

Stance verbs and the linguistic Europeanization of the Slavs

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(1) 'Sit' in Balto-Slavic and nearby. CS = Common Slavic. Post-CS innovations italicized.

	Static	Punctual		Transitive	
		perfective	imperfective	perfective	imperfective
Proto-Slavic	*se:d-e:-	*se:d- / seNd-		*sa:d-ei-/ sa:d-i:-	
CS (=OCS)	*sěděti	*sěsti / sęd-	(*sědati?)(not OCS)	*saditi	
Russian	sidet'	sest' /sjadu	<i>sadit'sja</i>	<i>u-/posadit'</i>	<i>u-/posazhivat', sazhat'</i>
Polish	siedzieć	siąść / siąde	siadać	<i>u-/posadzić</i>	<i>usadzać</i>
Czech	sedět	sednout <i>si</i> ,	sedat <i>si</i> ,	<i>u-/posadit</i>	<i>u-/posazovat</i>
		<i>posadit se</i>	<i>posazovat se</i>		
BCS	sjedjeti	sjesti	sjedati	<i>posaditi</i>	saditi
Bulgarian	sedja	sedna	sjadam	<i>složa da sedne</i>	<i>slagam da sedne</i>
Lithuanian	sėdėti	sėsti	sėsti	(pa)sodinti	sodinti
		(atsisėsti)	(sėstis)	(su)sodinti	
Germanic					
German	sitzen	sich setzen		setzen	
Dutch	zitten	zich zetten, gaan zitten		zetten	
Swedish	sitta	sätta sig		sätta, låta sitta	
English	sit (set)	sit (up, down) (set)		seat/set; put	
Celtic					
Welsh	eistedd	eistedd		gosod 'put'	
Finno-Ugric					
Hungarian	ül, leül	leül		ültet	
Vogul	uunl-	uunt-		uuntt-	
Finnish	istua	istuutua		asettaa istumaan 'put sitting'	
Turkic					
Chuvash	lar	lar		lart	
Turkish	oturmak	oturmak		oturtmak	
Kumyk	olturmaq, olturup turmaq	olturmaq		olturtmaq	
Karachay	olturub tururga	oltururga		olturturga	
Mongolian					
	suux	suux		suulgax	
Iranian					
Ossetic	badyn	rabadyn		badyn kænyn '(sit make)'	
Nakh-Daghestanian					
Ingush	(wa-xeina) d.aagha	wa-xou		wa-xoa-d.u	
Romance					
Spanish	sentarse	estar sentado		sentar	
French	s'asseoir	être assis		asseoir	
Romanian	sede	se aseza		aseza, pune	

(2) The Slavic stance verb system (*italics = open questions*)

Ancient components (archaisms inherited from PIE):

static ≠ punctual ≠ transitive

forms not straightforwardly built on each other

no one basic form, all derived (though abstract aorist stem of punctual is the root)

derived transitive

manner salience; manner (stance) classification even of transitive 'put, place'

CS components:

detransitivization using reflexive

suffixal iteratives

Early post-CS components:

formal aspect oppositions

aspect implemented by lexical renewal of punctual (sometimes using

reflexivization: punctual < transitive)

(3) Some safe assumptions about historical dynamics (*and two questions*)

Stance verbs are relatively stable (not borrowed, not taken from substratum)

Transitivization/detransitivization lexical type appears fairly stable

Calquing in contact situations:

Ethnic language calques inter-ethnic language (Ross)

(Do phraseologisms survive from substrate language??)

Lexical renewal affects the central part of a word's meaning

(Are renewals triggered by substrate influence? standard or inter-ethnic?)

(4) Diachronic developments in Slavic:

Rise of aspect

Transitives become derivationally basic (general western IE tendency):

pre-CS: *ūk-nq-tei ~ *ouk-ei-tei

OCS: vyknoṭi || učiti > učiti se

Balkan Slavic: Manner classification becomes less salient; 'put' expands in transitive.

(5) Received view of Slavic prehistory:

Part of an eastern area (influence of Iranian and other steppe languages)

Symbiosis with Germanic late in prehistory

Dispersal, spread into central Europe

(6) Stance verbs in the neighbors of Slavic:

Iranian: static = punctual

Germanic: manner salience; punctual lost, then renewed < transitive (continental only)

Ugric, Ossetic: base is static; transparent derivation of other forms; manner salient

(Secondary in Ossetic; punctual/static distinction may be Caucasian areal feature, but overt derivation of punctual is not; transitive form secondary.)

Mongol, Turkic: static = punctual; transparent derivation of transitive; manner salient

(Punctual distinguished only in Caucasus Turkic; derived static.)

Romance: transitive is basic; punctual and even stative < transitive (reflexivization);

manner not salient

- (7) Central European (CE) stance verb system
- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| Punctual is distinct from static. | and possible sources: |
| Punctual is semantically salient (target of renewal). | Slavic < IE |
| Means of forming punctual vary: | Slavic? CE? |
| prefixation, reflexivization, (Slavic) ablaut | |
| Transitive is input to at least some derivations | ?? IE? |
| Detransitivization using reflexivization | CE |

old CE languages: Slavic, Alanic, Romance, maybe Germanic

(8) Chronology of Slavic historical interactions

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Proto-Slavic: | Productive causativization (Balto-Slavic, Germanic, Indo-Iranian)
-- possible eastern feature, possible IE archaism
No notable external influence.
<i>Slavic was in a sociolinguistically strong position.</i> |
| Common Slavic: | Detransitivization by reflexivization.
Slavic has entered the CE linguistic area.
Areal influence on morphological form (reflexive) but not on lexical semantics.
<i>Slavic was an interethnic or sociolinguistically strong language.</i> |
| Historical: | Rise of aspect. (No external source.)
Aspect postdates reflexivization, as reflexivization is recruited to form aspect pairs in the stance system.
Slavic stance systems take on a CE areal cast, not through borrowing or lexical influence but as Slavic languages develop and implement aspect.
<i>Slavic was as much a contributor as a borrower in the CE area.</i> |

(9) Conclusions:

Slavic was in a sociolinguistically non-subordinate position through late CS times.
Linguistic Europeanization (CE areal features) affects stance verbs less than general vocabulary, and as a by-product of the development of aspect.

(10) Problems for the Slavist:

- Is there any evidence of Slavic-Germanic linguistic symbiosis?
- What is the origin of (Slavo-Germanic) manner salience in stance verbs?
- What is the antiquity of productive causatives in Slavic? and the extent?
(Manner salience may imply productive causatives.)
- Sociolinguistics of contact-influenced phraseology
- Sociolinguistics of contact-influenced lexical renewal

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Stance verbs and the linguistic Europeanization of the Slavs

In later Proto-Slavic to Common Slavic times, the Slavic verbal lexicon underwent a radical typological shift from the cross-linguistically common transitivity type to the infrequent detransitivizing type (Nichols, Peterson, Barnes 2004) and began using the reflexive pronoun as a morphological detransitivizer (e.g. Gołąb 1968). Both detransitivization and its implementation with a reflexive clitic are European linguistic hallmarks. The stance verbs ('sit', 'stand', 'lie') as a system illustrate this history and can testify to the chronology and strength of contacts.

The Slavic stance verbs tenaciously preserve the PIE system with its three-way opposition of static, punctual (a.k.a. inchoative), and causative marked by ablaut and suffixation, all derived from the same abstract root. Though the past/infinitive stem of the punctual form is etymologically basic and synchronically radical, still it is hard to say that the static and causative forms are derived from the punctual in modern Slavic.

The Proto-Slavic system is similar to that of Baltic and different from those of the protohistorical and early historical neighbors of Slavic. Early Germanic tended to merge static and punctual; later continental Germanic derives punctuals by reflexivization much as Czech and Russian do (Ger. *sich setzen*). Alanic lost the ancient punctuals (Ossetic later derives new ones by perfective prefixation). Early Romance, including Romanian, began to base the stance system on bleached transitive 'put' plus PP, deriving intransitives from that (cf. Rom. caus. *scula/ridica în picioare*, punc. *se scula/ridica în picioare* 'stand up'). Turkic languages usually do not differentiate static from punctual, and they derive causatives from the intransitives. Thus the Slavic stance system shows no eastern influence and shares reflexivization but little else with its European neighbors.

The other innovations implement aspect. An iterative punctual **sědati* may have existed in CS; if so it antedated the rise of true aspect and was recruited to the aspect opposition in several languages. The Russian and Czech forms (and Polish *położyć się / kłaść się* 'lie down') show that reflexive detransitivization arose first and could be utilized when the need for aspect pairing arose.

Thus reflexivization and detransitivization arose in late CS times, after the end of eastern influence and as a Europeanism. Europeanization was grammatical, not lexical; contacts were not intense enough to restructure the lexical semantics, hence sociolinguistically (Ross 1996, Hill 2001) Slavic must have been a dominant and/or interethnic language. However, contact in the Balkan area has by now given Bulgarian a Romance-like cast: the causatives are entirely renewed (showing that they are central: Kurylowicz) and use a semantically bleached transitive.