



Baltų kalbų žodžių daryba ir jos paribiai
Vārddarināšana un tās robežas baltu valodās
Word-formation and beyond in the Baltic languages

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Lithuanian in the typology of derivational aspectual systems

In Lithuanian linguistics, there has been much debate about the nature of aspectual oppositions of the type *rašyti* ‘write’ ~ *parašyti* ‘write up’, especially in comparison with the better-known Russian aspectual system (see Dambriūnas 1960, Galnaitytė 1962, 1978, Ambrazas 1999, cf. also Wiemer 2001). The primary question has been to which domain, lexicon or grammar, such an opposition belongs. In this paper I shift the focus from the language-internal to the cross-linguistic perspective, addressing the characterization of Lithuanian from the point of view of contemporary knowledge about aspectual systems found in the languages of the world.

Together with Slavic aspectual systems, the Lithuanian one belongs to the so-called “boulder-based perfectives” (Bybee & Dahl 1989), which, in turn, form one of the possible subtypes of derivational, or word-classifying, aspectual systems (see Arkadiev & Shluinsky 2015), in which perfective vs. imperfective meanings are inherent properties of the verbal lexeme, rather than part of the inflectional system.

Comparison of Lithuanian with a broader range of languages with prefix-based perfectivization (including both Slavic languages as well as Latvian, Hungarian, Yiddish, Ossetic and Georgian, see Arkadiev 2014, 2015), yields the following conclusions:

- 1) Lithuanian is closer to the Western Slavic type of aspectual system (Dickey 2000), i.e. Czech and Slovene, in that its “perfective” verbs are used in the present tense in habitual and historical contexts, where Russian and Polish have to substitute perfective verbs by imperfective partners. In this respect Lithuanian forms part of a larger Central European “aspectual area” comprising Latvian, Hungarian and Yiddish as well.
- 2) Lithuanian differs from Slavic languages in the unavailability of the process of prefix stacking or secondary perfectivization, and in this respect it is similar to most other languages with prefixal perfectives.
- 3) By the lack of futurate uses of the “perfective” present and the availability of aspectually neutral inflectional future Lithuanian differs from the North Slavic languages, but aligns with both South Slavic (Bulgarian) and non-Slavic languages (Ossetic).

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Scalar moderation in Lithuanian adjectives

PROBLEM

In Lithuanian, prefix **po-** when attached to adjectives, can derive the following meanings, listed in the order of most to least productive based on Tamulionienė's study (2013:135-137):

(1)

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|---|---|
| a. 'average amount of property x' | aštrus 'sharp' | → | po aštris 'rather sharp' |
| b. 'a little of property x'; | baisus 'terrifying' | → | po baisis 'a little terrifying' |
| c. 'almost property x'; | šviesus 'light' | → | po šviesis 'almost light' |
| d. 'too much of property x' | siauras 'narrow' | → | po siauris 'too narrow' |

QUESTION 1

Tamulionienė (2013) observes that **po-** derives indefiniteness of scale of a property at issue. I concur. However, that cannot be the whole story. Variance in productivity notwithstanding, how can one account for the range of meanings in (1), assuming that 'rather' ≠ 'a little' ≠ 'almost' ≠ 'too much'?

QUESTION 2

Having observed the variance, why are certain derivations, such as, e.g., in (2), not possible?

- (2) a. ***po**medinis b. ***po**nėščia
pref-wooden pref-pregnant

PROPOSAL

I posit that **po-** is a **moderator** of scale when applied to adjectives. This view is in line with the indefiniteness of scale interpretation proposed by Tamulionienė (2013). In addition, it predicts the range of meanings.

CLAIM 1

The range of meanings that Tamulionienė (2013) lists is due to the relativization of scale. (i) Semantics inherent to adjectives and (ii) pragmatic context make this relativization possible.

The range of meanings in (1) corresponds to possibilities allowed for adjectives of distinct scalarity, under the view that adjectives split into open, relative and absolute (in the sense of Kennedy 2007, Kennedy & McNally 2005). Moderator prefix **po-** interacts with the inherent scalar specification of a particular adjective giving rise to a

specific meaning, e.g., ‘rather’ or ‘a little’ or ‘almost’ or ‘too much’. This means that the Lithuanian moderator prefix is underspecified: until it adjoins a particular adjective, its scalar effect simply cannot be known. In this sense, it contrasts with, e.g., English, where a particular scalar moderator corresponds to a particular lexical entry.

Pragmatics play a role in that some of the data examples can be interpreted as having more than one interpretation. Based on native speaker judgements, distinction between ‘a little’ and ‘rather’ can be blurred. For instance, (1a) for *poaštris* could mean either ‘rather sharp’ or ‘a little sharp’.

CLAIM 2

The ungrammaticality of (2) is also predicted under the view of scalar moderation. Specifically, *po-* does not introduce scale, it only moderates it. Thus, scale moderator cannot adjoin to adjectives that are not scalar. Properties such as, e.g., ‘wooden’ or ‘pregnant’ fall outside scalarity: something is either wooden or not, pregnant or not.

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Lithuanian *-ỹstė* in the service of Latvian

The paper is dedicated to an unexplored area of Lithuanian-Latvian language contacts – the transfer and activating in Latvian of the word-forming element *-ỹstė*.

In 1868, Aleksandrs Vēbers (one of the leading activists of the second wave of Young Latvian movement – late 1860s and 1870s), who had lived for some time in Lithuania, introduced into Latvian the word *karal[i]s* as an equivalent to the already existing word *ķēniņš*. In the early 1870s it was followed by *karalīks*, *karaliene*, and *karaliste*. The latter coinage was obviously regarded as a good model for naming various types of state and gradually it was followed by a string of new words, e. g. *ķeizariste* (empire), *ķņaziste* (Fürstenthum, княжество). Although Kārlis Mīlenbahs in his very first article in 1881 rejected the idea of borrowing from Lithuanian, mentioning, in particular, *-iste*, the model continued to expand. It had to compete with previous convention of denoting such state forms by word combinations (*ķeizara valsts*, *ķņaza valsts*, *ķēniņa valsts*) and existing word-formation elements like *-ība* and *-ija*, cf. *bīskapība*, *bīskapija*, *bīskapiste*.

The author's corpus of citations from dictionaries, books, and periodicals contains 17 derivatives with *-iste*. Seven of them are found in the 8-volume *Latviešu literārās valodas vārdnīca*, some have disappeared after a shorter or longer use in written Latvian, as a rule, losing competition with other synonymous derivational models.

LINA INČIURAITĖ-NOREIKIENĖ

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in Lithuanian**

In word formation theory, the morphological status of the constituents forming neoclassical compounds remains a complicated problem. Similarly, Panocová (2012: 185) puts forward an idea that it is not easy to describe neoclassical word formation because of the heterogeneous nature of the neoclassical compounds and their constituents. Many labels are used to refer to the constituents of neoclassical compounds, namely *neoclassical formatives* (ten Hacken 2012), *affixoids* (Hansen et al. 1985), *initial/final combining forms* (Bauer 1998, 1983), *affixes* (Williams 1981), *semi-affixes* (Marchand 1969). In my paper I would like to argue that such a large number of invented terms to name neoclassical elements is unnecessary. As Kastovsky (2009: 12) precisely observes, the notions of *word*, *stem*, *affix*, *affixoid*, *clipping* and *blending* are enough to deal with the formations in question.

As regards the morphological status of neoclassical elements, the research addresses two questions, namely How do neoclassical elements differ from each other, and Do neoclassical elements belong to stems or affixes (e.g. the neoclassical element *-graf-* in *graf-à* 'column', *graf-em-à* 'grapheme', *grafo-lòg-ij-a* 'grahology', *vazo-grāf-ij-a* 'vasography')? In order to find answers to the above mentioned questions, the research dwells upon the combinability properties of neoclassical elements in the IT resources such as the DLKT (2011) and TŽŽ^e (2003).

As far as combinability properties of neoclassical elements are concerned, it was noticed that they are used not only in borrowings, which in the Lithuanian language are instances of simple loan translations, but also in the formation of hybrid suffixed derivatives and compounds (*biològ-išk-as, -a, biològ-in-is, -ė* 'biologic(al)', *bio-kūr-as* 'biofuel', *bio-atšparum-as* 'bioresistance').

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On directly and indirectly borrowed verbal derivational affixes in Lithuanian

A prevalent assumption in the linguistic literature is that affixes are usually borrowed indirectly when the complex lexical loans are segmented in the recipient language and their affixes are extracted for the use with native bases (cf. Paul 1891: 469–470, Weinreich 1953: 31–32, Fleischmann 1977: 275). However, according to Seifart (forthc.), in some cases direct borrowing can be the only or primary process responsible for productive loan affixes. He notes that direct borrowing can be assumed when the recipient language has no or few complex loanwords with the borrowed affix and when that affix typically occurs with native bases. On the other hand, when the borrowed affix is frequently found in complex loan words and rarely occurs with native bases, we should assume indirect borrowing. The directness of borrowing is not a binary feature and is best understood as a scale, cf. Figure 3 in Seifart (forthc.).

It is well known that some Lithuanian dialects have borrowed a number of Slavic verbal prefixes and suffixes (Zinkevičius 1966: 30–31, 334). We have examined the data of five Lithuanian dialectal dictionaries¹ and the preliminary analysis shows that the verbal prefixes of Slavic origin, namely *da-*, *pad-* and *raz-* are most probably borrowed directly, because they show a strong tendency to combine with the native bases (ca. 95%), cf. similar observations in Wiemer 2009: 373, 378, 383. On the other hand, the Slavic suffixes *-avo-ti* and *-ui-ti* are probably best treated as cases of indirect borrowing due to their tendency to occur with Slavic bases (ca. 70%).

In our paper we would like to explore the processes of direct/indirect borrowing of Slavic verbal affixes into Lithuanian in more detail and to discuss the strengths and possible weaknesses of the criterion of occurrence of borrowed affixes with (non-)native bases.

¹ Petrauskas, Jonas, Aloyzas Vidugiris, *Lazūnų tarmės žodynas* [Dictionary of Lazūnai Dialect]. Vilnius: Mokslo, 1985; Vilotytė, Angelė, *Kaltanėnų šnektos žodynas* [Dictionary of Kaltanėnai Dialect]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2008; Grumadienė, Laima, Danguolė Mikulėnienė, Kazys Morkūnas, Aloyzas Vidugiris, *Dieveniškų šnektos žodynas 1: A–M* [Dictionary of Dieveniškės Dialect, Vol. 1]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla, 2005; Danguolė Mikulėnienė, Kazys Morkūnas, Aloyzas Vidugiris, *Dieveniškų šnektos žodynas 2: N–Z* [Dictionary of Dieveniškės Dialect, Vol. 2]. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla, 2010. Vidugiris, Aloyzas, *Zietelos šnektos žodynas* [Dictionary of Zietela Dialect]. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 1998.

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Mediumas ir inchoatyvas: lietuvių kalbos padėties keitimo veiksmažodžiai

Padėties keitimo veiksmažodžiai, tokie kaip *gulti - gultis, sėsti - sėstis* ir pan., sudaro vieną iš lietuvių kalbos mediumo grupių ir reiškia veiksmą, kuris paties subjekto valingai atliekamas su savo kūnu. Įvairiose pasaulio kalbose tai yra prototipinė mediumu reiškiamą situacija (plg. S. Kemmer, *The Middle Voice*, Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1993, p. 55–56).

Lietuvių kalbos padėties keitimo veiksmažodžiai yra negausi mediumo grupė, kuri iki šiol nebuvo išsamiai tyrinėta. Skiriamasis bruožas yra tas, kad abu veiksmažodžiai – ir turintis mediumo rodiklį, ir jo neturintis – yra intranzityviniai (plg. su neslenkamojo judėjimo veiksmažodžiais *keltis - kelti, lenktis - lenkti* ir pan.) ir turi inchoatyvinę reikšmę. Inchoatyvinių veiksmažodžių žymėjimas mediumo rodikliais nėra įprastas reiškinys, todėl kyla klausimas, kodėl padėties keitimo veiksmažodžiai lietuvių kalboje turi po du iš pažiūros lygiaverčius narius.

Analizuojant, kokią funkciją atlieka padėties keitimo veiksmažodžių mediumo rodiklis, pranešime bus aptariamos padėties keitimo veiksmažodžių morfosintaksinės savybės ir distribucija, apžvelgiami tipologiniai duomenys, o interpretacija remiama gyvumo kategorija ir vartojimo dažnumu. Analizė papildoma diachroniniais duomenimis.

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Aspectuality distinctions in Latvian deverbal nouns

This paper investigates the use of aspectual affixes with nominalizations (action nouns and agent nouns) in contemporary Latvian. The Latvian action noun derived by the suffix *-šan-* (*lasī-šan-a* ‘reading’ < *lasīt* ‘read’) and the agent noun with the suffix *-ēj-* or its allomorph *-tāj-* (*lasī-tāj-s* ‘one who reads’) stand out among Latvian deverbal nouns in showing “inflection-like” formal properties (regularity, productivity, generalness) and retaining several verbal features (concerning negation, voice, and aspectuality); for detailed information see Nau 2013 and forthcoming. The present study will look in more detail into the use of prefixes expressing aspectual meanings, especially the prefixes *iz-*, *no-* and *pa-*, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (1) *Toties pēc šī rakst-a iz-lasī-šan-as*
But after DEM.GEN.SG.M article-GEN.SG PFX-read-ACN-GEN.SG
vis-s kļuva skaidr-s.
all-NOM.SG become PST.3 clear-NOM.SG

‘However, after the (completed) reading of this article / after having read this article everything became clear.’ (Tīm)

- (2) *Lai [...] atras-tu [...] mazliet laik-a*
PTC find-IRR a_little time-GEN.SG
avīz-es pa-lasī-šan-ai
newspaper-GEN.SG PFX-read-ACN-DAT.SG

‘In order to find a little time for reading the newspaper (for a while)’ (Tīm)

- (3) *un katr-s iz-lasī-tāj-s grāmat-as 1. lap-ā*
and every-NOM.SG.M PFX-read-AGN-NOM.SG book-GEN.SG 1. page-LOC.SG
ie-raksta sav-u vārd-u.
PFX-write.PRS.3 RPO-ACC.SG name-ACC.SG

‘and everyone who has read [the book] (literally: every reader-through) writes their name on the book’s first page.’ (Tweet archived at favstar.fm/users/mikus_mezitis)

- (4) *Ap š-o laik-u tikai šeit parādījos, un arī*
about DEM-ACC.SG time-ACC.SG only here appear.PST.1SG.RFL and also
tad tikai kā ret-s pa-lasī-tāj-s. :)
then only as rare-NOM.SG.M PFX-read-AGN-NOM.SG

‘I only came in here at about that time and only as one who reads [forum posts] infrequently for a little while’ (Forum post at sapforums.lv)

The paper will address the following questions:

- (i) Which aspectual meanings are found with action and agent nouns and how frequent is this use of prefixes? A preliminary analysis has shown that completive and delimitative meanings are found with nominalizations derived from verbs of different classes and that the use of such prefixes is much more common with action nouns than with agent nouns.
- (ii) In which syntactic and discourse functions are nominalizations with aspectual prefixes used? A thesis supported by preliminary analysis is that these are discourse functions characteristic for verbs rather than nouns (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1984; Fonteyn et al. 2013).

The data for this study are taken from corpora as well as from Internet forums, blogs and tweets. The latter reflect the creative use of derivational means in colloquial styles.

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in Latvian and Lithuanian¹**

Processes of derivational adaptation of borrowings can be classified into the following main strategies (cf. Pakerys 2015): (1) no derivational morphology is involved (cf. direct insertion in Wohlgemuth 2009); (2) derivational affixes of the (pre-)donor language are substituted by the ones of the recipient language (cf. indirect insertion in Wohlgemuth 2009); (3) native derivational affixes are added to the borrowed stems (cf. indirect insertion in Wohlgemuth 2009); (4) derivational markers of the (pre-)donor language are truncated.

I used the dictionaries of internationalisms in Latvian (*TSSV*) and Lithuanian (*Interleksis*) to compile a database of adjectival borrowings to see to what extent the strategies mentioned above are employed. Preliminary results show that modern Latvian favors strategy (1) where ca. 58% of the loans are assigned to inflection class in -s (e.g. *precīz-s* ← German *präzis* ← French *précis*) and ca. 40% (or even less) of the cases can be attributed to strategy (2) when suffixes of the donor language are substituted by native -isk-s, which historically usually replaces German -isch, e.g. *aromāt-isk-s* ← *aromat-isch*. From the synchronic point of view, quite a number of these adjectives can be argued to be derivationally transparent if corresponding nouns were also borrowed, cf. *aromāt-s*. There seem to be no clear cases when strategy (3) is applied so that the suffixes of German (or Slavic) origin would be kept intact, and direct cases of truncation (4) are rare, e.g. *kalendār-s* ← German *kalendar-isch* (but note that *kalendār-isk-s* is also attested²).

In contrast to Latvian, Lithuanian strongly prefers strategy (2) by employing suffixes -in-is (ca. 70%) and -išk-as (ca. 12%) which replace Slavic suffixes (which in a number of cases correspond to German or French ones), e.g. *analit-in-is* Polish *analit-yczn-y* or Russian *analit-ičesk-ij* (alongside German *analyt-isch* and French *analyt-ique*), *elegant-išk-as* ← Polish *elegancki* [*elegant-sk-i*] or Russian *èlegant-n-yj* (alongside non-suffixed German *elegant* ← French *élégant*). If corresponding nouns were also borrowed, they can be treated as synchronic bases for these suffixal adjectives, e.g. *akrobat-in-is* : *akrobat-as*, *diplomat-išk-as* : *diplomat-as*. Assignment to inflection class in -us (strategy [1]) constitutes ca. 14% of the cases, e.g. *formal-us*, if one agrees that this (and other similar adjectives) directly reflects German *formal*, French *formal* or Latin *formalis* (note, however, that a number of instances in this group can be a result of later suffix truncation, cf. *formal-in-is*, -*išk-as* attested in earlier stages of standard Lithuanian³). There are no clear cases of strategy (3) (with the suffixes of Slavic or Germanic origin being preserved) and the truncation of suffixes (4) does not seem to be applied directly (cf. indirect [later] truncation in, e.g., *centr-in-is* which eventually replaced earlier *centr-al-in-is*).

¹ The research project *Morphological adaptation of adjectival borrowings in the Baltic languages* is financed by the Research Council of Lithuania, agreement No. LIT-9-7.

² Source: google.lv.

³ Sources: *LKŽe*, google.lt.

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Jaundarinājumi latviešu literatūrā un to interpretācija bērnu runā

Viens no bērnu verbālās radošās darbības būtiskiem elementiem ir okazionālismi, kuri bērna pasaulē ienāk divējādi:

- 1) kā viņa paša jaundarinājumi, kuri bieži vien rodas nejauši un parasti ir situatīvi nosacīti,
- 2) kā jaundarinājumi, ko rakstnieks radījis, lai īstenotu savu māksliniecisko nolūku, un kurus bērns iepazīst, klausoties vai lasot literārus darbus.

Valodniecībā pietiekami liela vērība veltīta gan bērnu, gan rakstnieku radīto okazionālismu izpētei un analīzei, tiesa, parasti nemeklējot kopsakarības starp abām grupām, bet skatot tos no standartvalodas derivatīvās sistēmas viedokļa.

Mazāk uzmanības veltīts tam, lai izzinātu, kā bērni uztver un interpretē literārajās pasakās, dzejā un prozā sastopamos autoru radītos okazionālus.

Pētījuma mērķis – izzināt, kā pirmsskolas un sākumskolas bērni uztver, verbāli interpretē un vizualizē (zīmē) latviešu rakstnieku Vika (Viktora Kalniņa), Jāņa Baltvilka, Ojāra Vācieša, Ineses Zanderes u. c. bērnu literatūrā izmantotos okazionālus.

Pētījums veikts, izmantojot kognitīvo un verbālo spēju testu izlasi un pejoratīvo metožu kompleksu.

Pētījumā

- 1) analizēti bērnu un rakstnieku radītie okazionālismi, noteikts līdzīgais un atšķirīgais to darināšanā un funkcionēšanā,
- 2) veikta bērnu testēšana, piedāvājot iepazīties ar daiļdarbu izlasi un pastāstīt, ko saprot ar norādītajiem okazionālismiem, kā arī uzzīmēt autora nosaukto reāliju, piemēram, *kurmjkārkli*, *zilišķepiņa*, *sunķakis*, *rūpulis*, *vējplošis*.

Iegūtie dati ļauj secināt, ka:

- bērns darina vārdus, kas viņam nepieciešami ikdienas saziņā, bet kuru valodā funkcionējošie ekvivalenti kaut kāda iemesla dēļ bērna runā neparādās. Nereti attiecīgā leksēma bērnam aizmirsusies vai tās izruna sagādā grūtības;
- 3–6 gadus vecu bērni lielākoties izmanto morfoloģisko un sintaktisko derivatīvo paņēmienu un viņu radītie derivāti rāda, kā bērns rada savu valodas sistēmu, kādus tipiskus valodas līdzekļus un modeļus izmanto;
- rakstnieks izmanto plašāku derivatīvo paņēmienu un līdzekļu klāstu, piemēram, arī abreviāciju, onimizāciju, apelatīvāciju, dažādu paņēmienu netipiskas kombinācijas, un darina okazionālus, mērķtiecīgi īstenojot savu māksliniecisko nolūku, rosinot lasītājā asociācijas, iesaistot valodas spēlē;
- bērna radošums izpaužas konkrēti, tieši, tas ir komunikatīvi nosacīts, savukārt rakstnieka radošums bieži saistīts ar iztēles radītiem tēliem, kuri reālajā dzīvē nepastāv, un nepieciešamību tos nosaukt atbilstoši fantāzijas pasaules kontekstam;

5–9 gadus veci bērni lielākoties uztver okazionālismu atbilstoši asociācijām, ko rada vārda sakne. Dažkārt, īpaši vecāki bērni, saista neparasto tēlu ar savu dzīves pieredzi. Vārda radītās asociācijas lielākoties tiek vizualizētas, zīmējumā atspoguļojot konkrētāku, tiešāku vārda radīto tēlu.