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Славянский вид в типологической перспективе

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Disclaimer

- Nothing really new, i.e. what I have not already said or written elsewhere.
- See Аркадъев/Arkadiev 2014, 2015, 2017, Аркадъев, Шлуинский/Arkadiev & Shluinsky 2015, 2016.

Roadmap

- Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect
- A multivariate typology
- Some quantitative methods
- A broader typological outlook
- Genetic inheritance vs. language contact

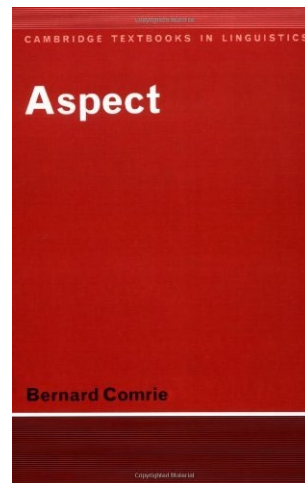
Roadmap

- **Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect**
- A multivariate typology
- Some quantitative methods
- A broader typological outlook
- Genetic inheritance vs. language contact

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Aspect is a grammatical system expressing the “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie 1976: 3).

Вид связан с «внутренней темпоральной структурой» ситуации «как она понимается говорящим» (Маслов 2004/1984: 23-23).



Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Languages differ as to which (if at all) aspectual meanings are grammaticalised, which of them form oppositions and which are grouped together, and how they are expressed.

Comrie 1976, Maslov 1984, Dahl 1985, Smith 1991/1997, Bybee et al. 1994, Boland 2006 etc.

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

«Многообразие вида проявляется не только в том, что в разных языках зачастую представлены разные виды, но также и в том, что даже в одном языке разные видовые оппозиции нередко перекрещиваются и совмещаются друг с другом, создавая сложные, многочленные системы»
(Маслов 2004/1984: 25)

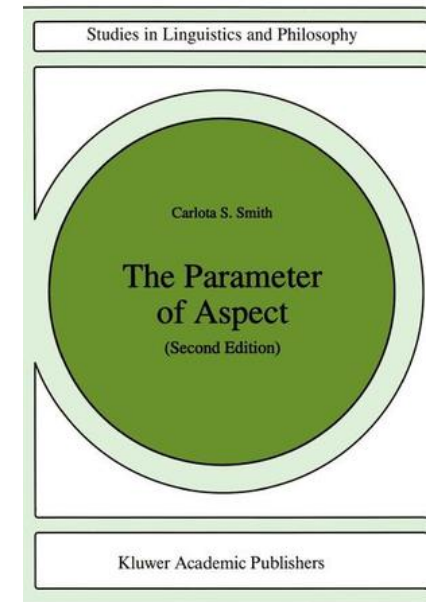
Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Carlota S. Smith

The Parameter of Aspect.

Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1991
(2nd. ed. 1997)

“Two-component” theory of
aspect (двухкомпонентная
теория вида)



Также Maslov 1984, Breu 1994,
Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000,
Tatevosov 2002, 2015, 2016 и др.

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

“Two-component” theory of aspect:

Viewpoint aspect: particular ways in which the speaker construes the situation and relates it to other situations in the discourse.

vs.

Actionality: partly lexically encoded and partly syntactically determined linguistic categorisation of situations.

Maslov 1984, Smith 1991/1997, Breu 1994, Bertinetto & Delfitto 2000, Tatevosov 2002, 2015, 2016

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Actionality: categorisation of situations as static vs. dynamic, durative vs. punctual, telic vs. atelic etc.

Viewpoint aspect: roughly, construal of situations as **perfective** (bounded, included into the reference time) vs. **imperfective** (unbounded, overlapping with the reference time).

Smith 1991/1997, Klein 1994

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Intersection of actionality and viewpoint aspect
in English and Russian:

	Perfective	Imperfective
Telic	<i>John read the book</i> <i>Иван прочитал книгу</i>	<i>John was reading the book</i> <i>Иван читал книгу</i>
Atelic	<i>John slept</i> <i>Иван поспал</i>	<i>John was sleeping</i> <i>Иван спал</i>

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

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Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

- NB Русские СВ и НСВ ≠ английские Simple vs. Progressive tenses

	Русский	Английский
[+telic, +bounded]	<i>Иван построил дом</i>	<i>John built a house.</i>
[+telic, -bounded]	<i>Иван строил дом</i>	<i>John was building a house</i>
[-telic, +bounded]	<i>Иван спал семь часов</i>	<i>John slept for seven hours</i>
[±telic, +habitual]	<i>Иван строит дома.</i>	<i>John builds houses.</i>

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

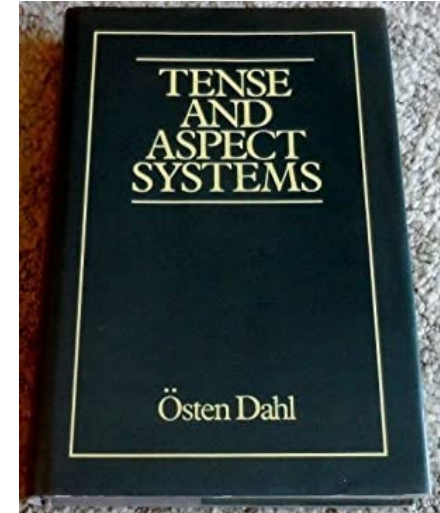
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	Русский	Английский
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[+telic, -bounded]	Иван строил дом	John was building a house
[-telic, +bounded]	Иван спал семь часов	John slept for seven hours
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Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Östen Dahl (Эстен Даль),
Tense and Aspect Systems,
1985.

Основы современных
теории и методологии
типологического
исследования
видовременных категорий
и грамматической
семантики в целом.



Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

- Dahl (1985):
- **Universal grammatical space**, i.e. set of all functions/meanings grammaticalized in the languages of the world.
- **Cross-linguistic gram types**, i.e. sets of functions expressed by the same gram in a statistically significant number of unrelated languages.
- В.А. Плунгян (2011 и др.)
- **Универсальный грамматический набор**
- **Грамматические кластеры**



Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

- “Perfective”, “imperfective”, “perfect” etc. are cross-linguistic gram types.
- Cross-linguistic gram types have fuzzy boundaries (prototype structure with core vs. periphery).
- Grams of individual languages only partly overlap with the cross-linguistic gram types (e.g. English Past Simple or Russian Прошедшее HCB instantiating the “perfective past” cluster).

Introducing “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 perfectivising elements such as prefixes (**preverbs**).

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Indo-European:

Slavic: Russian *резал* ‘was cutting’ ~ *разрезал* ‘cut (into two)’

Baltic: Lithuanian *skaitė* ‘читал’ ~ *perskaitė* ‘прочитал’

Germanic: Yiddish *washn* ‘мыл’ ~ *oyswashn* ‘вымыл’

Uralic:

Hungarian: *olvasta* ‘читал’ ~ *elolvasta* ‘прочитал’

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

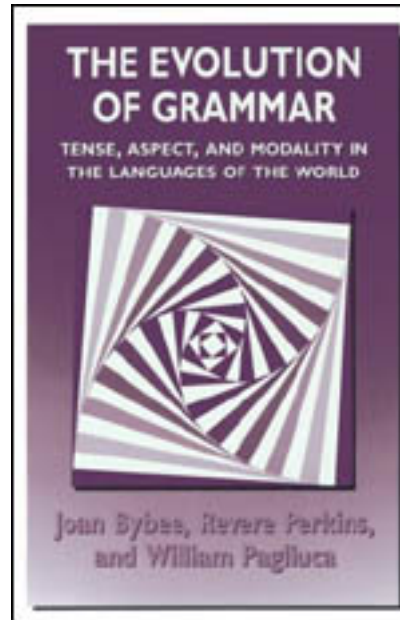
In the Caucasus:

Kartvelian: Georgian *ṡers* ‘пишет’ ~ **da***ṡera*
‘написал’

Iranian (IE): Ossetic *fysta* ‘писал’ ~ **ny***ffysta*
‘написал’

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

The so-called **bounder-based** perfectives (Bybee & Dahl 1989, Bybee et al. 1994) as opposed to **anterior-based** perfectives attested e.g. in Romance.



Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

bounder-based perfectives	anterior-based perfectives
go back to combinations of verbs with adverbial elements	go back to resultative-perfect constructions
tend to be derivational	tend to be inflectional
show lexical idiosyncrasies and often add meanings other than perfective	tend to be semantically compositional
emphasise completion of the event and not just temporal boundedness	express temporal boundedness of an event

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Boundary-based perfectives themselves constitute a subtype of aspectual systems which can be called **derivational** (Dahl 1985) or **verb-classifying** (Plungian 2011).



Arkadiev & Shluinsky 2015, 2016

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Derivational aspectual systems:

- aspectual interpretation is an inherent property of the verbal lexeme;
- in order to apply a different viewpoint to the same situation, a new verb has to be derived by morphological means.

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

- perfectivisation

$V_{IPF} \rightarrow V_{PFV}$

Lithuanian

skaityti ‘читать’ →

perskaityti ‘прочитать’

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

- perfectivisation

$V_{IPF} \rightarrow V_{PFV}$

Lithuanian

skaityti ‘читать’ →

perskaityti ‘прочитать’

- imperfectivisation

$V_{PFV} \rightarrow V_{IPF}$

Lithuanian

jrodyti ‘доказать’ →

jrodinėti ‘доказывать’

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

- Being a separate lexeme, an aspectual derivate displays a full verbal paradigm, and not just some particular form or forms, cf. Lithuanian:

	‘write (ipf)’	‘write (pfv)’
Present	<i>rašo</i>	<i>parašo</i>
Preterite	<i>rašė</i>	<i>parašė</i>
Habitual Past	<i>rašydavo</i>	<i>parašydavo</i>
Future	<i>rašys</i>	<i>parašys</i>

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Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

- The absence of a particular derivational marker does not necessarily signal a particular aspectual meaning.

Lithuanian simplex verbs:

vesti ‘lead’ imperfective

mesti ‘throw’ perfective

Russian simplex verbs:

жечь ‘burn’ imperfective

лечь ‘lie down’ perfective

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

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

- secondary imperfectivisation alongside perfectivisation (> obligatoriness and paradigmaticisation 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).

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Secondary imperfectivisation in Russian:

*писать*_{IPF} → *подписать*_{PFV} → *подписывать*_{IPF}

*пить*_{IPF} → *выпить*_{PFV} → *выпивать*_{IPF}

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Secondary imperfectivisation in Russian:

*писа́ть*_{IPF} → *подписа́ть*_{PFV} → *подписыва́ть*_{IPF}

*пи́ть*_{IPF} → *выпи́ть*_{PFV} → *выпива́ть*_{IPF}

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

“Empty” prefixes (apparently) only inducing a perfective interpretation of the verb:

	Imperfective	Perfective
‘write’	<i>писать</i>	<i>написать</i> “on-write”
‘dig’	<i>копать</i>	<i>выкопать</i> “out-dig”
‘hide’	<i>прятать</i>	<i>спрятать</i> “off-hide”
‘load’	<i>грузить</i>	<i>загрузить</i> “behind-load”
‘whiten’	<i>белеть</i>	<i>побелеть</i>

- *по-* does not have spatial semantics in contemporary Russian, in contrast to Slovene (Dickey 2012: 94-95), cf. *popisati* ‘cover with writing’

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Obligatoriness: iterativity/habituality → Ipfv even with clearly completed telic events (in Russian but not in Czech and Slovene)

*Иван **прочитал**_{PFV.PST} статью за два часа.*

‘Ivan read the paper in two hours.’

*Иван любую статью **прочитывал**_{IPF.PST} за два часа.*

‘Ivan used to read any paper in two hours.’

Slovene (Dickey 2003: 192):

*Na vsak korak so na povelje **ustrelili**_{PFV.PST}.*

‘At every step they shot [someone] dead pursuant to the order.’

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

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

- differences in the productivity of imperfectivisation;
- 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, Petruşina 2000, Dickey 2000, 2005, 2008, 2015, Fortuin & Kamphuis 2015, Wiemer & Seržant 2017

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Context	Slovene (Dickey 2003)	Russian
single completed event	perfective	perfective
habitual completed event	perfective ~ imperfective	imperfective
historical present	perfective	imperfective
performative	imperfective ~ perfective	imperfective
gnomic (geographical descriptions)	perfective	imperfective
sequential ingressive	imperfective	perfective
progeressive	imperfective	imperfective

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Parallels to Slavic aspectual systems in the neighbouring languages have been pointed out in general works on aspect at least since Comrie 1976, see Dahl 1985, Breu 1992, Майсак 2005, Kiefer 2010 and especially Tomelleri 2008, 2009, 2010.

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Not all of the features traditionally associated with Slavic aspect are found in other languages with a similar kind of aspectual system.

Tomelleri 2009, 2010, Arkadiev 2014, 2015

Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect

Research questions:

- Which properties are common to all “Slavic-style” aspectual systems and which are parameters of variation?
- Do these properties cluster in any meaningful way?
- How did the observed areal distribution of such systems come about?

Roadmap

- Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect
- A multivariate typology
- Some quantitative methods
- A broader typological outlook
- Genetic inheritance vs. language contact

Roadmap

- Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect
- **A multivariate typology**
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A multivariate typology

Balthasar Bickel (2010 etc.):

- complex linguistic phenomena (such as aspectual systems) can be productively compared across languages if “decomposed” into a number of individual features (**variables**) based on empirically detected fine-grained differences between languages.
- typological comparison and generalisation is achieved by means of quantitative and qualitative analysis of **patterns of clusterisation** of such individual variables.



A multivariate typology

Arkadiev (2014, 2015) and Arkadiev & Shluinsky (2015, 2016) offer multivariate typological analyses of, respectively, prefixal perfectivization and, more broadly, “derivational” aspectual systems.

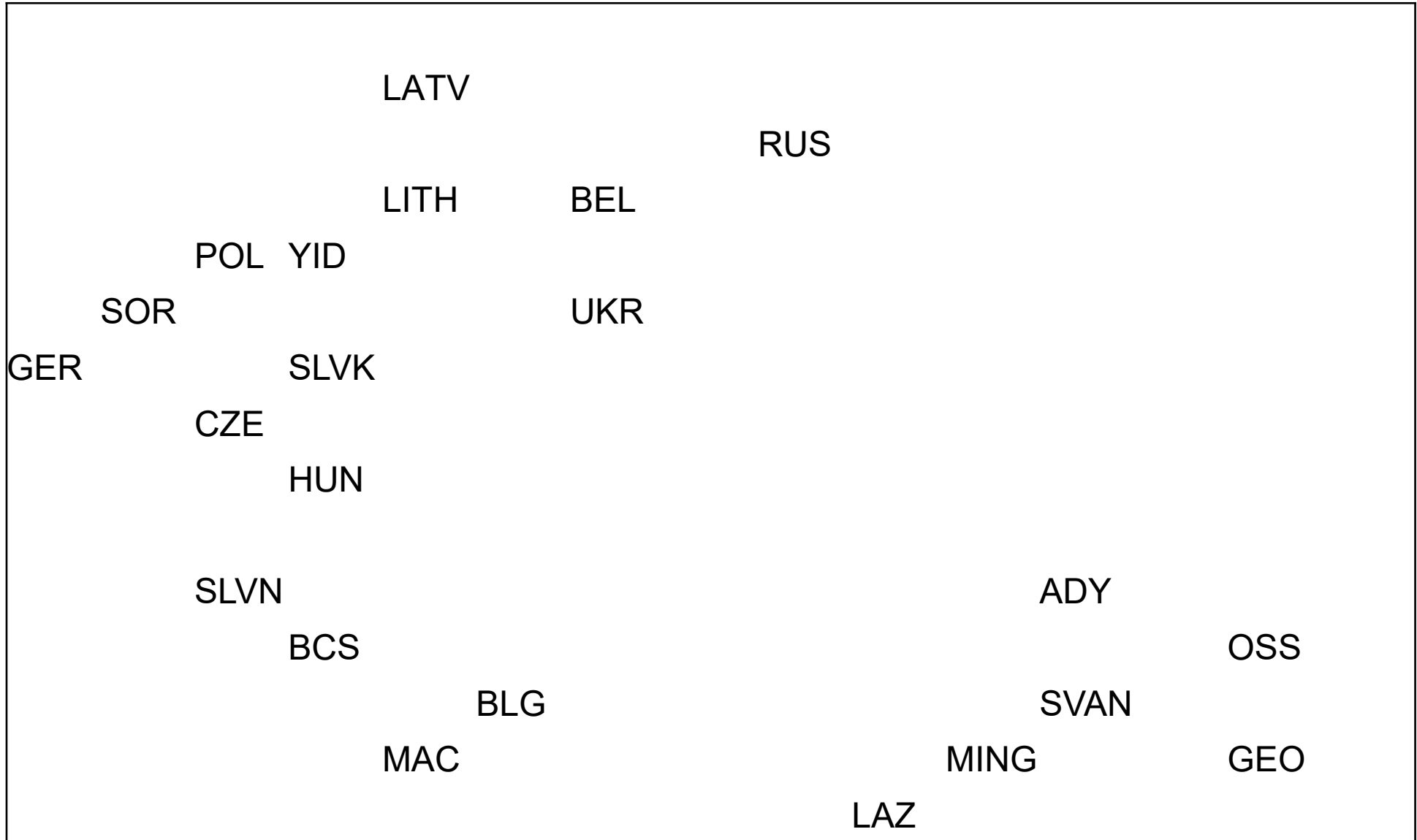
NB Much more qualitative than quantitative.



Languages examined

- Major Slavic languages (including Vernacular Upper Sorbian)
- Baltic: Lithuanian and Latvian
- Yiddish (+ German as a point of reference)
- Hungarian
- (Iron) Ossetic
- Kartvelian: Georgian, Svan, Mingrelian, Laz
+ Adyghe (North-West Caucasian)

Languages examined



Sources

- Grammars and linguistic studies of aspect
- Dictionaries
- Corpora (to a significant extent only for Russian and Lithuanian)
- Fieldwork (only for Lithuanian and Adyghe)

Caveat

- A parallel corpus study like von Waldenfels (2012) is certainly a desideratum.
- Cf. Becker (2018) for Russian, Czech, Hungarian and German based on a parallel corpus of movies subtitles.

Preverbs: a definition

A subtype of verbal **satellites** (Talmy 1985), which

- systematically (though not necessarily always, cf. Hungarian or German) occur as verbal prefixes;
- express broadly understood spatial and/or actional modification of the eventuality denoted by the verb.

Typological parameters

1. Morphological properties of preverbs.
2. Functional properties of preverbs.
3. Functional properties of verbal systems.

Morphological properties of preverbs

- Morphological status of preverbs (bound morphemes vs. separable wordforms).
- Iteration of preverbs.
- Verbal prefixes different from preverbs.
- Position of preverbs within the verb.
- Morphological subclassification of preverbs (e.g. separable vs. inseparable preverbs in Germanic).

Morphological properties of preverbs

- Separability of preverbs:

German

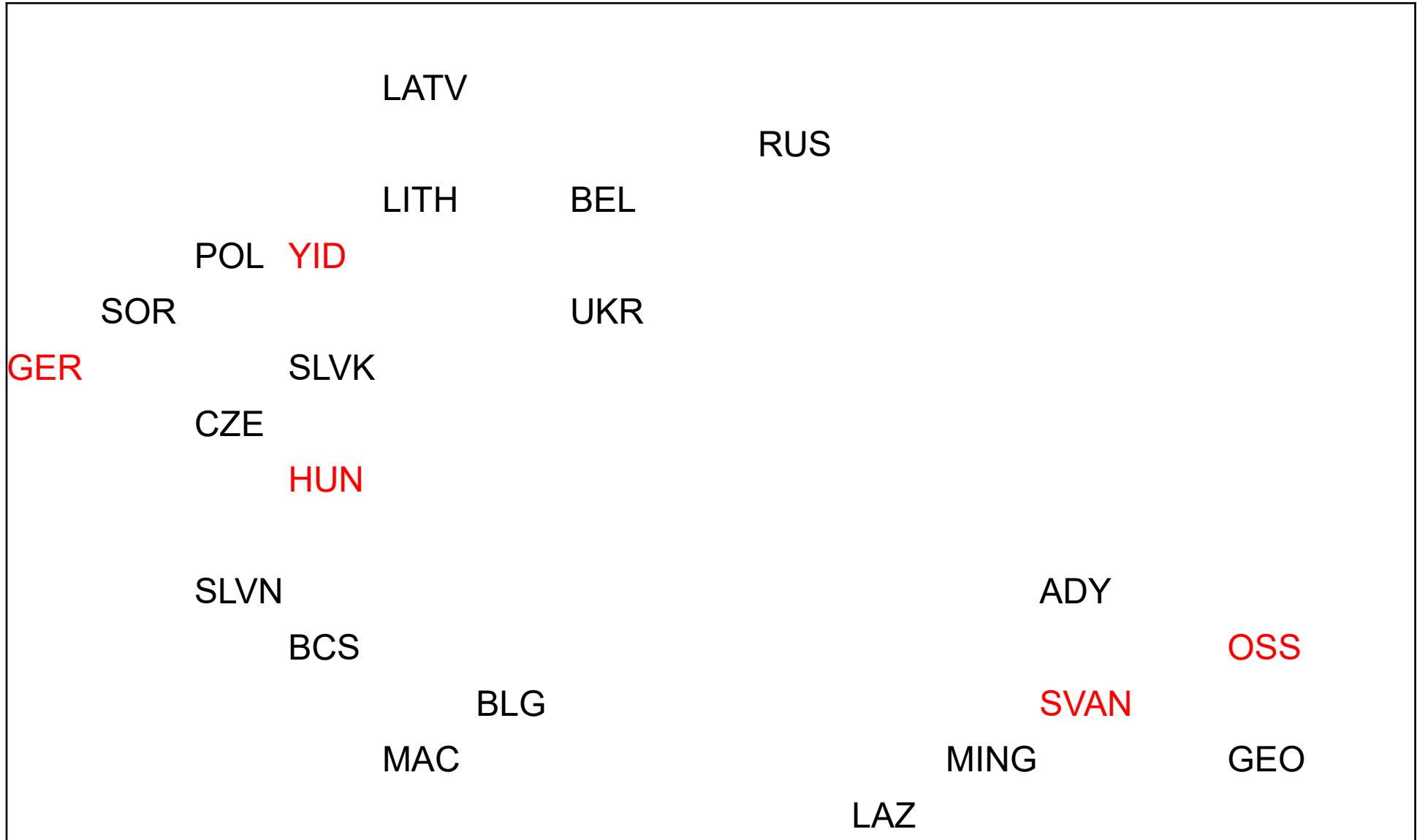
*Die Männer werden das Heu **aufl**laden.*

‘The men will load the hay up.’

*Die Männer laden das Heu **auf**.*

‘The men are loading the hay [up].’

Separability of preverbs



Morphological properties of preverbs

- Iteration of preverbs:

pa-iz-meklēt

PVB-PVB-search

‘to investigate for a while’

Latvian

по-на-вы-дум-ыва-л-а

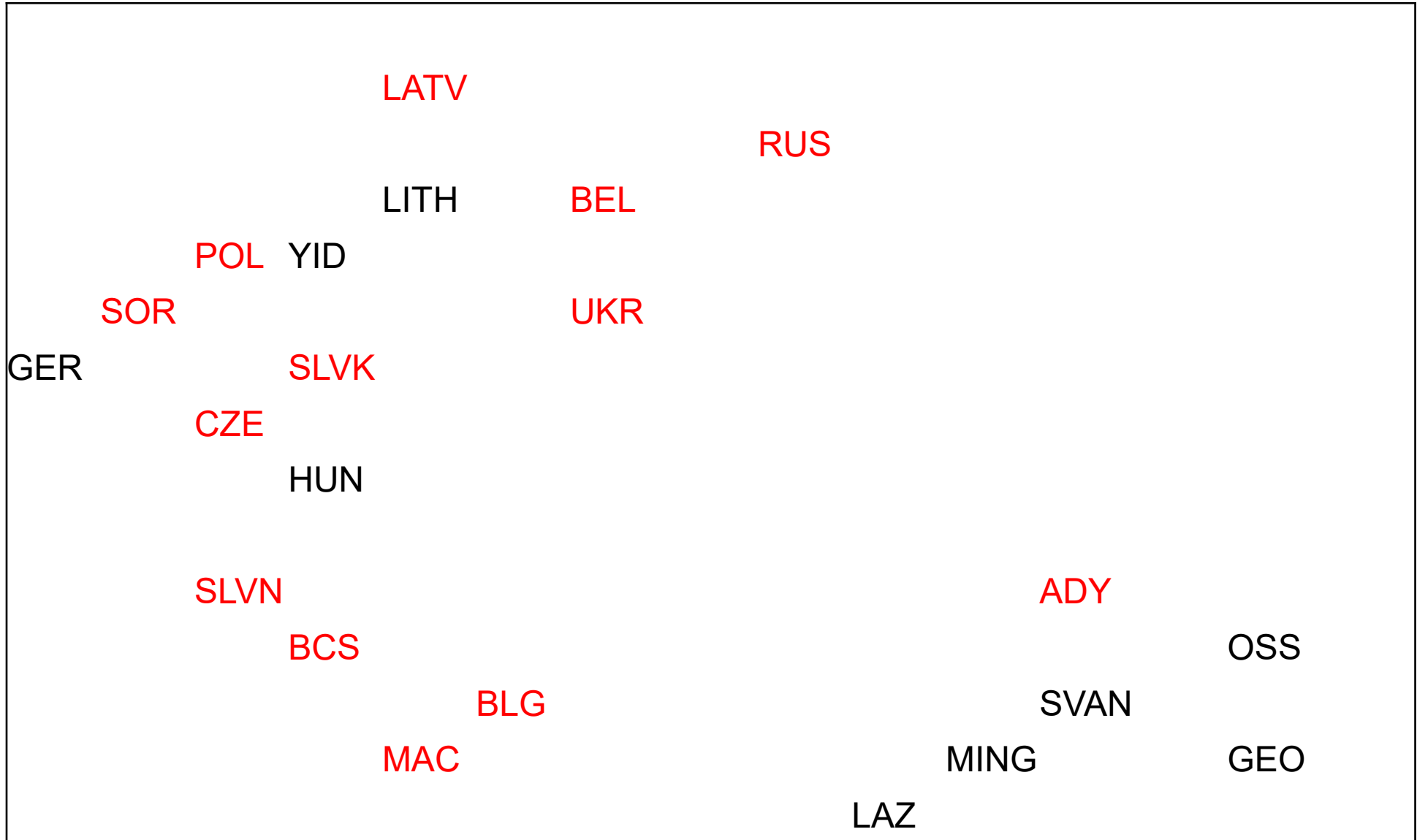
PVB-PVB-PVB-think-IPFV-PST-SG.F

‘she invented many different things ’

Russian

F – женский род, IPFV – имперфектив, PST – прошедшее время,
PVB – преверб, SG – единственное число

Iteration of preverbs



Morphological properties of preverbs

- Verbal prefixes other than preverbs:

tebe-per-raš-o

Lithuanian

CNT-PVB-write-PRS.3

‘s/he is / they are still rewriting’

ça-v-i-ķitx-e

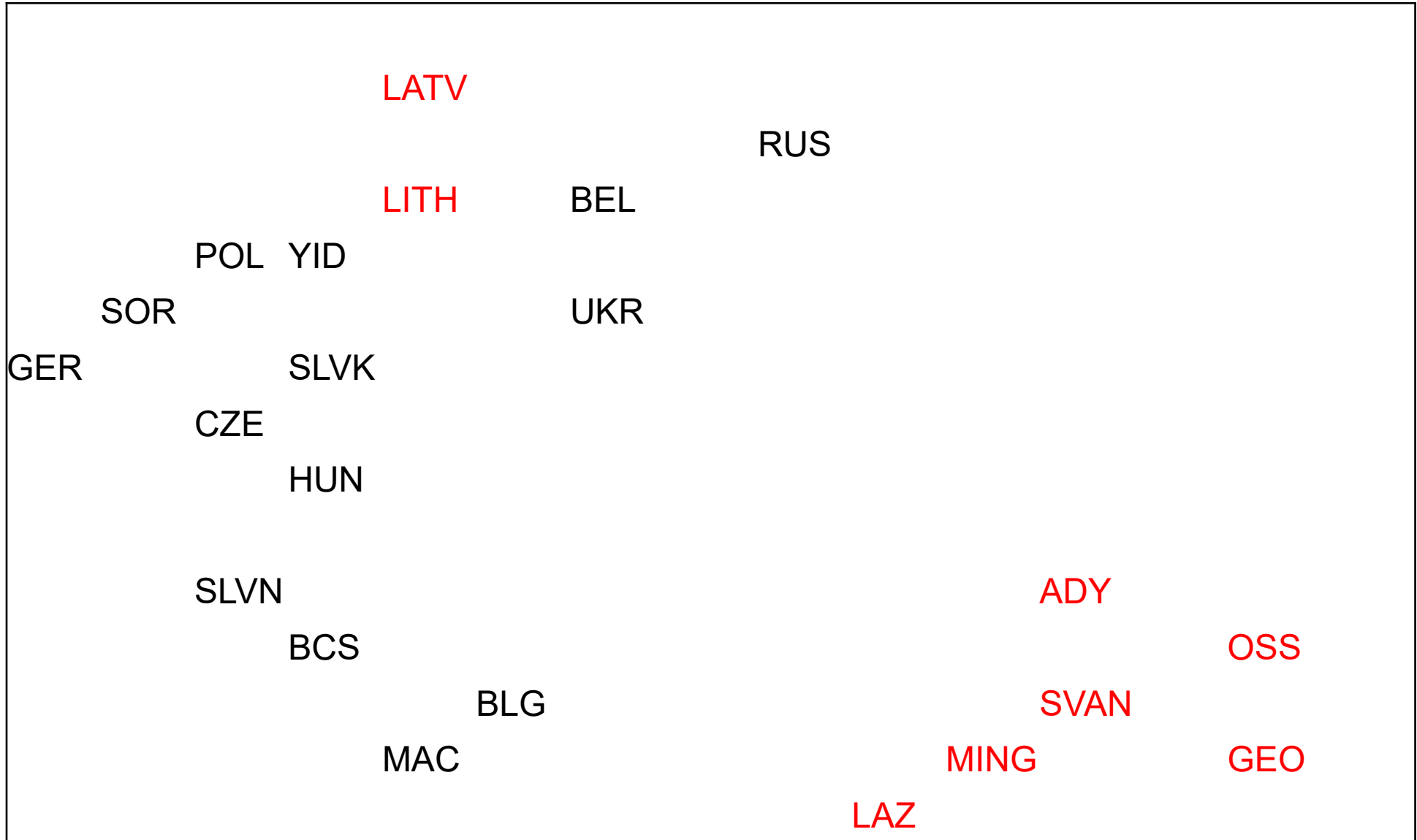
Georgian

PVB-1.SBJ-VAL-read-AOR

‘I read it’

AOR – аорист, CNT – континуатив, PRS – настоящее время
SBJ – субъект, VAL – показатель валентности

Verbal prefixes other than preverbs



Functional properties of preverbs

- Systematic expression of deictic notions.
- “Purely” aspectual uses of preverbs.
- Delimitative uses of preverbs with atelic verbs.
- Durative (actual present/past) use of prefixed verbs (NB verbs of motion vs. other semantic classes)

Functional properties of preverbs

- Delimitative preverbs

*Я **поспал** несколько часов.*

Russian

‘I slept for a few hours.’

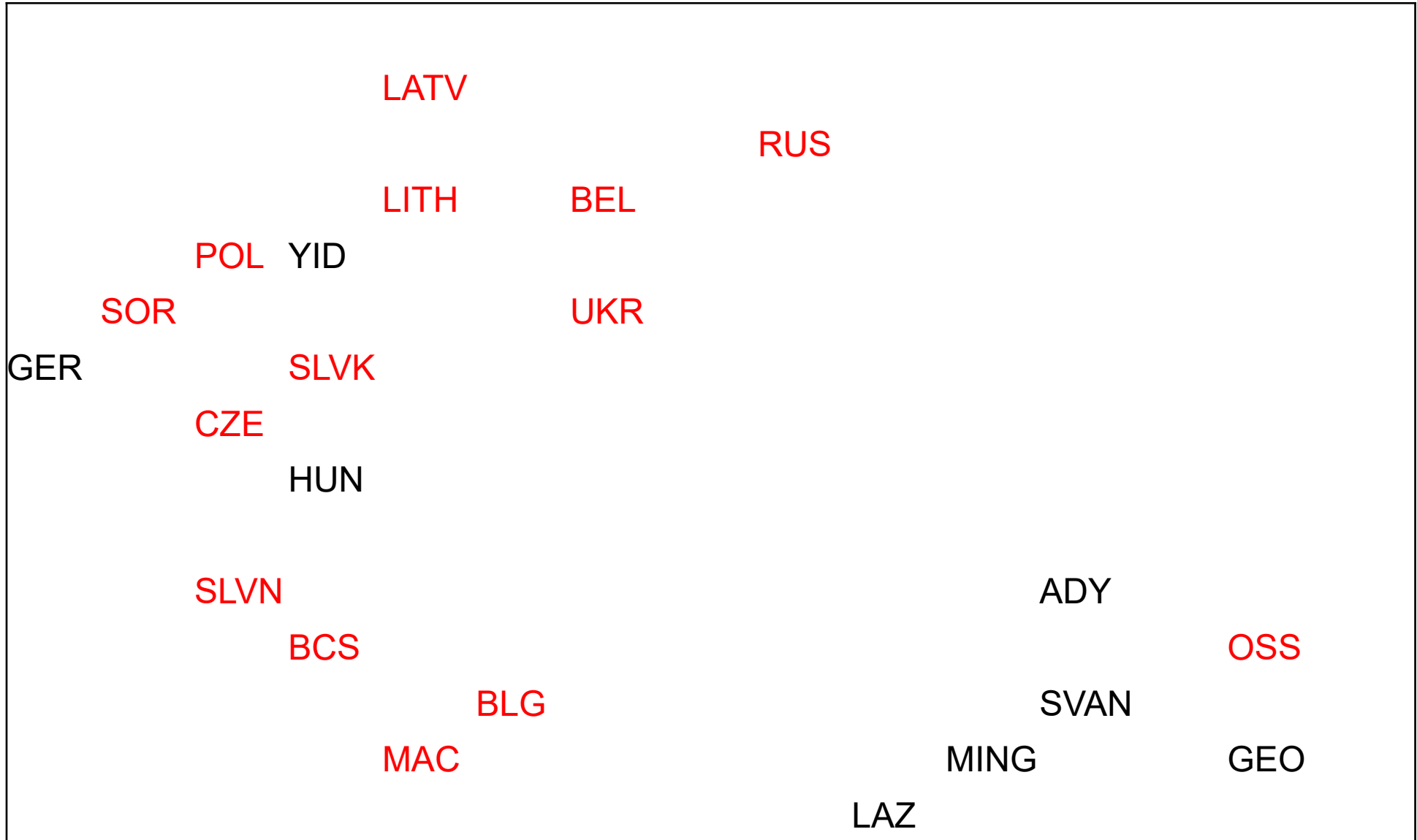
a-kwəš-ta

Ossetic

PVB-work-PST.3SG

‘S/he worked (for some time).’

Delimitative preverbs



Functional properties of preverbs

- Imperfective use of prefixed verbs (usually only with present tense)

Georgian (motion verbs only)

šedis ‘s/he is going in’ (imperfective present)

šeak’etebs ‘s/he will repair it’ (perfective future)

Vernacular Upper Sorbian (various verbs, Breu 2000a: 55; 2012)

*Wón **napisa**_{PFV.PRS} rune někotre słowa.*

‘He is writing some words now’

Functional properties of preverbs

- Marginally (?) also in Slovene (Dickey 2003: 204):

*Klobuk se mu **po**da.*

‘The hat suits him.’

***Za**služi, da zmaga.*

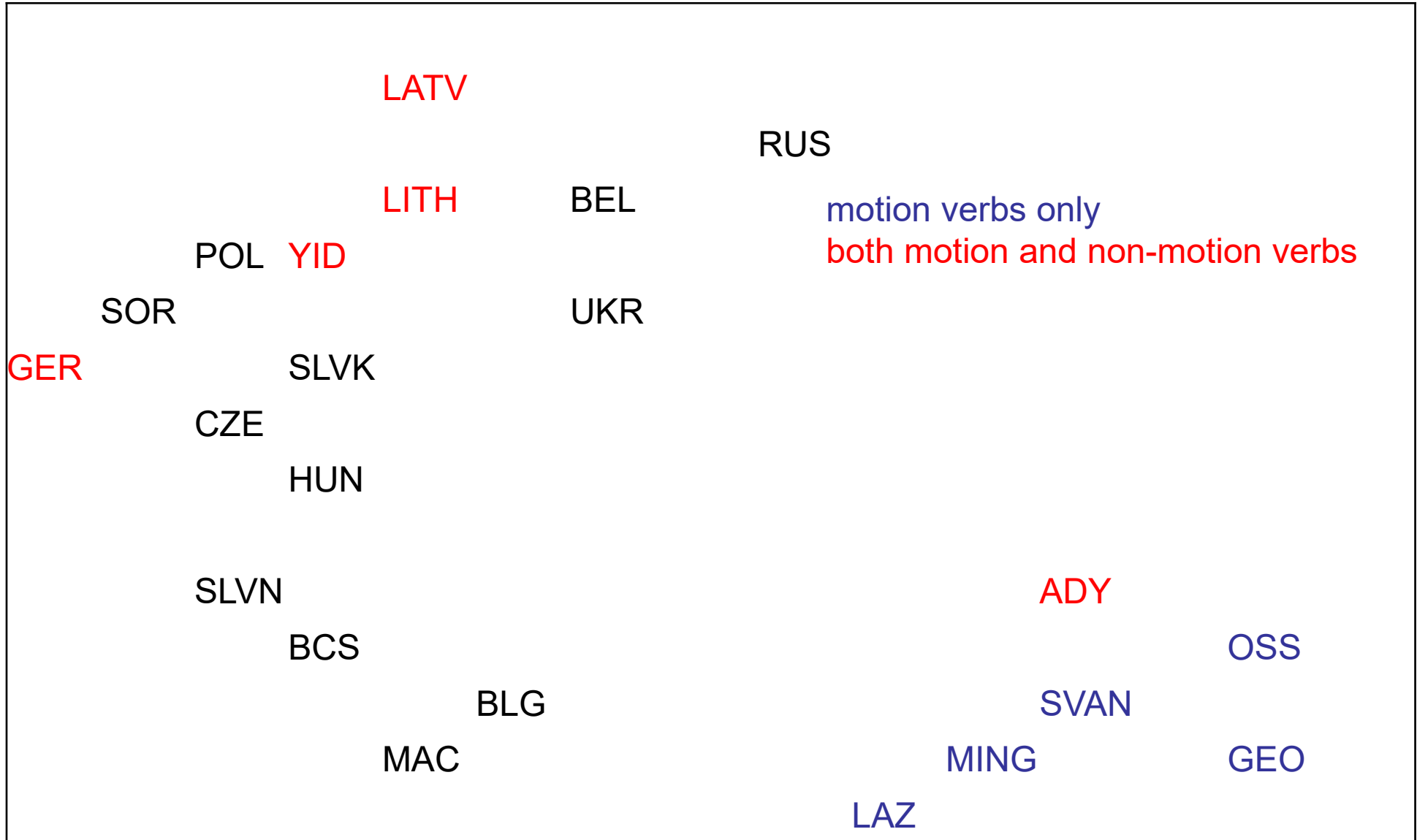
‘He deserves (cf. Rus **за**служ**ивает**) to win.’

- In Russian: only calques:

***со**стоять ~ Lat. **con**sistere*

***вы**глядеть ~ Germ. **aus**sehen*

Imperfective use of prefixed verbs



Functional properties of verbal systems

- Uses of perfective present:
 - for habitual or *praesens historicum*;
 - for futurate expressions.
- Means of secondary imperfectivisation.
- Non-prefixal means of perfectivisation.
- Restrictions on the use of prefixal verbs with phasal predicates.

Functional properties of verbal systems

- Interaction of prefixal and non-prefixal verbs with other TAM-categories:
 - formation of future tense;
 - combination of prefix-based aspectual distinctions with inflectional tense-aspect categories (e.g. Aorist and Imperfect in Balkan Slavic and Kartvelian).

Functional properties of verbal systems

- Perfective present:

- habitual in **Lithuanian**

rektori-us

rector-NOM

pa-raš-o

PVB-write-PRS.3

įvad-ą

introduction-ACC

‘The rector (usually) **writes** (/ *will write) an introduction.’

Functional properties of verbal systems

- Perfective present:

- habitual in **Lithuanian**

rektori-us

rector-NOM

pa-raš-o

PVB-write-PRS.3

įvad-ą

introduction-ACC

‘The rector (usually) **writes** (/ *will write) an introduction.’

- futurate in **Russian**

ректор

rector.NOM

на-пиш-ет

PVB-write-PRS.3SG

введение

introduction.ACC

‘The rector will write (/ *writes) an introduction.’

Functional properties of verbal systems

- Perfective present in Slovene:

- habitual

*A pri vas **postrežete** svinjo?*

‘Do you serve pork here?’ (Dickey 2003: 192)

- historical present

*Skrbno **zloži** list, **zalepi** koverta ter **položi** v šatuljo na levi.*

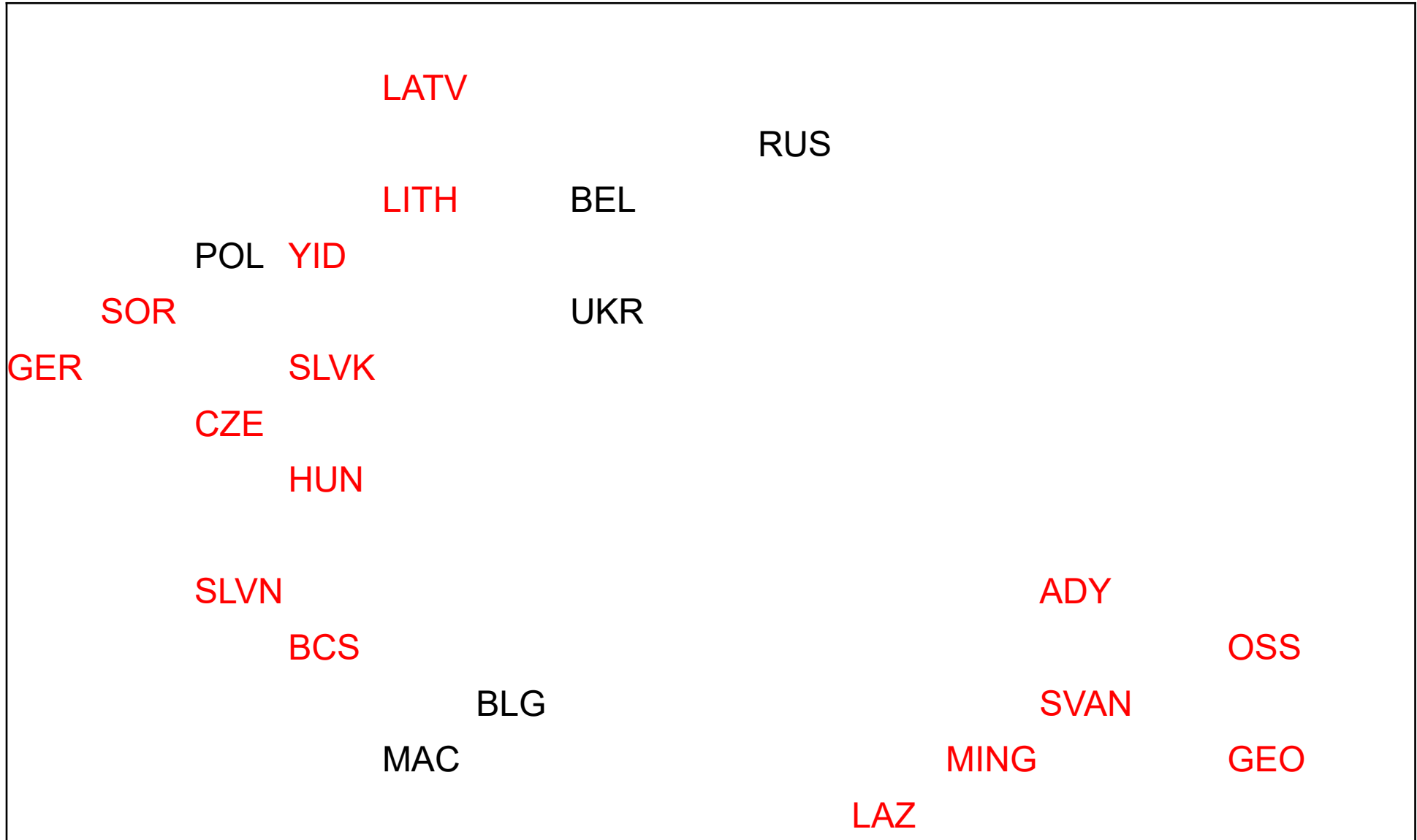
‘Carefully folds the page, seals the envelope and puts it in the case on the left.’ (Dickey 2003: 195)

- futurate

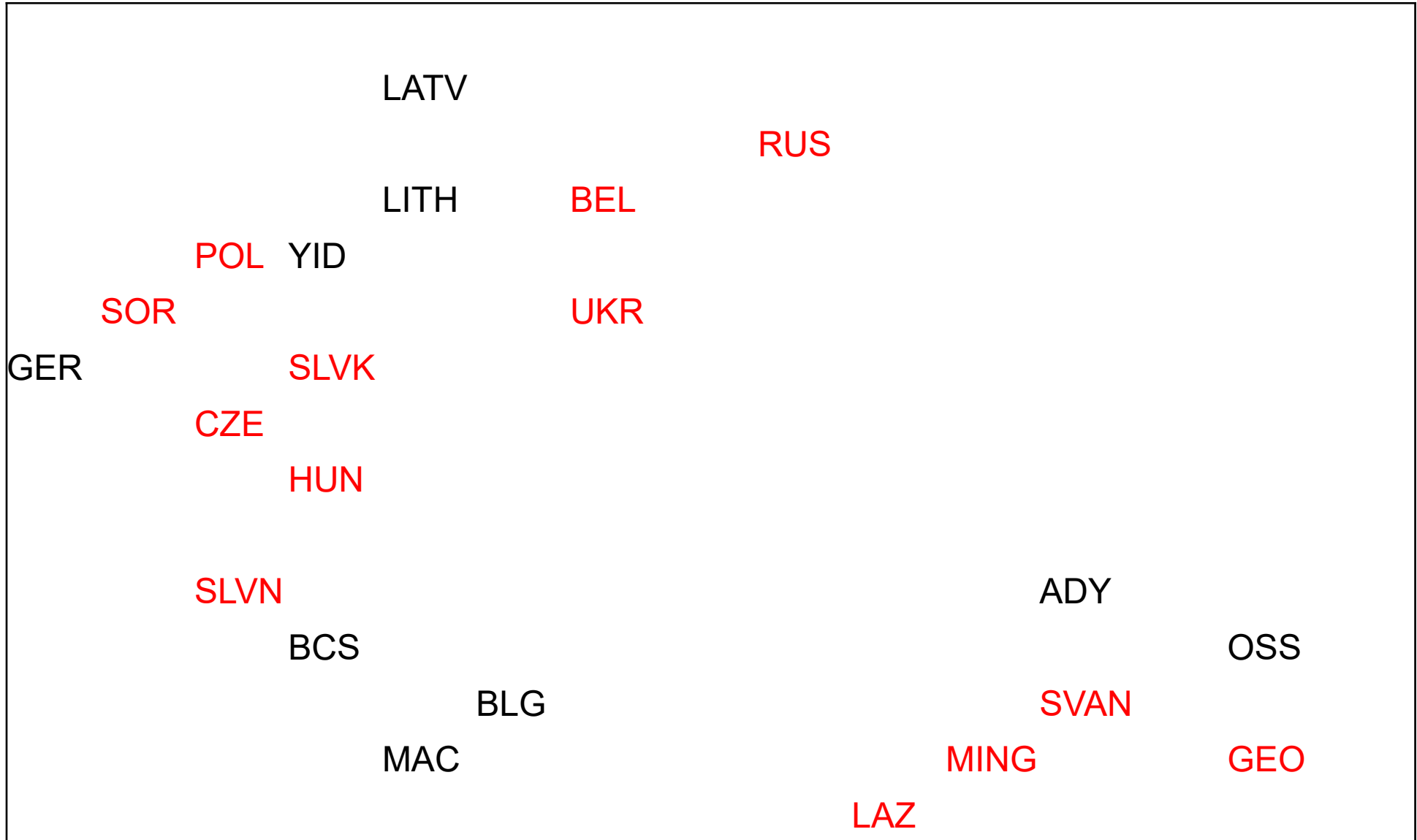
*Jutri se **odpeljemo** na morje.*

‘Tomorrow, we depart for seaside.’ (Brezar et al. 2005:104)

Habitual use of prefixed presents



Futurate use of prefixed presents



Functional properties of verbal systems

- The use of prefixed/perfective verbs with phasal predicates:

Hungarian (Майтинская 1960: 139)

... *aki* *kezd-te* *már* ***le-szed-ni***
which start-PST.3SG.OC already PVB-take-INF

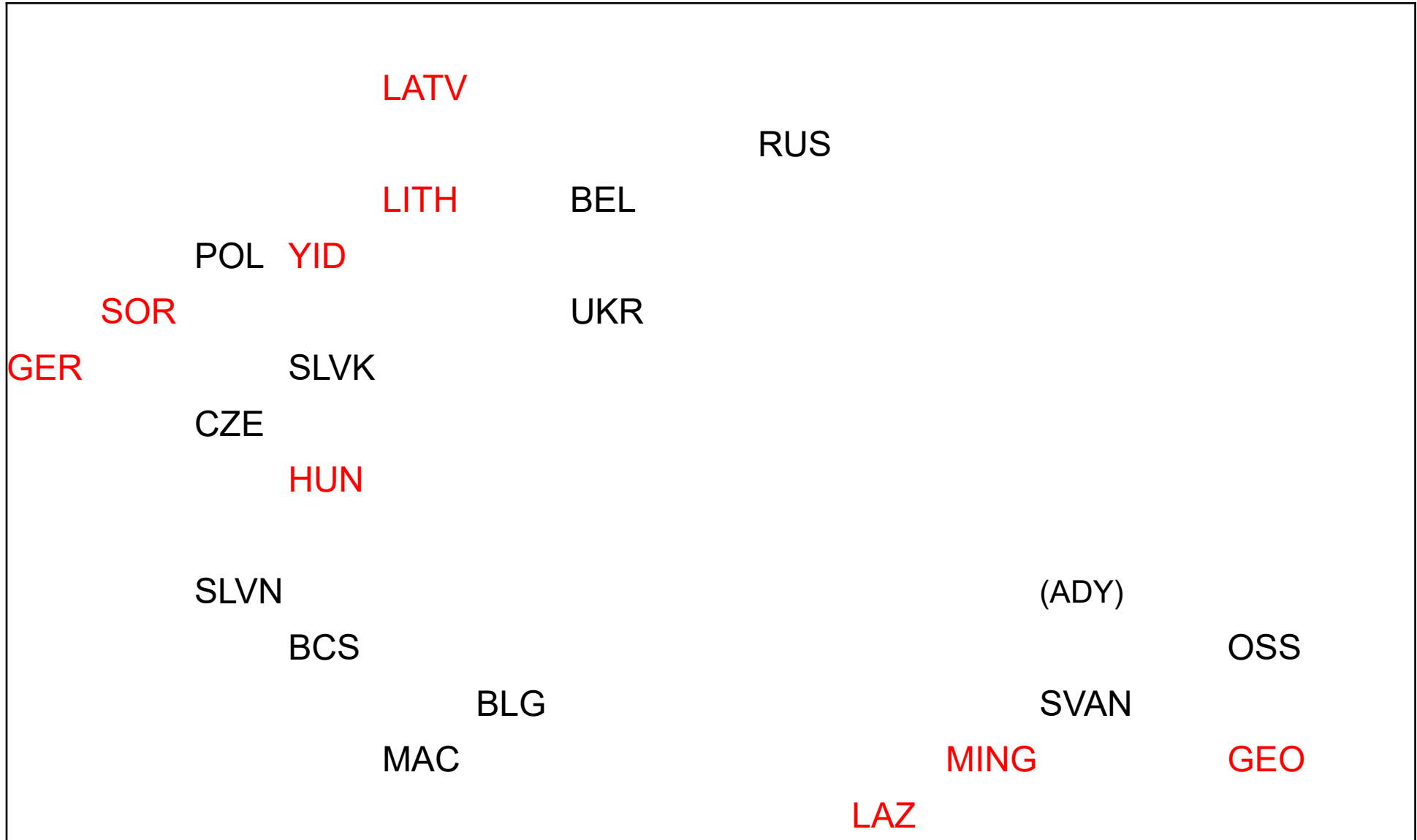
‘...who already started to unload.’

vs. **Russian**

*которые уже начали разгружать_{НСВ}/*разгрузить_{СВ}*

INF – infinitive, OC – object conjugation

Perfective verbs with phasal predicates



Functional properties of verbal systems

- secondary imperfectivization

- morphological in **Russian**

- летел* 'was flying' (IPF) → **вылетел** 'flew out' (PFV)

- **вылетал** 'was flying out' (IPF)

Functional properties of verbal systems

- secondary imperfectivization

- morphological in **Russian**

- летел* ‘was flying’ (IPF) → **вылетел** ‘flew out’ (PFV)

- **вылетал** ‘was flying out’ (IPF)

- syntactic in **Hungarian**

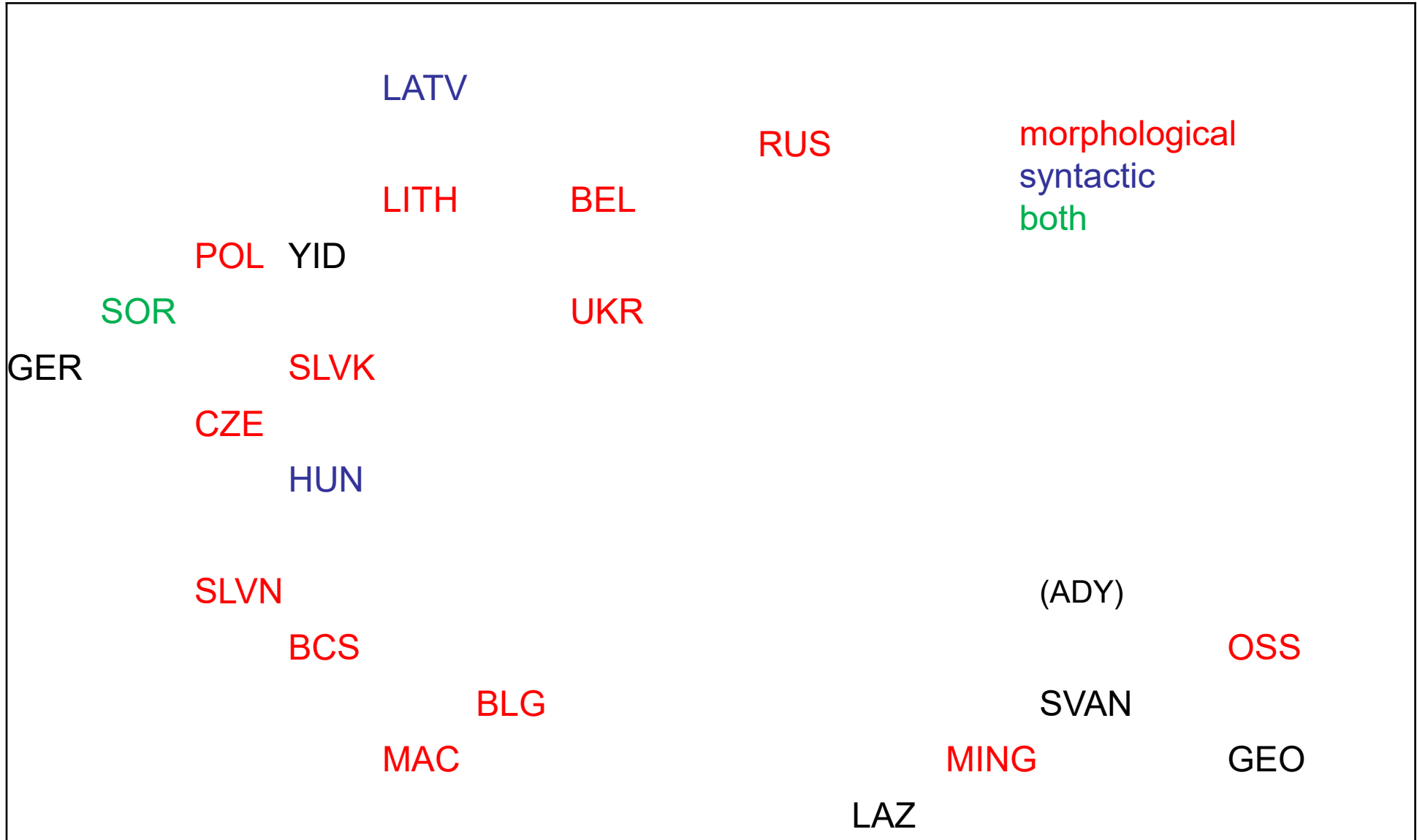
- ment* ‘was going’ (IPF) → **lement** ‘went down’ (PFV) → *ment* **le**

- ‘was going down’ (IPF)

Functional properties of verbal systems

- secondary imperfectivization
 - morphological in **Upper Sorbian** (Breu 2012: 248)
brać ‘take’ (IPF) → **wu***brać* ‘choose’ (PFV)
→ **wu***běrać* ‘choose’ (IPF)
 - syntactic in **Upper Sorbian** (Breu 2012: 249)
ležć ‘creep’ (IPF) → **za***ležć* ‘creep into’ (PFV)
→ *ležć* **nutř** ‘creep into’ (IPF)

Secondary imperfectivization



Functional properties of verbal systems

- Future tense independent of aspect:

morphological in **Lithuanian**

rašysiu 'I will be writing'

imperfective

parašysiu 'I will write

perfective

(the whole thing)'

periphrastic in **Slovene**

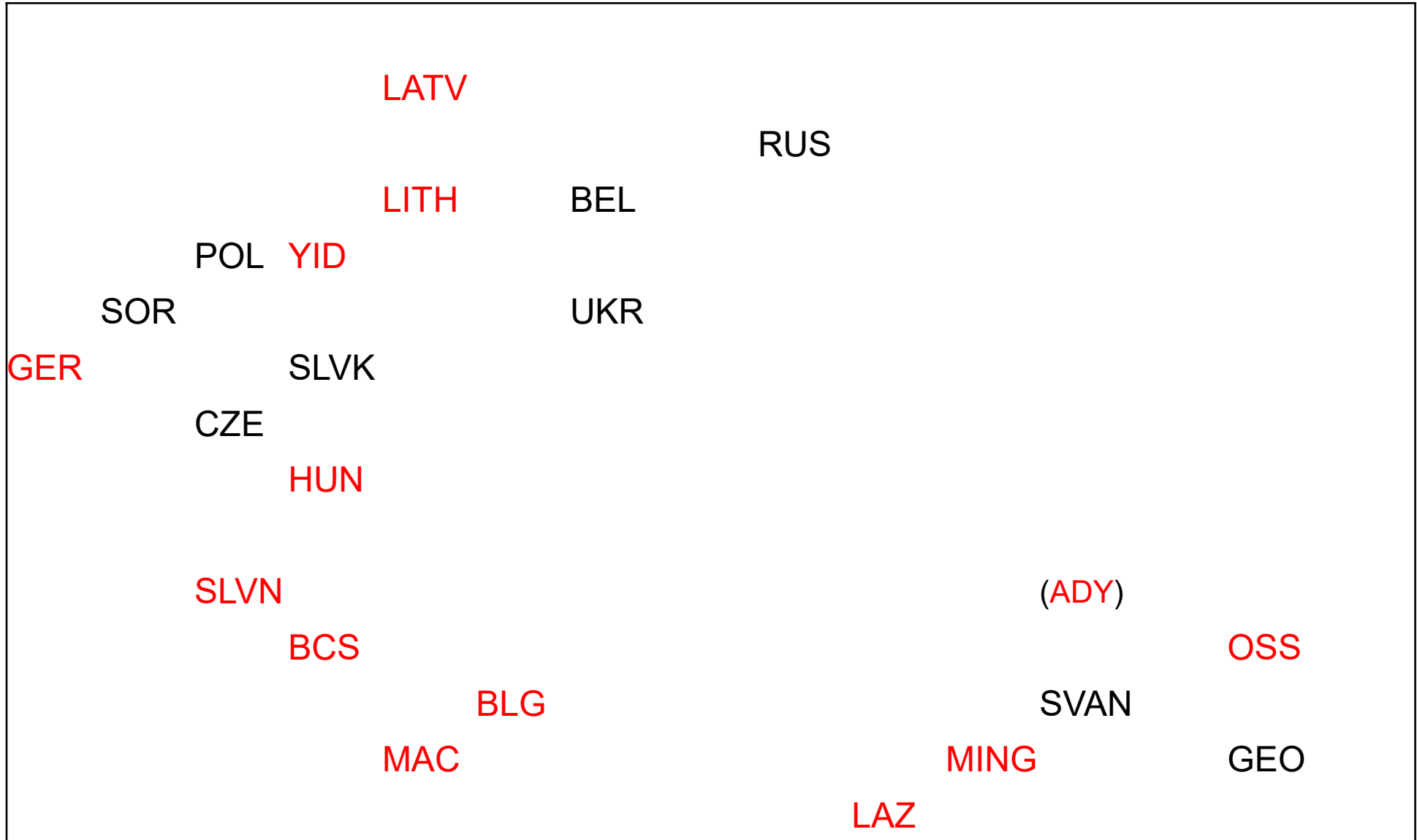
bom brala knjige 'I will be reading a book'

imperfective

bom prebrala knjige 'I will read
(the whole) book'

perfective

Future tense independent of aspect



Functional properties of verbal systems

- Distinction between inflectional perfective (Aorist) and imperfective (Imperfect) tenses:

Bulgarian 'write'

	Aorist	Imperfect
Imperfective	<i>pisa</i>	<i>pišeše</i>
Perfective	<i>napisa</i>	<i>napíšeše</i>

Functional properties of verbal systems

- Distinction between inflectional perfective (Aorist) and imperfective (Imperfect) tenses:

Bulgarian 'write'

	Aorist	Imperfect
Imperfective	<i>pis</i> a	<i>piš</i> eše
Perfective	<i>na</i> pisa	<i>na</i> pišeše

Functional properties of verbal systems

- Bulgarian (Lindstedt 1984, 1985; Маслов 1984/2004): “harmonic” combinations of derivational and inflectional aspects

- Perfective+Aorist: single completed event

*Тя **изпя** песента за три минути.*

‘She sang the song in three minutes.’ (Lindstedt 1985: 170)

- Imperfective+Imperfect: progressive durative event / habitual

*Композиторът **пишеше** нова симфония.*

‘The composer was writing a new symphony.’ (ibid.: 163)

Functional properties of verbal systems

- Bulgarian (Lindstedt 1984, 1985; Маслов 1984/2004):
“disharmonic” combinations of derivational and inflectional aspects

- Perfective+Imperfect: habitual completed events

*...всеки път, когато **излезехме** на поляна, виждахме...*

‘Every time we came out (of the forest) on a meadow, we saw...’

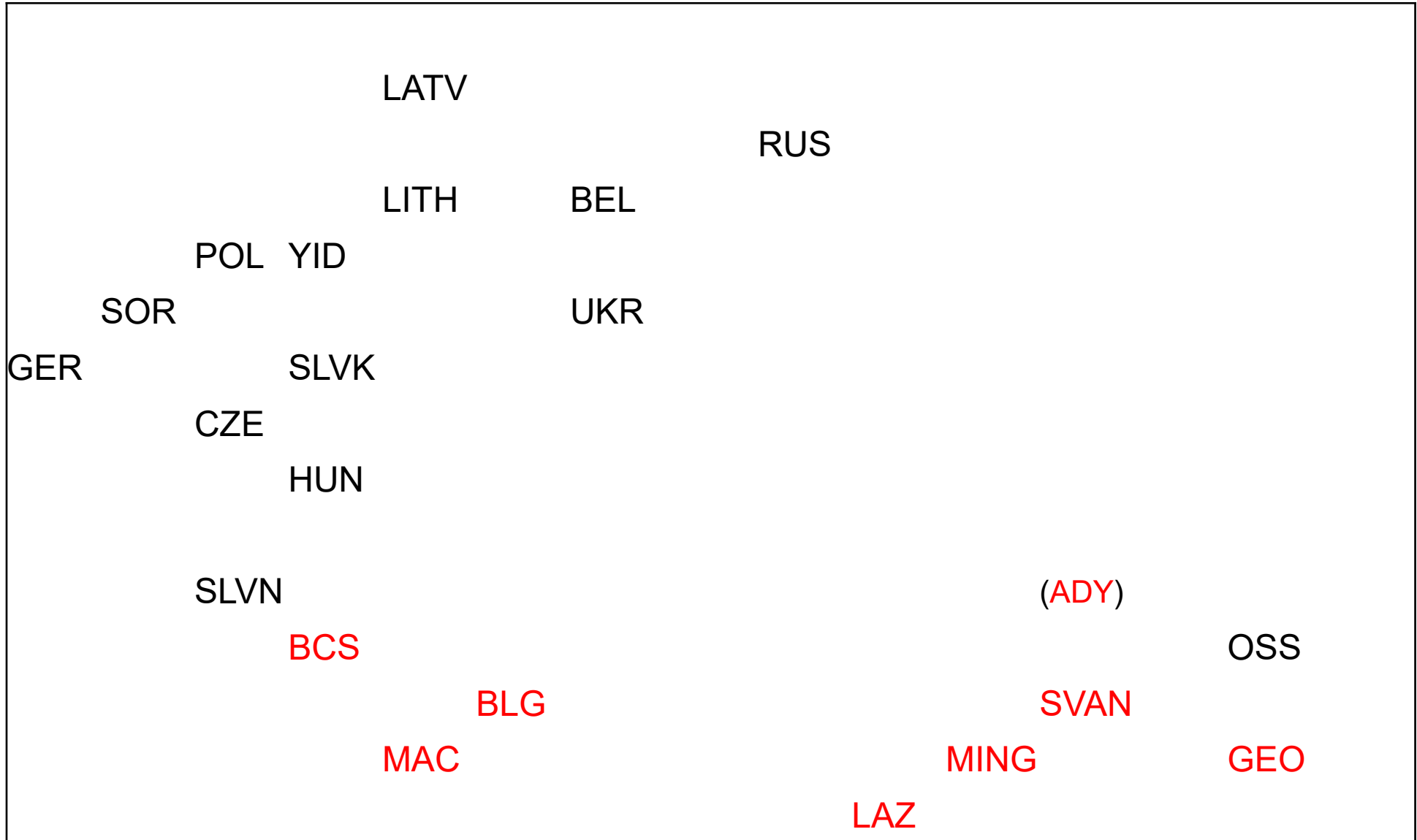
(Lindstedt 1985: 189)

- Imperfective+Aorist: bounded atelic events

*А колко **пя** Дядо Галушко..., никой не знаеше.*

‘And how long Old Galushko sang ..., nobody knew.’ (ibid.: 176)

Aorist vs. Imperfect



A multivariate typology

- The languages show considerable variation with respect to all the examined parameters.
- Notably, in many cases this variation is not correlated with genealogical and/or geographic divisions.

Roadmap

- Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect
- A multivariate typology
- Some quantitative methods
- A broader typological outlook
- Genetic inheritance vs. language contact

Roadmap

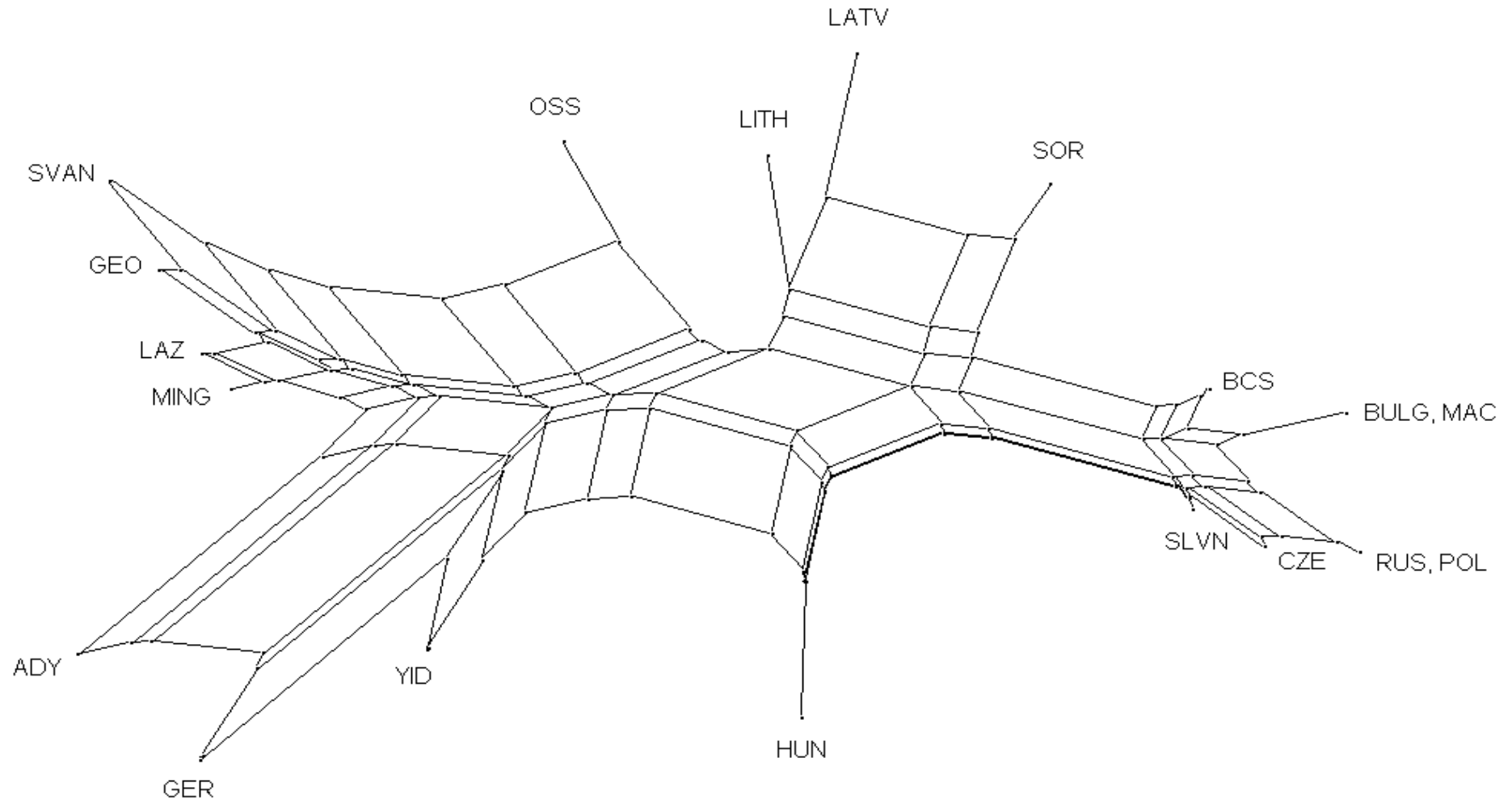
- Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect
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Some quantitative methods

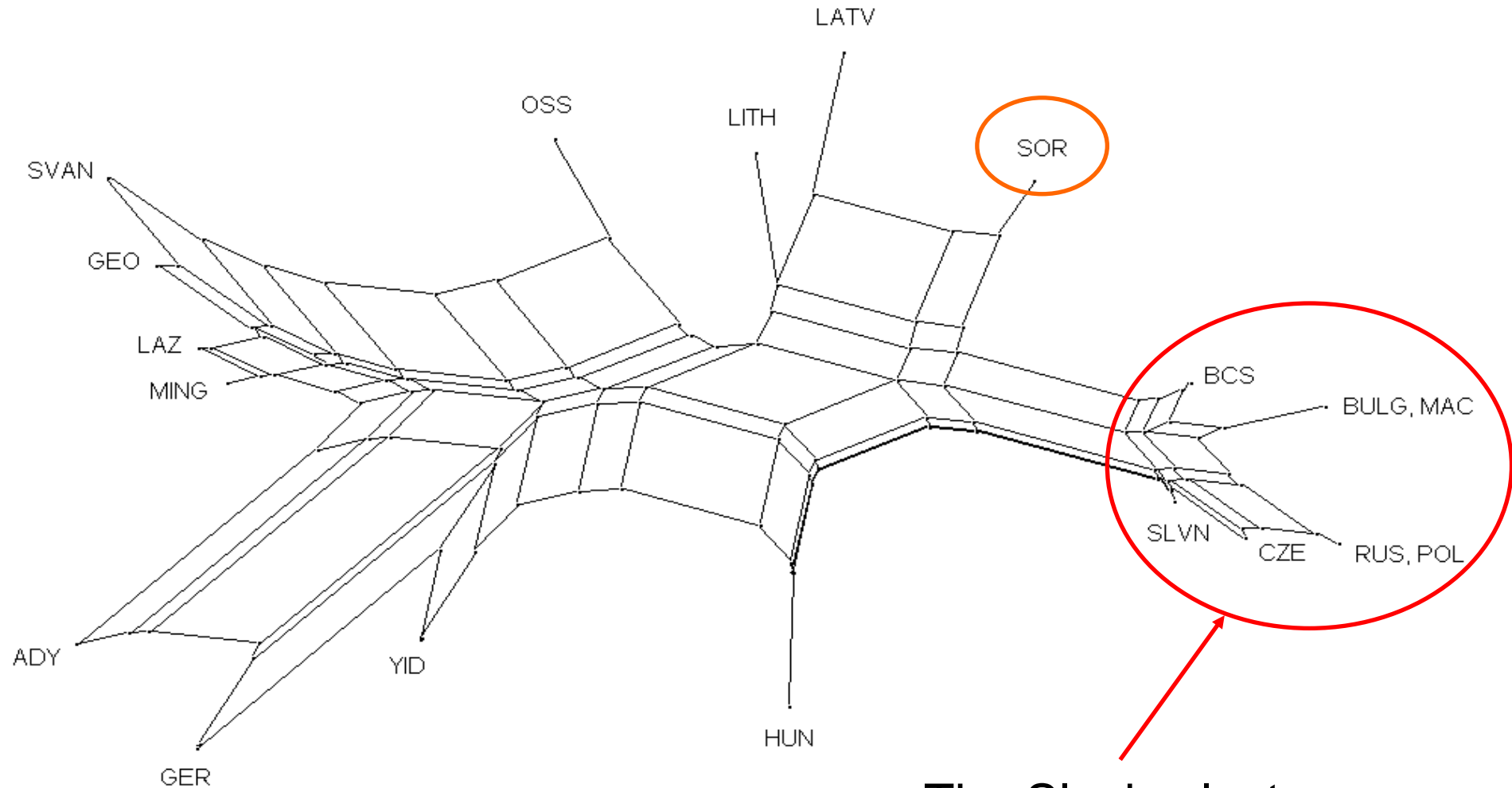
Nothing really sophisticated to offer:

- NeighborNet (Bryant & Moulton 2004, Huson & Bryant 2006, Bryant et al. 2005)

Some quantitative methods



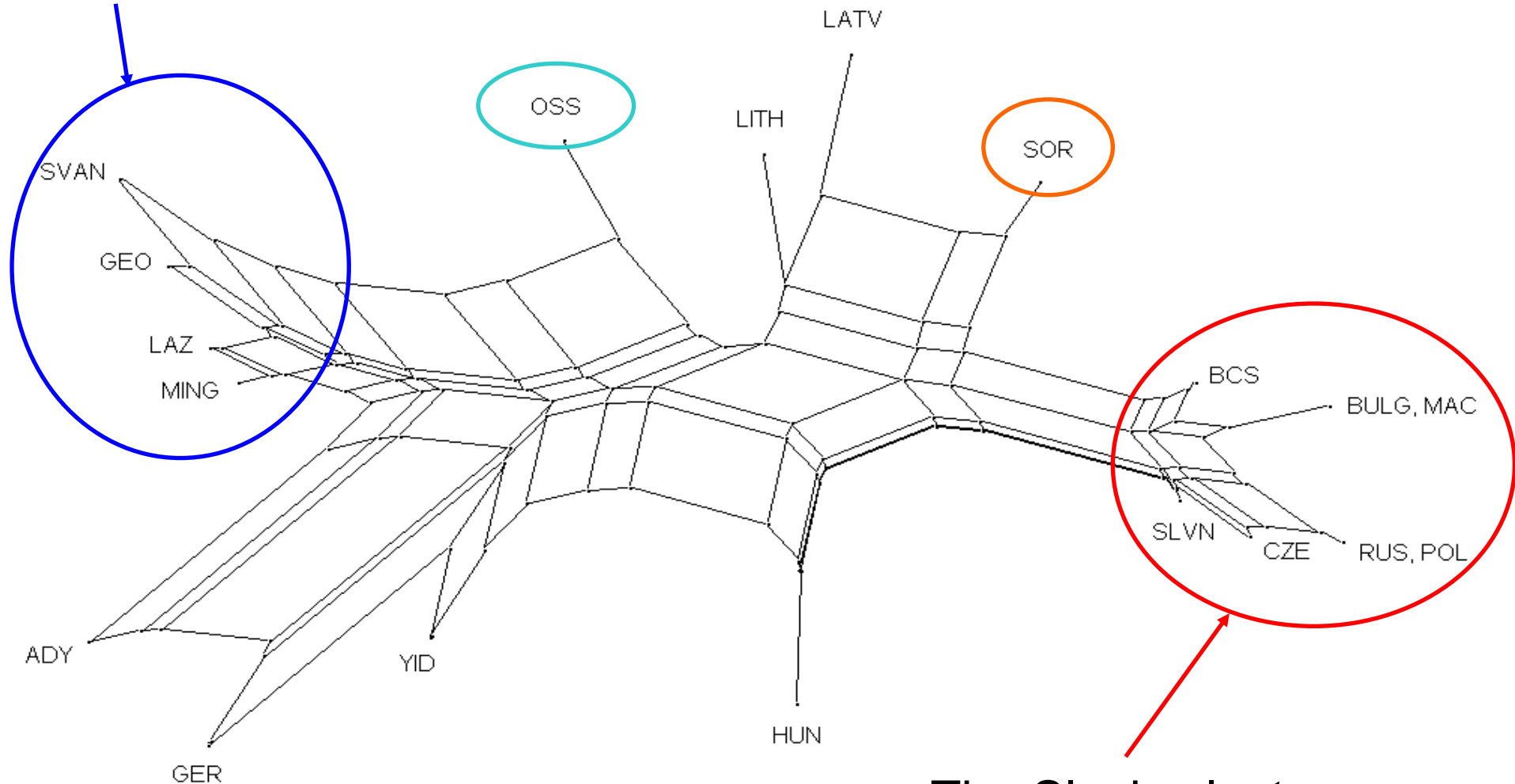
Some quantitative methods



The Slavic cluster

Some quantitative methods

The Kartvelian/Caucasian cluster



The Slavic cluster

Some quantitative methods

Two major clusters of systems of prefixal perfectivization, both defined more by **genealogical relationship** rather than **areal proximity**:

- Slavic (with Sorbian vernaculars as an outlier)
- Kartvelian (with geographically close but genealogically unrelated Ossetic as an outlier)

Some quantitative methods

Other languages occupy intermediate positions on the continuum whose opposite poles are constituted by the Slavic and Kartvelian clusters, showing no significant similarity either to each other or to either of the two poles.

Some quantitative methods

Not only clustering of **languages**, but clustering of **features** as well, showing that the two clusters of prefix-based aspectual systems are characterised by different constellations of properties.

Not **one**, but **two** “prototypes” of prefixal perfectivisation:

“Slavic” and “Caucasian”.

Some quantitative methods

The “Slavic” prototype of prefixal perfective:

- iteration of preverbs without clear morphological or functional subdivisions;
- lack of other verbal prefixes;
- productive delimitative prefixation;
- productive morphological secondary imperfectivisation;
- a suffixal perfectivizer;
- ban on the co-occurrence of perfective verbs with phasal predicates;
- ban on the imperfective use of prefixed verbs of motion.

Some quantitative methods

The “Kartvelian”/“Caucasian” prototype:

- no preverb iteration;
- morphological and functional subdivisions of preverbs;
- presence of other verbal prefixes;
- systematic expression of deixis by preverbs;
- no productive delimitative Aktionsarten;
- no productive secondary imperfectivisation;
- imperfective use of prefixed motion verbs;
- inflectional Aorist and Imperfect.

Some quantitative methods

However, the quantitative multi-factorial method does not allow to determine clear areal influences (e.g. Sorbian is shown to be different from other Slavic languages, but is not shown to have similarities to German), which is an indication that contact-induced change affects individual parameters rather than whole systems.

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A broader typological outlook

Bounder-based perfectives are not necessarily prefixal.

In many languages morphemes expressing spatial and aspectual modifications of verbal semantics are suffixal.

A broader typological outlook

Margi (Chadic, Nigeria, Hoffmann 1963)

gù ‘seek, look for (ipf)’ →

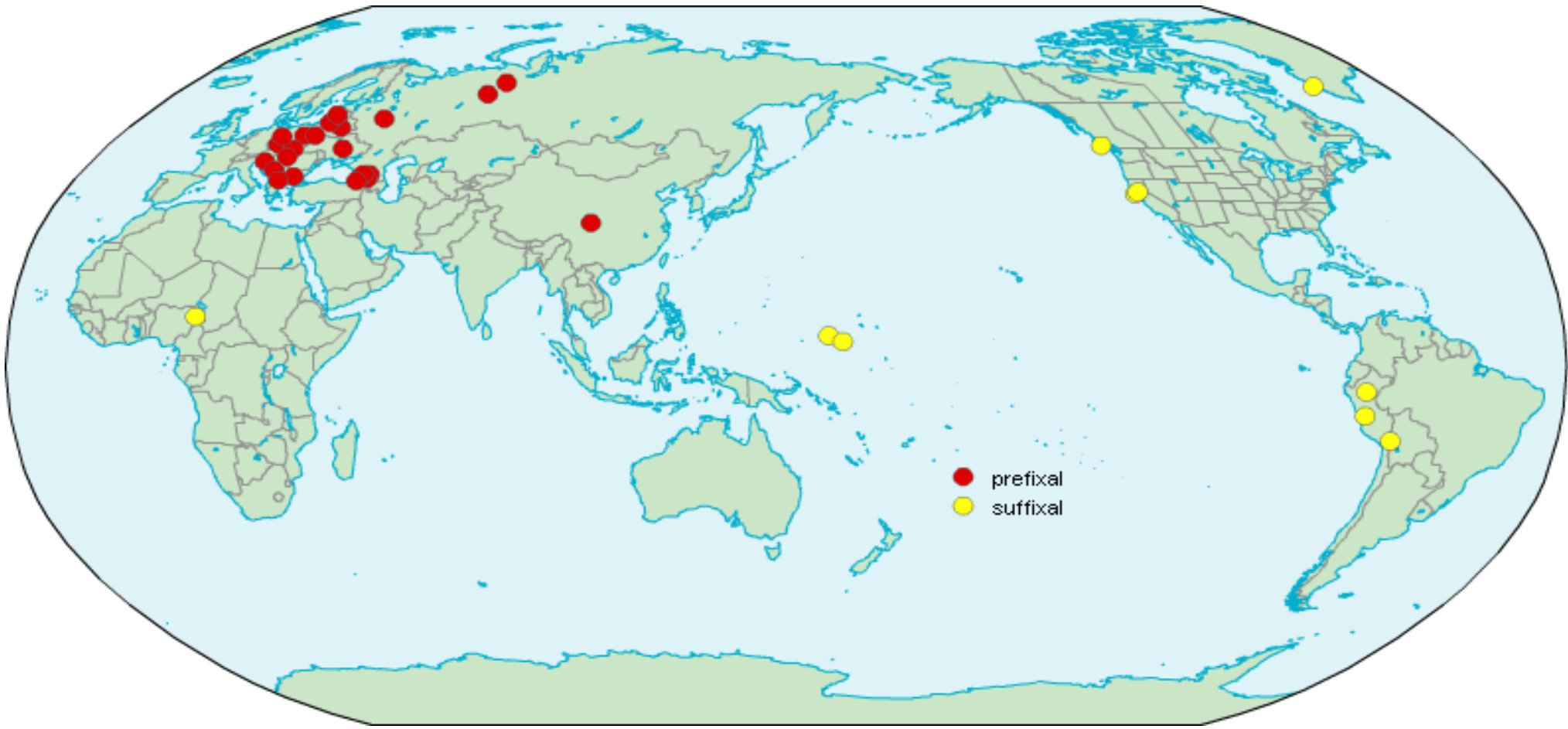
*gú-**bá*** ‘find out (pfv)’

Aymara (Aymaran, Bolivia, Haude 2003)

sawu-ña ‘weave (ipf)’ →

*saw-**su**-ña* ‘finish weaving (pfv)’

A broader typological outlook



A broader typological outlook

- Derivational aspectual systems are not necessarily predominantly perfectivising, like Slavic and Baltic, but can be **imperfectivising** as well.

Аркадьев & Шлуинский 2015, Arkadiev & Shluinsky 2016,
Шлуинский 2017

A broader typological outlook

Enets (Samoyedic, Taymyr, Шлуинский 2017)

piri-? ‘they cooked (pfv)’ →

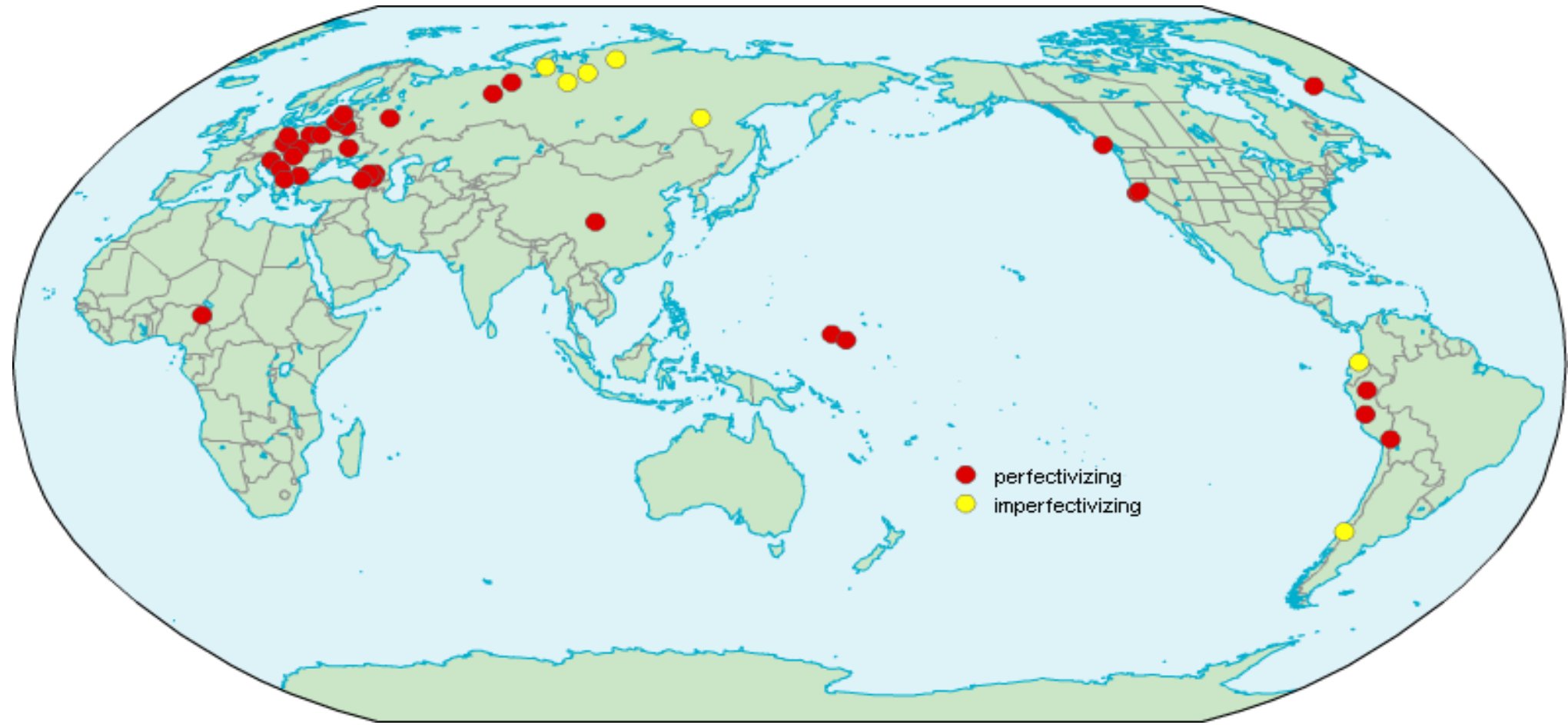
piri-goo ‘s/he is cooking (ipf)’

Mapuche (Araucanian, Chile, Smeets 2007)

lūq-üy ‘it became white (pfv)’ →

lūq-küle-y ‘it is white (ipf)’

A broader typological outlook

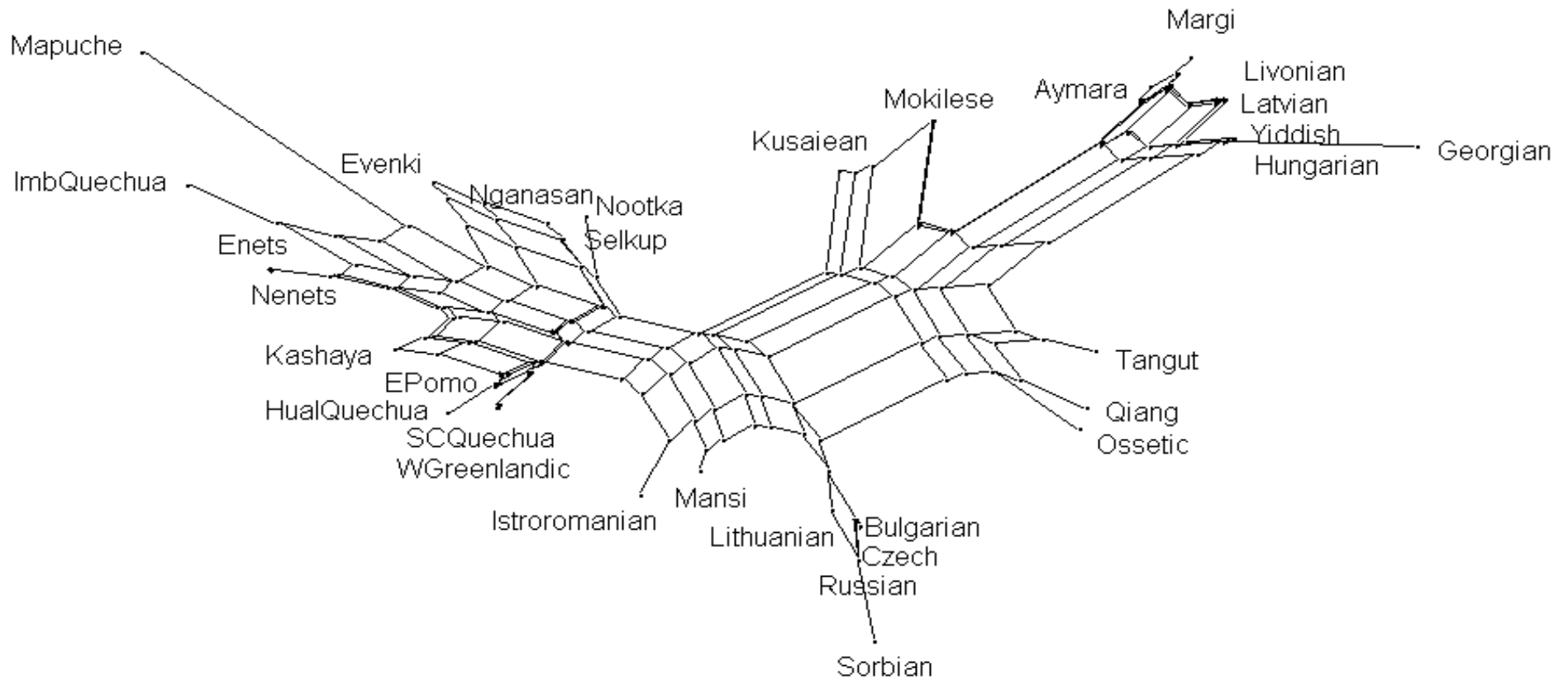


A broader typological outlook

Clear areal patterning is evident for both prefix-based perfectivising aspectual systems and for perfectivising systems in general, though the latter seem (given the data available) to be more widespread globally.

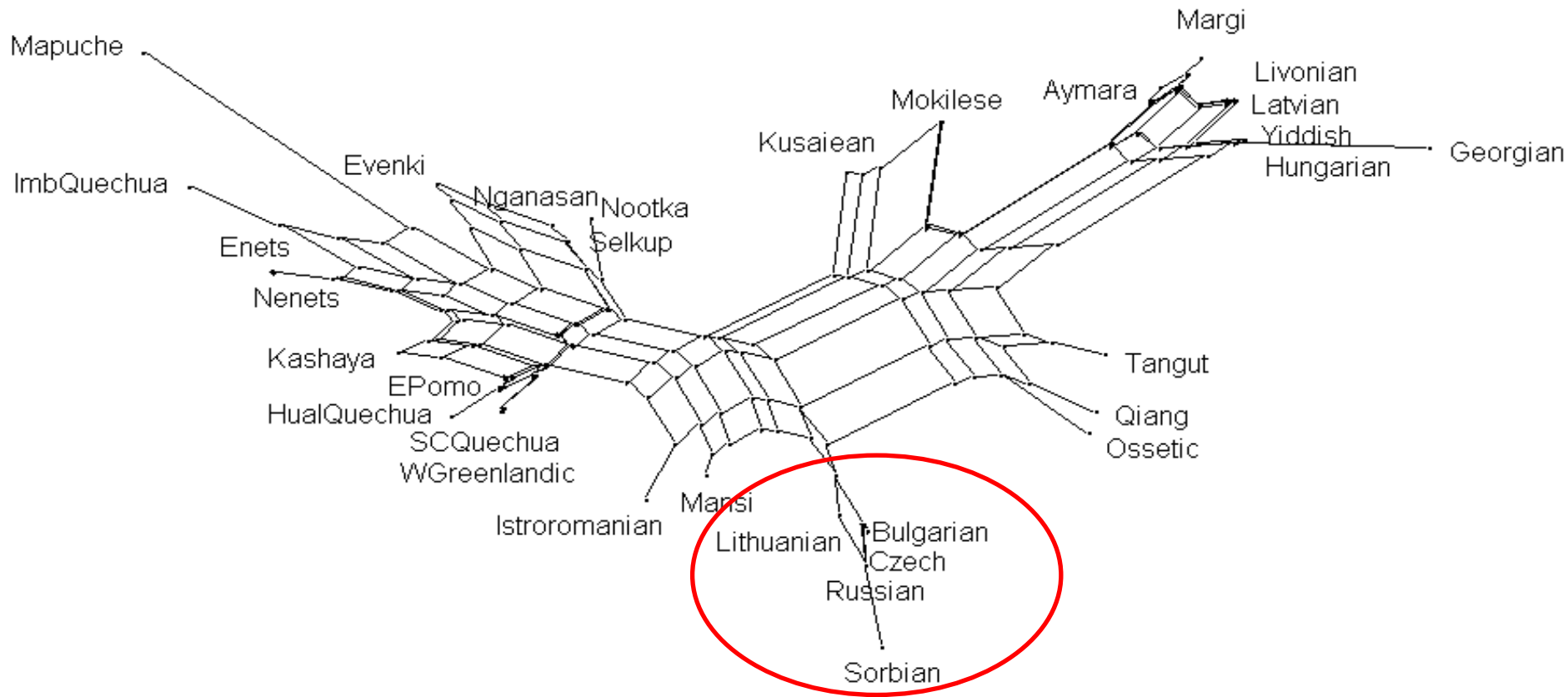
A broader typological outlook

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A broader typological outlook

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A broader typological outlook

Slavic aspect is neither a “paradigm case”, nor an “exotic phenomenon” in the typology of aspectual systems.

Its place in the general landscape of aspectual systems can be assessed by comparing it not only to the Western European-style systems of inflectional aspect (e.g. Breu 2000b), but to other boundary-based and, more generally, verb-classifying aspectual systems as well.

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Roadmap

- Introducing “Slavic-style” aspect
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- Some quantitative methods
- A broader typological outlook
- **Genetic inheritance vs. language contact**

Inheritance vs. contact

What is the role of genealogical inheritance and language contact in the rise and development of “Slavic-style aspect”?

Which properties of these systems reflect internal developments and which are subject to areal diffusion?

Inheritance vs. contact

In all the languages under investigation the systems of preverbs encoding spatial meanings are inherited from prehistoric times:

- Slavic, Baltic and at least some Germanic and Ossetic preverbs go back to the Proto-Indo-European verbal satellites;
- Hungarian preverbs find counterparts in the Ob-Ugric verbal satellites (Kiefer & Honti 2003, Honti 1999);
- though fairly diverse, the preverbs in Kartvelian are attested across the whole family (Hewitt 2004, Rostovtsev-Popiel 2012a).

Inheritance vs. contact

This implies that at least some (and potentially many) prerequisites for the development of the prefixal perfective have been present in the languages in question prior to any possible contact leading to the spread of the grammaticalisation pattern

“spatial preverb” → “Aktionsart preverb” →
“perfectivising preverb”.

Inheritance vs. contact

This finds support in the fact that verbal satellites or other elements specifying the spatial extent of the situation tend to develop into aspectual “bounders” (Bybee & Dahl 1989) cross-linguistically (Breu 1992, Bybee et al. 1994, Майсак 2005).

Inheritance vs. contact

Such developments have been recurring in the documented history of the Indo-European languages beyond Balto-Slavic:

late Latin (Haverling 2003, Панов 2012) preverbs;

Gothic (Маслов 1959, Genis 2012) preverbs;

English (e.g. Brinton 1988) adverbial particles;

Italian (Iacobini & Masini 2006) adverbial particles.

Also Balto-Finnic (Wälchli 2001) adverbial particles.

Inheritance vs. contact

However, in all the studied languages the use of preverbs for perfectivisation is a more or less recent innovation.

Therefore, contact and areal diffusion could have (and in some cases clearly have) played an important role in the development of prefix-based aspectual systems.

Cf. Wiemer & Seržant 2017

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, Gardani 2018, 2020, Arkadiev & Kozhanov (2021)

Inheritance vs. contact

Language contact phenomena attested in the domain of prefixal perfectivisation are rather diverse and include both matter (MAT) and pattern (PAT) borrowing.

Arkadiev 2017

Inheritance vs. contact

MAT-borrowing:

- of individual prefixes into a system already possessing preverbs (e.g. Baltic or Finnic dialects in contact with Slavic);
- of whole preverb systems into languages originally without preverbs (e.g. Romani dialects and Istroromanian in contact with Slavic, Livonian in contact with Latvian).

MAT-borrowing of prefixes

Latvian Romani (Ariste 1973: 80)

nočhindža ‘cut off’ (~ Latv. *nogriezt*)

uzdžinena ‘get to know’ (~ Latv. *uzzināt*)

Istroromanian (Клепикова 1959: 38-45, Hurren 1969)

rezlega ‘untie’ (~ Croatian *razvezati*)

poćira ‘have supper’ (~ Cro. *povečerati*)

Inheritance vs. contact

PAT-borrowing:

- restructuring of semantics of prefixes and change in the expression of Aktionsarten (e.g. Yiddish in contact with Slavic or Sorbian in contact with German);
- calquing of the German “adverbial particles” (Slavic and Romani varieties);
- calquing of secondary imperfectivisation (Lithuanian in contact with Slavic).

PAT-borrowing of prefixes

- Yiddish copying polysemy of Slavic prefixes:
*iber*shraybn ‘copy, rewrite’ ~ Rus. **пере**писать
iberton zikh ‘change clothes’ ~ Rus. **пере**одеться
ibervinken zikh ‘wink to each other’ ~ Rus.
перемигиваться

*far*boyen ‘block by construction’ ~ Rus. **за**строить
*far*tantsn zikh ‘dance a lot’ ~ Rus. **за**танцеваться
*far*shraybn ‘write down’ ~ Rus. **за**писать

Inheritance vs. contact

As usual, in each individual case the extent of contact influence depends on the sociolinguistic situation and on the structural similarities vs. differences between the verbal systems (e.g. under contact with Slavic secondary imperfectivisation did not arise in Yiddish and Latvian, whose verbal systems lack any comparable verbal affix).

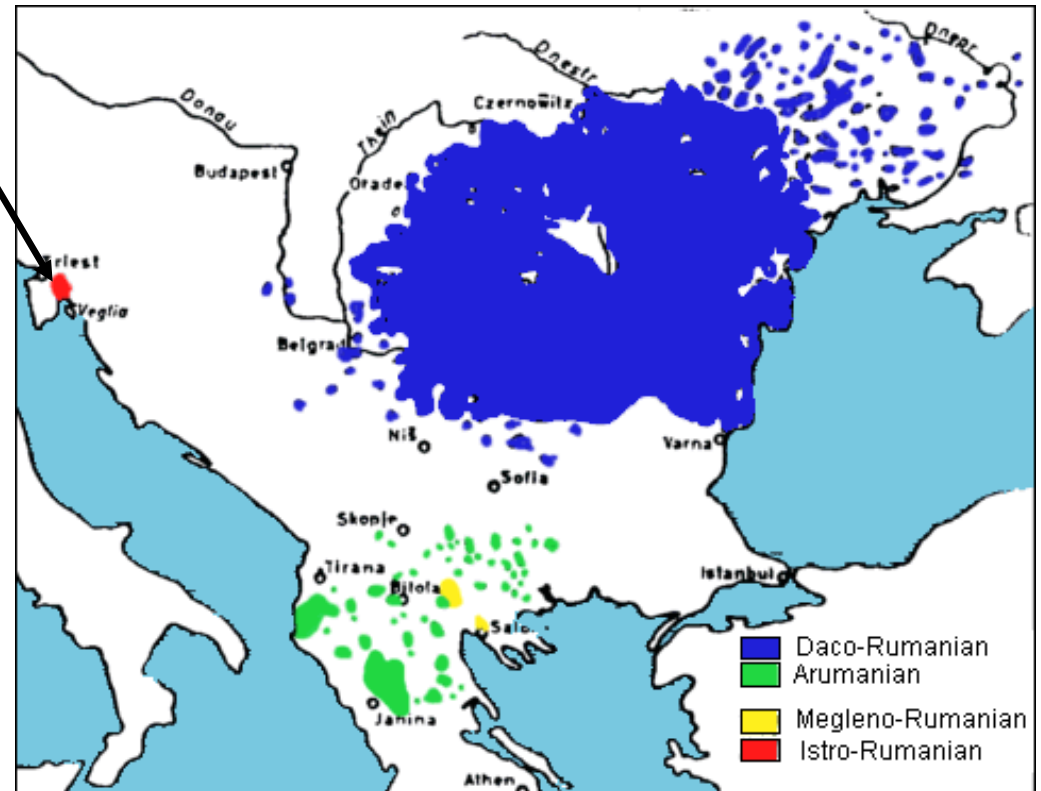
Inheritance vs. contact

Even in situations of prolonged and very intensive language contact MAT and/or PAT borrowing tends to be limited to formally transparent and semantically loaded features.

“Global copying” of an aspectual system as a whole is not attested and does not seem to be possible (cf. the discussion of the very special case of Istroromanian in Arkadiev 2017).

Inheritance vs. contact

Istorromanian



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

Inheritance vs. contact

Istroromanian is a unique case of a language which has borrowed from Slavic (Čakavian Croatian) 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.

Inheritance vs. contact

- “lexical” preverbs:

(19) *lega* ‘tie’ ~ *rezlega* ‘untie’, cf. Cro. *razvezati*
plānje ‘weep’ ~ *zeplānje* ‘burst into tears’,
cf. Cro. *zaplakati*
durmi ‘sleep’ ~ *nadurmi (se)* ‘sleep enough’,
cf. Cro. *naspati se*

- perfectivizing preverbs:

(20) *ćira* ~ *poćira* ‘have supper’, cf. Cro. *povečerati*
parti ~ *resparti* ‘divide’, cf. Cro. *razdijeliti*

Клепикова (1959: 38-45), Hurren 1969

Inheritance vs. contact

- imperfectivizing suffix:

- with simplex bases:

(21) *a mnat* ‘s/he went’ ~ *mnaveit-a* ‘they were going’
a scutat-av ‘s/he heard’ ~ *scutaveit-a* ‘s/he was listening’

- with prefixed bases:

(22) *rescl’ide* ‘open!’ ~ *rescl’idaveit-a* ‘s/he kept opening’
zedurmit ‘they fell asleep’ ~ *zedurmiveaia* ‘they were falling asleep’

Клепикова (1959: 47-55, 58-60)

Inheritance vs. contact

Istorromanian 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	<i>torče</i> ‘spin’	<i>potorče</i> ‘spin’
suffixation	<i>cadavei</i> ‘fall’ <i>potpisivei</i> ‘sign’	<i>cade</i> ‘fall’ <i>potpisei</i> ‘sign’
conjugation class change	<i>hitei</i> ‘throw’	<i>hiti</i> ‘throw’
suppletion	<i>be</i> ‘drink’	<i>popi</i> ‘drink’

Inheritance vs. contact

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.

Inheritance vs. contact

- simplex perfectives of the Romance origin:

(23a) ***scunde-te*** *su pâtu lu ia*

‘hide (cf. Rus. *sprjač’sja*) under her bed’

(23b) *ancea marancu și me **ascundaves***

‘I am hiding (cf. Rus. *prjačus*) while they are eating’

- simplex perfectives of the Slavic origin:

(24a) *și-av **piseit** un libru*

‘and wrote (cf. Rus. *napisal*) a book’

(24b) *ie nu l’a iedănaist an **pisiveit***

‘he didn’t write (cf. Rus. *pisal*) to them for eleven years’

Inheritance vs. contact

The Istroromanian aspectual system:

```
graph TD; A[The Istroromanian aspectual system:] --> B[telic base verbs:]; A --> C[atelic base verbs:]; B --> D[lexical modification by prefixes ~ suffixal secondary imperfectives/iteratives]; C --> D;
```

telic base verbs:

- simplex perfectives ~
suffixal imperfectives

atelic base verbs:

- simplex imperfectives ~
prefixal perfectives
- suffixal iteratives

lexical modification by prefixes ~
suffixal secondary imperfectives/iteratives

Inheritance vs. contact

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.

Inheritance vs. contact

No reason to assume that the currently observed similarities between the Central and Eastern European and the Caucasian subareas of prefixal perfective could have arisen due to language contact between these two groups of languages (contra Абаев 1965, who postulated Slavic influence on Ossetic, and, indirectly, on Kartvelian).

Inheritance vs. contact

The prehistoric contacts between the Balto-Slavic and the Iranian peoples and languages (Зализняк 1962, Эдельман 2002 etc) must have significantly predated the time when the modern grammatical systems and especially their functional make-up started emerging.

Inheritance vs. contact

The similarities between the Balto-Slavic and the Kartvelian-Ossetic systems of prefixal perfective are obviously not due to the recent contacts (since the late 18th cent. onwards):

When the Caucasian peoples were incorporated into the Russian Empire their languages already possessed prefixal perfective.

Inheritance vs. contact

Though in the oldest Georgian texts (5th-8th cent. AD) numerous spatial preverbs did not perfectivise verbs (Schanidse 1982), the rise and spread of the aspectual functions of preverbs must have been completed by the middle-Georgian period (12th century, Ростовцев-Попель 2012b), when no intensive contacts with Slavic languages could be reasonably assumed.

Inheritance vs. contact

Are there reasons to assume that the Caucasian (Kartvelian-Ossetic) area of prefixal perfective is at least partly due to language contact?

There is evidence pointing in this direction (*pace* Thordarson 1982, 2009, who dismisses this possibility without much discussion).

Inheritance vs. contact

The basic spatial meanings of Ossetic preverbs are largely similar to the meanings of Georgian preverbs.

Inheritance vs. contact

Two semantic axes:

locative ('upwards', 'downwards', 'inside', 'outside' etc.)

deictic ('towards the speaker' vs. 'from the speaker')

In Georgian the two axes are expressed by different sets of co-occurring preverbs, while in Ossetic they are conflated.

Inheritance vs. contact

- Iron Ossetic preverbs

	'in'	'out'	'down'	'up'	'sideways'
'hither'	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ra-</i>	<i>æer-, cæ-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>fæ-</i>
'thither'	<i>æerba-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ny-</i>		

Inheritance vs. contact

- Iron Ossetic preverbs

	‘in’	‘out’	‘down’	‘up’	‘sideways’
‘hither’	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ra-</i>	<i>æer-, cæ-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>fæ-</i>
‘thither’	<i>æerba-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ny-</i>		

- Georgian preverbs

		‘down’	‘up’	‘out’	‘in’	‘across’	‘forward’
‘hither’	<i>mo-</i>	<i>ča-mo-</i>	<i>a-mo-</i>	<i>ga-mo-</i>	<i>še-mo-</i>	<i>gad-mo-</i>	<i>c’a-mo-</i>
‘thither’	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ča-, da-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	<i>še-</i>	<i>gada-</i>	<i>c’a-</i>

Inheritance vs. contact

- Iron Ossetic preverbs

	‘in’	‘out’	‘down’	‘up’	‘sideways’
‘hither’	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ra-</i>	<i>æer-, cæ-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>fæ-</i>
‘thither’	<i>æerba-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ny-</i>		

- Georgian preverbs

		‘down’	‘up’	‘out’	‘in’	‘across’	‘forward’
‘hither’	<i>mo-</i>	<i>ča-mo-</i>	<i>a-mo-</i>	<i>ga-mo-</i>	<i>še-mo-</i>	<i>gad-mo-</i>	<i>c’a-mo-</i>
‘thither’	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ča-, da-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ga-</i>	<i>še-</i>	<i>gada-</i>	<i>c’a-</i>

Inheritance vs. contact

- Since the functional and morphological distinction between the spatial and the deictic preverbs is a feature common to all Kartvelian languages, it is legitimate to hypothesize that the Ossetic system is a result of semantic borrowing from Kartvelian (cf. Левицкая 2004).
- Importantly, the key semantic features of the Kartvelian-Ossetic systems of prefixes are lacking in the Balto-Slavic preverbs.

Inheritance vs. contact

The case for the areal nature of the prefixal perfective systems in Ossetic and Kartvelian is supported by independent evidence:

- (not so numerous) lexical borrowings (Thordarson 1999)
- shared grammatical features, e.g. negative indefinites and preverbal focus constructions (Erschler 2012).

Inheritance vs. contact

- Turning to the better studied Central European region, we see similarities not only in the aspectual systems, but in the domain of preverb semantics as well, in particular in their polysemy patterns.
- Cf. Gast & van der Auwera (2012) and Heine (2012) on the significance of polysemy in contact-induced grammaticalisation, and Wälchli (2001) on verbal satellites in particular.

Inheritance vs. contact

- Borrowing of polysemy patterns of preverbs have been documented for Yiddish (← Slavic, Wexler 1964, 1972, Talmy 1982, Шишигин 2016) and Sorbian (← German, Wexler 1972, Toops 1992a, 1992b), as well as for some other Slavic varieties under German influence (Bayer 2006).

Inheritance vs. contact

Similarities in “semantic networks” of preverbs can be observed between Baltic and the neighbouring Slavic languages (cf. e.g. Кожанов 2015), as well as between Hungarian and both Slavic and German (Kiefer 2010).

Conclusions

The distribution of prefixal perfectives in the languages of Central and Eastern Europe and the Caucasus involves a complex interplay of genetic inheritance, contact-induced developments and universal-typological tendencies

Conclusions

- Though areal “on the surface”, the distribution of prefixal perfectives cannot be reasonably attributed to a single center of innovation and spread (e.g. Slavic).
- Rather, at least two mutually independent centers of development must be postulated: the Balto-Slavic and the Caucasian.

Conclusions

- Clues of possible contact-induced developments are to be sought not in the easy to grasp major grammatical features, which can well be explained by the universal tendencies, but in the more intricate properties of grammatical systems and their interaction with the lexicon, e.g. in the semantics and polysemy of preverbs.

Спасибо за внимание!

Hvala za vašo pozornost!

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