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A MULTIFACTORIAL AREAL-TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH TO PREFIXAL PERFECTIVE IN THE LANGUAGES OF EUROPE AND THE CAUCASUS
(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 **auf**laden.*
      'The men will load the hay up.'
   b. *Die Männer <u>laden</u> das Heu nicht **auf**, sondern **ab**.*
      'The men are not loading the hay [up], they're loading it down .'

Map 1.

1.2. Other verbal prefixes besides preverbs *sensu stricto*

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

GEORGIAN
(3) *ça-<u>v</u>-<u>i</u>-ḳitx-e*
    PRV-1.SB-CV-read-AOR
   'I read it'

Map 2.

1.3. Position of preverbs in the verbal complex (provided there are other prefixes): word-initial (1) vs. medial (2) vs. immediately preceding the stem (3) in table 2.

1.4. Iteration of preverbs.
(4) RUSSIAN ***po-na-vy-dumyvala*** 'she invented many different things'

Map 3.

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)'

Map 4.

```
                        latv

                        lith              bel
        sor                                         rus
             pol        yid
ger
                   slvk              ukr
        cze
                        hun

             slvn
                                                  ady
                   bsc                                      osset
                        bul                  ming   svan
                   mac                                      geo
                                        laz
```
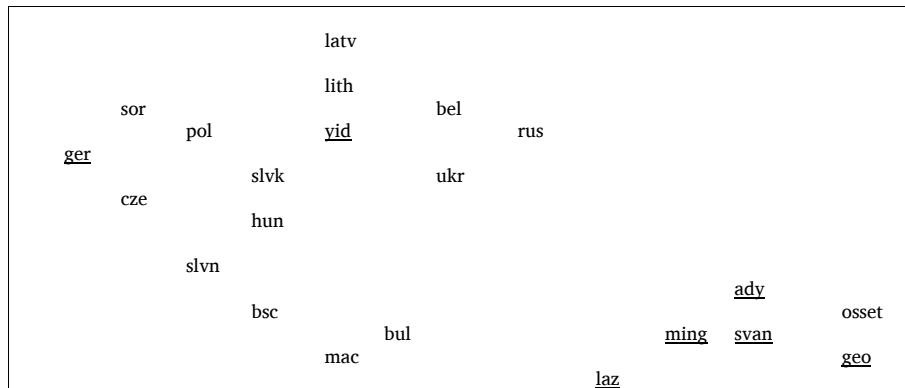
2. Functional properties of preverbs and prefixal verbs

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

Table 1. IRON OSSETIC (Abaev 1964: 76–77)

	'inside'	'outside'	'down'	'up'
towards the speaker	ba-	ra-	ær-, sæ-	š-
from the speaker	ærba-	a-	nə-	

Map 5.

```
                        latv

                        lith              bel
        sor                                         rus
             pol        yid
ger
                   slvk              ukr
        cze
                        hun

             slvn
                                                  ady
                   bsc                                      osset
                        bul                  ming   svan
                   mac                                      geo
                                        laz
```
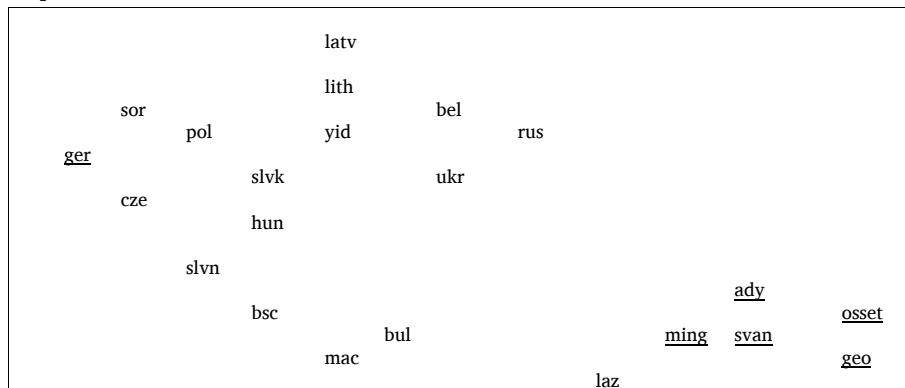
2.2. Delimitative preverbs

IRON OSSETIC (Axvlediani (ed.) 1963: 238)

(6) *iw   sal-dær   až-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…'

Map 6.

```
                        latv

                        lith              bel
        sor                                         rus
             pol        yid
ger
                   slvk              ukr
        cze
                        hun

             slvn
                                                  ady
                   bsc                                      osset
                        bul                  ming   svan
                   mac                                      geo
                                        laz
```
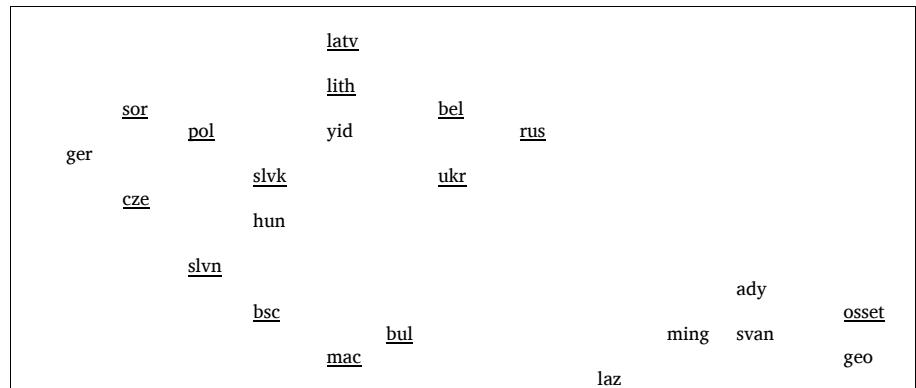
2.3.1. Durative (imperfective) use of prefixal verbs of motion (on map 7)

VERNACULAR UPPER SORBIAN (Breu 2000: 56)

(7) *Dyš smó   mó   šije-l-i,   su   te   lětadła   rune   wot-leće-l-i.*
     when AUX.1PL we   come-PST-PL AUX.3PL the planes   just   PRV-fly-PST-PL
     'When we came, the planes were just flying away.'

2.3.2. Durative (imperfective) use of prefixal verbs of other types (**on map 7**)

VERNACULAR UPPER SORBIAN (Breu 2000: 55)

(8) *Wón na-pis-a   rune někotre słowa.*
     he   PRV-write-PRS.3SG   just some   words
     'He is writing some words now.'

Map 7.

```
                        latv

                        lith              bel
        sor                                         rus
             pol        yid
ger
                   slvk              ukr
        cze
                        hun

             slvn
                                                  ady
                   bsc                                      osset
                        bul                  ming   svan
                   mac                                      geo
                                        laz
```
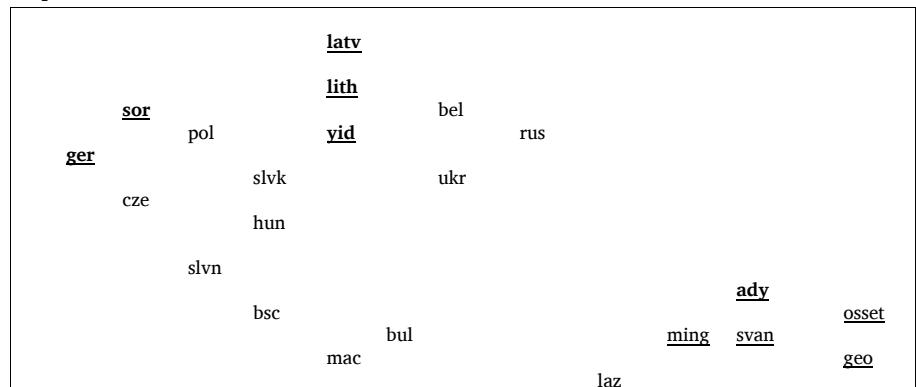
3. Functional properties of verbal systems

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

CZECH (Dickey 2000: 136)

(9) *První den pře-čte_{PFV} čtvrtinu knihy…*

RUSSIAN (ibid.)

(10) *V pervyj den' ona *pro-čitaet_{PFV} // [pro-čit] -yvaet_{IPF} četvërtuju čast' knigi…*

'[The girl is reading a book containing 60 pages.] On the first day she reads the quarter of the book.'

Laz, Arxavi dialect (Lacroix 2009: 342)

(11) *ha daɣi-s mutu ko-b-ʒir-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.'

Map 8.
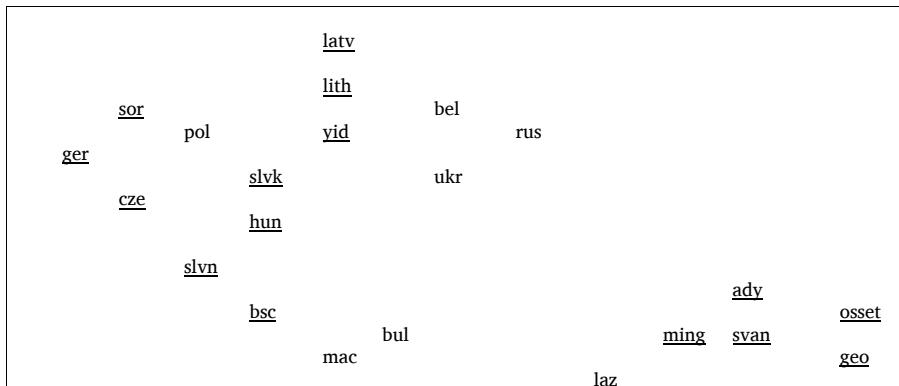
3.2. Futurate use of the present tense of prefixed/perfective verbs

(12) MINGRELIAN: *čaruns* 's/he writes' ~ **doč̣aruns** 's/he will write'

Map 9.
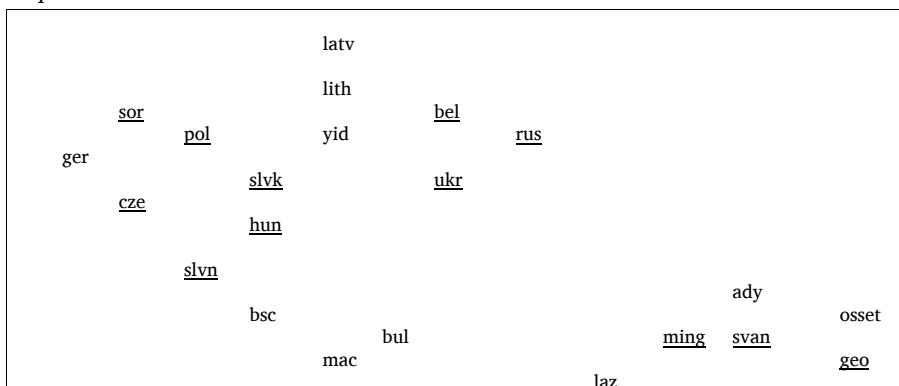
3.3. Use of prefixed/perfective verbs with phasal predicates

HUNGARIAN [Majtinskaja 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.'

RUSSIAN

(14) *Mal'čik za-konči-l ***pere-pisa-t'*PFV // **pere-pis-yva-t'***IPF zadani-e.*
boy(NOM.SG) PRV-finish-PST(M.SG) PRV-write-INF / PRV-write-IPF-INF assignment-ACC.SG
'The boy finished rewriting the assignment.'

Map 10.
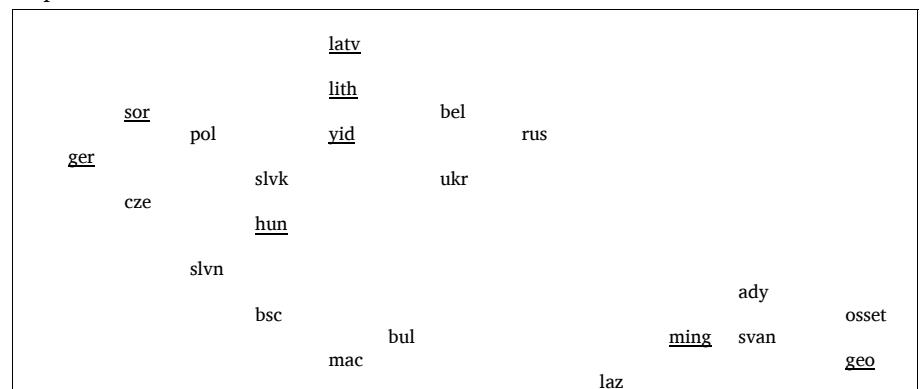
3.4.1. Morphological means of secondary imperfectivization (on map 11)

(15) a. RUSSIAN: *pišet*IPF → ***pere**pišet*PFV → *perepis**yva**et*IPF
'is writing' 'will rewrite' 'is rewriting'

b. LITHUANIAN: *rašo → **per**rašo → perraš**inė**ja* 'id.'

c. MINGRELIAN: *ge-**tmi**-a-ʒic-en-d-u*
PRV-IPF-CV-laugh-SM-IPFV-3SG.S
'was laughing at him/her'

3.4.1. Syntactic means of secondary imperfectivization (on map 11)

HUNGARIAN (Csirmaz 2006: 113)

(16) 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.'

Map 11.
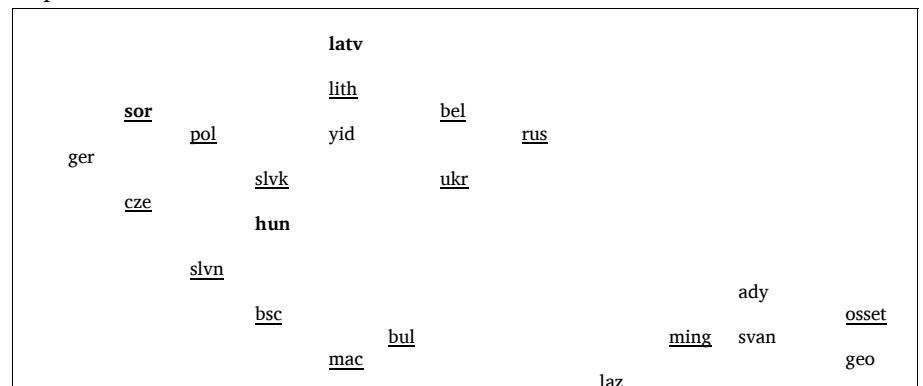
3.6. Means of perfectivization besides preverbs: a property of Slavic and Lithuanian

(17) a.   RUSSIAN: *tolknut'* 'to push once' ~ *tolkat'* 'to push (many times)'

     b.   LITHUANIAN: *mostelėti* 'to wave once' ~ *moti* 'to wave'

3.7. Future tense independent of aspect

LITHUANIAN

(18) *rašy-**si**-u*   ~   *pa-rašy-**si**-u*

    write-FUT-1SG   PRV-write-FUT-1SG

    'I will be writing'   'I will write (the whole thing)'

Map 12.

```
                    latv

                    lith            bel
         sor                                    rus
              pol        yid
ger
              slvk                  ukr
         cze
                    hun

         slvn
                                         ady
              bsc                              osset
                  bul                  ming  svan
              mac                                  geo
                            laz
```
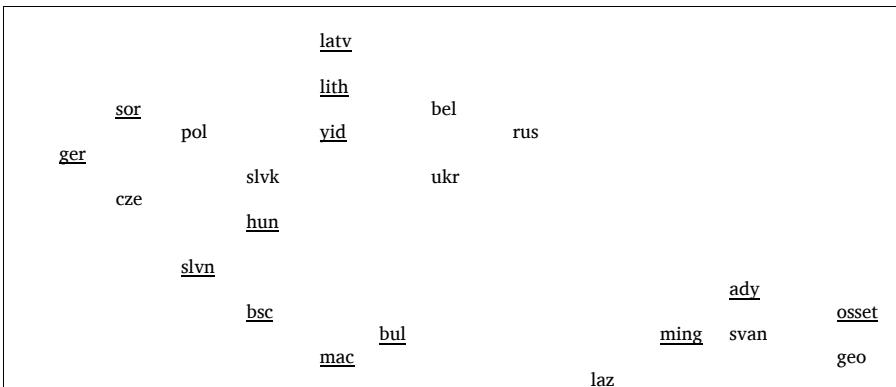
3.8. Distinction between inflectional perfective (Aorist) and imperfective (Imperfect) tenses

Map 13.

```
                    latv

                    lith            bel
         sor                                    rus
              pol        yid
ger
              slvk                  ukr
         cze
                    hun

         slvn
                                         ady
              bsc                              osset
                  bul                  ming  svan
              mac                                  geo
                            laz
```
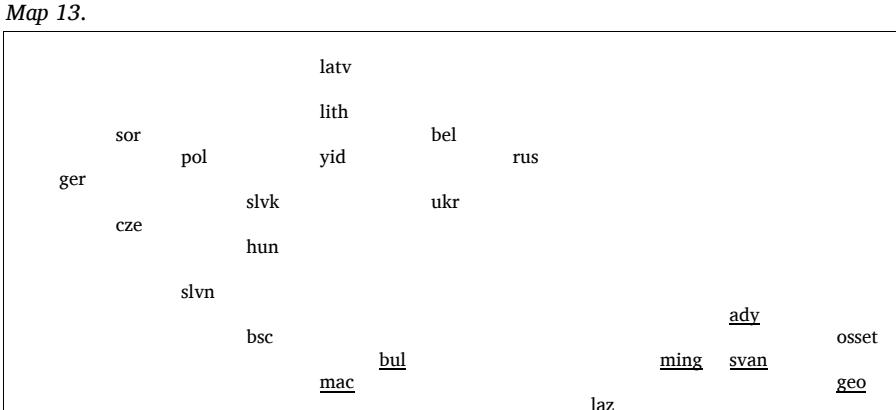
II. Clusterization

Table 2. Parameter values (blank cells: non applicable or no data)

Parameters	Rus	Pol	Cze	Slvn	BCS	Bulg	Mac	Sorb	Lith	Latv	Ger	Yid	Hun	Oss	Geo	Svan	Ming	Laz	Ady
1.1 separability	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
1.2 other prefixes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
1.3 position									2	3				1	1	1	2	2	2
1.4 iteration	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1.5 morph. subtypes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
2.1 deixis	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
2.2 perfectivization	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
2.3 pure perfectiv.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
2.4 delimitative	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
2.5 dur. motion v.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
2.6 dur. other v.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
3.1 perf. present	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
3.2 perf.pres. = fut	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
3.3 phasal verbs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1		1	1	1
3.4 morph. 2imperf	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
3.5 synt. 2imperf	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.6 non-pref. perf.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.7 neutral future	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
3.8 aor/imperf	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1

Fig. 1. Clusters of languages

```
                                    LATV
              OSS          LITH
SVAN                                         SOR

  GEO
                                                        BCS
LAZ                                                          BULG, MAC
MING
                                                      SLVN
                                                         CZE   RUS, POL

ADY              YID                  HUN

       GER
```
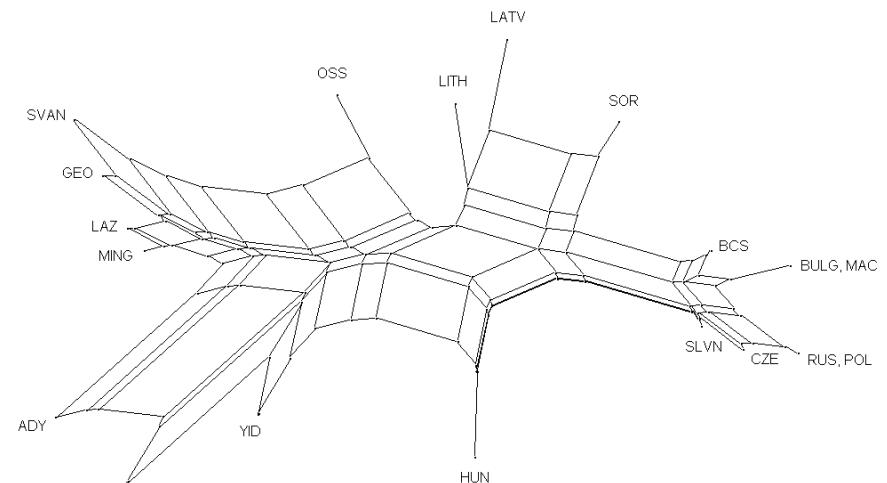
Table 3. The two "prototypes" of prefixal perfectivization.

Slavic	Kartvelian / Caucasian
iteration of preverbs	no preverb iteration
no clear morphological or functional subdivisions of preverbs	morphological and functional subdivisions of preverbs
lack of other verbal prefixes	presence of other verbal prefixes
no systematic expression of deixis by preverbs	systematic expression of deixis by preverbs
productive delimitative prefixation	no productive delimitative Aktionsart (except Ossetic)
productive morphological secondary imperfectivization	no productive secondary imperfectivization (except Ossetic and Mingrelian)
a suffixal perfectivizer	no perfectivizers except preverbs
ban on the co-occurrence of perfective verbs with phasal predicates	no ban on the co-occurrence of perfective verbs with phasal predicates (except Ossetic)
ban on the imperfective use of prefixed verbs of motion	imperfective use of prefixed motion verbs
no inflectional Aorist and Imperfect (except Bulgarian and Macedonian)	inflectional Aorist and Imperfect (except Ossetic)

Appendix I. Contact phenomena

1. Matter borrowing (in terms of Matras & Sakel eds. 2007)

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

(19) *te ot-des* 'give away' ~ Rus. *ot-dat'*, *te vy-des* 'give out' ~ *vy-dat'*, *te roz-des* 'distribute' ~ Rus. *raz-dat'*, *ros-phenava* 'I will tell' ~ Rus. *ras-skažu*

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

(20) *lā̃dõ* 'go': *aiz-lā̃dõ* 'go out' ~ Latv. *aiziet*, *ap-lā̃dõ* 'go around' ~ Latv. *apiet*, *ie-lā̃dõ* 'go in' ~ Latv. *ieiet*, *nuo-lā̃dõ* 'reach' ~ Latv. *noiet*, *sa-lā̃dõ* 'come together' ~ Latv. *saiet*.

ISTRO-ROMANIAN in contact with Balkan Slavic (Klepikova 1959, Hurren 1969)

(21) 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 (in terms of Matras & Sakel eds. 2007)

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

(22) *far-blijen* 'break into blossom' ~ Rus. *za-cvesti* 'id.' vs. Ger. *ver-blühen* 'wither'

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

(23) *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 Croatian	Carintia Slovene	meaning
vorbei	*mimo*	*mimo*	'along'
dabei	*pole(g)*	*zreven*	'near'
aus, hinaus	*van*	*ven*	'from'
hinein, ein	*u(nutra)*	*noter*	'inside'
zusammen	*skupa*	*vkup*	'together'
mit	*sobom*	*seboj*	'with oneself'

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

(24) *Auf amol* **dšias** *o vuda* **pre**.
    suddenly go:PST.3SG DEF door up
    'Suddenly the door opened.' (~ Ger. *Auf einmal* <u>*ging die Tür*</u> ***auf***)

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

(25) a. *kai* **per**-*ei*-**dinė**-*jo* *gatv-ę*
    when PRV-go-ITER-PST.3 street-ACC.SG
    'while crossing the street' ~ Rus. *kogda* **perexodil**$_{SEC.IPF}$ *ulicu*
b. *kai* **ėj-o** *per* *gatv-ę*
    when go-PST.3 across street-ACC.SG
    'id' (Stand. Lith.)

Appendix II. Typological parallels

SOUTH CONCHUCOS QUECHUA (Peru, Hintz 2011: 27, 28)

(26) 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)

(27) 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 – Macedo-

nian, ming – Mingrelian, osset – Ossetic, pol – Polish, rus – Russian, slvk – Slovak, slvn – Slovene, sor – Sorbian, svan – Svan, ukr – Ukranian, yid – Yiddish

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