Workshop "Matter borrowing vs pattern borrowing in morphology"
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How much pattern-borrowing does matter-borrowing presuppose?
A study of Slavic verbal prefixes in contact

Kirill Kozhanov, Peter Arkadiev

Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences

peterarkadiev@yandex.ru, kozhanov.kirill@gmail.com

Outline

- Slavic prefixes and "Slavic-style" aspect
- The Romani case study
- The Istroromanian case study
- Conclusions

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Slavic verbal prefixes

~ ca. 20 prefixes (morphologically bound), most of which productively combine with verbs;

cognates in other Indo-European languages;

historically related to prepositions and adverbs.

Slavic verbal prefixes

- spatial as well as non-spatial meanings:

Russian

letet' 'fly':   **v***letet'* 'fly into'

      vy*letet'* 'fly out of'

      za*letet'* 'fly behind'

      pri*letet'* 'arrive by flying'

      vz*letet'* 'fly up'

      s*letet'* 'fly down from'

      pere*letet'* 'fly over'

Slavic verbal prefixes

- spatial as well as non-spatial meanings:

Russian

pisat' 'write': ***v****pisat'* 'inscribe'

vy*pisat'* 'write out'

na*pisat'* 'write to completion'

pere*pisat'* 'rewrite'

za*pisat'* 'record'

pri*pisat'* 'add by writing'

o*pisat'* 'describe'

Slavic verbal prefixes

- Prefixes usually perfectivize verbs:
  - simplex verbs are normally imperfective (≈ describe ongoing or habitual situations)
  - prefixed verbs derived from simplex verbs are perfective (≈ describe completed situations)
- The functions of lexical modification and perfectivization go hand in hand and are often hard to tease apart.

Slavic verbal prefixes

Secondary imperfectivization: prefixed perfective verbs can be further imperfectivized by means of suffixes.

Russian

letet' 'fly(IPFV)' > ***v**letet'* 'fly into(PFV)' > ***v**let**a**t'* 'fly into(IPFV)'

pisat' 'write(IPFV)' > ***pere**pisat'* 'rewrite(PFV)' > ***pere**pis**yva**t'* 'rewrite(IPFV)'

"Slavic-style" aspect

Term coined by Dahl (1985: 84-89) to cover the aspectual systems of languages sharing the following characteristics:

- "perfective" and "imperfective" are not part of the inflectional system but rather (productive) derivational categories;

- simplex verbs are imperfective and denote atelic events (processes and states);

- perfective verbs denoting events, notably, culminations of telic processes, are derived from simplex verbs by means of lexically selective perfectivizing elements such as prefixes (preverbs).

"Slavic-style" aspect

- Attested mainly in the vicinity of Slavic languages, e.g. Baltic (Lithuanian and Latvian), Hungarian, Ossetic, Kartvelian (Georgian, Svan, Mingrelian, Laz), but also elsewhere, e.g. Sino-Tibetan (Qiangic and rGyalrongic), Micronesian, Chadic (Margi), Quechuan.

Breu 1992, Tomelleri 2009, 2010, Plungian 2011, Arkadiev 2014, 2015, Arkadiev & Shluinsky 2015

"Slavic-style" aspect
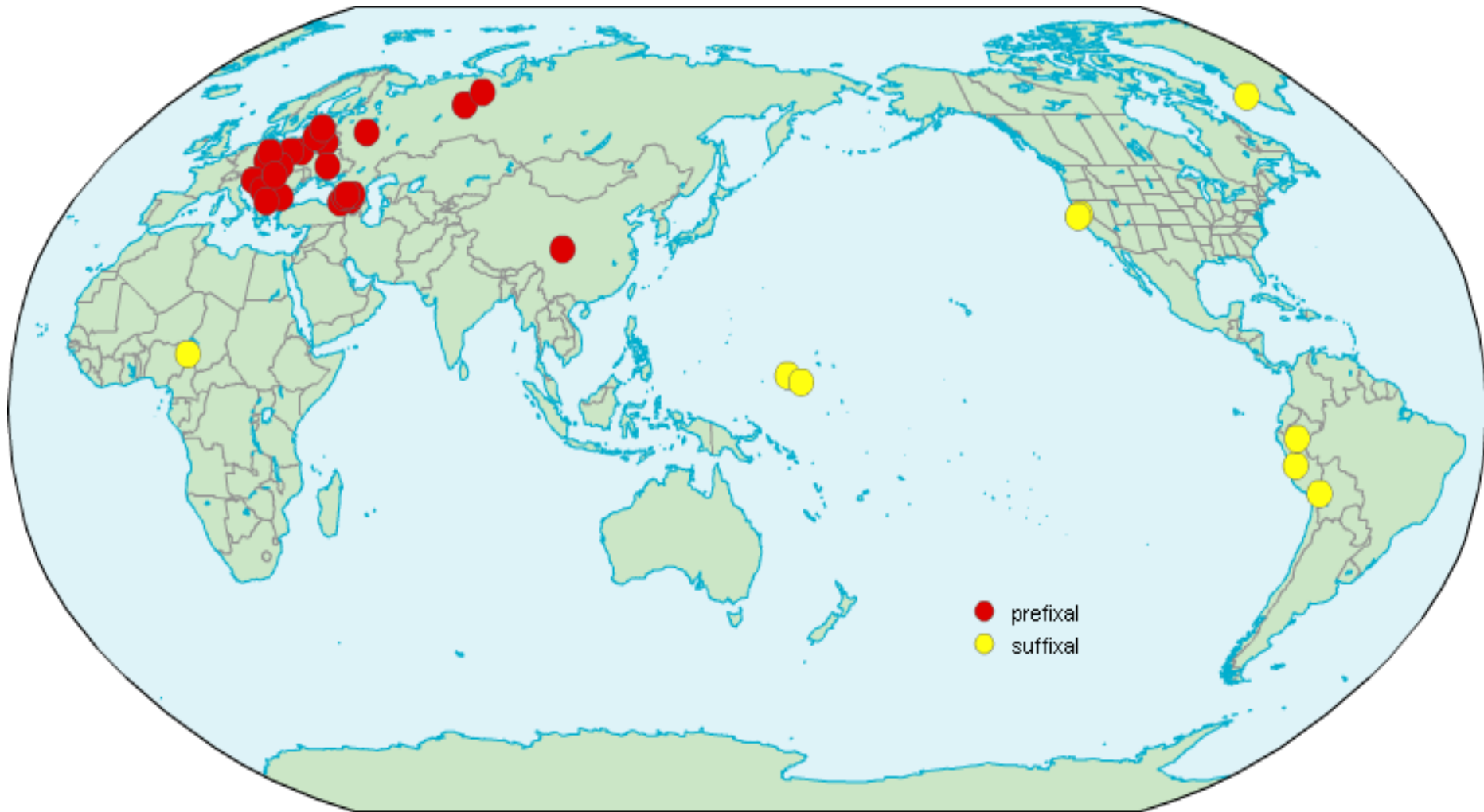
"Slavic-style" aspect

In the Slavic languages aspectual categories have been considered to be grammaticalized to the greatest extent:

- (secondary) imperfectivization alongside perfectivization (> obligatoriness and paradigmaticization of the aspectual opposition);
- "empty prefixes" (> "semantic bleaching");
- nearly complementary distribution of aspects across contexts partly defined in terms of morphosyntax rather than semantics (e.g. the use of the imperfective with phasal verbs).

"Slavic-style" aspect

However, cross-linguistic studies have revealed considerable inner-Slavic variation:

- differences in the productivity of imperfectivization;
- differences in the choice and productivity of "empty prefixes"(if this notion is valid at all, cf. Janda et al. 2013);
- differences in the distribution of aspects in many contexts (> differences in the semantics of aspects among individual languages).

Stunová 1993, Petruxina 2000, Dickey 2000, 2005, 2008, Wiemer 2008, Fortuin & Kamphuis 2015

"Slavic-style" aspect

Not all of the features traditionally associated with Slavic aspect are found in the languages with a similar kind of aspectual system, which does not necessarily lend the latter "not grammaticalized".

Tomelleri 2009, 2010, Arkadiev 2014, 2015

"Slavic-style" aspect

Grammaticalization of "aspect" as a rather abstract morphosemantic **feature** (in the sense of Dahl 2004: Ch. 9) should be distinguished from the grammaticalization of **formal means** of expression of perfectivity and imperfectivity in their different flavours.

Contact-induced grammatical change

Two major types of borrowing (transfer):

- MATter borrowing: "direct replication of morphemes and phonological shapes from a source language";

- PATtern borrowing: "re-shaping of language-internal structures ... it is the patterns of distribution, of grammatical and semantic meaning, and of formal-syntactic arrangement .. that are modelled on an external source".

Matras & Sakel 2007: 829-830, Sakel 2007, Gardani et al. 2015

Contact-induced grammatical change

"Slavic-style" aspect in the contact-linguistic perspective:

- Yiddish (Wexler 1964, 1972, Talmy 1982, Šišigin 2015)

- Romani (Ariste 1973, Igla 1998, Rusakov 2000, 2001, Schrammel 2002, 2005, Kožanov 2011)

- Istro-Romanian (Klepikova 1959, Hurren 1969)

- Lithuanian dialects (Kardelis & Wiemer 2002, Pakerys & Wiemer 2007, Wiemer 2009)

Our aims

We address the question of what happens to the functions of Slavic verbal prefixes when they are MAT-borrowed into other languages, in particular, to what extent the borrowing of prefixes induces the borrowing of verbal aspect.

Outline

- Slavic prefixes and "Slavic-style" aspect
- The Romani case study
- The Istroromanian case study
- Conclusions

Outline

The Romani case study

Russian Romani

[Matras 2002: 11]

The Romani case study

Russian Romani is a Romani variety spoken mostly in Russia, and "a very typical example of strong linguistic interference" (Rusakov 2001: 313).

Several centuries of intense and asymmetric influence from Slavic (first Polish, then East Slavic).

Sergievskij 1931; Ventzel 1964; Rusakov 2001

The Romani case study

- Russian Romani has borrowed a set of preverbs from Slavic, cf.

do-

džál 'go' : **do***džál* 'reach by walking'

pri-

phandél 'tie' : **pri***phandél* 'tie to smth'

pro-

mekél 'let go' : **pro***mekél* 'leak'

Beskrovnyj 1972; Rusakov 2000

The Romani case study

- The aspectual properties of prefixed verbs in Russian Romani, being tightly related to tenses, do not copy the Slavic system entirely.

The Romani case study

Reconstructed Early Romani indicative tenses (Matras 2002)

imperfective	perfective
present/future	preterite
kerava 'I do; will do'	*kerd'om* 'I did'
imperfect	pluperfect
keravas 'I was doing; used to do'	*kerd'omas* 'I have done; had done'

The Romani case study

Indicative tenses in Russian Romani:
Simplex verbs

imperfective	perfective
present/future *kerava* 'I do; am doing'	

The Romani case study

Indicative tenses in Russian Romani:
Simplex verbs

imperfective	perfective
<u>present</u>/future *kerava* 'I do; am doing'	+ present/<u>future</u> *kerava* 'I will do'

The Romani case study

Indicative tenses in Russian Romani: Simplex verbs

imperfective	perfective
<u>present</u>/future *kerava* 'I do; am doing'	+ present/<u>future</u> *kerava* 'I will do'
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The Romani case study

Indicative tenses in Russian Romani: Simplex verbs

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The Romani case study

Indicative tenses in Russian Romani: Simplex verbs

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The Romani case study

Indicative tenses in Russian Romani: Simplex verbs

imperfective	perfective
<u>pres</u>ent/future *kerava* 'I do; am doing'	+ present/<u>future</u> *kerava* 'I will do'
imperfect *keravas* 'I used to do' + preterite *kerd'om* 'I was doing' + analytic future *lava te kerav* 'I will do'	preterite *kerd'om* 'I did'

The Romani case study

Indicative tenses in Russian Romani: Prefixed verbs

imperfective	perfective
present/future *piri*kerava 'I redo; am redoing'	present/future *piri*kerava 'I will redo'
imperfect *piri*keravas 'I used to redo'	preterite *piri*kerd'om 'I redid'

The Romani case study

- In the **past** tenses,

  the aspectual interpretation of prefixed verbs is clearly distributed between preterite (always perfective) and imperfect (always imperfective, more precisely, habitual).

The Romani case study

ked- 'gather; pick':

preterite:

vot	***vi**-ked-yne*	*mest-o...*
so	PVB-pick-PST.3PL	place-DIR.SG

'so they chose the place…' (PFV); cf. Rus. ***vy**brali*

imperfect:

o	*mest-o*	*šuk-o*	***vy**-ked-en-as*
ART	place-DIR.SG	dry-DIR.SG.M	PVB-pick-3PL-IPF

'they would choose a dry place' (IPF); cf. Rus. ***vy**bir**a**li*

The Romani case study

- In other words, in Russian Romani the aspectual opposition of the two past tense forms (preterite vs. imperfect) of prefixed verbs is similar to that of perfectives and secondary imperfectives in Russian.

The Romani case study

- In the **non-past** tense,

  prefixed verbs can have both perfective (future) and imperfective (present) interpretation.

The Romani case study

de- 'give':

saro	**ot**-*de-la*	*e*	*gadž-i*	*mange*
everything	PVB-give-3SG.NPST	ART	gadži-DIR.SG	1SG.DAT

'the non-Romani woman gives / will give everything to me'

The Romani case study

- Even though prefixation and perfectivation in Russian Romani are certainly related, this correlation is not fully grammaticalized.

The Romani case study

- Usually only the prefixes that change the verb's lexical meaning are employed.
- Russian Romani tends not to use "empty" (purely aspectual) prefixes.

The Romani case study

ker- 'do' (simplex, "biaspectual")

š'as	***ker-na***	*že*	*puxov-a*	*adijal-y*
now	do-NPST.3PL	PTCL	feather-DIR.PL	blanket-DIR.PL

'now they make feather blankets'; cf. Rus. *delajut*

me	*tuke*	*penta*	***kerava****,*	*šun*
1SG.DIR	2SG.DAT	hobble-DIR.SG	do-NPST.1SG	listen.IMP.2SG

'listen, I will make a hobble for you'; cf. Rus. ***s****delaju*

The Romani case study

ker- 'do' (simplex, "biaspectual")

jov	*šag-o*	**ker-d'a**
3SG.NOM.M	step-DIR.SG	do-PST.3SG

'he made a step'; cf. Rus. **s**delal

š'as	*na*	*ker-en,*	*ada*	*ran'še*	**ker-de**
now	NEG	do-NPST.3PL	this	earlier	do-PST.3PL

'they don't do it now, they used to do it before'; cf. Rus. *delali*

The Romani case study

- The development of "purely aspectual" prefixes in Slavic has played a significant role in the grammaticalization of aspect; see Dickey (2008, 2011, 2012).

The Romani case study

- Thus, the Russian Romani tendency not to use abstract aspectual ("empty") prefixes shows that the aspectual system is not fully grammaticalized
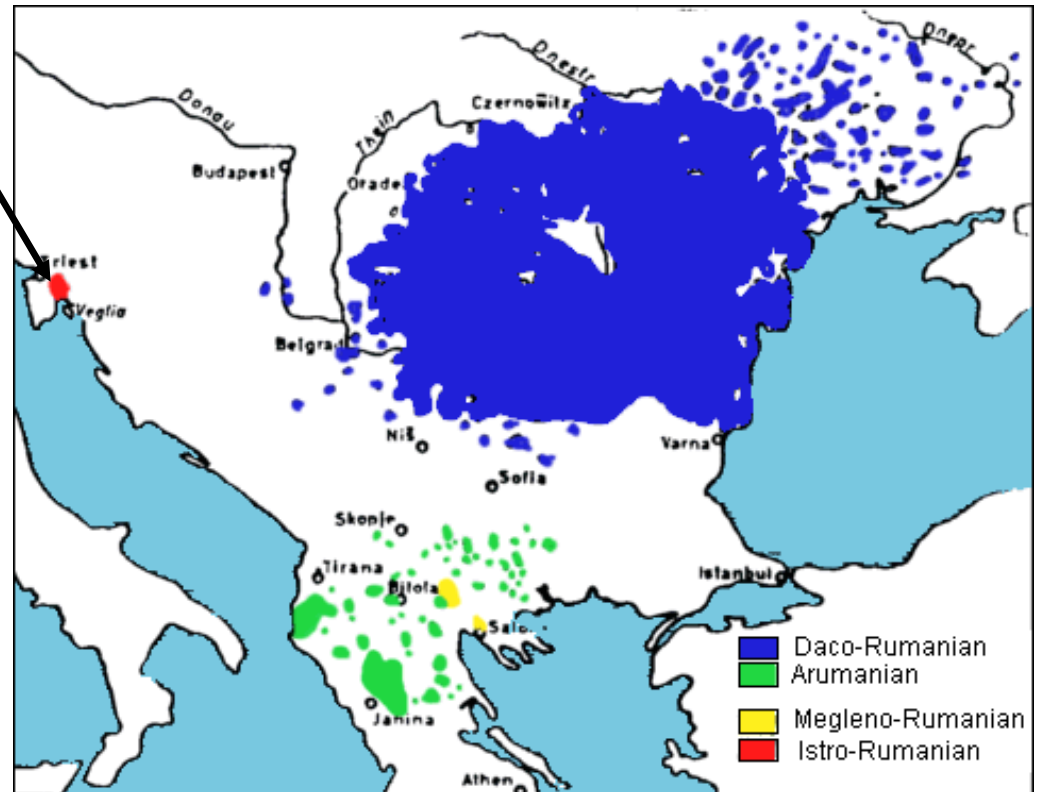
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The Istroromanian case study

Istroromanian

http://wiki.verbix.com/Languages/RomanceEastern

The Istroromanian case study

A Romance enclave surrounded by Čakavian Croatian varieties.

Several centuries of intense and asymmetric influence from Slavic.

Dahmen 1989: 448–453, Katunar 2008

The Istroromanian case study

Istroromanian is a unique case of a language which has borrowed from Slavic not only a system of perfectivizing verbal prefixes, but the imperfectivizing suffix *-va* as well.

Still, the resulting system is far from the Slavic prototype.

The Istroromanian case study

- "lexical" preverbs:

  lega 'tie' ~ ***rez****lega* 'untie', cf. Cro. ***raz****vezati*

  plănje 'weep' ~ ***ze****plănje* 'burst into tears', cf. Cro. ***za****plakati*

  durmi 'sleep' ~ ***na****durmi (se)* 'sleep enough', cf. Cro. ***na****spati se*

- perfectivizing preverbs:

  ćira ~ ***po****ćira* 'have supper', cf. Cro. ***po****večerati*

  parti ~ ***res****parti* 'divide', cf. Cro. ***raz****dijeliti*

Klepikova 1959: 38-45, Hurren 1969

The Istroromanian case study

- imperfectivizing suffix:
  - with simplex bases:

  a mnat 's/he went' ~ *mn**av**eit-a* 'they were going'

  a scutat-av 's/he heard' ~ *scut**av**eit-a* 's/he was listening'

  - with prefixed bases:

  ***res**cl'ide* 'open!' ~ ***res**cl'id**av**eit-a* 's/he kept opening'

  ***ze**durmit* 'they fell asleep' ~ ***ze**durm**iv**eaia* 'they were falling asleep'

Klepikova 1959: 47-55, 58-60

The Istroromanian case study

Istroromanian seems to have a grammaticalized aspectual opposition involving different morphological relations between imperfective and perfective verbs (Kovačec 1966: 71–72; Hurren 1969):

	imperfective	perfective
prefixation	*torče* 'spin'	***po****torče* 'spin'
Suffixation	*cad**av**ei* 'fall' ***pot****pis**iv**ei* 'sign'	*cade* 'fall' ***pot****pisei* 'sign'
conjugation class	*hitei* 'throw'	*hiti* 'throw'
suppletion	*be* 'drink'	*popi* 'drink'

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The Istroromanian case study

The distribution of simplex vs. suffixal verbs in Istroromanian appears to have been remodeled on the basis of the opposition "prefixal perfective ~ suffixal secondary imperfective", with many simplex verbs recategorized as perfective.

The Istroromanian case study

- simplex perfectives of the Romance origin:

(1) ***Scund-e=te*** *su påtu lu ia.*

    hide[PFV].IMP.2SG=2SG.ACC under bed.SG to   she.DAT

    'Hide (Rus. perfective *sprjač'sja)* under her bed.'

(2) *Ancea maranc-u şi me* ***ascund-av-es****.*

    while   eat-PRS.3PL   and 1SG.OBL hide-IPFV-PRS.1SG

    'I am hiding (Rus. imperfective *prjačus')* while they are eating.'

(Klepikova 1959: 49, 52)

The Istroromanian case study

- simplex perfectives of the Slavic origin:

(3) *şi=av*   ***pisei-t***   *un*   *libr-u.*

     and=have.PRS.3SG   write[PFV]-PTCP INDF   book-SG

     'and wrote (Rus. perfective *napisal)* a book.'

(4) *le*   *nu*   *l'=a*   *iedănaist an*

     he.NOM NEG   they.DAT=have.PRS.3SG   eleven   year

     pis-ivei-t.

     write-IPFV-PTCP

     'He didn't **write** (Rus. imperfective *pisal*) to them for eleven years.'

(Klepikova 1959: 52)

The Istroromanian case study

Simplex verbs with the imperfectivizing suffix have not only the iterative, but also the durative/ progressive value:

(5)   *prevtu   jos   mai   jos   **cad-avei-t***

      priest-SG down more down   fall-IPFV-PTCP

      'the priest was falling lower and lower'

Klepikova 1959: 50, 52, cf. Hurren 1969: 70

The Istroromanian case study

The Istroromanian aspectual system:

telic base verbs:
• simplex perfectives ~ suffixal imperfectives

atelic base verbs:
• simplex imperfectives ~ prefixal perfectives
• suffixal iteratives

lexical modification by prefixes ~ suffixal secondary imperfectives/iteratives

The Istroromanian case study

Istroromanian has borrowed from Slavic both the formal means of expressing perfectivity and imperfectivity and the more abstract aspectual opposition itself, but the resulting system is markedly different from the Slavic ones, to the extent that Slavic originally imperfective verbal loans have been reinterpreted as perfective.

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Conclusions

- Borrowing of matter (perfectivizing prefixes and, more rarely, the imperfectivizing suffix) from languages with "Slavic-style" aspect into languages with very different verbal systems is a well-attested phenomenon.

Conclusions

- Even extensive borrowing does not lead to the creation in the recipient languages of aspectual categories grammaticalized to an extent similar to those of the donor languages.

- "[R]eplica categories are generally less grammaticalized than the corresponding model categories" (Heine 2012: 132)

Conclusions

Cf. the conspicuous absence of verbal aspect from the well-known list of "balkanisms":

- extensive language contact and influence of non-Slavic languages does not seem to have had any effect on the development of the "Slavic-style" aspect in Bulgarian and Macedonian;

- neither have aspectual systems of the latter served as models for replication in the non-Slavic Balkan languages.

Aronson 1981, Rusakov 2007: 86-87, Rusakov & Sobolev 2008: 28-29

Conclusions

- Even in the case of "extreme" borrowing as in Istroromanian, the resulting system, arguably highly grammaticalized, is a result of language-internal development and refunctionalization of borrowed material, rather than a direct "copy" of the Slavic system.

- Perfect cross-language alignment of highly grammaticalized morphosyntactic patterns is at best infrequent even in cases of "metatypy" (Ross 2007), cf. Wiemer & Wälchli (2012: 37).

Conclusions

Both matter and pattern borrowing primarily involve formally transparent and functionally loaded elements

– Aktionsarten (including telicity) rather than highly abstract aspectual oppositions;

– lexically and semantically, rather than morphosyntactically, determined categories.

Weinreich 1953: 34-35, Winford 2003: 91-92, Gardani 2008

Thank you for your attention!

Danke für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit!