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Analyzing periphrastic constructions

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Outline

1. What are periphrastic constructions (PCs)?
2. Why should you study them?
3. Aspects of the PCs
4. Analytical causative constructions in Baltic
5. Areal context of Baltic analytical causative constructions (emphasis on Estonian)
6. Summary
7. References

1. What are periphrastic constructions?

In a periphrastic construction, a lexical item is modified by a **free word** which carries grammatical meaning, cf. English:

- ***more*** *intelligent* (grade)
- ***will*** *go* (tense)
- ***would*** *go* (mood)
- ***of*** *Tartu* ("case")

1. What are periphrastic constructions?

Consider also the cases which can be classified as derivational (causatives) or rather lexical (light verb constructions), cf. English:

- *She **made** me laugh* (causative construction)
- *I **had** a shower* (light verb construction)

2. Why should you study them?

- **Grammaticalization**
  - free word > clitic > affix
  - content word > function word

- **Typology**
  - continuum of synthetic–analytic languages

- **Genetic/areal distribution, language contacts**

3. Aspects of the PCs

- Distinction **between** lexical vs. **grammatical** use
  - English *have* 'possess' vs. *have* in perfect or modal constructions

- **Grammatical marking** in the PC
  - English *have* + participle (*have danced*)
  - English *of* + objective case of the pronoun (*of us)*

3. Aspects of the PCs

- **Syntactic** and **semantic** relations within the PC
  - Phrasal status
  - Head/dependent distinction
  - Clause union effects

- **Phonological status** the members of the PC
  - Non-lexical items tend to cliticize

4. Analytical causative constructions

What is an analytical causative construction (anaCC)?

She made me laugh

she – causer (nominative case)

made – analytical marker of causation

me – causee (objective case)

laugh – lexical verb

4. Analytical causative constructions

- Factitive anaCC: the situation is actively caused

<div align="center">

*She **made** me leave*

</div>

- Permissive anaCC: the situation is allowed, not blocked

<div align="center">

*She **let** me leave*

</div>

4. anaCCs in Baltic

- **anaCCs in Baltic (outline)**
1. Measuring lexical vs. grammatical use
2. Analyzing grammatical marking
3. Areal context

4. anaCCs in Baltic

- Lithuanian factitive anaCCs: *versti* (main), *spausti, spirti* (marginal)

- Lithuanian permissive anaCCs: *leisti* (main), *duoti* (marginal)

- Latvian factitive anaCCs: *likt* (main), *spiest, piedabūt* (marginal)

- Latvian permissive anaCCs: *ļaut* (main), *laist, dot* (marginal)

- Old Prussian permissive anaCCs: *dāt* (also rarely factitive)

4. anaCCs in Baltic

1. **Measuring lexical vs. grammatical use**

- Corpus data

- Only PRS3 and PST3 were used for the analysis

- Up to 1 000 tokens of each form were analyzed

- Cf. data of Lithuanian in the next slide (Pakerys 2016: 445)

		Causative use of PRS.3 and PST.3 (tokens)	Causative use of PRS.3 and PST.3 (%)	Causative use among all tokens of analyzed verbs (%)[26]	Total (analyzed[27]) tokens
Factitive	*versti*	1 135	69.29	20.24	1 638
	versti-s	0	0	0	753
	pri-versti	1 201	98.12	21.41	1 224
	pri-si-versti	168	97.67	2.99	17
	spirti	41	12.20	0.73	336
	pri-spirti	23	28.75	0.41	80
	spausti	84	8.66	1.50	970
	pri-spausti	3	0.68	0.05	438
	Total	2 655			5 611
Permissive	*leisti*	1 473	73.65	21.20	2 000
	leisti-s	218	16.66	3.14	1 324
	duoti	1	0.29	0.01	170
	ne-duo-ti	24	1.20	0.35	2 000
	duoti-s	45	4.09	0.65	1 096
	ne-si-duoti	75	49.17	1.08	152
	Total	1 999			6 948

4. anaCCs in Baltic

2. Grammatical marking

- Causee in anaCCs in Baltic can be marked either by the ACC or the DAT

- Can we explain this variation synchronically and diachronically?

- Let's zoom-in on this issue, **please see a separate handout**

4. anaCCs in Baltic

2. Grammatical marking

- DAT in 'give'-type anaCCs is original

- DAT in other anaCCs was introduced when these predicates were interpreted as non-implicative manipulation verbs

- Despite acquiring factitive function, Latvian *likt* retained DAT marking

- The introduction of DAT as a manipulee marker may explain the history of case marking in other manipulative non-implicative constructions ('order', 'forbid', etc.)

4. anaCCs in Baltic

3. Areal aspects

- Baltic/Slavic/Germanic/Finnic
- Estonian as a point of departure (Pakerys 2017):
  - *laskma* 'let' // Latvian *ļaut*, *laist*, Lithuanian *leisti* 'let' < 'release'
  - *andma* 'be possible' < 'let' // Latvian *dot*, Lithuanian *duoti*, Old Prussian *dāt* 'let' < 'give'
  - *panema* 'put; make' // Latvian *likt* 'put; make', Latgalian *stateit* 'place; make'
  - *sundima* 'make' (< East Slavic 'judge'), also borrowed into the Baltic lgs., but not causative

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *laskma*

(1)   Estonian[1]

a.   *kraani-st*   *vett*   ***lask-ma***
     tap-ELA.SG   water:PRT.SG   pour-(m)INF

     'to pour water from tap'

b.   *vangi-d*   ***las-ti***   *vaba-ks*
     prisoner-NOM.PL   release-PST.PASS   free-TRA.SG

     'prisoners were released'

c.   ***lase***   *mind / mul*   ***tõus-ta***
     let:IMP.2SG   1SG.PRT   1SG.ADE   stand.up-(t)INF

     'let me stand up'

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4. anaCCs in Baltic, Lithuanian *leisti*

(2)   Lithuanian (constructed; own knowledge)

a. **leis-ti**   iš   *čiaup-o*   *vanden-į*
    pour-INF   from   tap-GEN.SG   water-ACC.SG

    'to pour water from tap'

b. *kalini-ai*   *buv-o*   **pa-leis-t-i**
    prisoner-NOM.PL   be-PST.3   PRF-release-PST.PASS.PTCP-NOM.PL.M

    'prisoners were released'

c. **leis-k**   *man*   **atsisto-ti**
    let-IMP.2SG   1SG.DAT   stand.up-INF

    'let me stand up'

4. anaCCs in Baltic: Latvian *laist*

(3) Latvian

a. **lais-t**   *ūden-i*   *no*   *krān-a*
    pour-INF   water-ACC.SG   from   tap-GEN.SG

    'to pour water from tap' (EE-LV, *laskma*)

b. **Lais-t**   *slimniek-u*   *ārā*   *no*   *slimnīc-as*
    release-INF   patient-ACC.SG   outside   from   hospital-GEN.SG

    'to release patient from hospital' (MLLV, *laist*)

c. **Lais-t**   *bērn-iem*   ***izskrie-ties***
    let-INF   child-DAT.PL   have.a.good.run-INF.RFL

    'to let the children have a good run (get tired with running about)'
    (LLVV, *laist*)

4. anaCCs in Baltic

- Latvian permissive *ļaut* uses DAT to mark the causee, *laist* also allows ACC (more freq.)

- Estonian *laskma*: ADES is default, PART is less common

- Klaas (1996: 56): ADES in this and other constructions brings Estonian closer to the Indo-European

- Can the shift PART > ADES be also related to the manipulative (non-implicative) use of *laskma?*

4. anaCCs in Baltic

- Estonian *laskma* has given rise to the modal particle *las* < IMP *lase* (Metslang 2000: 59)
- Note identical developments in Baltic:
  - Latvian *lai* < *laid*
  - Lithuanian *lai* < **laid*
- See also Klaas-Lang & Norvik (2014: 599–600; Estonian, Livonian, Latvian, Lithuanian)

4. anaCCs in Baltic

- Shift **'release, let go, leave' > 'let'** is widely attested in Finno-Ugric and Indo-European
- From the areal perspective, note the common Germanic development of *lēte/a-* (Gothic *letan* , Old Norse *láta*, Old High German *lâzan*)
- The Slavic languages have only some examples of this development
- Area: **Germanic, Baltic, Finnic**

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *andma*

(4)   Estonian

a.   *tema-ga*   **anna-b**   **rääki-da**
      3SG-COM   be.possible-PRS.3SG   talk-(t)INF

      'It is possible to talk with him' (EE-LV, *andma*)

b.   *teg-i-me*   *kõik,*   *mis*   **teha**   **and-is**
      do-PST-1PL   everything   what   do:(t)INF   be.possible-PST.3SG

      'We did everything possible' (EE-LV, *andma*)

c.   *kui*   *ilm*   **anna-b**,   *jätka-takse*
      if   weather:NOM.SG   allow-PRS.3SG   continue-PRS.PASS

      võistlus-t
      competition-PRT.SG

      'Weather permitting, the competition will be continued' (EE-RU, *andma*)

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *andma*

(5)   Old Prussian

a. **Dāiti**   *ſtans*   *malnijkik-ans* *prē[   ]mien*   **perēi-t**
let:IMP.2PL   DEM:ACC.PL.M child-ACC.PL   to   1SG.ACC   come-INF

'Last die Kindlein zu Mir komen' (Ench 113, 2–3; 112, 2) = 'Let the children come to me' (ESVB, Mark 10:14)

b. *Stwi*   **dai**   *Deiw-s*   *ain-an*   *gill-in*
Here   let:PST.3   god-NOM.SG   one-ACC.SG.F   deep-ACC.SG.F

maigg-un   **krū-t**   *no[ ]ſtan*   *ſmunentin-an*
sleep-ACC.SG   fall-INF   on   DEM:ACC.SG.M   man-ACC.SG

'Da ließ Gott der HERR einen tieffen Schlaff fallen / auff den Menschen' (Ench 101, 12; 100, 10–11) = 'So the LORD God caused a deep sleep fall upon the man' (ESVB, Genesis 2:21)

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *andma*

(6)   a.   Lithuanian

[Jis]	*dažnai*	**duod-a**	**vairuo-ti**	*automobil-į*
3SG.NOM	often	allow-PRS.3	drive-INF	car-ACC.SG

kit-iems	*asmen-ims*
other-DAT.PL.M	person-DAT.PL

'[He] frequently allows other persons to drive his car'[6]

b.   Latvian

Bērn-iem	*tagad*	**dod**	**vadī-t**	*autobus-u?*
Child-DAT.PL	now	allow:PRS.3	drive-INF	bus-ACC.SG

'Do they now allow children to drive buses?'[7]

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *andma*

- Old Prussian data show that the shift 'give' > 'let' could be a **common Baltic** innovation
- Slavic data point to a **common Slavic** development (von Waldenfels 2012: 2, 247)
- In **Finnic**, 'give' > 'let' is attested in Finnish, Livvi-Karelian, Veps, Ingrian, Votic, Estonian, Livonian (EED data; **common/parallel development?**)
- **Area: Baltic, Slavic, Finnic**

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *panema*

(7) Estonian

    a.   *ta*   **pan-i**   *raamat-u*   *laua-le*
         3SG   put-PST.3SG   book-GEN.SG   table-ALL.SG

         'He put the book on the table' (EE-LV, *panema*)

    b.   *probleemi-d*   **pan-i-d**   *meid*   **mõtle-ma**
         problem-NOM.PL   make-PST-3PL   1PL:PRT   think-(m)INF

         'The problems made us think' (EE-LV, *panema*)

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *panema*

(8)   Latvian

a. *Es   konspekt-us   un   grāmat-as   **lik-u**   zem   spilven-a*
    1SG   notes-ACC.PL   and   book-ACC.PL   put-PST.3   under   pillow-GEN.SG

    'I put [lecture] notes and books under the pillow'[12]

b. *veselīb-as   problēm-as   **lik-a**   **aizdomā-ties***
    health-GEN.SG   problem-NOM.PL   make-PST.3   think-INF.RFL

    par   garīg-ām   liet-ām
    about   spiritual-DAT.PL.F   thing-DAT.PL

    'Health problems made [me] think about spiritual things [...]'[13]

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *panema*

(9)   Latgalian

a.   ***statej-a***   *butel-i*   *iz*   *gold-a*
     put-PST.3   bottle-ACC.SG   on   table-GEN.SG

     '[someone] placed a bottle on the table' (Reķēna 1998: 437)

b.   *cyt-i*   *jū*   ***stot-a***   *kū nabejs*   ***darei-t***
     other-NOM.PL.M   3.ACC.SG.F   make-PRS.3   anything:ACC   do-INF

     'others make her do anything' (MuLa)

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *panema*

(10) (dialectal) Lithuanian

Pri-stat-ė	*riešut-ų*	**mal-t** –	*ne-pamali-au,*
PRF-put-PST.3	nut-GEN.PL	grind-INF	NEG-be.able.to.grind-PST.1SG

stat-ė	*žvirzd-ų*	*grūsti* –	*ne-pagrūd-au*
put-PST.3	gravel-GEN.PL	pound-INF	NEG-be.able.to.pound-PST.1SG

'They made/put me (to) grind nuts and I could not grind them, they made/put me to pound gravel and I could not pound it' (LKŽe, *statyti*)

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *panema*

- Development in Estonian and Latvian seems to be different:
  - Latvian 'leave' > 'let' > 'make' (also 'leave' > 'put')
  - Estonian 'put' > 'make', cf. Latgalian!
- East Slavic (Russian *za-stavit'*) seems to have developed following a different route ('block' > 'make'?)
- **Area of 'put' & 'make': some Finnic lgs., some Baltic lgs.**

4. anaCCs in Baltic, Estonian *sundima*

- *sundima* 'make' < East Slavic *sǫditi/sųditi* 'judge' (EED)

- **Borrowed into other Finnic lgs.** (Livonian *suņd*, Votic *süntiä*, Finnish *suntia,* see EED), but none of them seem to have developed causative use

- **Borrowed into all Baltic lgs**. (East Slavic > Latvian *sodīt*, Latgalian *sūdeit* 'punish', (dialectal and earlier written) Lithuanian *sūdyti* 'judge'; Polish *sądzić* > Old Prussian > **sūndītvei* > **sūndintvei* 'strafen = punish'), no causative use

Summary

- **Periphrastic constructions**
  - Grammaticalization
  - Typology
  - Areal/genetic distribution
- **Aspects**
  - Lexical vs. grammatical use
  - Grammatical marking
  - Syntactic and semantic relations
  - Language contacts

References

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