

FROM TRANSITIVITY TO ASPECT:
CAUSATIVE-INCHOATIVE ALTERNATION AND ITS EXTENSIONS IN LITHUANIAN

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1. Introduction

➤ Lithuanian (as well as Latvian) is outstanding among the European languages in that it possesses both a productive morphological causative (the mostly used suffixes are *-in-ti* and *-dy-ti*) and an even more productive morphological anticausative based on the reflexive marker *-si* (cf. Krinickaitė 1979; Paulauskienė 1979: 22–55; Geniušienė 1983, 1987; Toops 1994; Ambrazas (ed.) 1997: 223–234).

➤ In this paper I will focus on a less productive and more morphologically idiosyncratic valency-affecting operation in Lithuanian, which is interesting primarily because of the unexpected semantic shifts it has undergone.

➤ In Lithuanian, there exist several dozens of pairs of ‘primary’ verbs (i. e. those whose infinitive is based directly on the root) whose members are related in the following way:

one member of the pair is intransitive (usually denoting a non-agentive process or change of state) and forms its Present tense stem by *n*-infixation or *st*-suffixation and shows the ‘zero’ grade of vocalic ablaut;

the other member of the pair is transitive and denotes the agentive causation of the event expressed by the corresponding intransitive verb, belongs to the inflectional class where the stem-final consonant is palatalized in the Present and Preterite forms, and shows the ‘full’ grade of ablaut.

dribti ‘fall’ (Pres. *dri-m-ba*) ~ *drėbti* ‘drop’ (Pres. *drebia*)

linkti ‘bow’ (Pres. *link-st-a*) ~ *lenkti* ‘bend’ (Pres. *lenkia*)

jukti ‘become mixed’ (Pres. *ju-n-ka*) ~ *jaukti* ‘mix’ (Pres. *jaukia*)

➤ This type of causative~inchoative pairs belongs to the oldest layer of transitivity-related formations in Baltic (see Stang 1942; Arumaa 1957), ultimately going back to the Indo-European prototype, and does not by itself present anything special from a typological or theoretical points of view (cf. Haspelmath 1993, Comrie 2006).

➤ In this paper I supplement the discussion of the transitivity alternation expressed by morphophonological changes in Lithuanian by a broader set of data coming from verbs which show similar formal relationships but do not differ in transitivity:

verkti ‘weep’ (Pres. *verkia*) ~ *pra-virkti* ‘burst into tears’ (Pres. *pra-virk-st-a*)

➤ The goal of this paper is two-fold:

descriptive: to give a representative set of the relevant verbal pairs, cross-classifying them according to the formal and semantic relationships between them;

theoretical: to try to show that the fact that two different types of lexical-semantic relations in Lithuanian happen to share a common morphological pattern is not random but is motivated both from a synchronic and from a diachronic points of view.

➤ Sources of data: Lithuanian reverse dictionary (Robinson 1976) supplemented by LKŽ. Only verbs attested in contemporary standard usage are included into the database.

2. The data I: focus on form

Type I. Both verbs are ‘primary’

causative-inchoative

other

A1: i~e + sonorant

birti (*byra, biro*) ‘pour (itr.)’ – *berti* (*beria, bėrė*) ‘scatter (tr.)’
žirti (*žyra, žiro*) ‘fall, spill (itr.)’ – *žerti* (*žeria, žėrė*) ‘pour (tr.), strew’
mirkti (*mirksta, mirko*) ‘soak (itr.)’ – *merkti* (*merkia, merkė*) ‘soak (tr.)’
viršti (*viršta, virto*) ‘overturn (itr.)’ – *versti* (*verčia, vertė*) ‘throw down, overturn (tr.)’
viržti (*viržta, viržo*) ‘become compressed’ – *veržti* (*veržia, veržė*) ‘tighten’
skirsti (*skirsta, skirdo*) ‘get chapped, crack’ – *skersti* (*skerdžia, skerdė*) ‘kill, butcher’
kilti (*kyla, kilo*) ‘rise, stand up’ – *kelti* (*kelia, kėlė*) ‘raise’
skilti (*skyla, skilo*) ‘split (itr.)’ – *skelti* (*skelia, skėlė*) ‘split (tr.)’
tilžti (*tilžta, tilžo*) ‘become wet’ – *telžti* (*telžia, telžė*) ‘make wet’
stilbti (*stilbsta, stilbo*) ‘be choked (of plants)’ – *stelbti* (*stelbia, stelbė*) ‘choke, grow over (tr.)’
linkti (*linksta, linko*) ‘bend (itr.)’ – *lenkti* (*lenkia, lenkė*) ‘bend (tr.)’
tįsti (*tįsta, tįso*) ‘stretch (itr.)’ – *tęsti* (*tęsia, tęsė*) ‘stretch (tr.)’

A2a: i~e + obstruent (+/- lengthening in Preterite and Infinitive)

driksti (*dryska, drisko*) ‘tear (itr.)’ – *drėksti* (*dreskia, drėskė*) ‘tear (tr.)’
dribti (*drimba, dribo*) ‘fall’ – *drėbti* (*drebia, drėbė*) ‘throw’
kristi (*krinta, krito*) ‘fall’ – *krėsti* (*krečia, krėtė*) ‘shake’
migzti (*myzga, mizgo*) ‘get tangled’ – *mezgti* (*mezgia, mezgė*) ‘knot’
plisti (*plinta, plito*) ‘spread (itr.)’ – *plėsti* (*plečia, plėtė*) ‘widen, broaden (tr.)’
rigzti (*ryzga, rizgo*) ‘interlace (itr.)’ – *regzti* (*rezgia, rezgė*) ‘weave, knit’
tikšti (*tikšta, tiško*) ‘splash (itr.)’ – *tėkšti* (*teškia, tėškė*) ‘splash (tr.)’
trikti (*trinka, triko*) ‘get confused’ – *trėkti* (*trekia, trėkė*) ‘spoil’

pra-virkti (*pravirksta, pravirko*) ‘burst into tears’, *su-virkti* ‘id.’ – *verkti* (*verkia, verkė*) ‘weep’
iš-žirgti (*išžirgsta, išžirgo*) ‘stretch one’s legs’ – *žergti* (*žergia, žergė*) ‘spread (one’s legs) wide’
su-bilsti (*subilsta, subildo*) ‘knock once loudly’ – *belsti* (*beldžia, beldė*) ‘knock’
pra-vimti (*pravimsta, pravimo*) ‘begin to vomit’ – *vemti* (*vemia, vėmė*) ‘vomit (impers.)’
grįžti (*grįžta, grįžo*) ‘return (itr.)’ – *gręžti* (*gręžia, gręžė*) ‘drill, perforate’

causative-inchoative

A3: y~é

plyšti (plyšta, plyšo) ‘tear (itr.)’ – *plēšti (plēšia, plēšē)* ‘tear (tr.)’

trykšti (trykšta, tryško) ‘spout’ – *trēkšti (trēškia, trēškē)* ‘squeeze out’

B1a: i~ei

kisti (kinta, kito) ‘change (itr.)’ – *keisti (keičia, keitē)* ‘change’

visti (vysta, viso) ‘propagate (itr.)’ – *veisti (veisia, veisē)* ‘breed (tr.)’

smigti (sminga, smigo) ‘pierce (itr.)’ – *smeigti (smeigia, smeigē)* ‘pierce (tr.)’

tikti (tinka, tiko) ‘be suitable’ – *teikti (teikia, teikē)* ‘render’

B1b: i~ie

strigti (stringa, strigo) ‘stick (itr.)’ – *striegti (striegia, striegē)* ‘stick (tr.)’

vipti (vimpa, vipo) (cf. *vypti* C1a) ‘get open’ – *viepti (viepia, viepē)* ‘open, gape’

mišti (myšta, mišo) ‘get mixed’ – *miešti (miešia, miešē)* ‘dilute’

B2: u~au/uo

gubti (gumba, gubo) ‘bend (itr.)’ — *gaubti (gaubia, gaubē)* ‘bend (tr.)’

jukti (junka, juko) ‘mix (itr.)’ – *jaukti (jaukia, jaukē)* ‘hump together’

dubti (dumba, dubo) ‘become hollow’ – *daubti (daubia, daubē)* ‘hollow out’ (cf. *duobti*)

rukti (runka, ruko) ‘wrinkle (itr.)’ – *raukti (raukia, raukē)* ‘wrinkle (tr.)’

mukti (munka, muko) ‘peel (itr.)’ – *maukti (maukia, maukē)* ‘bark (cortex)’

smukti (smunka, smuko) ‘slip down’ – *smaukti (smaukia, smaukē)* ‘pull’

trukti (trunka, truko) ‘last’ – *traukti (traukia, traukē)* ‘pull, drag’

glusti (glunda, gludo) ‘snuggle to (itr.)’ – *glausti (glaudžia, glaudē)* ‘clasp to (tr.)’

dužti (dūžta, dužo) ‘break (itr.)’ – *daužti (daužia, daužē)* ‘break (tr.), hit’

žlugti (žlunga, žlugo) ‘soak (itr.); fail’ – *žlaugti (žlaugia, žlaugē)* ‘soak (the washing; tr.)’

griūti (griūva, griuvo) ‘fall down’ (ū < *un, *uv) – *griauti (griauna, griovē)* ‘destroy’

džiūti (džiūsta/džiūva, džiuvo) ‘dry (itr.)’ — *džiauti (džiauna, džiovē)* ‘hang up for drying’

other

į-knibti (knimba, knibo) ‘bury oneself (in work)’ – *kneibti (kneibia, kneibē)* ‘work tediously’

su-tviksti (sutvyska, sutvisko) ‘sparkle; begin to shine’ – *tvieksti (tvieskia, tvieskē)* ‘flash’

rikti (rinka, riko) ‘make mistakes’ – *riekti (riekia, riekē)* ‘slice’

švisti (švinta, švito) ‘dawn’ – *šviesti (šviečia, švietē)* ‘shine; enlighten’

gižti (gyžta, gižo) ‘turn sourish’ – *giežti (giežia, giežē)* ‘tickle’

spisti (spinta, spito) ‘begin to swarm’ (of bees) – *spiesti (spiečia, spietē)* ‘swarm’

su-spigti (suspinga, suspigo) ‘utter a scream’ – *spiegti (spiegia, spiege)* ‘squeal’

pra-jukti (prajunka, prajuko) ‘burst laughing’ – *juoktis (juokiasi, juokėsi)* ‘laugh’

pa-klusti (klūsta, kluso) ‘obey’ – *klausti (klausia, klausė)* ‘ask’

pra-džiugti (pradžiuanga, pradžiugo) ‘become glad’ – *džiaugtis (džiuagiasi, džiaugėsi)* ‘rejoice’

klupti (klumpa, klupo) ‘stumble’ – *klaupiti (klaupia, klaupė)* ‘stand on one’s knees’

su-stugti (sustunga, sustugo) ‘begin to howl’ – *staugti (staugia, staugė)* ‘howl’

justi (junta, juto) ‘feel’ — *jausti (jaučia, jautė)* ‘feel’

su-šukti (šunka, šuko) ‘cry out’ — *šaukti (šaukia, šaukė)* ‘cry, call’

causative-inchoative

other

C1a: y~ie

dygti (*dygsta, dygo*) ‘sprout (itr.)’ – *diegti*
(*diegia, diegè*) ‘plant’

drykti (*dryksta, dryko*) ‘stretch (itr.)’ – *driekti*
(*driekia, driekè*) ‘stretch (tr.)’

skysti (*skysta, skido*) ‘liquefy (itr.)’ – *skiesti*
(*skiedžia, skiedè*) ‘dilute’

stygti (*stygsta, stygo*) ‘stand still’ – *stiegti*
(*stiegia, stiegè*) ‘thatch’

nykti (*nyksta, nyko*) (cf. *niekti*: *nieksta, nieko*)
‘disappear’ – *niekti* (*niekia, niekè*) ‘despise’

vypiti (*vypsta, vypo*) (cf. *vīpti* B1b) ‘bend,
curve (itr.)’ — *viepti* (*viepia, viepè*) ‘gape
(tr.)’

C1b: y~ei

klypti (*klypsta, klypo*) ‘become crooked’ –
kleipti (*kleipia, kleipè*) ‘run one’s shoes
down on one side’

rykšti (*rykšta, ryško*) ‘become apparent’ —
reikšti (*reiškia, reišké*) ‘mean’

krypti (*krypsta, krypo*) ‘bend (itr.)’ – *kreipti*
(*kreipia, kreipè*) ‘turn to (tr.)’

C2: ū~au

lūžti (*lūžta, lūžo*) ‘break (itr.)’ – *laužti* (*laužia,
laužè*) ‘break (tr.)’

plūsti (*plūsta, plūdo*) ‘flow’ – *plausti* (*plaudžia,
plaudè*) ‘wash’

rūgti (*rūgsta, rūgo*) ‘turn sour’ – *raugti* (*raugia,
raugè*) ‘ferment’

snūsti (*snūsta, snūdo*) ‘begin to drowse’ –
snausti (*snaudžia, snaudè*) ‘drowse’

sprūsti (*sprūsta, sprūdo*) ‘slip off’ – *sprausti*
(*spraudžia, spraudè*) ‘squeeze into (tr.)’

C3 i~y

su-klikti (*suklinka, sukliko*) ‘utter a scream’ –
klykti (*klykia, klykè*) ‘yell’

Type II. One of the verbs is not ‘primary’: no causative/inchoative pairs

A. No ablaut

pa-kabti (*pakamba, pakabo*) ‘hang down (itr.)’, *nu-kabti* ‘id.’ – *kaboti* (*kabo, kabojo*) ‘hang’

su-žibti (*sužimba, sužižo*) ‘flash (once)’ – *žibėti* (*žiba, žibėjo*) ‘shine, sparkle’

su-žvilgti (*sužvilgsta, sužvilgo*) ‘id.’ – *žvilgėti* (*žvilga, žvilgėjo*) ‘id.’

su-blizgti (*sublyzga, sublizgo*) ‘id.’ – *blizgėti* (*blizga, blizgėjo*) ‘id.’

su-mirgti (*sumirgsta, sumirgo*) ‘flicker once, start flickering’ – *mirgėti* (*mirga, mirgėjo*) ‘flicker’

su-spursti (*suspursta, suspurdo*) ‘start fluttering’ – *spurdėti* (*spurda, spurdėjo*) ‘flounder, flutter’

su-krusti (*sukrunta, sukruto*) ‘begin to stir’ – *krutėti* (*kruta, krutėjo*) ‘stir, move’

pra-kalbt (*prakalbsta, prakalbo*) ‘speak up’ – *kalbėti* (*kalba, kalbėjo*) ‘speak’

su-čiulbti (*sučiulbsta, sučiulbo*) ‘start chirping’ – *čiulbėti* (*čiulba, čiulbėjo*) ‘chirp’

su-klegti (*suklenga, suklego*) ‘start to cackle’ – *klegėti* (*klega, klegėjo*) ‘cackle’

su-virpti (*suvirpsta, suvirpo*) ‘quiver once’ – *virpėti* (*virpa, virpėjo*) ‘tremble, quiver’

su-žvangti (*sužvangsta, sužvango*) ‘start ringing’ – *žvangėti* (*žvanga, žvangėjo*) ‘ring’

pra-žvingti (*pražvingsta, pražvingo*) ‘begin to neigh’, *su-žvingti* ‘id.’ – *žvingauti* (*žvingauja,
žvingavo*) ‘neigh’

pra-šnekti (*prašnenka, prašneko*) ‘begin to speak’ – *šnekėti* (*šneka, šnekėjo*) ‘speak’

pra-bilti (*prabyla, prabilo*) ‘begin to speak, utter’ – *byloti* (*byloja, bylojo*) ‘say, tell’

su-šlamti (*sušlama, sušlamo*) ‘begin to rustle’ – *šlamėti* (*šlama, šlamėjo*) ‘rustle’

su-čežti (*sučežta, sučežo*) ‘id.’ – *čežėti* (*čeža, čežėjo*) ‘id.’

su-čiaukšti (*sučiaukšta, sučiauško*) ‘begin to chirp’ – *čiauškėti* (*čiauška, čiaušėjo*) ‘chirp’

- su-bruzti* (*subrūzda, subruzdo*) ‘bestir oneself’ – *bruzdėti* (*bruzda, bruzdėjo*) ‘bustle about, fuss’
pra-mokti (*pramoksta, pramoko*) ‘learn a little’ – *mokyti* (*moko, mokė*) ‘teach’ (NB)
pa-žinti (*pažįsta, pažino*) ‘know; recognize’ – *žinoti* (*žino, žinojo*) ‘know’
pa-gailti (*pagailsta, pagailo*) ‘become sorry’ – *gailėti* (*gaili, gailėjo*) ‘be sorry’
pa-rūpti (*parūpsta, parūpo*) ‘become anxious’ (impers. with Dat. subject), *su-rūpti* ‘id.’ – *rūpėti* (*rūpi, rūpėjo*) ‘be concerned’
pa-norti (*panorsta, panoro*) ‘begin to want’ – *norėti* (*nori, norėjo*) ‘want’
į-bosti (*įbosta, įbodo*) ‘become tedious’, *at-si-bosti*, *nu-bosti* ‘id.’ – *bodėtis* (*bodisi, bodėjosi*) ‘loathe’
į-galti (*įgalsta, įgalo*) ‘become able’ – *galėti* (*gali, galėjo*) ‘be able, can’
iš-girsti (*išgirsta, išgirdo*) ‘hear’ (event), *nu-girsti* ‘id.’ – *girdėti* (*girdi, girdėjo*) ‘hear’ (state)
pa-kvailti (*pakvailsta, pakvailo*), *su-kvailti* ‘turn stupid’ – *kvailėti* (*kvailėja, kvailėjo*) ‘grow stupid’ (cf. *kvailus* ‘stupid, foolish’)
ap-lėsti (*aplėsta, aplėto*) ‘slow down a bit’ – *lėtėti* (*lėtėja, lėtėjo*) ‘slow down gradually’ (cf. *lėtas* ‘slow’)
ap-tamsti (*aptamsta, aptamsa*) ‘grow darker’ (event) – *tamsuoti* (*tamsuoja, tamsavo*) ‘grow darker’ (process) (cf. *tamsus* ‘dark’)
pa-garsti (*pagarsta, pagarso*) ‘become famous’, *pragarsti* ‘id.’ – *garsėti* (*garsėja, garsėjo*) ‘be famous’ (cf. *garsus* ‘famous’)
pra-tursti (*pratursta, praturto*) ‘become rich’ – *turtėti* (*turtėja, turtėjo*) ‘grow rich’ (cf. *turtas* ‘wealth’)
pa-grožti (*pagrožta, pagrožo*) ‘to appear beautiful’ – *grožėti* (*grožėja, grožėjo*) ‘become beautiful’ (*grožis* ‘beauty’)
į-drąsti (*įdrąsta, įdrąso*) ‘become bold’ – *drąsėti* (*drąsėja, drąsėjo*) ‘grow bolder’ (cf. *drąsus* ‘bold, courageous’)
 B. With ablaut
pa-milti (*pamilsta, pamilo*) ‘grow fond of’ – *mylėti* (*myli, mylėjo*) ‘love, be fond of’
su-tviksti (*sutviksta, sutvisko*) ‘begin to shine’ – *tvyksėti* (*tvykksi, tviksėjo*) ‘shine, sparkle’
nu-nižti (*nunyžta, nunižo*) ‘become mangy’ – *niežėti* (*niežti, niežėjo*) ‘itch’
pra-žiurti (*pražiūra, pražiuro*) ‘recover sight, begin to see’, *su-žiurti* ‘start staring’ – *žiūrėti* (*žiūri, žiūrėjo*) ‘look’
pra-gysti (*pragysta, pragydo*) ‘begin to sing’, *sugysti* ‘id.’ – *giedoti* (*gieda, giedojo*) ‘sing’

Some statistics:

	‘primary’ pairs	‘non-primary’ pairs		total
		with ab- laut	without ab- laut	
causative/inchoative	50		1	51
other	27	5	34	66
total:	77	40		107

3. The data II: focus on meaning

- The verb-pairs in question clearly fall into two main types:
 - type I: pairs where both verbs are ‘primary’ and their roots always show different ablaut grades;
 - type II: pairs where one of the verbs is a ‘primary’ *n/st*-verb while the other belongs to a different conjugation type.
- The standard semantic relation in type I pairs is inchoative vs. causative, often with a quite straightforward semantic difference:

birti ‘pour (itr.)’ – *berti* ‘pour (tr.), scatter’

- (1) a. *Pro plyšius ant galvų byra smėlis.*¹

‘Through chinks sand was falling on their heads.’

- b. *Pūtė gūsingas vėjas, bėrė ant veido dulkes.*

‘Gusty wind was blowing and throwing dust into the face.’

plisti ‘spread (itr.)’ – *plėsti* ‘widen, broaden’

- (2) a. ... *nes juk visa tautosaka taip plinta iš lūpų į lūpas.*

‘... since all folklore spreads in this way — from mouth to mouth.’

- b. *Tegu jos plečia savo kultūrinę įtaką...*

‘Let them broaden their cultural influence...’

plyšti ‘tear (itr.)’ – *plėšti* ‘tear (tr.)’

- (3) a. *Dunksi vyrų krūtinės, nugaros, plyšta balti marškiniai.*

‘Men’s chests and backs are rumbling, white shirts are being torn.’

- b. *Drebančiom rankom vyrai plėšė kaklaraiščius, sagstėsi marškinius.*

‘With trembling hands the men were tearing off neckties, buttoning up shirts.’

smigti ‘pierce (itr.)’ – *smeigti* ‘pierce (tr.)’

- (4) a. *Tie žodžiai tarsi peilis sminga į mano smegenis.*

‘These words thrust themselves into my brains like a knife.’

- b. *Pro raustančių klevų šakas į dangų smeigė bokštą bažnyčia...*

‘Through reddening branches of maples a church thrust its tower into the sky...’

mišti ‘get mixed’ – *miešti* ‘mix’

- (5) a. *Tavo dvasia sumišo su manąja, kaip vynas myšta su tyru vandeniu.*

‘Your soul has merged with mine, like wine mixes with clear water.’

- b. ... *muzika nekūnišką proto energiją miešia kūnu.*

‘... music mixes with the body the energy of an incorporeal mind.’

lūžti ‘break (itr.)’ – *laužti* ‘break (tr.)’

- (6) a. *O dabar atėjau mėšai malti mašinėlės. Mūsų sulūžo...*

‘And now I came for a meat chopper. Ours broke down...’

- b. *Patylėjo, sulaužė vieną, kitą sausą medžio šakelę.*

‘He kept silence for a while, broke a couple of dry twigs.’

➤ In a number of cases, the erstwhile historically transparent semantic relationship between the intransitive and the transitive members of the pair must have been replaced by non-trivial lexicalized meanings, cf.:

rikti ‘make mistakes’ – *riekti* ‘slice’

gižti ‘turn sourish’ – *giežti* ‘tickle’

pa-klusti ‘obey’ – *klausti* ‘ask’

nykti, niekti ‘disappear’ – *niekti* ‘despise’

rykšti ‘become apparent’ – *reikšti* ‘mean’

kvipti ‘smell’ – *kvėpti* ‘inhale, breathe’

➤ Other types of semantic relationships between the members of verb-pairs of type I:

– entry into a process ~ process:

pra-virkti ‘burst into tears’, *su-virkti* ‘id.’ – *verkti* ‘weep’

pra-jukti ‘burst laughing’ – *juoktis* ‘laugh’

¹ This and following examples, unless specially indicated, are from the Corpus of Lithuanian language www.donelaitis.vdu.lt.

į-knibti ‘bury oneself (in work)’ – *kneibti* ‘work tediously’
su-tviksti ‘sparkle; begin to shine’ – *tviaksti* ‘flash’
su-šukti ‘cry out’ — *šaukti* ‘cry, call’
spisti ‘begin to swarm’ (of bees) – *spiesti* ‘swarm’
su-stugti ‘begin to howl’ – *staugti* ‘howl’
pra-vimti ‘begin to vomit’ – *vemti* ‘vomit (impers.)’

- (7) a. *Staiga jis prajuko: Bent interjeras išliko!*
 ‘Suddenly he burst into laughter: At least the interior has been left!’
 b. *Ji juokiasi ir verkia, tačiau veidu nesirita nė viena ašara.*
 ‘She laughs and weeps, but not a single tear rolls down her face.’

- (8) a. *Visom spalvom sutvisko pasaulis.*
 ‘The world began to shine with all colours.’
 b. *Jo vidurys buvo rausvai mėlynas, o pakraščiai tvieskė įvairiausiom spalvom.*
 ‘Its middle was pinkish-blue, and its edges shone with various colours.’

– entry into a state ~ state:

iš-žirgti ‘stretch one’s legs’ – *žergti* ‘spread (one’s legs) wide’
pra-džiugti ‘become glad’ – *džiaugtis* ‘rejoice’
snūsti ‘begin to drowse’ – *snausti* ‘drowse’

- (9) a. ... o mokslininkas kažkodėl be galo *pradžiugo: Kaip gerai!*
 ‘... for some reason, the scientist became infinitely glad: How well!’
 b. *Ačiū, aš labai džiaugiuosi jos sėkme...*
 ‘Thank you, I am very happy about her success...’

– instantaneous event ~ a series of such events:

su-bilsti ‘knock once loudly’ – *belsti* ‘knock’
su-spigti ‘utter a scream’ – *spiegti* ‘squeal’
su-klykti ‘utter a scream’ – *klykti* ‘yell’

- (10) a. *Ji suspigo, dėjosi supykusi...*
 ‘She screamed, pretended to become angry...’
 b. *Ir šoko jis iš vandens, ir spiegtė kaip sirena...*
 ‘And he jumped out of water and squealed like a siren...’

➤ “Exceptional” subtypes with only one member:

– inanimate subject ~ animate subject:

dvisti ‘have a bad smell, become rotten’ – *dvėsti* ‘die (of animals)’

– non-controlled event ~ controlled event:

klupti ‘stumble’ – *klaupiti* ‘stand on one’s knees’

- (11) a. *Jie klumpa, keliasi ir vėl klumpa.*
 ‘They stumble, rise and stumble again.’
 b. *Žmonės klaupė, kėlėsi, dūsavo, kai kunigas sakė pamokslą...*
 ‘The people stood on their knees, rose, sighed when the priest preached...’

– (near) synonymy:

justi ‘feel’ — *jausti* ‘feel’

- (12) a. *Juk nuolat junta Giltinė už nugaros stovint.*
 ‘He constantly feels Giltinė standing behind his back.’
 b. *Tai mato ir jaučia visi!*
 ‘Everyone sees and feels this!’

➤ In type II verb-pairs, the semantic relationship which is ‘subsidiary’ in type I becomes standard: the non-primary verb denotes a state or a process, while the (prefixed) primary verb denotes entry into this state or process. Subtypes:

– entry into a spatial configuration ~ spatial configuration:

pa-kabti ‘hang down (itr.)’, **nu-kabti** ‘id.’ – **kaboti** ‘hang’

– entry into a process ~ process:

su-spursti ‘start fluttering’ – **spurdėti** ‘flounder, flutter’

su-krusti ‘begin to stir’ – **krutėti** ‘stir, move’

(13) a. *Vyrai pagyvėja, sukrunta....*

‘The men liven up, stir...’

b. *Pūtė vėjas, judėjo, krutėjo šakos, šnarėjo, siaudė lapai.*

‘The wind blew, the branches moved, stirred, the leaves rustled.’

– entry into a process of emission (of sound or light) ~ emission of sound or light:

su-tviksti ‘begin to shine’ – **tyksėti** ‘shine, sparkle’

pra-kalbti ‘speak up’ – **kalbėti** ‘speak’

su-čiulbti ‘start chirping’ – **čiulbėti** ‘chirp’

su-klegti ‘start to cackle’ – **klegėti** ‘cackle’

su-žvangti ‘start ringing’ – **žvangėti** ‘ring’

pra-gysti ‘begin to sing’, **sugysti** ‘id.’ – **giedoti** ‘sing’

pra-žvingti ‘begin to neigh’, **su-žvingti** ‘id.’ – **žvingauti** ‘neigh’

pra-šnekti ‘begin to speak’ – **šnekėti** ‘speak’

pra-bilti ‘begin to speak, utter’ – **byloti** ‘say, tell’

su-šlamti ‘begin to rustle’ – **šlamėti** ‘rustle’

su-čežti ‘id.’ – **čežėti** ‘id.’

su-čiaukšti ‘begin to chatter’ – **čiauškėti** ‘chatter, chirp’

(14) a. *Jis prakalbo apie laiką, praleistą prie Weimaro prieš patenkant į nelaisvę.*

‘He started speaking about the time he had spent near Weimar before he had been imprisoned.’

b. *Aš kalbu apie labai senus dalykus.*

‘I am speaking about very old things.’

(15) a. *...ten, virš žalių miškų ir pievų, sutviksdavo laumės juostos.*

‘... there, over green forests and meadows, rainbow used to start shining.’

b. *... kurių baltoji gyvastis šešėliniais siluetais laikinai dar tvyksėjo tamsoje...*

‘... whose white life still sparkled in the darkness like shadowy silhouettes...’²

– entry into a state ~ state:

su-bruzti ‘bestir oneself’ – **bruzdėti** ‘bustle about, fuss’

pa-žinti ‘know; recognize’ – **žinoti** ‘know’

pa-gailti ‘become sorry’ – **gailėti** ‘be sorry’

pa-rūpti ‘become anxious’, **su-rūpti** ‘id.’ – **rūpėti** ‘be concerned’

pa-norti ‘begin to want’ – **norėti** (*nori, norėjo*) ‘want’

į-bosti ‘become tedious’, **at-si-bosti**, **nu-bosti** ‘id.’ – **bodėtis** ‘loathe’

į-galti ‘become able’ – **galėti** ‘be able, can’

iš-girsti ‘hear’ (event), **nu-girsti** ‘id.’ – **girdėti** ‘hear’ (state)

pra-žiurti ‘recover sight, begin to see’, **su-žiurti** ‘start staring’ – **žiūrėti** ‘look’

² <http://www.rasyk.lt/kuriniai/95092.html>

pa-milti ‘grow fond of’ – **mylėti** ‘love, be fond of’
nu-nižti ‘become mangy’ – **niežėti** ‘itch’

- (16) a. **Man pagailo jos.**
 ‘I (suddenly) felt pity for her.’
 b. **Gailėjau jo kaip geriausio draugo.**
 ‘I was feeling pity for him as for a best friend.’
- (17) a. **Jie sužiūra abu vienas į kitą.**
 ‘They both start staring at each other.’
 b. **Jis žiūrėjo daktarei į akis.**
 ‘He was looking the doctor in the eyes.’
- (18) a. **Panorau tave pamatyti.**
 ‘I (suddenly) wish to see you.’
 b. ... **norėjau matyti juos gyvus.**
 ‘I wanted to see them alive.’

– entry into state ~ gradual change of state (with deadjectival verbs):

pa-kvailti, su-kvailti ‘turn stupid’ – **kvailėti** ‘grow stupid’
ap-lėsti ‘slow down a bit’ – **lėtėti** ‘slow down gradually’
ap-tamsti ‘grow darker’ (event) – **tamsuoti** ‘grow darker’ (process)
pa-garsti ‘become famous’, **pragarsti** ‘id.’ – **garsėti** ‘be famous’
pra-tursti ‘become rich’ – **turtėti** ‘grow rich’
pa-grožti ‘to appear beautiful’ – **grožėti** ‘become beautiful’ (**grožis** ‘beauty’)
į-drąsti ‘become bold’ – **drąsėti** ‘grow bolder’

- (19) a. **Kiek milijonierių Lietuvoje negalėtų įrodyti kaip praturto ir niekas jų neklausia.**
 ‘How many millionaires in Lithuanian won’t be able to demonstrate how they became rich, and nobody asks them.’³
 b. **Miestas turtėjo net sovietinio režimo sąlygomis.**
 ‘The city grew rich even under the Soviet regime.’

– instantaneous event ~ series of such events:

su-žibti ‘flash (once)’ – **žibėti** ‘shine, sparkle’
su-žvilgti ‘id.’ – **žvilgėti** ‘id.’
su-blizgti ‘id.’ – **blizgėti** ‘id.’
su-mirgti ‘flicker once, start flickering’ – **mirgėti** ‘flicker’
su-virpti ‘quiver once’ – **virpėti** ‘tremble, quiver’

- (20) a. **Jos akys sužvilgo kaip prieš dvidešimt metų.**
 ‘Her eyes flashed like twenty years ago.’
 b. **Akyse žvilgėjo baimė.**
 ‘[Her] eyes were glittering with fear.’

– a single causative/inchoative pair:

pra-mokti ‘learn a little’ – **mokyti** ‘teach’

- (21) a. **Dvi žiemos pabėgioję, pramoko skaityt, rašyt, ir užteko.**
 ‘Two winters passed, and [she] learned to read and write, and this was enough.’
 b. ... **Plutonas, buvęs Gelgaudiškio gimnazijos moksleivis, mokė skaityti ir rašyti.**
 ‘Plutonas, the former pupil of the Gelgaudiškis gymnasium, taught [him] to read and write’

³ <http://www.lyttas.lt/?id=12034477591202213197&view=9&p=2>

4. Interpretation

- Are the two types of formal and semantic relationships between Lithuanian verbs purely accidental, or it is possible to find a common motivation for them?
- The key to the understanding of this phenomenon is found in the stable uniformity of the one ‘side’ of both oppositions: one of the verbs of the pair is always an intransitive ‘primary’ verb with a *n/st*-present.
- It is well-known (see Stang 1942: 132–133; Arumaa 1957; Toporov 1973; Temčín 1986; Arkadiev 2005, 2006a; Gorbačov 2007) that the *n/st*-class of Lithuanian primary verbs is semantically rather homogeneous and mostly comprises predicates denoting uncontrolled changes of state, vis-à-vis the corresponding causative predicates denoting the agentive activity aimed at the (normally gradual or ‘incremental’, Krifka 1989, Padučeva 2004) attainment of this change of state.
- It seems plausible that once the semantic prototype of this inflectional class has become sufficiently generalized and applicable to a large body of verbs, it became easily extendible to predicates which presuppose no corresponding incremental activity but denote merely an entry into a relevant situation of some sort.
- That anticausative and inceptive/ingressive meanings can be expressed by similar morphology is not unprecedented. Such ‘semantic syncretism’ is found, among other non-trivial morpholexical parallels to the Lithuanian system (see Arkadiev 2006b, 2008), in Georgian (see e.g. Vogt 1971: 112–113; Holisky 1980, 1981):
 - atelic process ~ entry into a process: *t’ir-is* ‘cries’ ~ *at’irdeb-a* ‘begins to cry’
 - state ~ entry into a state: *civ-a* ‘it is cold’ ~ *acivdeb-a* ‘becomes cold’
 - causative ~ inchoative: *atetreb-s* ‘makes white’ ~ *tetrddeb-a* ‘becomes white’
- Certain features of the type II pairs suggest that they are “younger” relative to the type I causative/inchoative pairs (see Arumaa 1957: 129ff for a more detailed discussion):
 - lack of ablaut in most of the pairs;
 - extra-heavy stem syllables such as *pa-gail-ti*, otherwise unacceptable in Lithuanian primary verbs (cf. *puola* ‘is falling’ ~ Inf *pul-ti*, not **puol-ti*);
 - clearly denominal formations such as *ap-tamsti* ‘grow darker’ < *tamsus* ‘dark’;
 - verbs based on morphologically complex formations, e. g. *pra-tursti* ‘become rich’ < *tur-t-as* ‘rich’ < *turėti* ‘have, hold’;
 - (dialectal) verbs based on recent Slavic borrowings, e.g. *bagosti* (Pres. *bagosta*) ‘become rich’ < *bagotas* ‘rich’ < Belorussian *bagaty* (Arumaa 1957: 129).
- Thus, the type II verb-pairs showing an aspectual relation between the members is a secondary development as a result of a diachronic extension of type I causative/inchoative pairs.
- It is almost beyond doubt that an important if not a principle role in the extension of the causative/inchoative alternation into the domain of Aktionsart has been played by verbal prefixes (note that the majority of the inceptive/ingressive *n/st*-verbs do not occur without prefixes):
 - the extension most probably was triggered by the prefixal derivatives of the intransitive members of the causative/inchoative pairs, denoting entry into a state, like *pa-linkti* ‘bend down’, *iš-birti* ‘pour out’, *pra-driksti* ‘get torn’, *su-rigzti* ‘become entangled’, *į-smigti* ‘pierce into’ etc. All such verbs denote the same type of situation (transition in terms of Pustejovsky 1991) as the *n/st*-verbs belonging to pairs of type II, e.g. *pra-virkti* ‘burst into tears’ or *pa-milti* ‘grow fond of’.

➤ From a theoretical point of view, the extension of the erstwhile inchoative/causative alternation into the domain of Aktionsart involved the transition from a derivation to a morphological “construction” (in the sense of Goldberg 2006; Gurevich 2006; Booij 2007).

– Type I relation can be viewed as a derivation creating transitive verbs from intransitive, sharing the typical properties of a derivation:

- both the source and the target entities are well-defined and constrained in morphological (ablaut grade and inflection class), syntactic (intransitive vs. transitive) and semantic (patientive vs. agentive) terms;
- consequently, the derivational operation “algorithmically” determines the properties of the target verb on the basis of the features of the input verb.

– Type II relation rather display characteristic features of a broadly understood grammatical construction:

- only the target set is well-defined (inceptive/ingressive *n/st*-verbs), whereas the source set can comprise fairly divergent entities, e. g. verbs of various inflectional classes and semantic types (states, processes, series of events), and arguably even nominals;
- a greater degree of formal transparency: the morphological construction in question is associated with a prefix and a specific inflectional class, but no more with the change of the vocalic grade.

➤ Finally, the extension from type I to type II involved the reversal of the direction of derivation: if for type I it might be argued that the intransitive *n/st*-verbs are basic with respect to the transitive ones, in type II it is always the *n/st*-verb which is derived.

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