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## THE LITHUANIAN HAVE-RESULTATIVE – A TYPOLOGICAL CURIOSUM?

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This article presents the Lithuanian possessive resultative construction with the verb *turėti* ‘have’ and discusses its place in a typology of forms of resultative constructions. While possessive resultatives with a past passive participle (as in Polish *Kolację mamy już przygotowaną* lit. ‘We have the dinner already prepared’) are found in areally related as well as other languages, Lithuanian stands out in using an active participle (more precisely: a participle always oriented toward the highest-ranking argument). The construction can be regarded as a *rarum*. However, it most probably did not develop in the way proposed by HARRIS (2010) as explanation for the emergence of *rara*. The rarity of the Lithuanian construction calls for an in-depth diachronic study, whose results may shed new light on the development of rare linguistic features.

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The sketch presented here<sup>1</sup> is preliminary given that many of the implied considerations need to be checked against a vast amount of typological data including areal (diatopic) and diastratic variation, but also on a larger corpus of Lithuanian (including earlier stages of the language). I start with an up-to-date analysis of the construction at issue (section 1), then continue with a diachronic remark (section 2) and considerations on possible parallels in the closer area (section 3), before I demonstrate why the Lithuanian HAVE-resultative should really be considered as outstanding both from a typological and an areal perspective (section 4). I will finish with a short conclusion (section 5).

### 1. THE PHENOMENON

In contrast to its Latvian “sister”, Lithuanian generally counts as a HAVE-language, since it has a syntactically transitive verb (with NOM-ACC-alignment) *turėti*, which is used with different subtypes of possessive functions (cf. MAZZITELLI 2012: ch. 5–6). *Turėti* also occurs as a lexical verb, since it combines with ordinary NPs denoting concrete or abstract objects.

<sup>1</sup> I want to thank Norbert Ostrowski for his help with sources about older Lithuanian and Jurgis Pakerys for his help with the interpretation of some dialect examples. The usual disclaimers apply.

The object is marked with the accusative (genitive under negation or for indefinite quantification; see 1a–b, 2a–b):<sup>2</sup>

- (1a) *Gražina turi*<sup>3</sup> *knyg-q / obuol-į / nam-q / brol-į.*  
 PN.NOM have.PRS.3 book-ACC apple-ACC house-ACC brother-ACC  
 ‘Gražina has a book / an apple / a house / a brother.’
- (1b) *Gražin-a ne-tur-i knyg-os / obuoli-o / nam-o / broli-o.*  
 PN.NOM NEG-have.PRS.3 book.GEN apple-GEN house-GEN brother-GEN  
 ‘Gražina doesn’t have a book / an apple / a house / a brother.’
- (2a) *Jonas turi šeim-q / balsavimo teis-ę / darb-q / prot-q / žavų bals-q / dvidešimt met-ų.*  
 PN.NOM have.PRS.3 family-ACC voting.GEN right-ACC work-ACC intellect-ACC  
 enchanting voice-ACC 20.acc year-GEN.PL  
 ‘Jonas has a family / the right to vote / work (a job) / an intellect / an enchanting voice / is 20 years old.’
- (2b) *Jonas turi skaitytojų / laik-o / peln-o / pirag-ų (ant stalo).*  
 PN.NOM have.PRS.3 reader-GEN.PL time-GEN.SG profit.GEN-SG cake-GEN.PL (on the table)  
 ‘Jonas has readers (= a readership) / (some) time / makes (some) profit / has cakes (on the table).’

As an auxiliary, *turėti* is used as a clausal (or propositional) operator of necessity, both in agent-oriented and epistemic modalities (see 3–4):<sup>4</sup>

- (3) *Turėsi padėti sesei. (Jai sunku susidoroti su uždaviniu.)*  
 have.FUT.2SG help-INF sister.DAT.SG  
 ‘You will have to help your sister. (It’s difficult for her to cope with the task.)’
- (4) *Tuoj turi tekėti saulė. (Jau švinta.)*  
 immediately have.PRS.3 rise-INF sun.NOM  
 ‘In a moment the sun will rise (must rise). (It’s already dawning.)’

Thus, *turėti* belongs not only to one of the usual means of marking possession (as a lexical verb), but can also be considered as having gone quite a bit along the grammaticalization path of modal constructions. Here one should also mention semantically and syntactically closely connected usage types of *turėti* in which this verb collocates with an infinitive and tends to form monoclausal verbal complexes; compare

<sup>2</sup> LKŽ (2000<sup>4</sup>: 863) also registers the usage of *turėti* without any object, i.e. as an intransitive verb: *Ledasdar neturi* (= *lūžta*) lit. ‘The ice cannot (yet) catch. (= it breaks)’; *Turi ir turi šaltis* (= *nemustoja šalti*) lit. ‘There’s frost all the time (= it doesn’t cease to be cold)’; see also LKŽe (2005, sub *turėti* 13, 14, 23). This usage type can be regarded as rare and resulting from separate semantic development which is unrelated to the issue at hand.

<sup>3</sup> As other Lithuanian (Baltic) verbs, tense-person inflections of *turėti* are combined with different stems (*tur-* for the present tense, *turė-* for all other tenses and the infinitive; see ex. 3 and 5). These will not be accounted for here in morphological comments. Notice that Baltic finite verbs do not at all distinguish number in the 3rd person.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. HOLVOET (2009: 200, 210) for a more detailed account.

- (5) *Turėjau kuo pasigirti.*  
 have.PAST.1SG sth.INS boast.INF  
 ‘I had something I could boast about.(= I could / was able to boast with sth.)’
- (6) *Ji neturi kur dėtis.*  
 she.NOM NEG.have.PRS.3 where go.INF (lit. put\_oneself)  
 ‘She doesn’t know where to find her place.’

However, in addition to modal constructions, *turėti* can be encountered as the syntactic head of a resultative construction. This construction can be illustrated by the following example from my personal experience (hearsay, March 1998):

- (7) *Kišenėje jis turi pasislėpęs butelį.*  
 pocket.LOC he.NOM have.PRS.3 hide:PPA:NOM.PL.M bottle.ACC.SG  
 ‘In his pocket he has a bottle hidden.’ (≠ ‘...has hidden a bottle.’)

Syntactically this construction consists of the finite verb (= head of the clause) *turi* ‘has’ with a nominative NP (*jis* ‘he’) and an object-NP marked with the accusative (*butelį* ‘bottle’). This “ordinary” transitive construction is extended by an inflected participle of the past anterior series (*pasislėpęs* ‘having hidden (for oneself)’) and with active voice orientation (henceforth PPA); it agrees with the subject-NP in case, number and gender. The meaning of the whole construction is that of a state holding after a change from an earlier state. The concrete type of change is named by the participle, while the finite HAVE-verb denotes the time level at which this resultant state is valid.

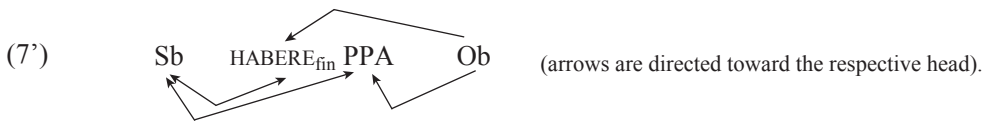
It should be added that *turėti* behaves like any ordinary transitive verb, since the object-NP cannot be omitted (unless for reasons of ellipsis) and that case marking of this NP changes from accusative to genitive if *turėti* is negated (7a); see also ex. (14). Note that – as far as I am aware – there are no text tokens with negation attached to the participle; a modification as in (7b) is hard to imagine and probably ungrammatical (7b):

- (7a) *Kišenėje jis ne-turi pasislėpęs butel-io.*  
 pocket.LOC he.NOM NEG-have.PRS.3 hide:PPA:NOM.PL.M bottle-GEN.SG  
 ‘In his pocket he doesn’t have a bottle hidden.’
- (7b) *\*Kišenėje jis turi ne-pasislėpęs butel-į / butel-io. ??*  
 pocket.LOC he.NOM have.PRS.3 NEG-hide:PPA:NOM.PL.M bottle-ACC.SG / GEN-SG

It would be inappropriate to translate the construction in (7) with an English present perfect. To render it semantically and pragmatically correct one should, instead, use the respective resultative construction (see translation under ex. 7). A comparison between the English complex predicates ‘has a bottle hidden’ (→ resultative) vs. ‘has hidden a bottle’ (→ perfect) gives an idea as for the crucial difference of the perfect and the resultative construction in syntactic terms: the resultative construction is less tight, whereas in the English perfect the HAVE-verb should really be considered as an auxiliary forming one complex unit with the participle. In terms of LEHMANN (1995), *have* in the perfect construction has lost more of its autonomy; on the syntagmatic axis it is more bonded and less variable than in the resultative construction and thus has, together with the participle, become more grammaticalized.

However, in Lithuanian syntagmatic bondedness and variability hardly apply as reliable criteria of “measuring” the degree to which complex predicates might have developed, for in Lithuanian word order does not obey any rigid syntactic rules, but rather follows pragmatic principles (requirements of topic-comment structure etc.).

In addition, we may say that the resultative construction illustrated in (7) has basically remained absolutely transparent in semantic terms, or otherwise: that its meaning can be calculated as the sum of its parts. The object-NP (as well as the subject-NP) must be interpreted as an argument both of *turėti* and the verb coded as participle. The latter, in turn, can be interpreted only as an adverbial apposition to *turėti*; temporal reference is anterior as with other tactically subordinate constituents. In sum, the inner form of the entire construction remains transparent ( $\approx$  ‘He has a bottle in his pocket, (because) he has hid it there (for) himself.’) and can be represented by the dependency structure given in (7’):



In speech, the whole construction is usually united by a prosodic contour without a break between *turėti* ‘to have’ and the participle. Nonetheless, the finite verb and the participle do not constitute one complex predicate with a joint argument structure: *turėti* has not been deprived of its own arguments, but just happens to share coreferential arguments with the participial verb.

Already, for the reasons given, the Lithuanian possessive resultative with anterior **active** participles differs fundamentally from resultatives with HAVE-verbs and anterior **passive** participles (= PPP), as they are quite widespread in Western Slavic languages, e.g. Polish. Compare Pol. (8) with Lith. (9):

(8) *Kolacj-ę mamy już przygotowan-ą.*  
 dinner-ACC.F have.PRS.1PL already prepare:PPP-ACC.SG.F

(9) ? *Vakarien-ę jau turime paruošt-ą. (instead of:*  
 dinner-ACC.F already have.PRS.1PL prepare:PPP-ACC.SG.F  
*...turime pa(si)ruoš-ę.)*  
 prepare:PPA-NOM.PL.M

‘We have already prepared the dinner. / ... have the dinner already prepared.’

In the Polish example (8) the inflected participle agrees with the object-NP and has to be analysed as its attribute or apposition.<sup>5</sup> Its literal Lithuanian equivalent sounds strange, and in natural speech (both oral and written) comparable examples are encountered only very rarely. Therefore, both finite *turėti* and the PPA share the same lower-ranking argument; however the argument structure of *turėti* does not get reduced, no complex argument sharing – as known from auxiliation – has occurred.<sup>6</sup> Sentence (7) could go without this participle without losing its constituent structure and would, thus, remain grammatically acceptable.

<sup>5</sup> A sentence like *Kolację już mamy* ‘We already have the dinner’ would be acceptable, with a “loss” of the information about the reason leading to the resultant state.

<sup>6</sup> The compositional nature of this construction was described already by SENN (1966: 373), who claimed that the participle “substitutes for” a clause, normally a temporal one.

We would only deprive it of the information concerning the reason for which the object (the bottle) found its way into the subject's pocket. In this respect, the Lithuanian construction does not differ from the Polish one (see f. 5). In line with this high degree of transparency are the semantic and syntactic restrictions posed upon the admissible lexical input to the participial part: only PPAs of transitive verbs denoting observable changes of state are possible in this construction.

The transparent (compositional) character of the Lithuanian HAVE-resultative is nicely integrated into the system of inflected participles, which, at least in the standard language, is astonishingly symmetric concerning voice orientation in both past and present tense (cf. WIEMER 2007: 201–210; 2009: 166–174 with further references). This, in turn, is in line with the complementary distribution of subject- vs. object-oriented resultatives (following the typology in NEDJALCOV & JAXONTOV 1983 and NEDJALCOV 1988), which strikingly contrasts with the morphological basis and voice orientation of resultatives in Slavic (cf. WIEMER & GIGER 2005). We may therefore assume that the appearance of constructions as in (7) are but a natural consequence of two co-occurring preconditions: (i) the existence of a HAVE-verb and (ii) the distributional properties of past participles in Lithuanian. Latvian (as well as Finnic) lacks condition (i), while at least the Slavic standard varieties that are geographically closest to Lithuanian lack condition (ii).<sup>7</sup>

The lexical input to the Lithuanian construction has remained restricted to telic verbs denoting changes of state, where the resultant state indicates something still in possession of the subject referent (cf. GENIUŠIENĖ & NEDJALCOV 1988: 385f.). To my knowledge, the only case in which this restriction has been loosened was mentioned by ARKAD'EV (2012: 105f.):

- (10) *Našlaitis – vaikas, kuris turi praradęs*  
 orphan.NOM.SG.M child.NOM.SG.M REL.NOM.SG.M have.PRS.3 lose:PPA.NOM.SG.M  
*vieną ar abu tėvus.*  
 one.ACC.SG.M or both parents.ACC.M  
 'An orphan is a child who has lost one or both parents.'

The same applies for dialect material included into the LKŽe (2005), which under entry 9 of the item *turėti* (paraphrased by '*laikyti ką, būti kokioje būklėje, padėtyje*' 'to hold sth, to be in some state, situation') registers instances of the construction of concern; compare:

- (11) *Mes an suolo kojas surietę turiam.* (Daujėnai, Parvelio raj.)  
 we.NOM on bench.GEN leg.ACC.PL bend:PPA.NOM.PL.M have.PRS.1PL  
 'We have our legs bent on the bench.'
- (12) *Akis turi nuleidęs,*  
 eye.ACC.PL have.PRS.3 let\_down:PPA.NOM.SG.M  
*in žmogų nedaboja.* (Kaltanėnai, Švenčionių raj.)  
 at human.ACC.SG NEG.look.PRS.3  
 'He has his eyes lowered, doesn't look at you/other people'

There are only two examples with a participle of a verb denoting an epistemic event, for which no change of state (in the proper sense) can be assumed. Here I quote a dialectal

<sup>7</sup> The Russian standard language lacks even both conditions, inasmuch as its HAVE-verb (*imet'*) is used only in very specific contexts (with no participles involved).

instance, the other one being with the same verb (*sugalvoti* ‘to think out’) from the writings of Juozas Balčikonis:

- (13) *Dabar aš jau turiu sugalvojęs,*  
 now I.NOM already have.PRS.1SG think\_out:PPA.NOM.SG.M  
*kaip jom atsakyt.* (Subačius, Kupiškio raj.)  
 how they.DAT.F reply.INF  
 lit. ‘Now I have already thought (it) out how to answer them.’

A remarkable thing about verbs denoting epistemic events is that they imply clausal complements with a proposition of their own, i.e. the lower-ranking argument of verbs denoting epistemic events denotes a third order object (in terms of LYONS 1977). Apart from the fact that these verbs do not denote observable changes of state, the complement of the participle of such a verb can in no way be understood as an argument of *turėti*, so that the elimination of the participle would yield an ungrammatical sentence (\**Jau turiu, kaip joms atsakyt* \*‘I already have how to answer them.’). Consequently, collocations of *turėti* with PPAs of verbs without lower-ranking arguments denoting first-order objects automatically lead to the bleaching of possessive meaning of *turėti* and a loss of structural transparency as it was argued for above. However, as far as I can infer from the available data, cases with clausal complements like (13) have only rarely been attested.

Furthermore, in LKŽe (2005) there is only one token with negated *turėti*:

- (14) *Aš insileidus kito neturėjau,*  
 I.NOM let\_in:PPA.NOM.SG.F other.GEN.SG.M NEG.have.PST.1SG  
*Buvau pavargus, miego norėjau.*  
 be.PST.1SG get\_tired:PPA.NOM.SG.F sleep.GEN want.PST.1SG  
 ‘I hadn’t let anybody in, I was tired, wanted to sleep.’  
 (“Druskininkų dainos”, Vilnius 1972)

Note that in such a case we do not need to assume that the construction has lost its possessive meaning. An inversion of *turėti* and the participle might well indicate a marked discourse function, namely: topicalisation of a resultant state, whose occurrence is being denied (= focus) by the speaker. This yields the effect of an emphatic rejection of change; thus, change of state is still the central issue.

## 2. DIACHRONIC REMARKS

The same dictionary (under the same entry) gives examples from slightly earlier stages (fixed in writing about 100 years ago, mainly from folklore), which do not demonstrate any difference in terms of either lexical input or temporal reference in comparison to contemporary data. Compare:

- (15) *Ragana (...) turi saulę ažustojus.*<sup>8</sup>  
 witch.NOM.SG have.PRS.3 sun.ACC obstruct:PPA.NOM.SG.F  
 lit. ‘The witch has the sun obstructed.’, i.e. ‘The witch has obstructed the sun.’

<sup>8</sup> From: *Lietuviškos pasakos yvairios*, collected by J. Basanavičius. Chicago 1903–1905 (II-oji dalis, p. 305).

- (16) *Drūtos*                      *šaknys*                      *aplink*                      *drėgną*                      *žemę*  
 strong.NOM.PL.F                      root.NOM.PL.F                      around                      moist.ACC.SG.F                      earth.ACC.SG.F  
*apkėtę*    *turi*.<sup>9</sup>  
 embrace.PPA.NOM.PL.M                      have.PRS.3  
 lit. ‘Strong roots have (around themselves) moist mud embraced.’

Noticeable with (15) is that here the elimination of the PPA would lead to a nonsensical sentence. The reason is that no possessive relation between the witch and the sun can be reasonably assumed.<sup>10</sup> We can consider this another occasional sign of loss of syntactic transparency and autonomous lexical meaning of *turėti*; but, again, this happens only occasionally.

LKŽe does not supply any examples from earlier sources, and there are no examples in the dictionary of Mažvydas’ writings (16th century) by URBAS (1996: 395). Only an in-depth study of earlier texts could reveal whether texts of stages before the end of the 19th century are of any help concerning the lexical input and/or features of temporal reference in the development of the HAVE-resultative. What we can say, however, is that already during the earliest stages of written documentation *turėti* must have been used in its contemporary meaning ‘to have’. Širvydas’ dictionary (*Dictionarium trium lingvarum*, 1642) registers *turriu* ‘I have’ as equivalent of Pol. *mam* ‘ditto’ (cf. PAKALKA 1979: 163), although we also find the equivalence Pol. *trzymam* / Latin *tenēo* / Lith. *turiu* (PAKALKA 1979: 449). This corresponds to the older meaning of *turėti*, which has been preserved as the only one in the Latvian cognate *turēt*.<sup>11</sup>

### 3. CONSIDERATIONS ON PARALLELS IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

As far as I know, a morphosyntactically identical resultative construction existed only in some stage (and varieties) of ancient Greek, where [*have* + active aorist participle + object-NP] was in use as a resultative perfect (cf. WIEMER & GIGER 2005: 48 with further references). However, the data discussed by DRINKA (2003: 4.2.2, 4.2.4.2) suggest a different source of evolution than in the Lithuanian case: first of all, the Greek construction was typical for “verbs which had never had a perfect before” (DRINKA *ibid.*), i.e. for verbs which did not denote an observable change of state. As demonstrated above, the Lithuanian construction has almost entirely remained restricted to participles from just such verbs. Apart from that, hardly can any sort of direct contact between ancient (or middle) Greek and Lithuanian reasonably be assumed that might have favoured diffusion.

Another potential counter-example to the uniqueness of the Lithuanian construction could be considered, this time much closer in geographic terms. TOMMOLA (2000: 470) points out that in Kashubian the HAVE-verb can be combined as an auxiliary not only with passive but also with active past participles with the {l}-suffix; cf. an example taken from BREZA & TREDER (1981: 133):

<sup>9</sup> From: E. Volteris: *Lietuviška chrestomatija*. St. Petersburg 1904 (p. 353); originally from Svėdasai (Anykščių raj.).

<sup>10</sup> For sure, an assertion *Ragana turi saulę* ‘The witch has the sun’ might be imaginable in a fairy tale, but this certainly is not what the author had in mind.

<sup>11</sup> *Turėti*’s previous meaning ‘to hold, keep (in one’s hands)’ still shines through in many contexts of contemporary Lithuanian. Cf. LKŽe (2005) for ample attestations.



- (17)        *jô móm            zesek-ł-é*  
               I    have.PRS.1SG    sow-PPA-SG.N  
               ‘I have (it) sowed.’

Such constructions parallel HAVE-constructions with the PPP, i.e. the type which can be encountered in colloquial Polish (see ex. 8); cf. Kash. *jô móm zeźniwio-n-é* ‘I have the harvest gathered’. (17) seems similar to the Lithuanian *have*-construction in (7). Anyway, it differs in that the *l*-participle does not show agreement with the subject (it has the form of the neuter gender). Note that Kashubian *l*-participles (if they do not function as markers of a generalized past tense) probably do not distinguish Actor- vs. Undergoer-orientation. This can be seen from such examples as *konie bēlē zaprzęglé* ‘the horses were harnessed’ (BREZA & TREDER 1981: 134), in which the *l*-participle (*zaprzęglé*) is clearly Undergoer-oriented. Analogous phenomena can be observed in some other West Slavic varieties, namely in the Hanakian dialects of Moravia and in extinct Slovincian (from the Pomeranian dialect group).<sup>12</sup> Different researchers have seen German influence as the triggering factor for the emergence of these constructions<sup>13</sup>; in this case, however, HAVE + PPA may have emerged most probably only via analogy with HAVE + PPP. Anyway, in the case of the Lithuanian resultative with HAVE + PPA German influence can firmly be dismissed (and a construction HAVE + PPP has been attested for Lithuanian only exceptionally). In sum, we may say that the Lithuanian construction HAVE + PPA constitutes an isolated phenomenon even in the Circum Baltic Area.

We may however remark that the Lithuanian HAVE-resultative itself has spread to Belarusian and Polish varieties which have experienced direct contact with speakers of Lithuanian. GREK-PABISOWA & MARYNIAKOWA (1999: 38–41), rather in passing, adduced examples from the *polszczyzna kresowa* such as the following (their transcription has been simplified):

- (18)        *kartofli        mam            posadzifšy<sup>14</sup> tam na polu.*  
               potato.ACC.PL    have.PRS.1SG    plant:PTCP    there on field.LOC  
               ‘I have potatoes planted on that field.’

Similar cases have been commented on for Belarusian in Erker (forthcoming). It is difficult to say how widespread this diffusion process has been. That spread started from Lithuanian into the mentioned Slavic varieties (and not the other way around) appears to be the only reasonable explanation, because nowhere else in Slavic do we encounter a similar phenomenon, the only further exception being Hanakian (Moravian) dialects, Kashubian and extinct Pomeranian Slavic dialects. However, the occurrence of comparable constructions is better explained on independent grounds, mainly on the basis of direct German influence (as far as Kashubian and Pomeranian are concerned; see f. 13) or as a spontaneous development via analogical expansion (in the Hanakian case; cf. WIEMER & GIGER 2005: 87–93 with further references).

<sup>12</sup> For details cf. WIEMER & GIGER 2005: ch. 8–9.

<sup>13</sup> German influence manifests itself also in the temporal function of the constructions with PPPs or PPAs (*l*-participles). At least in Slovincian they did not have, strictly speaking, a resultative value, insofar as there are many examples in which [*have* + PPP/PPA] is temporally equivalent with the generalized past; cf. LÖTZSCH (1967: 38f.). As concerns Kashubian, the few, context-free examples in BREZA & TREDER (1981) do not allow for any conclusions on this point.

<sup>14</sup> This participle does not inflect for any verbal category.



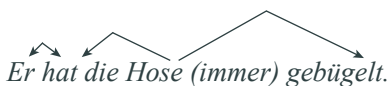
4. LITH. HAVE-RESULTATIVE  
AS A TYPOLOGICAL CURIOSITY EVEN AMONG RARITIES

In claiming this Lithuanian resultative construction to be rare (or even unique), I follow the restriction given by Plank in his “Raritätenkabinett”. According to him, a *rarum* is “a trait [...] which is so uncommon across languages as not even to occur in all members of a single [...] family or diffusion area [...]. Diachronically speaking, a *rarum* is a trait which has only been retained, or only been innovated, in a few members of a single family or sprachbund or of a few of them” (see References, sub *Raritätenkabinett*). Thus, a proper *rarum* is not just an infrequent feature, but it should be isolated also with respect to its genealogically most affiliated languages (or dialects) and should not cluster areally as a consequence of language contact (cf. CYSOUW & WOHLGEMUTH 2010: 1).

In general, if linguists – on the basis of the criteria just mentioned – have established a feature to be really rare (or even unique), they first, have to explain why it is rare or unusual. Second, they must explain why the given rarity exists at all (HARRIS 2010: 91). For normally one would not expect phenomena that are difficult to process to arise (and persist) without some underlying motivation. HARRIS (2010: 91 and passim) arrives at the conclusion that rarities are the result of a chain of changes for which the chance to occur successively with the same linguistic substance is very low. This would explain why these phenomena are rare. As for the second question – why do they exist at all – Harris argues that each particular mechanism involved in the chain of changes is neither rare, nor is it blocked by any (cognitive, morphological, etc.) mechanism.

In view of this, the problem with explaining the rarity of the Lithuanian HAVE-resultative resides in the fact that Harris’ considerations do not apply, because there actually is no chain of processes that might have occurred successively in order to produce the structure found in (7<sup>o</sup>). As shown in section 1, the syntactic and semantic structure of this resultative construction has remained transparent. Thus, one wonders why such a structure has not arisen in any of the “neighbors” of Lithuanian (by diffusion), nor in other languages of Europe or elsewhere in the world. There are probably plenty of cases when a given transparent structure is on the verge of or begins to be reanalysed in ways similar to the rise of resultative constructions. Suffice it to recall Maslov’s example of Germ. *Er hat die Hose (immer) gebügelt* (MASLOV 1984 [1949]: 226). This sentence can be analysed syntactically in two ways, and either of them correlates with a different temporal meaning. In a simplified manner this can be represented by dependency structures as in (7<sup>o</sup>); the diachronically earlier interpretation is given under (19a), the later one under (19b):

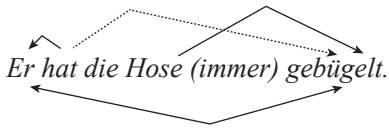
(19a)



(i) ‘He (always) has the trousers ironed.’

--> reference to the interval of speech (i.e. deictic)

(19b)



(ii) lit. 'He (always) has ironed the trousers.', i.e. 'He always ironed the trousers.'

--> past reference (can be narrative)

Under (19b) the HAVE-verb has become an auxiliary and is deprived of an argument structure of its own. The processes involved in such cases have been extensively described in the literature on grammaticalization (e.g., BYBEE et al. 1994: 63–69) and need not be repeated here. The crucial point is that such a process has occurred in many European languages (cf. THIEROFF 2000; DRINKA 2003) and that it can occur spontaneously at any moment in any language which has a structure of the type depicted in (7') with an anteriority participle (active or passive) at its disposal. The proper point is thus not that in Lithuanian the structure given in (7') has hardly developed any further toward a genuine perfect, although this observation in itself seems noteworthy, too. Instead, the proper point is that there do not seem to exist resultatives comparable to the Lithuanian one anywhere else in the world. This is a curiosum inasmuch as anteriority (or resultative) participles are rather widespread (cf. HASPELMATH 1994: 157–161) and the meaning of the structure in (7') is strictly compositional. Thus, one wonders why it does not arise spontaneously more often. Or does it arise, but grammarians have not felt like recording it?

So, why is the HAVE-resultative of the Lithuanian type so rare? Is it even unique? On the one hand, the appearance of compositional constructions prior to reanalysis is nothing sensational, and for this reason might pass unnoticed. On the other hand, for a HAVE-resultative of the Lithuanian type to arise two preconditions have to be met, which were named in section 1: the availability of a HAVE-verb and of anteriority participles with a clear active voice orientation (or, more precisely: to the highest-ranking argument, usually the Actor). Though resultative participles seem to be not that rare (see above), systems of past participles with a clear-cut division between active and passive (or Actor- vs. Actor) orientation may be less frequent. However, as far as known to me, no typological investigation exists in which this issue would have been investigated systematically. Moreover, a HAVE-verb has to exist as well. We would thus need to look at languages in which both a HAVE-verb and active past participles, distinct from past participles with other voice orientation and derived productively, co-occur. Do such languages exist (beside Lithuanian)?

When browsing through WALS (DRYER & HASPELMATH 2011), we notice that it does not account for pure resultatives (in the sense defined by Nedjalkov). Compare the remark by DAHL & VELUPILLAI (2011): "only constructions or forms that have both resultative and experiential readings are regarded as perfects here". The Lithuanian HAVE-construction does not allow for an experiential reading, therefore it is a pure resultative. It is nonetheless worth looking at the respective map in DAHL & VELUPILLAI (2011). Thus, from among 222 languages accounted for worldwide for this gram type only 7 are judged to be based on a possessive construction with a HAVE-verb, and all of them belong to languages of Europe (Germanic, Romance, Greek).

We may now look at the entry 'Predicative possession', which is the immediate source construction from which a HAVE-resultative could emerge. Predicative possession has been

checked for 240 languages worldwide. Of these, 63 use a HAVE-verb. A core region of these, in turn, is again Europe, although there are more HAVE-verbs in some languages on other continents, first of all Africa and the Americas (STASSEN 2011). However, not much can be induced from this general picture, all the more as “the map concentrates on the encoding of the domain of ‘ownership’ in a narrow juridical or ethical sense” (STASSEN 2011). Note that a certain amount of examples attested for and still encountered in Lithuanian imply inalienable possession (see ex. 11–13), which falls outside this narrow definition of predicative possession in WALS. Thus, even the coarse picture presented for predicative possession in WALS does not include all relevant cases, so that some relevant phenomena in some region(s) of the world can happen to be overlooked. On the other hand, predicative possession is only one component necessary for the evolution of the Lithuanian-type HAVE-resultative, the other one being the existence of distinct past active participles, about whose spread over the continents we do not seem to know enough.

## 5. CONCLUSION

In the end, we are left with our questions concerning the rarity of the Lithuanian HAVE-resultative unanswered. We cannot say for sure that it is unique. We have however worked out the preconditions which must be fulfilled in the system of infinite verb forms and in the lexicon for a language to have a chance to develop such a resultative construction at all. Given the relative rareness of HAVE-verbs and the specific character of the participles needed, chances appear to be low that the intersection of both preconditions to be fulfilled occurs in many places. An intriguing question to be studied with respect to the HAVE-resultatives in general is the inquiry whether, and in what way, the development of resultatives with HAVE as their syntactic head correlates with the loosening of collocation restrictions which this verb undergoes as a lexical unit. Recall that Lith. *turėti* semantically derives from the meaning ‘to hold’. Does the semantic change from ‘to hold’ to ‘to have; possess; bear a relation to’ go hand in hand with an extension of the class of denotations that can be coded as syntactic objects of this verb? This comprises both an extension from first order to second and third order objects (as with speech act verbs, see remark on ex. 13) and an extension from nouns denoting concrete to nouns denoting abstract objects. Or is it altogether erroneous (and naïve) to assume that the semantic evolution of HAVE in different languages has moved along these lines – and that beginning collocatability with participles (and other event-denoting “objects”) was conditioned by such an extension?

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