Academia Grammaticorum Salensis Sexta

Jurgis Pakerys

Derivational resultatives in Lithuanian

(to be also presented at the conference on *Universals and Typology in Word-Formation*, 16 – 18 August 2009, P. J. Šafárik University in Košice)

Definitions: resultative vs. stative
(Nedjalkov, Jaxontov 1988: 6)

- The **resultative** expresses both a state and the preceding action it has resulted from, cf. Russ. *Na stene **visit** kartina* 'There hangs a picture on the wall' = *Na stene **povešena** kartina* 'A picture **is hung** on the wall'

- The **stative** expresses a state of a thing without any implication of its origin, cf. Russ. *Na vetkax **visjat** jabloki* 'There are apples hanging on branches' ≠ *Na vetkax povešeny jabloki* 'Apples are hung on the branches'

Diathesis types of resultatives
(Nedjalkov, Jaxontov 1988: 7-11)

- **Subjective** resultative: the subject of the state is co-referential with the subject of the preceding action, cf:

- Engl. ***John's eyes** have inflamed* (action) → ***John's eyes** are inflamed* (result)

- Lith. ***Jono akys** paraudo* → ***Jono akys** (yra) paraudusios*

Diathesis types of resultatives
(Nedjalkov, Jaxontov 1988: 7-11)

- **Objective** resultative: the subject of the state is co-referential with the object of the preceding action, cf:

- Engl. *John has opened **the door** (action) →* ***The door** is open* (result)

- Lith. *Jonas atidarė **duris** →* ***Durys** (yra) atidarytos*

Diathesis types of resultatives
(Nedjalkov, Jaxontov 1988: 7-11)

- **Possessive** resultative: the subject and the object of the state are co-referential with the subject and the object of the action, cf.:

- Russ. dial. *On nadel **šapku*** 'He has put on a hat' → *On (byl) nadevši **šapku*** 'He had a hat on'

- Lith. *Jis apsivilko **paltą*** 'He has put on a coat'→ *Jis (buvo) apsivilkęs **paltą*** 'He had a coat on'

Diathesis types of resultatives
(Nedjalkov, Jaxontov 1988: 7-11)

- The object of **possesive** resultatives refers to a body part, possession of the subject or to something in immediate contact with the subject

- The possessive resultative may also be termed as the **transitive** resultative (Kozinskij 1988: 516ff.)

- **Other less common types** of resultatives: the oblique-object resultative, the subjective-impersonal resultative, the objective-impersonal resultative

(Periphrastic) resultatives in Lithuanian (Geniušienė, Nedjalkov 1988)

- In Lithuanian, the **objective resultative** is <u>combined</u> with the **passive voice**, cf.

- *Langas buvo uždarytas* 'the window was closed'(objective resultative)

- The **subjective** and the **possessive** resultative are both <u>combined</u> with the **active perfect**, cf.:

- *Jis buvo šiltai apsirengęs* 'he had (lit. was) dressed-himself warmly' (subjective resultative)

- *Ji buvo apsivilkusi paltą* 'she had a coat on' (possessive resultative)

Derivational resultatives in Lithuanian

- The volume Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988 aimed at "investigating **all verb forms** and **regular deverbal derivatives** that may express states, i.e. both resultatives and statives" (Nedjalkov, Jaxontov 1988: 7; emphasis added)

- In Geniušienė, Nedjalkov 1988, the Lithuanian derivational resultatives are probably omitted due to their low productivity, but it seems that a brief overview of these formations could add some interesting details to the typological description of Lithuanian resultatives

Derivational resultatives in Lithuanian

- In Modern Lithuanian, the resultative meaning can be expressed by verbal formations in *-ėti*, *-oti*, and *-soti* (Ambrazas (ed.) 2006: 399-400)

- The dictionary of Modern Lithuanian (*Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, http://www.lki.lt/dlkz/) was used to compile a list of synchronically transparent derivational resultatives

- The verbs were classified according to their suffixes and the types of resultative diathesis

Lithuanian derivational resultatives in *-ė́ti*

- Modern Lithuanian has ca. 39 resultative formations in *-ė́ti*

- 21 or 22 formations are **subjective** resultatives, cf.: *lind-ė́-ti* 'keep in hiding' ← *lį̃s-ti, į̃-lį̃s-ti* 'get, crawl in(to)'

- 13 formations are **possessive** resultatives, cf.: *vilk-ė́-ti (paltą)* 'wear (a coat)' ← *vilk-ti-s, ap-si-vilk-ti (paltą)* 'dress oneself, put (a coat) on'

- 4 or 5 formations can be considered **objective** resultatives (all are rarely used), cf.: *spūd-ė́-ti* 'be under pressure' ← *spaus-ti, su-spausti* 'press'

Lithuanian derivational resultatives in *-oti*

- There are ca. 12 resultative formations in *-oti*

- 10 formations are **subjective**, cf.: *lind-o-ti* 'be in hiding' ←*lįs-ti, į-lįs-ti* 'get, crawl into'

- 2 formations are possibly **objective**, cf.: *kyš-o-ti* 'stick out' ← *kiš-ti, į-kiš-ti* 'poke, stick in' (trans. verb → obj. res.) vs. *iš-si-kišti* 'protrude' (intr. verb → subj. res.) and *kimš-o-ti* 'be stuck (somewhere)' ← *kimš-ti, į-kimšti* 'push, cram, squeeze in(to)'

Lithuanian derivational resultatives in *-soti*

- There are ca. 16 formations in *-soti*

- Most of them (14-15) express **subjective** resultative meanings, cf.: *dryb-so-ti* 'lie lazily' ← *(nu-)drib-ti* 'tumble, fall down'

- 1 or 2 can be possibly **objective**, cf. *mirk-so-ti* 'soak (for a longer time) (intr.)' ← *į-merk-ti* 'soak (tr.)' (but it can also be a durative formation (← *mirk-ti* 'soak (intr.)')) and *smyg-so-ti* 'be stuck' ← *į-smig-ti* 'pierce (intr.), go into' vs. *į-smeig-ti* 'pierce (tr.), stick into' (both formations are rare)

Periphrastic and derivational resultatives: possible synonymy?

- Cf. periphrastic constructions alongside derivational resultatives (*Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language*, http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/index_en.php):

- *Į būdą **buvo įlindusi** lapė. Ji **lindėjo** kampe susirietusi* [...] 'A fox **had got** into the kennel. It **kept hiding** huddled up in the corner'

- *Mokytoja **buvo apsivilkusi** įstrižai languotą suknelę, kurią **vilkėdavo** tik mokykloj* [...] 'The teacher **had** a dress in check pattern **on**, the one she **used to wear** only at school'

Derivational resultatives
in Lithuanian: notes and conclusions

- It is quite common for some derivational resultatives to adopt stative meaning (i.e. no prior action is implied), cf.:

- *Prie sankryžos* **stovėjo** *žmogus / automobilis* (≠ *buvo atsistojęs*) 'There **was** a man / car **standing** at the crossroad (≠ had stood up)' (*stovėti* 'stand' ← *stoti-s, at-si-stoti* 'stand up')

- Resultatives constitute a non-productive derivational category in Lithuanian (and some verbs are rare), but it is important to note that they can express all types of resultatives just as the periphrastic resultative constructions do

Derivational resultatives in Lithuanian: notes and conclusions

- The productivity of the resultative formations (vs. constructions) is probably restricted by:

  - highly grammaticalized status of periphrastic resultative constructions

  - the fact that the resultative formations can rarely express the possessive and the objective resultative meanings

  - the resultative formations tend to adopt stative and other (idiomatic) meanings

  - the resultative formations are derived from primary (i.e. non-suffixed) verbs only

15

Derivational resultatives
in Lithuanian: notes and conclusions

- If one takes (unproductive) derivational resultatives / statives into account, Lithuanian could be typologically classified not only together with Russian (as languages that have an objective resultative form combined with passive (group C1 in Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988)

- ... but also together with the ones that have two or three types of (derivational) resultatives / statives alongside the resultatives that share their form with the passive (cf. Evenki, Tongan, group B in Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988)

Resultatives / statives
in Evenki and Tongan

- **Evenki** (Nedjalkov, Nedjalkov 1988: 241):

- the non-combined subjective, objective and possessive stative

- the objective resultative combined with the passive perfect

- **Tongan** (Polinskaja 1988: 290):

- the non-combined subjective and objective stative

- the resultative of the four diathesis types [subj., obj., obl.-obj., poss.] combined with the active and passive perfect

- **References**

- Ambrazas, Vytautas (ed.) 2006. *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos gramatika*. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas.

- Geniušienė, Emma Š. and Nedjalkov, Vladimir P. 1988. "Resultative, passive, and perfect in Lithuanian." In: Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988, 369-386.

- Kozinskij, Isaak Š. 1988. "Resultatives: results and discussion." In: Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988, 497-525.

- Nedjalkov, Igor' V. and Nedjalkov, Vladimir P. 1988. "Stative, resultative, passive, and perfect in Evenki." In: Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988, 241-257.

- Nedjalkov, Vladimir P. (ed.) 1988. *Typology of Resultative Constructions*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Nedjalkov, Vladimir P. and Jaxontov, Sergej Je. 1988. "The typology of resultative constructions." In: Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988, 3-6.

- Polinskaja, Marija S. 1988. "Stative, resultative, perfect, and passive in Tongan." In: Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988, 289-301.