Nicole Nau (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan) & Jurgis Pakerys (Vilnius University)

Transitivity pairs in Baltic: between Finnic and Slavic?

Languages differ as to which technique they prefer for marking (or not marking) an opposition of verbs including/excluding an external Causer in the event structure. This observation, first made by Vladimir Nedjalkov (Nedjalkov 1969; Nedyalkov & Silnitsky 1973: 26-27), has inspired several typological investigations (Haspelmath 1993; Nichols 1993; Nichols et al. 2004; Haspelmath et \(\bar{\text{M}} \) \(\ozerland{\text{1}} 4; \)

Atlas of Transitivity Pairs 2014).

> In this paper we will examine transitivity pairs in the two modern Baltic languages Lithuanian and Latvian and compare them to neighboring Finnic (Finnish, Estonian) and Slavic (Russian, Polish) languages. Previous investigations as those cited above and preliminary work by these authors found that the main strategy in Slavic is to derive the intransitive (inchoative, non-causal) verb from the transitive (causal) verby ăit i s jau s căit 'learn/teach', while Finnic often has a derived causativop pais an / Dipmenitala-a 'learn/teach'. The Baltic languages seem to be in a transition zone, where causative and anticausative strategies are of roughly equal importance. In some cases, the Baltic languages pattern with the Finnic ones (causative strategla, rafa Estonian

ʻmel*t.ų́Itar.át/r.)jųl*ain*tti*aisla ʻidiæpn't ⊨/Ltihhpuhnnitain 'idem' la-**ta**-ma *p'lia*dleitri'/y*psla* Rittš-si**jia**n 'melt (tr./itr.)', while in other instances the kus-t / kaus Est tian Baltic languages behave like Slavic ones (anticausative strategyly, tif. bitthyairisan '**he**anor/te⁄anolā'c Lta-tieisan 'idem' = Russiandspé ábospet, sie lish 'idem' vs. õppi-ma / õp**esta**+rinan 'learn/teach' and Finnish (see above), etc.

In addition, the Baltic languages stand out by a higher number of equipollent markings where either both verbs are underived from a synchronic point of zview/suz-it as Latvian 'break (itr. ~ *lūž-ti taìvž=ti*Lithuanian , or both armountainesed, ransidainaā vian 'wake up (itr. ~ juokti**ts**.)' **żuro**kŁ**iti**htianian 'laugh/make laugh'.

Data for the six languages under investigation will be gathered and selected by the same method and principles, using dictionaries, questionnaires, corpus data, and interviews with native speakers. The point of departure is a set of twenty concepts inspired by the lists used in Haspelmath (1993) and Nichols et al. (2004). It has been designed in order to cover several semantic features that have been found to influence the choice of strategy, especially (i) typically human undergoer ('wake up') / typically inanimate undergoer ('open') / both types of undergoers ('change'), and (ii) typically spontaneous vs. non-spontaneous change of state ('melt' vs. 'open'). We also aim to account for the variation of strategies with regard to semantics and frequency in individual languages when the same or differeintioots are used, cfvliitinutinian 'boil (itr./tr.) v*kydyti* / 'boil (tr.)' or Lithuanian tirp-ti / tirp-in-ti 'melt (tr./itr.)' vs. 'melt (itr./tr.)'.

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