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**TOWARDS AN AREAL TYPOLOGY OF PREFIXAL PERFECTIVIZATION  
 (SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS)**

**I. Parameters of typology and illustrations**

1. Morphological properties of preverbs

1.1. Separability

GERMAN (Zeller 2004: 190)

- (1) a. *Die Männer werden das Heu **a**ufladen.*  
 ‘The men will load the hay up.’  
 b. *Die Männer laden das Heu nicht **a**uf, sondern **a**b.*  
 ‘The men are not loading the hay [up], they’re loading it down.’

				latv							
				lith							
	sor					bel					
		pol		<u>yid</u>						rus	
<u>ger</u>			slvk			ukr					
	cze		<u>hun</u>								
			slvn								
				bsc							ady
						bul				ming	<u>osset</u>
						mac					geo
											laz

1.2. Other verbal prefixes besides preverbs *sensu stricto*

LITHUANIAN

- (2) a. tebe-per-rašo  
 CNT-PRV-write:PRS.3  
 ‘is still rewriting’  
 b. nu-si-leido  
 PRV-RFL-let:PST.3  
 ‘s/he descended (lit. let oneself down)’

GEORGIAN

- (3) ça-v-i-kiṭx-e  
 PRV-1.SB-CV-read-AOR  
 ‘I read it’

				<u>latv</u>					
				<u>lith</u>					
	sor			yid	bel		rus		
ger		pol							
			slvk		ukr				
	cze								
			hun						
		slvn							
			bsc					<u>ady</u>	
				bul		<u>ming</u>	<u>svan</u>		<u>osset</u>
			mac						<u>geo</u>
									<u>laz</u>

1.3. Position of preverbs in the verbal complex (provided there are other prefixes): word-initial vs. medial vs. immediately preceding the stem.

1.4. Iteration of preverbs.

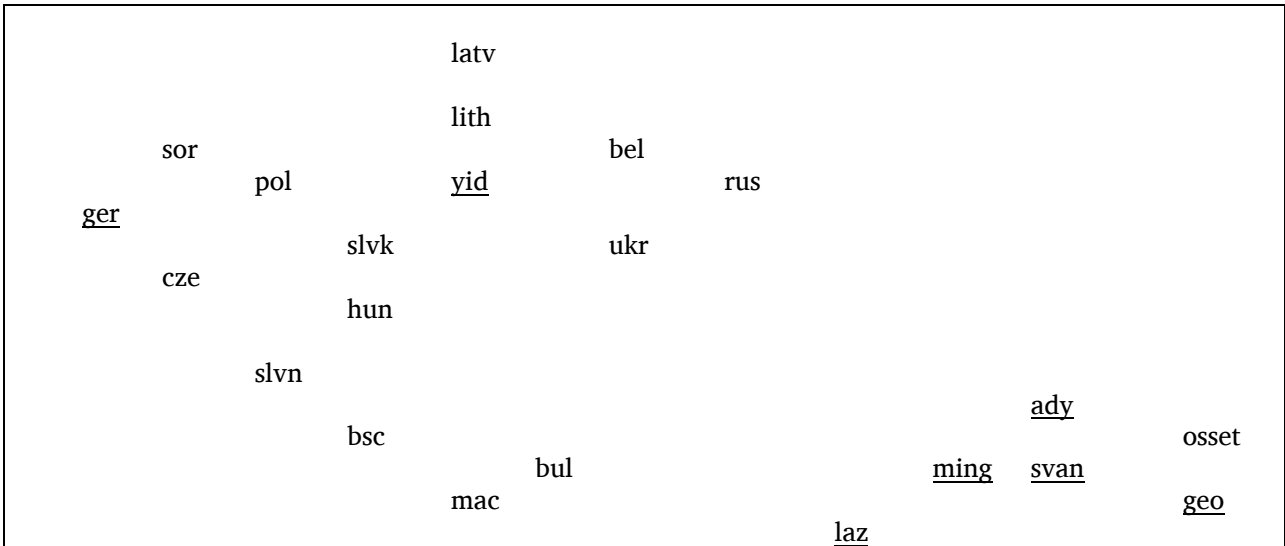
(4) RUSSIAN **по-на-вы-**думывала ‘she invented many different things’

				latv					
				lith					
	<u>sor</u>			yid	<u>bel</u>		<u>rus</u>		
ger		<u>pol</u>							
			<u>slvk</u>		<u>ukr</u>				
	<u>cze</u>								
			hun						
		<u>slvn</u>							
			<u>bsc</u>					<u>ady</u>	
				bul		ming	svan		<u>osset</u>
			<u>mac</u>						<u>geo</u>
									<u>laz</u>

1.5. Morphological subclassification of preverbs.

GEORGIAN

- (5) a. **mi-di-s** ~ **mo-di-s**  
 PRV.DIR-go-PRS.3SG PRV.DIR-go-PRS.3SG  
 ‘s/he is going from here’ ‘s/he is coming here’
- b. **a-di-s** ~ **a-mo-di-s**  
 PRV.LOC-go-PRS.3SG PRV.LOC-PRV.DIR-ИДТИ-PRS.3SG  
 ‘s/he is going up there’ ‘s/he is coming up here’
- c. **še-di-s** ~ **še-mo-di-s**  
 PRV.LOC-go-PRS.3SG PRV.LOC-PRV.DIR-go-PRS.3SG  
 ‘s/he is going inside (there)’ ‘s/he is coming inside (here)’

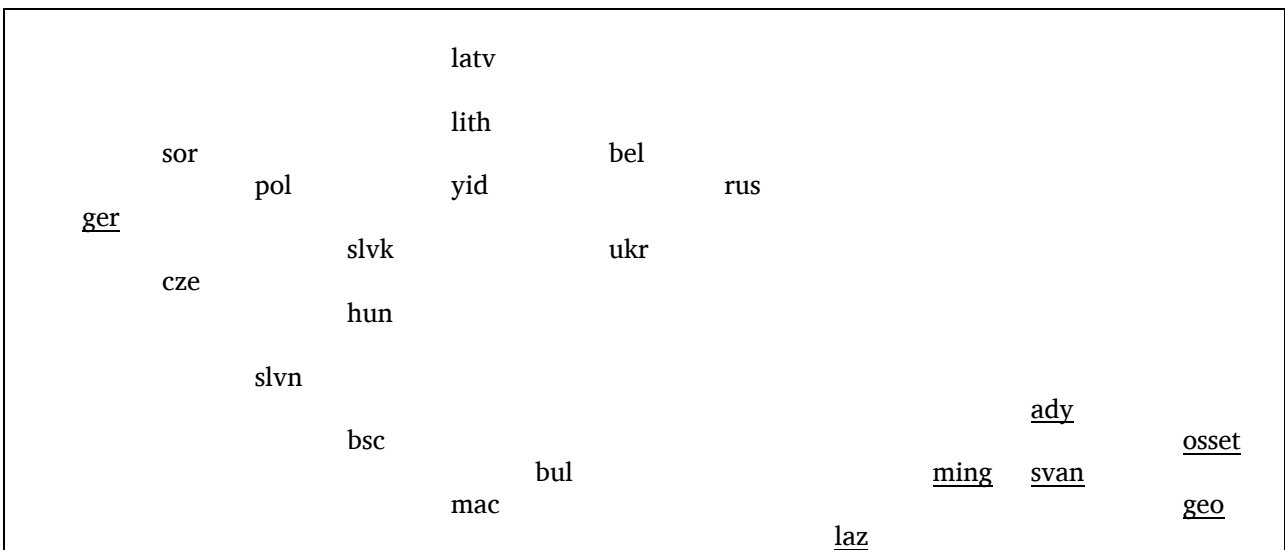


## 2. Functional properties of preverbs and prefixal verbs

### 2.1. Systematic expression of deictic notions (cf. Georgian above)

IRON OSSETIC (Абаев 1959: 650–651)

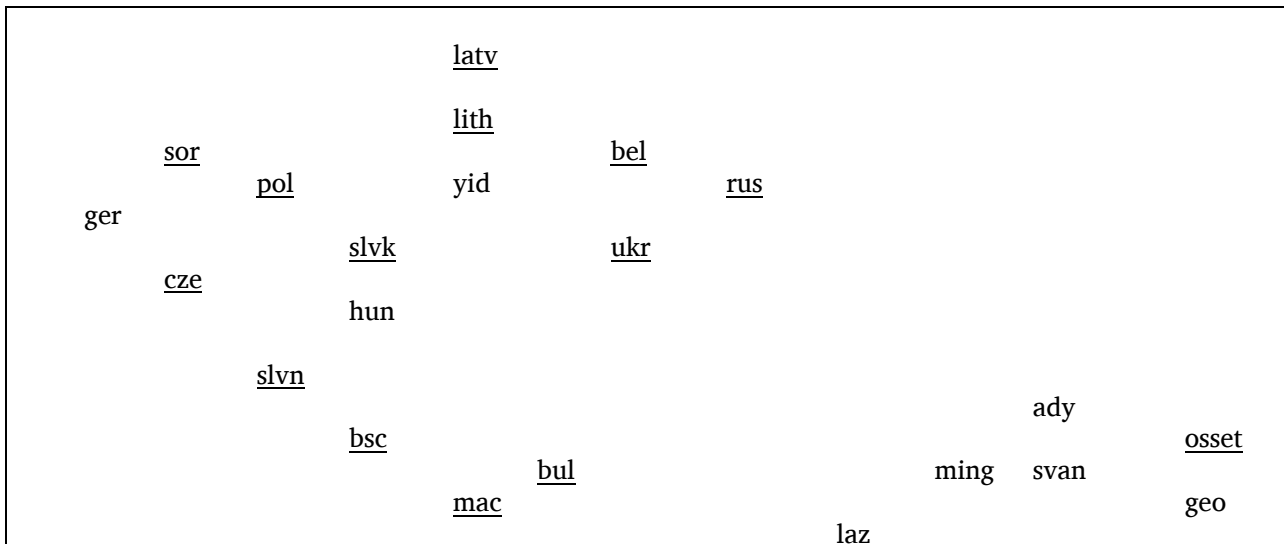
	‘inside’	‘outside’	‘down’	‘up’
towards the speaker	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ra-</i>	<i>ær-, sæ-</i>	š-
from the speaker	<i>ærba-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>nə-</i>	



### 2.2. Delimitative preverbs

IRON OSSETIC (Ахвледиани (ред.) 1963: 238)

- (6) *iw sal-dær aʒ-ə kwə a-kwəš-ta p'lotnik-æj...*  
 one so.much-INDF year-OBL COMP PRV-work-PST.3SG carpenter-ABL  
 ‘Having worked as a carpenter for several years...’



### 2.3.1. Durative (imperfective) use of prefixal verbs of motion (on the map)

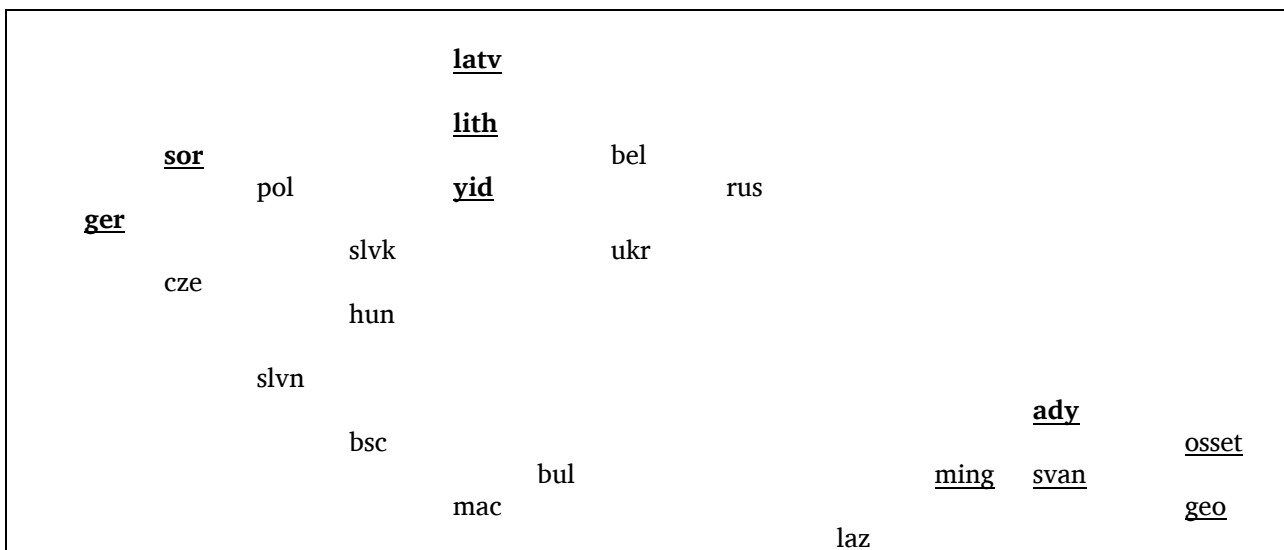
VERNACULAR UPPER SORBIAN (Breu 2000: 56)

- (7) *Dyš smó mó šijeli, **su** te lětadla rune **wotlećeli**.*  
 ‘When we came, the planes were just flying away.’

### 2.3.2. Durative (imperfective) use of prefixal verbs of other types (on the map)

VERNACULAR UPPER SORBIAN (Breu 2000: 55)

- (8) *Wón **napisa** rune někotre słowa.*  
 ‘He is writing some words now’



## 3. Functional properties of verbal systems

### 3.1. Use of the present tense of prefixed/perfective verbs in the contexts of historical present and habitual.

CZECH (Dickey 2000: 136)

- (9) *Dívka čte knihu, ve které je 60 stránek. První den **přečte**<sub>PF</sub> čtvrtinu knihy...*

RUSSIAN (ibid.)

- (10) *Девочка читает книгу, в которой 60 страниц. В первый день она **\*прочитает**<sub>PF</sub> // **прочитывает**<sub>IPF</sub> четвертую часть книги...*

LAZ, Arxavi dialect (Lacroix 2009: 342)

- (11) *ha daɣi-s mutu ko-b-zir-na, o-b-i-bxor-ja.*  
 this mountain-DAT something AFF-1SG.SB-see-COND PRV-1SG.SB-CV-eat-EVID  
 ‘When I find something on this mountain, I eat it up.’

			<u>latv</u>																
			<u>lith</u>																
	<u>sor</u>				<u>bel</u>						<u>rus</u>								
<u>ger</u>		<u>pol</u>		<u>yid</u>															
			<u>slvk</u>			<u>ukr</u>													
	<u>cze</u>																		
			<u>hun</u>																
		<u>slvn</u>																	
			<u>bsc</u>															<u>ady</u>	
						<u>bul</u>												<u>osset</u>	
				<u>mac</u>										<u>ming</u>	<u>svan</u>				
																			<u>geo</u>
													<u>laz</u>						

### 3.2. Futurate use of the present tense of prefixed/perfective verbs

- (12) MINGRELIAN: *čaruns* ‘s/he writes’ ~ *dočaruns* ‘s/he will write’

			<u>latv</u>																
			<u>lith</u>																
	<u>sor</u>				<u>bel</u>						<u>rus</u>								
<u>ger</u>		<u>pol</u>		<u>yid</u>															
			<u>slvk</u>			<u>ukr</u>													
	<u>cze</u>																		
			<u>hun</u>																
		<u>slvn</u>																	
			<u>bsc</u>															<u>ady</u>	
						<u>bul</u>												<u>osset</u>	
				<u>mac</u>															<u>geo</u>
													<u>laz</u>						

### 3.3. Use of prefixed/perfective verbs with phasal predicates

HUNGARIAN [Майтинская 1960: 139]

- (13) ... *aki kezd-te már le-szed-ni az abrakos tarisznyá-k-at.*  
 which start-PST.3SG.OC already PRV-take-INF DEF forage sack-PL-ACC  
 ‘...who already started to unload the sacks with forage.’

			<u>latv</u>		
			<u>lith</u>		
	<u>sor</u>			bel	
		pol	<u>yid</u>		rus
<u>ger</u>					
		slvk		ukr	
cze		<u>hun</u>			
		slvn			
		bsc			ady
			bul		<u>ming</u> svan osset
		mac			<u>geo</u>
				<u>laz</u>	

### 3.4.1. Morphological means of secondary imperfectivization (on the map)

- (14) a. RUSSIAN: *переписывает*  
 b. LITHUANIAN: *perrašinėja* 'is rewriting'  
 c. MINGRELIAN: *ge-tmi-a-žic-en-d-u* 'was laughing at him/her'

### 3.4.1. Syntactic means of secondary imperfectivization (on the map)

HUNGARIAN (Csirmaz 2006: 113)

- (15) a. *Amikor csenget-t-ek, János le-men-t a lépcső-n.*  
 when ring-PST-3PL Janos PRV-go-PST.3SG DEF stairs-SPRES  
 'When the bell rang, Janos went down the stairs.'
- b. *Amikor csenget-t-ek, János men-t le a lépcső-n.*  
 when ring-PST-3PL Janos go-PST.3SG PRV DEF stairs-SPRES  
 'When the bell rang, Janos was going down the stairs.'

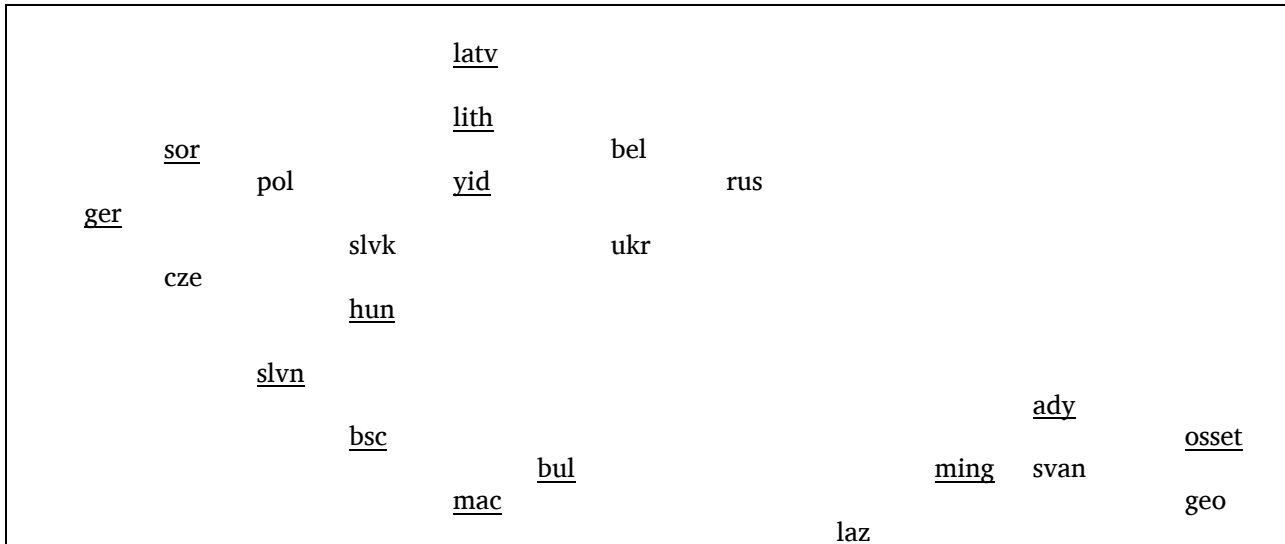
			<u>latv</u>		
			<u>lith</u>		
	<u>sor</u>			<u>bel</u>	
		pol	<u>yid</u>		<u>rus</u>
ger					
		slvk		<u>ukr</u>	
<u>cze</u>		<u>hun</u>			
		slvn			
		bsc			ady
			bul		<u>ming</u> svan <u>osset</u>
		mac			<u>geo</u>
				<u>laz</u>	

### 3.6. Means of perfectivization besides preverbs: a property of Slavic and Lithuanian

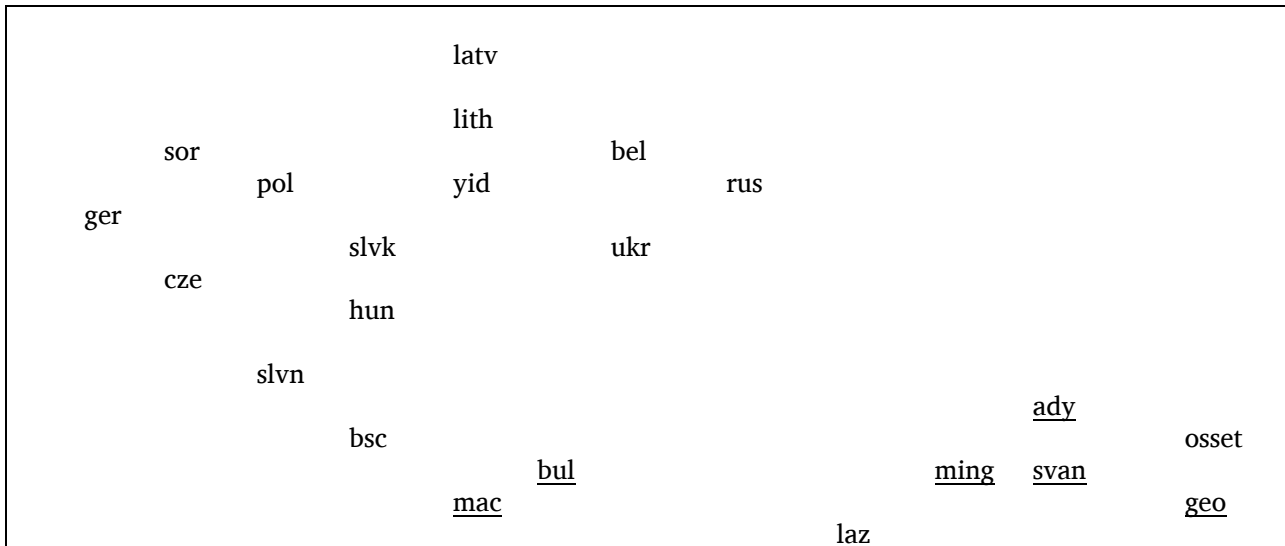
- (16) a. RUSSIAN: *толкнуть* 'to push once'  
 b. LITHUANIAN: *mostelėti* 'to wave once'

### 3.7. Future tense independent of aspect

- (17) LITHUANIAN *rašysiu* 'I will be writing' ~ *parašysiu* 'I will write (the whole thing)'



### 3.8. Distinction between inflectional perfective (Aorist) and imperfective (Imperfect) tenses



## II. Contact phenomena

### 1. Matter borrowing

ROMANI, North Russian dialect in contact with Russian (Rusakov 2001: 315, 316)

(18) *te ot-des* ‘give away’ ~ Rus. *отдать*, *te vy-des* ‘give out’ ~ *выдать*, *te roz-des* ‘distribute’ ~ Rus. *раздать*, *ros-phenava* ‘I will tell’ ~ Rus. *расскажу*

LIVONIAN in contact with Latvian (de Sivers 1971: 28–29)

(19) *lādō* ‘go’: *aiz-lādō* ‘go out’ ~ Latv. *aiziet*, *ap-lādō* ‘go around’ ~ Latv. *apiet*, *ie-lādō* ‘go in’ ~ Latv. *ieiet*, *nuo-lādō* ‘reach’ ~ Latv. *noiet*, *sa-lādō* ‘come together’ ~ Latv. *saiet*.

ISTRO-ROMANIAN in contact with Balkan Slavic (Клепикова 1959)

(20) a. *ćira* ~ *poćira* ‘have supper’  
 b. *durmi* ‘sleep’ ~ *zedurmi* ‘to fall asleep’ ~ *zedurmivei* ‘to be falling asleep’  
 c. *căntat-am* ‘I was singing’ ~ *a... căntaveit* ‘I used to sing’  
 d. *pisescu* ‘they wrote’ ~ *pisiveit-a* ‘they were writing’

## 2. Pattern borrowing

YIDDISH in contact with Slavic (Wexler 1964, 1972; Talmy 1982; Weissberg 1991)

- (21) *on-shraybn* ‘write’ ~ Rus. *нануцаць*, *oys-trinken* ‘drink’ ~ Rus. *выпить*, *oyf-esn* ‘eat up’ ~ Rus. *съесть*, *far-blijen* ‘break into blossom’ ~ Rus. *зацвету* vs. Ger. *ver-blühen* ‘wither’

NORTHERN LITHUANIAN dialects in contact with Latvian (Jonaitytė 1967: 175)

- (22) *nuduoti* ‘give away’ ~ Latv. *nodot* vs. Stand. Loith *atiduoti*, *nulaukti* ‘spend time waiting’ ~ Latv. *nogaidīt* vs. Stand. Lith. *pralaukti*.

SLAVIC “MICRO-LANGUAGES” in contact with German (Bayer 2006: 180)

German preverb	Burgenland Croa- tian	Carintia Slovene	meaning
<i>vorbei</i>	<i>mimo</i>	<i>mimo</i>	‘along’
<i>dabei</i>	<i>pole(g)</i>	<i>zreven</i>	‘near’
<i>aus, hinaus</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>ven</i>	‘from’
<i>hinein, ein</i>	<i>u(nutra)</i>	<i>noter</i>	‘inside’
<i>zusammen</i>	<i>skupa</i>	<i>vkup</i>	‘together’
<i>mit</i>	<i>sobom</i>	<i>seboj</i>	‘with oneself’

ROMANI (Austrian Sinti) in contact with German (Schrammel 2002: 52)

- (23) *Auf amol dšias o vuda pre.*  
suddenly go:PST.3SG DEF door up  
‘Suddenly the door opened.’ (~ Ger. *Auf einmal ging die Tür auf*)

LITHUANIAN dialects (and to some extent the standard language) in contact with Slavic: expansion of the iterative suffix *-(d)inè-* into the domain of secondary imperfectivization (Vidugiris 1961; Kardelis, Wiemer 2002, 2003; Wiemer 2009).

- (24) a. *kai per-ei-dinè-jo gatv-ę*  
when PRV-go-ITER-PST.3 street-ACC.SG  
‘while crossing the street’ (Google) ~ Rus. *когда переходил улицу*  
b. *kai ej-o per gatv-ę*  
when go-PST.3 across street-ACC.SG  
‘id’ (Stand. Lith.)

## III. Typological parallels

SOUTH CONCHUCOS QUECHUA (Peru, Hintz 2008: 38, 39)

- (25) a. *tsa karrete:ra-man cha-rpu-r ka:rru-ta shuya-ku-ru:.*  
then road-ALL arrive-PFV:down-SS vehicle-ACC wait-RFL-PST:1  
‘Then arriving down to the road, I waited for a bus.’  
b. *tsayno: niptinnam... upa:lla-ku-rpu-ya-rqa-n.*  
so when.he.spoke quiet-RFL-PFV:down-PL-PST-3  
‘After he spoke like that, they were completely quiet.’

KUSAIE (Austronesian > Oceanic, Micronesia, Lee 1974: 198–199)

- (26) a. *Sruhk-ack poum.*  
raise-PFV:up hand:2SG.POSS  
‘Raise your hand.’  
b. *Sah el ahkos-ack insin soko ah.*  
Sah 3 light-PFV:up boat one DEF  
‘Sah started up the motorboat.’  
c. *Sepe el fahk-ack ma lukmac se nuh seltahl.*  
Sepe 3 say-PFV:BBEPX thing secret INDF to them  
‘Sepe disclosed the secret thing to them.’



## Abbreviations

ABL – ablative, ACC – accusative, AFF – affirmative, ALL – allative, AOR – aorist, CNT – continuative, COMP – complementizer, COND – conditional, CV – “characteristic vowel”, DAT – dative, DEF – definite, DIR – directional, EVID – evidential, INDF – indefinite, INF – infinitive, IPF – imperfective, ITER – iterative, LOC – locative, OBL – oblique, OC – objective conjugation, PF – perfective, PL – plural, POSS – possessive, PRS – present, PRV – preverb, PST – past, RFL – reflexive, SB – subject, SG – singular, SPRES – superessive

ady – Adyghe, bcs – Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, bel – Belorussian, bul – Bulgarian, cze – Czech, geo – Georgian, ger – German, hun – Hungarian, latv – Latvian, laz – Laz, lith – Lithianian, mac – Macedonian, ming – Mingrelian, osset – Ossetic, pol – Polish, rus – Russian, slvk – Slovak, slvn – Slovene, sor – Sorbian, svan – Svan, ukr – Ukranian, yid – Yiddish

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