

Traces of non-nominative alignment in Lithuanian

Silvia Piccini

Università di Pisa

Dipartimento di Linguistica "T.Bolelli"

e-mail: *silvia.piccini@tin.it*

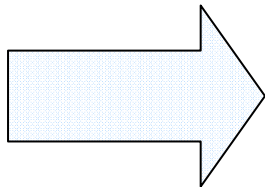


Topic: recognize and discuss evidence of semantic alignment in Lithuanian

Framework: Role and Reference Grammar [RRG] – W. Foley and R. Van Valin

➤ Lexical decomposition: distinction in *Aktionsarten* (Vendler, 1967)

- States
- Activities
- Achievements
- Accomplishments

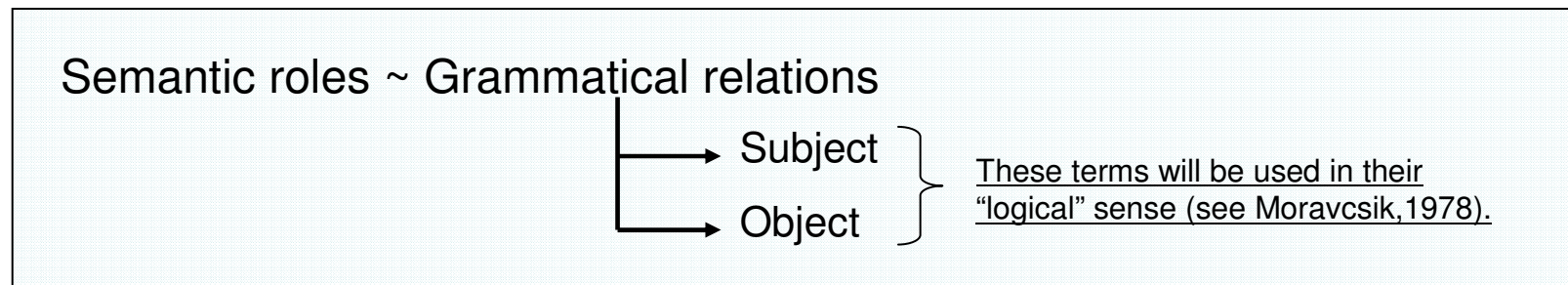


<i>Aktionsarten</i>	Logical Structure
State	predicate' (x) or (x,y)
Activity	do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)])
Achievement	INGR predicate' (x) or (x,y), or INGR do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)])
Accomplishment	BECOME predicate' (x) or (x,y), or BECOME do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x,y)])



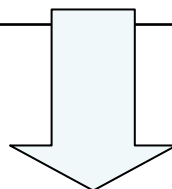
➤ The semantic interpretation of an argument introduced by a verb depends on the logical structure of the verb or predicating element it occurs with.

- Thematic relations (agent, experiencer, patient, etc...)
- Macroroles: Actor and Undergoer



- A = transitive “subject” → Actor
- O = transitive “object” → Undergoer
- S = intransitive “subject” → ?

A	S	O
Actor	Actor/Undergoer	Undergoer

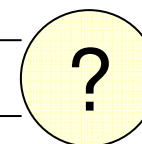


- Ergative alignment {A}, {S,O}
- Accusative alignment {A, S}, {O}
- Semantic alignment {A, S_a}, {O, S_o}





Are there cases of semantic alignment in Lithuanian?



1. Verbs denoting physical states: *skaudėti*, *sopėti*, *diegti*, *gelti*, *mausti*, *peršėti*, *niežėti* (*knitėti*).

- impersonal verbs
- NP_{EXPERIENCER} = DAT.
- NP_{THEME} = ACC.

<i>Man</i> I PERS.PRON.DAT.SG "I have stomach-ache."	<i>pilvą</i> stomachACC.SG.	<i>skaust.</i> to achePRES.3	KI18		
<i>Nuo tų dūmų</i> PREP.+ that smokeGEN.PI. "I have got a headache because of that smoke."	<i>galvą</i> headACC.SG.	<i>sopa.</i> to achePRES.3	NS500		
<i>Ar</i> INTERR.PART.	<i>tau</i> youPERS.PRON.DAT.SG.	<i>žandą</i> jawACC.SG.	<i>labai</i> a lotADV.	<i>maudžia ?</i> to hurtPRES.3	Rm

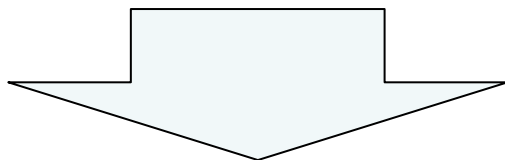


<p><i>Širdį</i> <i>man</i> <i>diegia.</i> heartACC.SG. I PERS.PRON.DAT.SG. to have a twingePRES.3 “I have a twinge in my heart.”</p>	R338
<p><i>Sumuštus</i> <i>kaulus</i> <i>moteriai</i> <i>gelia</i> <i>iki šiol.</i> beatPAST PASSIVE PART.ACC.PL. bonesACC.PL. womanDAT.SG. to bitPRES.3 stillADV. “The woman’s bones still hurt after the beating”.</p>	Corpus
<p><i>Daugeliui</i> <i>jų</i> <i>perši</i> <i>gerklę.</i> manyDAT.SG. theyPERS.PRON.GEN.PL. to itchPRES.3 throatACC.SG. “Most of them have a sore throat.”</p>	Corpus
<p><i>Nuolat</i> <i>niežti</i> <i>galvos</i> <i>odą.</i> ConstantlyADV. to itchPRES.3 headGEN.SG. skinACC.SG. “The scalp constantly itches”.</p>	Corpus



S is aligned with O →

- ✓ ACCUSATIVE
- ✓ Thematic relation: Theme
- ✓ Macrorole: Undergoer



EXTENDED ACCUSATIVE
related to two semantic
features:

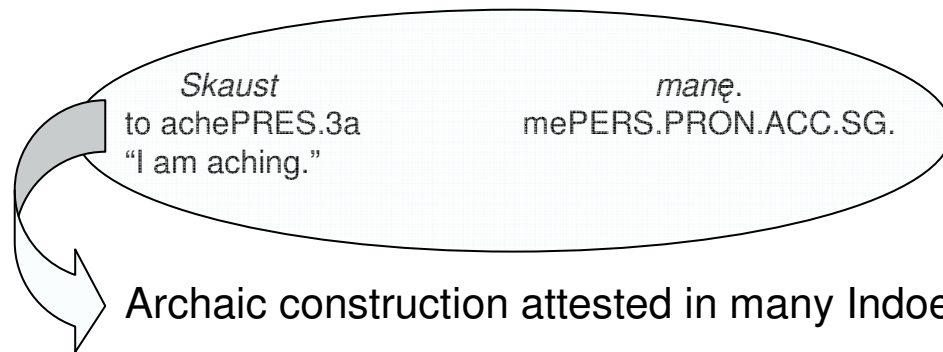
a – semantic role of S
b – verbal lexical Aspect
(states: $-\acute{e} < *-\bar{e}$)

1a. *Sopėti* and *skaudėti* can occur in an impersonal construction in which they assign the role of experiencer to an accusative NP (person affected by the ache).

Manę *visą sopa* (Lp.)
“I am aching all over”;

Mane [sic] *visą skauda, kad skauda, jejus!* (Rs.)
“I am aching all over, what pain o Jesus!”





Bretkūnas, Prov.23₃₅

Archaic construction attested in many Indoeuropean languages

Vedic:

Na mā taman na śraman na tandrat. (RV, II, 30, 7) "I am neither, lazy, tired nor insolent."

Stryiam dr̥ṣṭavāyam kitavām tatāpa (RV, X, 34, 11) "The player feels sad when he sees a woman."

Gothic:

pana gaggandan dumis ni huggreip jah pana galaubjandan du mis ni þaurseip hvanhun (Delbrück 1900, 33) "he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst";

Old English:

mee likes... go see the hoped heaven (Lightfoot 1979, 230) "I like to go see the hoped heaven."

me thynketh I heare (Lightfoot 1979, 229) "I think that I hear."

O.H.Germ./M.H.Germ.:

mir/mich gerinnet "I miss"; *mich belanget* "I desire, I want"; *mich hungert* "I am hungry"; *mich dürstet* "I am thirsty".

Hittite: *Ištarkīazzi kuinki* (Friedrich 1960-1967, 193) "Someone falls ill."

Tuk-ma irmaliḡattat (Friedrich 1960-1967, 193) "Do you get ill?":

Latin: *Fratris me quidem pudet pigetque* (Ter., Ad. 391-992) "I really feel ashamed for my brother and feel sorry for him."



The expressions of mental and physical states are typologically unstable with regard to the treatment of S argument.

Latin:	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Me piget</td> <td>Pigeo</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Me pudet</td> <td>Pudeo</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Me miseret</td> <td>Misereo</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Me paenitet</td> <td>Paeniteo/Paeniteor</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Me taedet</td> <td>Taedeo/Taedeor</td> </tr> </table>	Me piget	Pigeo	Me pudet	Pudeo	Me miseret	Misereo	Me paenitet	Paeniteo/Paeniteor	Me taedet	Taedeo/Taedeor																		
Me piget	Pigeo																												
Me pudet	Pudeo																												
Me miseret	Misereo																												
Me paenitet	Paeniteo/Paeniteor																												
Me taedet	Taedeo/Taedeor																												
Lithuanian:	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Sopa to achePRES.3 "All my joints ache."</td> <td><i>man</i> I PERS.PRON.DAT.SG.</td> <td><i>visi sąnariai.</i> all ADJ.+ jointNOM.PL.</td> <td>J.</td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Nejaugi</i> reallyINTERR.PART. "Really do their nails itch?"</td> <td><i>dabar</i> nowADV.</td> <td><i>jiems</i> theyPERS.PRON.DAT.PL.</td> <td>niežti to itchPRES.3</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Skauda to itchPRES.3 "All the body itches".</td> <td><i>visas kūnas.</i> all ADJ. + body NOM.SG.</td> <td></td> <td><i>nagai?</i> nailsNOM.PL.</td> </tr> <tr> <td><i>Tik</i> OnlyCONJ.</td> <td>gelia to stingPRES.3 "Only big wounds hurt the heart."</td> <td><i>didelė žaizda</i> big ADJ.+ woundNOM.SG.</td> <td><i>širdyje.</i> heartLOC.SG.</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Corpus</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Corpus</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>Corpus</td> </tr> </table>	Sopa to achePRES.3 "All my joints ache."	<i>man</i> I PERS.PRON.DAT.SG.	<i>visi sąnariai.</i> all ADJ.+ jointNOM.PL.	J.	<i>Nejaugi</i> reallyINTERR.PART. "Really do their nails itch?"	<i>dabar</i> nowADV.	<i>jiems</i> theyPERS.PRON.DAT.PL.	niežti to itchPRES.3	Skauda to itchPRES.3 "All the body itches".	<i>visas kūnas.</i> all ADJ. + body NOM.SG.		<i>nagai?</i> nailsNOM.PL.	<i>Tik</i> OnlyCONJ.	gelia to stingPRES.3 "Only big wounds hurt the heart."	<i>didelė žaizda</i> big ADJ.+ woundNOM.SG.	<i>širdyje.</i> heartLOC.SG.				Corpus				Corpus				Corpus
Sopa to achePRES.3 "All my joints ache."	<i>man</i> I PERS.PRON.DAT.SG.	<i>visi sąnariai.</i> all ADJ.+ jointNOM.PL.	J.																										
<i>Nejaugi</i> reallyINTERR.PART. "Really do their nails itch?"	<i>dabar</i> nowADV.	<i>jiems</i> theyPERS.PRON.DAT.PL.	niežti to itchPRES.3																										
Skauda to itchPRES.3 "All the body itches".	<i>visas kūnas.</i> all ADJ. + body NOM.SG.		<i>nagai?</i> nailsNOM.PL.																										
<i>Tik</i> OnlyCONJ.	gelia to stingPRES.3 "Only big wounds hurt the heart."	<i>didelė žaizda</i> big ADJ.+ woundNOM.SG.	<i>širdyje.</i> heartLOC.SG.																										
			Corpus																										
			Corpus																										
			Corpus																										



?

Does the sole argument of these experiential predicates have any subject property?

?



A semantic aligned language “is especially oriented to the rendering, not of subjective-objective relations, which finds here only implicit expression, but of the relations existing between active and inactive participants” (Klimov ,1974: 13).

2. Experiential predicates, characterized by the causative suffix *-inti* (or *-yti*): *troškinti*, *dusinti*, *pykinti*, *purtyti* (*purtinti*), *laužyti*, *kratyti*.

{
▪ impersonal verbs
▪ NP_{EXPERIENCER} = ACC.
}



<i>Aš</i> I PERS. PRON.NOM.SG. “I cannot eat fat, it disgusts me.”	<i>negaliu</i> can NEG.+ PRES 3	<i>riebiai</i> fat ADV.	<i>valgyt,</i> eat INF.	<i>mane</i> I PERS. PRON.ACC.SG.	<i>putina.</i> to disgust PRES.3	Snt.	
<i>Muni</i> I PERS.PRON.ACC.SG. “I am awfully thirsty”.	<i>baisiai</i> awfullyADV.	<i>troškina.</i> to be thirstyIND.3				Sd.	
<i>Ji</i> shePRON.PERS.ACC.SG. “She feels ever more stifled.”	<i>vis labiau</i> more and moreADV.	<i>dusino.</i> stiflePRES.3				DLKG 607	
<i>Gal</i> perhaps ADV.	<i>prieš</i> before PREP.	<i>oro</i> weather GEN.SG.	<i>atmainą</i> change ACC.SG.	<i>mane</i> I PERS.PRON. ACC.SG.	<i>taip</i> so ADV.	<i>laužo.</i> to break PRES.3	DLKG 607
<i>Vežime</i> cartLOC.SG. “The patient was severely shaken in the cart.”	<i>ligonę</i> patientACC.SG.	<i>labai</i> muchADV.	<i>kratė.</i> to shakePAST3			DLKG 607	



These experiential subject constructions MIGHT have evolved from the reanalysis of transimpersonal constructions.



Possibility to express the external Agent by means of a prepositional phrase (*nuo* or *dél* + genitive)

Mane troškina nuo žuvies. “Fish makes me thirsty.”

Mane purto (purtina) nuo tavęs. “You disgust me.”

Nuo drėgmės man visada kaulus laužo. “My bones are aching because of the humidity.”

3. Contexts known in the literature as unaccusative.

<i>Man</i> I PERS.PRON.DAT.SG. “Spots have appeared on my tongue.”	<i>nukėlė</i> to appearPAST3	<i>spuogais</i> spotsINSTR.PL.	<i>liežuvj</i> tongueACC.SG.	DLKG 608
<i>Mane</i> I PRON.ACC.1SG. “I sometimes get red marks on the body.”	<i>kartais</i> sometimesADV.	<i>išmuša</i> to getPRES.3	<i>raudonomis dėmėmis.</i> red ADJ.+ spot INSTR.PL.	DLKG 608
<i>Vaiką</i> childACC.SG. “The child’s body erupted in red spots.”	<i>išbėrė</i> eruptPRES.3	<i>raudonais spuogeliais</i> red spot ADJ.+INSTR.PL.		DLKG 608



- {
 - impersonal verbs (denoting cutaneous eruptions)
 - NP_{EXPERIENCER} = ACC.
 } or {
 - impersonal verbs
 - NP_{EXPERIENCER} = DAT.
 - NP_{THEME} = ACC.
 }

4. Verbs denoting meteorological phenomena.

<i>Dangu</i> skyACC.SG. "The sky was covered in clouds."	<i>užtraukė</i> to be coveredPAST3	<i>debesimis.</i> cloudINSTRUM.PL.	DLKG 608
--	---------------------------------------	---------------------------------------	----------

<i>Prilijo</i> to be filled PAST3 "The ditch was completely filled with water."	<i>pilną griovį</i> full ADJ.+ ditch ACC.SG.	<i>vandens.</i> waterGEN.SG.	DLKG 607
---	---	---------------------------------	----------

These constructions have personal parallels:

<i>Dangu</i> skyACC.SG. "Clouds covered the sky."	<i>užtraukė</i> to coverPAST3	<i>debesys.</i> cloudNOM.PL.	DLKG 608
---	----------------------------------	---------------------------------	----------

Ežerai vandens prilijo (Žem.) "The lakes were filled with water".	LKŽ
--	-----



Conclusions (1/2):

➤ Lithuanian is an accusative language, but phenomena of semantic alignment can be pointed out.

- Verbs denoting physical states (*skaudėti, sopėti, diegti, gelti, mausti, peršėti, niežėti* or *knitėti*).

{

- impersonal verbs
- NP_{EXPERIENCER} = DAT.
- NP_{THEME} = ACC.

} or {

- impersonal verbs
- NP_{EXPERIENCER} = ACC.

}

- Experiential verbs characterized by the causative suffix *-inti* (*-yti*)

{

- impersonal verbs
- NP_{EXPERIENCER} = ACC.

}

- Verbs denoting cutaneous eruptions.

{

- impersonal verbs
- NP_{EXPERIENCER} = DAT.
- NP_{THEME} = ACC.

} or {

- impersonal verbs
- NP_{EXPERIENCER} = ACC.

}

- Meteorological predicates



Conclusions (2/2):

- The principle underlying every structure is the same: the single argument S introduced by these predicates is aligned with O (accusative), sharing with it the semantic macrorole of Undergoer.





Grazie per l'attenzione!



Thank you for your attention!



Děkui už dėmesj!



Спасибо!

