i>набить бумаги в стол</i> ‘to put the documents into the table’	<i>prikimšti į stalą popierių</i>
(80a)	<i>заткнуть уши ватой</i> ‘to plug one’s ears with cotton wool’	<i>užkimšti ausis vata</i>
(80b)	<i>заткнуть вату в уши</i> ‘to push cotton wool into one’s ears’	<i>prikimšti į ausis vatos</i>

5. ambitransitive (labile) verbs (cf. Dixon/Aikhenvald 2000, Haspelmath 1993)

S = A, *to knit, to follow, to eat* (compare unergatives)

S = U, *to spill, to melt, to extend, to break* (compare unaccusatives)

- (81) *valgyti* ‘to eat’, *gerti* ‘to drink’, *skaityti* ‘to read’
 (82) *purkšti* ‘to sprinkle’ (see above), *degti* ‘to burn’

6. Verbal prefixes vs. verbal particles

Displacement, particularly in Latvian

„There are five slots that contribute to the encoding of displacement in Latvian: the verb stem, the preverb, the verb particle, the preposition, and the case marking of the local nominal.“ (Wälchli 2001a: 310)

Table 3: Lexical input to “displacement slots” in Latvian (cf. Wälchli 2001a: 310f.)

kind of displacement	bounders (adverbial modifiers)		lexical stem	adnominal modifiers
	verb particle	preverb (= prefix)	verb (in basic intransitive motion)	preposition and case
AD	<i>klāt</i>	<i>pie-, at-, aiz-, no-</i>	<i>iet / nākt</i>	<i>pie</i> +GEN, <i>uz</i> +ACC, <i>līdz</i> +DAT, DAT
IN	<i>iekšā</i>	<i>ie-</i>	<i>iet / nākt</i>	LOC
SUPER	<i>viršū, augšup</i>	<i>uz-</i>	<i>kāpt / iet / nākt</i>	<i>uz</i> +GEN/ACC, DAT
AB	<i>nost, projām</i>	<i>no-, at-, aiz-</i>	<i>iet / nākt</i>	<i>no</i> +GEN
EX	<i>ārā</i>	<i>iz-</i>	<i>iet / nākt</i>	<i>no</i> +GEN
DE	<i>lejā, zemē</i>	<i>no-</i>	<i>kāpt / iet / nākt</i>	<i>no</i> +GEN
PRAETER	<i>garām</i>	– (<i>pa-</i>)	<i>iet / nākt</i>	<i>gar</i> +ACC, <i>pa</i> +ACC, DAT
PRO	<i>cauri</i>	<i>iz-</i>	<i>iet / nākt</i>	<i>pa</i> +ACC, <i>caur</i> +ACC, DAT
TRANS	<i>pāri</i>	<i>pār-</i>	<i>iet / nākt</i>	<i>pār</i> +ACC, DAT
POST	(<i>aizmugurē</i>)	<i>aiz-</i>	<i>iet / nākt</i>	<i>aiz</i> +ACC, <i>aiz-</i> NOUN-LOC
DOMUM	<i>mājās</i>	<i>pār-, no-</i>	<i>nākt</i>	–
RE	<i>atpakaļ</i>	<i>at-</i>	<i>nākt / griezties</i>	<i>pie</i> +GEN, <i>uz</i> +ACC, LOC
SEQ	<i>pakaļ</i>	–	<i>iet / nākt</i>	DAT
SPATIUM	–	<i>no-, aiz-, pa-</i>	<i>iet</i>	ACC

- “bounders” constitute the majority of adverbial modifiers, and they are probably their cognitive and diachronic core, but:
- some adverbial modifiers do not have (at least do not have necessarily) a “telifying” function:

(83) Latv. *kopā* ‘together’, *līdzī* ‘with, together’ (see ex. 88-89)

Areal continuum from Estonian south(west)wards:

Estonian—Livonian—Latvian—Lithuanian

“The main difference between the four languages is the frequency load of the two means of expression. In Estonian there are no preverbs [= prefixes; BW]. In Livonian verb particles are still dominant, the use of preverbs differs from speaker to speaker and does not contribute very much to the semantic content of the sentence. In Latvian preverbs are more dominant than verb particles and they are more important means of expression of telicity. In Lithuanian verb particles are almost lacking, except the NW-dialects.”

(Wälchli 2001b: 419)

Northern Lithuanian dialects are part of this continuum (cf. Wiemer, to appear):

- (standard) Latvian (compare Table 1): more than 20 verb particles (84)
- northern Lithuanian dialects: about 10 verb particles (85)
- standard Lithuanian: some 3 verb particles (86)

(84) *laukā* (< *lauks* ‘поле’), *ārā* (< *āra* ‘воздух’), *nost, projām* ‘прочь, вон’;
ciēt(i) ‘замкнуто’ (< *ciets* ‘твердый’), *vaļā* (< *vaļa* ‘свобода’) ‘открыто’;
apkārt ‘вокруг’;
iekšā (< *iekšas* ‘внутренняя сторона’) ‘вовнутрь, внутри’, *priekšā* (< *priekša*
‘передняя сторона’) ‘вперед, впереди’, *augšā, augšup* (< *augša* ‘верхняя сторона’),
viršū (< *viršus* ‘поверхность’) ‘навверх, навверху’, *aizmugurē* (< *aizmugure* ‘тыл’) ‘в
обход, сзади’;
zemē (< *zeme* ‘земля’), *lejā* (< *leja* ‘долина’) ‘вниз’;
pāri ‘через’;
garām ‘мимо’;
atpakaļ, pakaļ (< *pakaļa* ‘задница’) ‘назад’;
pišu (< *puse* ‘половина, сторона’) ‘пополам (в разные части)’;
klāt ‘близко, вблизи’;
kājā (< *kāja* ‘нога’) ‘на ногу’, *rokā* (< *roka* ‘рука’) ‘на руки, в руку’;
kopā (< *kopa* ‘группа’), *līdzi* ‘вместе’.

(85) *aplink, lauk(an), žemyn* (with variants)
oran ‘вон, прочь’ (= illative of *oras* ‘air’)
šalin ‘прочь’ (< illative of *šalis* ‘side’), *viršuo* ‘напротив’ (< *viršus* ‘верх’)
vidū ‘вовнутрь’ (< *viduje* = locative of *vidus* ‘inner side, centre’); *kietai* ‘крепко,
замкнуто’ (= adverb of *kietas* ‘твердый, жесткий’);
artie ‘ближе, вблизи’ (compare standard form *arti* ‘вблизи’)

(86) *lauk* ‘вон, прочь’ (< *laukas* ‘поле’)
žemyn ‘вниз’ (= иллатив от *žemē* ‘земля’)
aplink(ui) ‘вокруг’
(< *aplinka* ‘округ, окружение’ или *ap-* ‘об’ + *link-* = основа глагола ‘гнуть’).

Lexical equivalents of such verb particles (bounders) in Slavic, e.g.

(87) Russ. *nazad, vokrug, vdrebezgi, popolam*
Pol. *wokolo, wszierz, wzdluż*

Standard Latvian

- (88a) *Vēr logu ciēt!* ‘Закрой окно!’ (досл. ‘Сделай окно **закрыто!**’)
(88b) *Logs ir ciēt.* ‘Окно **закрыто.**’ (адъективный постверб не согласуется!)
- (89a) *Paņem suni līdzi!* ‘Возьми с собой собаку!’ (досл. ‘Возьми собаку **вместе!**’)
(89b) *Suns man ir līdzi.* ‘Собака со мной.’ (досл. ‘Собака мне есть **вместе.**’)

Northern Lithuanian dialects

(90) *Džiūvo eglės laukan, išraudonavo* (Šts) (≅ *visai, iki galo išdžiūti*).
досл. ‘Сохли ели **на улице (снаружи)**, они набрали красного цвета’
(т.е. ‘иссохли ели’).

- (91) *Sodnq reiks raut lauka* (Pkr) (\cong *išrauti, kad nebeliktų piktžolių*).
 досл. ‘Огород нужно будет полоть **снаружи**’ (т.е. ‘выполоть, чтобы не осталось сорняков’).
- (92) *Ta karvė didelė draskė, puolė žmonims viršuo* (Akm)
 досл. ‘Эта корова много бодалась, нападала **наверх** на людей’
 (т.е. ‘нападала на людей’).

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